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ROMANI COMMUNITIES IN VOJVODINA

*Examination, and comparison through analysis of education and employment
of Romani population in two Vojvodinian communities*

Thesis of Doctoral (Ph.D.) dissertation

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THESIS

I. PREFACE

I.1. The reasonableness of the topic's choice

The topic of the present descriptive thesis had emerged from a four-year-long, intensive research operation, which, most certainly, draws interest in Vojvodina, however, people hold aloof, immuring themselves sternly when facing it. Presumably, there is no folk which's history could be perfectly summarized, thus, a brief description will be attempted, regarding the history of Romani people living in Serbia, more closely, in Vojvodina. Besides, there will be a digression to the societal, economic, and social welfare situation of the Romani living there, presenting all this with the corresponding source literature, statistical data, and own results of research to the reader.

I.2. The introduction of the topic

The present thesis, as it can be read in the title, examines two Vojvodinian Romani (Gypsy) communities, more closely, it consists of examination and partly of analysis through comparison of communities living in two¹ Vojvodinian settlements, considering their identity, possibilities of education, employment, and housing situation. Answers may arise to questions about the exact identification of their ethnic identity and their native language, furthermore, the development of their use of language, which leads to the correlation of different languages used in various life situations (given that the subjects can communicate on multiple languages). Besides, there will be an outlook to the living space of Romani, their housing situation, and the real reason for the correlation between their education and their later sources of income. There will be a notable accent in the examination on the uncovering of the societal connection of the Romani on a certain level.

II. INTRODUCTION OF THE PROBLEM

Throughout Europe, Romani possess lower social indexes than that of the average population representing majorities around them (Póczik, 2003), the Romani living in Serbia, or rather in Vojvodina are not exempt (Vuksanović-Macura – Macura, 2007). The catching up of the Romani with the majority of the society they live in, requires work and the material goods obtained by it,

¹ As the individuals participating in the present research were assured of anonymity even on the settlement level, the two geographical areas in question were marked as A and B.

which's presence or, in some cases, absence, greatly influences their housing situation, and it influences numerous other facets of their life too (Jugović, 2007).

The present paper introduces the realities in education, employment, and housing of Romani communities living in two Vojvodinian settlements, through an in-detail, comprehensive, empiric analysis, showing both the positive and negative side, helping in the depiction of an objective picture of the Romani communities living in the two settlements in question.

III. THE AIM, QUESTIONS AND THE HYPOTHESES OF THE RESEARCH

III.1. The aim of the research:

The primary aim was to introduce and bring forth the present social status of the Vojvodinian Romani to all those interested in the subject, through depicting the life of the Romani in two Vojvodinian settlements, and to uncover environmental causes influencing the well notable hindrances the Romani are facing, mainly focusing on education, their situation on the employment market, and partly on their housing status. The results are not considered representative, as the research described by the present thesis is not encompassing the whole of the Romani population, rather, it draws conclusions based on examples set by Romani living in the mentioned two settlements. A further important aim is to have the Romani community living in two chosen settlements, broadly introduced from ethnic and linguistic aspects, and to have the two communities compared.

Hence, the aim of the present research is two-pronged. From one side, it focuses on the societal and educational situation of the Romani minority, while looking for possibilities and breakout points for the mentioned community, to achieve a higher standard of living. From the other side, it shows the situation in a descriptive manner, which is much needed, as up to this day, there were very few researches published Vojvodina-wide in Hungarian language and featuring this special topic, quoting sources from Hungarian-Vojvodinian, native Hungarian, and also Serbian and other researchers, authors. The government policy towards the minorities and education in Serbia should aim for the achievement of the political leaders, and through them, the educationalists and educators working in schools, students of Romani origin, familiarize with, implement and utilize the strategies of pedagogy from international examples, which proved to be efficient in educating the Romani, taught in various, specialized institutions, thanks to which, the Romani youth may rise ever higher in the social hierarchy. That said, it is important that the present thesis provides an introspection

into the Serbian policy of minority education, and put forth motions for amendment for more lenient educational conditions, which should start with the real enforcement of equal opportunity, which is held on the agenda in Serbia with more or less success, regarding the obligations for EU-integration, as the provision of equal opportunity² is classified as one of the most important principles in EU legal parlance, and without its enforcement and provision, Serbia could hardly become an EU member state.

