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Towards a Culture-Identical Sex Education Program
The Study of Female Gender Roles, Sexual Socialization and Early Childbearing in
the Romungro Community of Kettősháza

Theses of Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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Introduction

In the emergence of sociology of education as a science the realization that certain school events and complex pedagogical problems can only be understood through "analyses embedded in a social - economic - cultural context" (Meleg, 2015, p.20) played a major factor. It was a similar realization that led me to embark on the research on which my dissertation is based. Through my previous research experiences and the trends in the selective mechanisms of our domestic school system (see Lannert, Nahalka, Radó, 2013), I have noticed a specific latent selection mechanism in schools, which means the inability of schools as establishments to respond to the specific needs of young parents (in many cases still within the school leaving age). As a consequence, it places the responsibility (through the institution of home schooling) on the young person who has already dropped out of the school system, without providing any specific support. Behind this mechanism is the social perception that "the opportunity of getting an education is open to all ('there is equal opportunity for all') and it is the families [in my case individuals] who are to blame for not taking advantage of it" (Varga, 2015, p.247). And selection, as we know, leads to segregation (Lannert, 2003 cited in Varga, 2015). Early school leaving thus appears as a specific inequality of opportunity in the life of the individual, which is cumulative when it is associated with a "social dimension that is prominent and dominant in the system of social inequality (...)" (Meleg, 2015, p.22). It means that the individual is a member of an ethnic group in a minority situation (in my case the Roma/Gypsy, including the Romungro group), or is disadvantaged or even severely disadvantaged and lives in a segregated area (Ferge, 1972/2003 cited in Meleg, 2015).

As a result of the process outlined above, i.e. the inability of schools as organizations to respond adequately to the phenomenon of early parenthood makes it impossible to provide quality education. The effectiveness of the education system is undermined (as previous investments are no longer valid), just as its efficiency (students leave the school system without having completed their studies or qualifications) and its equity. Inclusive education is not achieved, as the system cannot understand or support these kinds of individual learning pathways. (Arató and Varga, 2012, cited in Varga, 2015).

However, the research of Lawton (1968/1974 cited in Meleg, 2015) and Bernstein (1971/2003 cited in Meleg, 2015) has pointed out that these deficits and their effects on academic achievement can be reduced if the culture of the family or community, which is the primary environment of socialization of the child (see. Rogoff, 2003) is incorporated into the

teacher's knowledge system, i.e. a process of approximation between home and school culture is initiated, therefore culture-identical pedagogy is implemented (Boreczky, 2014). The teacher, who thus acquires extensive knowledge regarding the primary environment of socialization of his/her students, can now act as a mentor in this bicultural socialization process (Varga, 2015).

My research aims to contribute to this process by exploring different segments of the processes associated with early childbearing, patterns of female gender role socialization, the characteristics of motherhood as a specific component of female gender roles, and closely related to these the practices of sexual socialization in the community. Thus, through my research I proceed from the postmodern paradigm, using qualitative techniques to explore family/community socialization as the basis of institutional education (Meleg, 2015, p.38).

I can support the validity and relevance of the research questions if I examine how sex education and the broad knowledge system acquired through it can be interpreted as knowledge capital, and by considering the spillover effects of investing in sex education. The effect of early parenthood is that a person who drops out of the educational system even before reaching the upper limit of compulsory school age clearly spends less on cultural goods such as education or vocational training, but also fails to accumulate cultural capital, thus devaluing human capital in the long run. Consequently, the individual who owns a low level of education initially does not even enter the labour market and can only make use of this low level of education later on. In the long run, especially if combined with the aforementioned segregated life, this retains the individual in a low status in the social hierarchy of his or her community (Pusztai, 2015).

The aim of my research is to find answers through an exploratory, descriptive and cross-sectional research to the question how the socialization of girls in the Roma/Gypsy community I am studying takes place, and also to explore a possible pattern through the example of this community. I would like to emphasize that the results of my research are valid only for that particular study group living in the community, because, as Ágnes Boreczky writes, "even in the circumstances of poverty there are significant differences, the childhood of those who grew up in a settlement, a village or in urban poverty is completely different, as is the childhood of those belonging to different Roma groups or those who grew up in a non-segregated settlement" (Boreczky, 2009, p.114).

The research

Methodological considerations

A lot of works in cultural anthropology have been written which aimed at exploring the socialization patterns of different Gypsy groups, but anthropologists for many years have also played a significant role in broadening our knowledge on Gypsy culture. They have done so through participant observation, while expanding the interpretive framework of the term “culture”, and adopting a comparatist rather than a holistic approach. This way, as Csaba Prónai puts it, "they have created new constructions of Gypsy cultures, they have given the category 'Gypsy' a new meaning, fundamentally changing the perceptions of Gypsies that have been held by most members of mainstream society and are still held today." (Prónai, 1995, p.1) Based on these statements, I have used two methods from the toolset of cultural anthropology in my research. In the initial phase of the study I used some forms of participant observation, and then, as part of the fieldwork, after building a closer relationship with the research subjects, I conducted semi-structured life history interviews. One reason for this was the personal and subjective nature of the chosen topic. In addition, when choosing my method, I had to take into consideration the educational background of my interviewees, their literacy skills and because of those the situations that were natural or alien to them. In addition, I am motivated by the iterative nature of the method, i.e. that "each time we repeat the process of gathering, analyzing and selecting information, we come closer to a clear and convincing model of the phenomenon under study" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995 cited in Babbie, 2001, p.336).

Research sample

"Kettősháza" is a municipality in central Hungary, which, although it is only a few tens of kilometers from several large cities and the capital, is difficult to reach by public transport. Like the surrounding villages, it is a multi-ethnic settlement. Besides the two largest nationalities; Hungarians and Gypsies, there are also Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs and Slovenes. The local Carpathian Gypsy, Romungro population refers to itself by the adjective "Gypsy", that is why I use this adjective. According to the 2011 census data, 465 out of 3153 people living in the municipality considered themselves Gypsies. Although the Carpathian Gypsy language is still