The spectrum of Romani's problems in Serbia is a very complex occurrence, requiring composite tasks on multiple fields of society, simultaneously, the intervention of the society is also imperative, to be able to alleviate or dissolve these problems. The hope of Serbia joining the European Union soon also gives hope for the Serbian Romani community regarding the improvement of their situation.

III.2. Researcher's questions

1. How strong cultural traditions the Romani community participating in the present research has, and if it has these at all? How do they see their identity regarding the various groups and/or subgroups of Romani, and which languages do they use on a day-to-day basis?
2. What causes the majority of the Romani pupils participating in the present research to show a lack of performance in comparison with the pupils of the surrounding majority?
3. Which hindering factors play part in the low position of the Romani youth/adults regarding the job market?

III.3. The hypotheses of the research

1. It may be presumed that the Romani participating in the present research possess strong cultural customs/traditions, which is showing in their dressing cultural traditions too. As a further hypothesis, it was presumed that the same Romani use regularly one of the dialects of the Gypsy language, which is an important part of the present thesis, from the aspect of the language culture. Finally, but not least, it may be also presumed that the Romani participating in the present research are absolutely sure about their identity, e.g. what

² EU Charter of Fundamental Rights Article 21. forbids all forms of harmful discrimination, such as on gender, race, color, ethnic or social background, genetic feature, language, religion or other convictions, political or other opinion, belonging to a national minority, material state, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation.

group/subgroup of Gypsies they belong to, which is also essential from the aspect of their identity.

2. It may be presumed that the primary cause of the lack of performance regarding the Romani pupils participating in the present research, is the fact that their teachers don't direct enough attention to the culture of the Romani minorities, to their ethnography, so they don't acknowledge the individual and the collective specificities of the Romani pupils.
3. It may be presumed that the chief cause of the unfavorable job-market situation of the Romani living in the examined two settlements is stemming from their low grade of education.

IV. INTRODUCTION OF THE METHODS AND THE SAMPLE UTILIZED DURING THE RESEARCH

Regarding the methodology, the present thesis is based on the processing of the source scientific literature, the analysis of the statistical data, and on the proprietary results of research. From the aspect of ethical conduction of research, confidential data management and adequate data encryption through encoding are absolutely essential. Thus, to preserve the anonymity of the persons participating in the research, names of the settlements and persons being subjects of the research are not revealed.

IV.1. The methods utilized during the research

There were more research methods utilized, to benefit from the different advantages of various methods. Both the quantitative and qualitative methods equally contributed to the survey of the diversified topic as thoroughly as possible. All of the methods utilized during the present research may be classified as attendance-centered in every case.

1. The quantitative method: There were mainly inquiries/questionnaires utilized during the realization of the quantitative examination, being useful tools for examinations in social science (Babbie, 2001:275). The inquiry during the research was composed of open and (mainly) completed questions alike, which, as a whole, constituted a half-structured questionnaire. By this method, the area to be examined may be quantified, and ready to be analyzed by statistical methods. The completed questions are directed toward the societal and sociological background variables (the person's age, place of residence, education,

employment, housing situation, etc.), while the open questions were directed toward the mapping of the past or present harmful discrimination, and primarily the Romani and non-Romani environment's reactions.

Furthermore, it is important to survey the dimensions of welfare. This concerns the opinions of Romani and non-Romani students, educationalists, and the Romani and non-Romani parents. The reliability and accuracy of the results arising through this method can be determined. The open questionnaire has proven more useful, as the persons answering possess greater freedom in their replies, so it is possible to obtain more information from their answers than the question supposed (Babbie, 2001:276). The completed questions hold the pre-formulated possibilities of answers in advance, so the subject has not got much freedom in formulating an opinion, but the processing of the answers is simpler (Babbie, 2001:276).

While the quantitative method is primarily more helpful in the process of elaboration of the statistical data, which is inevitable in the description of quantitative values, as in given cases are the grade of education, the situation on the job market, or the housing provisions. However, to an in-depth examination of a community, the exclusive utilization of the quantitative method is not enough.

2. Qualitative method: The exploration of the scientific source literature in connection with the topic of the present thesis and its interpretation in the scientific context may be classified as a qualitative method. Although the questionnaire was mainly utilized during the examination, there were interviews completed in more cases, within a frame of half-structured questions, which were preceded by loose or more serious conversations. These interviews were completed with subjects of both Romani and non-Romani origin.

Personal presence was necessary during the implementation of every scientific method, yielding a notable advantage, as the environment of the subjects (Romani families and pupils) have been more easily and deeply surveyed, so, during the fieldwork, the observations represented both an essential and a very important part in the implementation of all the methods. With surveying through personal presence, answers arise on the subjects' factual behavior, but it is important to note that this descriptive – explorative method is unsuitable for the proving of the causality.³ Surveillance, as a scientific method, is none other than a directed cognition, through which a certain level of conclusion may be drawn

³ Mayer, 2017.

(Szokolszky, 2004:421). The fieldwork method has followed through the whole researching process. Its notable and essential advantage is that through its utilization, the societal occurrences may be examined in their natural environment, besides, the in-depth details of these occurrences may be sensed, and these would not be registered in advance (Babbie, 1998:307). The method of fieldwork is held as essential by anthropologists.

IV.2. Introduction of the method of sampling

The research procedure was the one, by which only one of the villages was surveyed for data in the first stage of the research (settlement „A"). This does not mean that less attention was directed to the other place (settlement „B"), only that the research has started sometime later there, promoting settlement „B" to a control group in this aspect.

The questionnaires utilized during the present research were suitable for the exploration of many categories of topics, such as their education, employment, and housing situation. Besides, there were more questions directed towards their native language and their ties to their ethnic identity, while in the case of non-Romanis, there were separate questions regarding the subjects' opinion about the Romanis living amongst them.

There were 194 subjects of Romani origin in total in settlement „A", of which 98 were Romani pupils, 55 Romani parents, and further 41 Romani subjects aged 16 years or more. There were 229 non-Romani research subjects in total, of which 27 were teachers, 126 pupils, 61 parents, and further 15 adults included in the research sample.

There were 118 subjects of Romani origin in total included in settlement „B", of which 53 were pupils, 38 parents, and further 27 Romani subjects aged 16 years or more. There were 187 non-Romani residents in total included in the present research, of which were 15 teachers, 101 pupils, 56 parents, and 15 adults.

V. DESCRIPTION AND RECAPITULATION OF THE RESULTS

One of the primary aims of the present, descriptive doctoral thesis has been realized, as the results arising from the research provided the introduction of the identity, the precise identification of the ethnic subgroup, and the native language of the Romani communities living in two Vojvodinian settlements („A" and „B"). It can be stated that the Romani communities living in both settlements

have declared themselves indecisive majority as Romani, or with double identity (being both Romani and Hungarian), and they consider it offensive to call them Gypsies. Based on the experience and results of the present research, it can be determined that the Romani communities living in the mentioned two settlements possess an independent national identity.

H1: Hypothesis no. 1. by which the Romani included as subjects in the research are aware of the identification of their exact ethnic group/subgroup has not wholly been proven, as based on the received results from both the settlements, more than half of the Romani living there has disproved the hypothesis according to their answers, also disproving their awareness of exactly what dialect of Romani language they speak. Naturally, harnessing the possibilities of the research, and including an expert, the analysis of the sound recordings has succeeded to exactly identify that Valachian Gypsies are living on both of the settlements, speaking a variation of the Romani language. While in settlement „A" the Gurvar, in settlement „B" the Lovari dialects were spoken. However, the majority of Romani living in both settlements consider themselves as bilingual, by their admission (as speakers of Hungarian and one of the Gypsy dialects). To perform an exact ethnic identification, the subjects' knowledge of native language and its use are both important. The hypothesis that the Romani included as subjects in the present research, possess highly elaborate cultural traditions has been determined as only partly true, based on the experiences gained during the fieldwork and the results of research. Focusing on their dressing traditions and cultural customs, the Romani living in settlement „A" have completely lost their traditions, while only some of the Romani living in settlement „B" has kept, in vague traces, the main characteristic traits of the traditional Valachian Gypsy national dress, which fact is proven by the author of the present thesis, through the experiences gained during the field research. Focusing however on the Romani language culture, the majority of the subjects cherish their native language daily, using it most of the time.

It can be stated that there are most socially disadvantaged persons living within the Gypsy/Romani communities nationwide. The Romani and non-Romani residents live in two settlements, both as a village community, with a degree of mutual tolerance, broadening each others' viewing spectrum willy-nilly. It should be a basic cultural expectation to further our knowledge, from an ethnographical aspect, about the communities living in our surroundings, possessing different ethnicity and culture.

H2: Hypothesis no. 2. which has presumed that the main cause of the arrearage in the education of Romani pupils, included as subjects of the present research, may arise from the fact that the educationalists teaching them do not direct enough attention on the culture of the Romani minority, on their ethnography, by pupils' point of view (independently from ethnicity), has been confirmed, as, according to the majority of the subjects, until now, they have not been introduced to Romani

ethnography and culture during their lessons, although, by the way, the majority of the subjects would gladly get acquainted with it. If the aspect of the educationalists is examined in the same field, antagonistically opposing answers are arising against the pupils' admissions, as 71% of the teachers, by their admission, digress during the lessons to a degree of Romani culture's description. However, if the teachers' admission is taken into account, by which they were not given any additional lectures pertaining to the Romani minority and its ethnography during their years in high school or university, then a problem surfaces. Namely, based on what knowledge do they teach ethnographic trivia about the Romani ethnicity if they have not learned it? If the pupils' opinion is the starting point (taken as sincere), then the second hypothesis seems to be confirmed, by which the educationalists do not direct enough attention to the culture of the Romani minority, their ethnography, proving that they do not take into account to a needed degree, their individual or common specificities of the Romani pupils. Anna Orsos states that the members of the society belonging to the national majority possess little to no knowledge about the Gypsy communities and their ethnography. This is primarily a fault of common and higher education, as none of the schools teach Gypsy ethnography, which would be essential in lessening the harmful discrimination. This realization has also been proven fully correct by the field of research.

To achieve that the societal majority and other communities of non-Romani nationalities become more tolerant towards the Romani, more numerous and greater measures are recommended. Firstly, someone should create order in the political life, e.g. it would be expedient to create the appropriate political culture, furthermore, the tolerance should be developed in people, through which they would become more tolerant and respectful towards other ethnicities (Stanovčić, 2008), all of which should greatly apply to the Romani included in the present research too.

More and more Romani pupils succeed in completing elementary education yearly, while it is especially commendable that they finish their education in time. Besides the school certificate, and the knowledge acquired in an educational institution, their language difficulties seem to vanish with time, furthermore, their social connections are improving towards the non-Romani residents. However, still, a great arrearage can be detected regarding the educational level of the Romani and the non-Romani residents, for which the aforementioned situation should be held accountable, that is, the educationalists are not directing appropriate attention to the traditions and culture of Romani pupils. This can be partly attributed to the malfunctioning Serbian policy concerning the education of national minorities, primarily because it does not prioritize adequately the university training of teachers, where independent courses should be implemented, focusing only and exclusively on the specificities of the Romani ethnicity, which measure should primarily facilitate the good quality education of the Romani. There are numerous positive measures implemented abroad as a positive

example, among others, some of the institutions and measures quoted in the present thesis, which all exist to strengthen the Romani's social status as much as possible.

By the implementation of the inclusion, the situation has improved in some places, so Serbia is also suggesting that the aim is the achievement of equal chances and peace, the promotion of tolerance, and the constitution of harmony between people. The experts should work on the achieving of the quoted, measurable aim. As it was quoted above, it can be felt and it is generally known that certain by-laws contain minority rights, but these are not upheld in many cases, mainly concerning the level of practice. It has surfaced that there is a great amount of selection in the Serbian public education regarding the education of Romani pupils, and while more scapegoats could be marked as culprits responsible for this situation, nevertheless, it is undeniable that the elite of the Serbian policy of the education of minorities is responsible at the bottom line, as it is not paying enough attention if there is a segregated education for the Romani pupils regarding the public education. For it surely exists, but nobody is paying attention, otherwise, there wouldn't be occurrences like on the aforementioned two settlements, in school classes which are attended by the Romani pupils exclusively, and who are occasionally labeled as handicapped and provided with a very low-quality education. The segregation of the mentioned Romani pupils is committed clearly on ethnic base, which means that the education of Romani and non-Romani pupils is performed in a segregated manner, from the aspect of their curriculum.

H3: The third hypothesis of the present research, which has presumed that the Romani living in the mentioned two settlements occupy an unfavorable position on the job market, and the education of lower grade is responsible for this, has been proven. It has been proven based on the results of the present research that the Romani not possessing any level of education can state that they have permanent employment, furthermore, the majority of the Romani who possess a completed middle school education, has had or is presently having a permanent employment. Conclusively, it can be stated that the degree of the completed education is surely greatly influencing their position on the job market, so the inequalities in the education must not be observed separately from the economic inequalities (Lynch - Baker, 2005), or rather, those who could not complete their elementary and/or middle-level education will have greater chances of falling into the "cursed circle" of exclusion from the society (Starc et al., 2006). Besides the lower level of education responsible for the Romanis' unfavorable position on the employment-market, it has been uncovered during the present research that there is a further endangering factor present. It is proven none better than with the results of this research, regarding that 70% of the employers in the mentioned two settlements being prejudiced against the Romani, or rather, their incline to discrimination can be strongly felt. Most of the employers, regarding both the settlements, are not employing or would not employ Romani

employees, because the employers don't like them in the first place, and they don't consider them reliable anyway. All in all, it has been proven that due to their low level of education, and the discriminative surroundings, the Romani residents occupy the lowest grade of the employment-market ladder. Thus, it may be stated, that the societal distance of the non-Romani is large in both settlements, which is especially pronounced in settlement „B". This is best proven by the fact that more than half of the non-Romani adults included in the present research have openly stated that they are not well disposed towards the Romani residents, furthermore, that they would not want to cherish any kind of relationship with the Romani.

During the course of this research, and also during the analysis of the results, it became unambiguous (whether regarding the education of the Romani pupils, or the employment rate of the Romani residents aged 16 years and more), that their lives are plagued even today with negative discrimination, namely, it can be registered in both settlements that the Romani minority occupies an unequal and subordinate position facing the residents of the surrounding majority, which does not ease the Romanis' otherwise difficult and cumbersome situation. This has also a profound effect on their housing situation, as their indexes in this field count as fairly low. Upon the results received, it may be stated that there are many poor people amongst the Romani included in the present research. The interpretation of the indigence pertains primarily to low grades of education and employment, also to their living conditions. The last fact mentioned may be proven by the results received under the title Housing situation, which testify that a great part of Romani living in these two settlements are forced to exist in unfavorable housing conditions, at the same time, examining the equipment of their homes, their supply of modern gadgets is not corroborating this dramatic situation. At the end of the day, it has been proven that education influences the position on the employment-market, which is in further conjunction with the living conditions (housing situation).

„A good society is not the one negating the individual differences, but the one which addresses them wisely and humanely.”

Howard Gardner

VI. SUGGESTIONS

For the solution of the situation described by the present thesis, some suggestions are formulated. Firstly, there are examples in short form, of institutions of higher education in Hungary, which ensure that the knowledge about the Romani is passed forward, furthermore, there is a factual monetary support for the Romani youth. Following these, the thesis will suggest small amendments in two fields of the presented research, namely from the aspect of education and employment.

Under the title „*Suggestions*”, the Hungarian institutions of higher education, colleges of advanced studies are meant, which support primarily the Romani/Gypsy youth. A reader could ask himself/herself why exactly the higher education's positive examples were mentioned in this part of the thesis when the examination has uncovered that more than half of the Romani residents living in the two mentioned settlements, and who are aged 16 years or more, have failed to complete even the elementary education, and only a young lady could achieve a high school diploma. On a further note, the mentioned young lady has shed light on the severity of the problem, namely, that the community does not direct enough attention on the education of the Romani, and even less attention is paid to their possibilities of further education. The mentioned young lady has stated that she would have much rather continued her studies in an educational institution where, besides the students from the societal majority, would meet students of Romani origin, furthermore, where the lecturers would allocate time for the ethnography of the Romani. However, she had to get ahead as a single Romani student during her years of higher education, facing negative discrimination on numerous occasions. Nonetheless, she is filled with pride and joy that she is the only one in her native village (but surely the only one from the Romani included in the present research) with completed higher education, thus, she is sure that some possibilities would open for her on the job-market which are granted to selected few people in the Romani community as a whole.

VI.1. Examples of Hungarian institutions

The portfolio of the Hungarian ministry of education has supported more institutions of higher education in implementing the lectures from Roma studies. Furthermore, the ministry and the public foundations support the studies of Gypsy youth through donating various bursaries. In Serbia, this type of effort has regretfully reached only a small scale. To integrate into the European Union, Serbia is compelled to direct greater attention to the national minorities, especially, to the cause of the Romani. It would be an important aim in front of the nation's leadership to achieve the

paradigm shift, slowly predominating in practice, to have the positive results of the education mean the future of Serbia, which would lead to the well-being of the whole country in the future.

Nikolić is also at the standpoint by which to have Serbia's well-being increased, the most popular method is the one through the education (Nikolić, 2005), in which, besides the students arriving from the societal majority, the students living as various minorities should take part in unity. Furthermore, educational segregation should be abolished, and the support for the Romani students' successful education should be concentrated on.

The facts described in the present research prove that schools are especially important in achieving the social mobility of children stemming from families of lower socioeconomic status (the Romani in a given case), where the students should take part in the education with equal chances. This does not mean that the school should provide every student with the same knowledge, but rather, pupils' various abilities and skills should be focused on, directing special attention to the development, accomplishment, and emergence of these.

VI.2. Conclusions based on examples from Hungary

(The Gandhi Grammar School, the University of Pécs – Roma studies, the Wislocki Henrik College of Advanced Studies, the initiatives of the University of Kaposvár, activities in the institutions of higher education in Debrecen)

It may be summarily stated that the colleges of advanced study constituted for the Romani youth have a great influence in the life of the universities / high schools. These were primarily constituted to lower the failure rate of Romani students in schools, to accent the talent promotion and to bring about equal opportunities for the Romani students, which would later yield in their competitiveness on the employment market. Supporting institutions like these would be also much needed in Serbia, as it is mentioned more times in the present thesis.

The experiences gained from the research and the examples of institutions in Hungary suggest unequivocally that the Romani studies would be greatly needed throughout Serbia. The greater part of Gypsy/Romani residents living in this country are facing a lower standard of living than the national average, which is attributed partly to their unemployment, their low income, which could be further linked to their low grade of education, or even to their lack of education at all. Amongst other agenda, this is why the quality education of the Romani should be set as a high priority task. If some examples from Hungary listed above, more accurately, the educational institutions, colleges

of advanced studies supporting the Romani youth would be constituted in Serbia, these would incontrovertibly have an encouraging influence on the implementation of Roma studies regarding the curriculum of future educationalists, and the local young Romani, who would achieve higher education in far greater numbers, and real knowledge with practice, thus, they could proudly stand their ground on the employment market. This last statement, from the author of the present thesis, represents a hope that this work would facilitate the education and the success in learning of the Romani minority in Serbia.

VI.3. Review of the situation in Serbia

VI.3.1. Education

It is declared in Serbia that the Romani pupils should be provided with education of equal quality, in the same manner as to the children arriving from the majority of the society. The experience gained in practice has disproved this. Although there are various sized initiatives nationwide, and the level of education obtained by the Romani youth seems to be continuously rising throughout the last few years, however, it is quite different if this education is linked to the adequate, obtained knowledge expected to exist during a set age.

The school curriculum of Romani languages should occupy a prominent place regarding the attention to education. Besides, obtaining knowledge about their history, ethnography, and culture should be justifiable, and, of course, as most important of them all, the teacher training must be transformed. It is deserving to think through how to integrate knowledge into the plans of further education for the teachers or teachers in training, so that it would be usable in practice, specifically in the teaching and rearing of Roma pupils. The whole of the curriculum and the syllabus must be constituted with the cultural identity of the Gypsy/Romani pupils in view. The ethnography of the Romani should be included in the curriculum, amongst others, to introduce the non-Romani children to the culture of the minorities living among them. Furthermore, the teachers working with children of different cultures, need to obtain special knowledge and training which would help them in given cases, regarding the understanding of the Romani/Gypsy pupils (Kapás, 2019).

Furthermore, a possible rudimentary solution would be an in-school after school program⁴ organized on a permanent basis (Halpern, 2002; Lauer – Akiba – Wilkerson – Apthorp – Snow – Martin - Glenn, 2006) for the pupils of Romani and non-Romani origin, who struggle with lack of

⁴ The origins of such an innovation stem from the beginning of the 1900-s. This program was initially constituted for the care of the children living in unsafe areas.

performance due to some reason, and the mentioned “daycare” would serve as a supplement, where they would help the pupils overcome their difficulties through studying languages, developing reading skills, and solving mathematical problems, compensating their lag.

There is an explicit, nationwide need for a middle school constituted primarily for the pupils of Romani origin, in which the adequate methods and techniques would be implemented, through which the Romani youth would graduate, then achieve a diploma, facilitating their societal integration. The state may also rely upon numerous international positive examples. Such are those of India and Ireland, and Belgium amongst others, in which more hundred institutions are caring for the French-speaking disadvantaged youth, and where their primary aim is reached by the measures supporting disadvantaged youth in their integration, as well as lessening or averting the in-school failures (Bajomi – Berkovits – Erős – Imre, 2003). For well-proven, international examples, however, one does not need to go very far. One of Serbia's neighboring countries is Hungary, where is an abundance of educational institutions, by which's operation there were positive results as proven, regarding the education of the Romani residents, which, for sure has a positive influence on their situation on the employment market.

Last, but not least, if a school subject could be linked (history, geography, nature, and society, etc.) to their ethnicity, school field trips could be organized in order to obtain knowledge about the history and ethnography of the Gypsies. One of the places suitable for the mentioned field trips could be in the capital of Serbia, more exactly, the *Museum of Romani cultures*, in which the pupils, independently from their ethnicity, would obtain knowledge of Gypsy folk traditions. Regretfully, only a few Vojvodinian people have heard about the existence of this museum, amongst others, this has been uncovered during direct and informal conversations with the teachers included in the present research: nobody knew about the existence of the *Museum of Romani cultures*.

The described ethnic tourism, besides introducing the Romani culture, maybe also be utilized in combating various preconceptions. (Gladney, 1999; Yang - Wall, 2009; Pivac et al., 2014)

VI.3.2. Employment

The Romani, aged 16 years and more, who possess a completed elementary education but decided not to continue education, and of those without any education completed, the motivation for the further learning should be important, as, with the help of training, they would be able to obtain some trade skills. The provision of the pieces of training would be necessary, which would direct special attention to the development of the communication for the Romani residents, and they would be helped in the forming of strategies regarding obtaining employment. Further support

should be provided to those Romani, who possess employment, but training would improve their position on the hierarchy of the job-market during their working years. Not least, additional support should be provided to the employers, who would be willing to employ a predefined number of Romanis. Such type of support may be various subsidies for investments, developments, which would be freely allocated between the adequate limitations. Besides, the employers should be subjected to severe control, who refrain from the employment of Romani residents only on the ground of negative discrimination, and if their intent would be proven, the perpetrator should be punished.

VII. FURTHER POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS OF RESEARCH

It becomes unequivocal already at the title of the thesis, that the examination encompasses the Romani communities in Vojvodina, which is further clarified in the subheading, as the detailed depiction addresses the questions of Romani communities from two Vojvodinian settlements in detail. As for the future possibilities of the research, whether starting from the main title, it would be worthwhile to expand the examination to more Gypsy/Romani communities living in Vojvodina, which's present realization couldn't be completed, one of the reasons being limitations in volume. The two greatest regions of Vojvodina are Bačka and Banat, and, as it may be ascertained from the thesis, the research was completed on settlements in Bačka, but the researcher has always been intrigued, what types of Gypsy groups live in the Banat region of Vojvodina, what languages they use, what folk traditions do they possess, and what living conditions they have in their day-to-day lives. It may easily happen that the same group of Gypsies (be it Lovari, Gurvar, etc.), although speaking the same Gypsy dialect, use different vernacular accents, as it is well known that many Vojvodinian Hungarians, living in Banat, speaks the Hungarian language with a notably different kind of accent, as opposed to those in Bačka, which observation may also apply to the use of language of the Romani residents. Besides the use of language and folk traditions, a separate digression should be allotted to the employment and housing situation of the Romani in Banat, which would presumably yield even worse indexes, than the Romani communities included in the present research, as Banat is Vojvodina's most endangered (disadvantaged) region from the aspect of economy, which fact was confirmed by Miroslav Vasin, provincial secretary for the employment.⁵

⁵ Forrás: 021.rs – rádió

It would be interesting from the aspect of the examination's continuation (as a logical extension) that the Romani pupils included in the present research be contacted after 15 years, as in other stages of life, to gather information about their living conditions if they have completed the elementary education, if they have chosen to continue their education, and finally if they succeeded in obtaining an indefinite, legally clean employment?

Last, but not least, a much promising direction of research may be (besides the tried and tested examples from Hungary) the observation of the other countries' supports for the education of Gypsy/Romani youth, what methods are utilized in teaching, how the Romani pupils are motivated, what kind of support/bursary is given, furthermore, what rate are Gypsy studies and ethnography taught during the teacher trainings' curriculum.

The broader is the examination, the greater amount of conclusions that may be drawn of a wider spectrum, through which a more complex image can be formed of the day-to-day life of the Vojvodinian Romani residents.

VIII. SOURCE LITERATURE, AND OTHER RESOURCES UTILIZED IN THE PRESENT THESIS

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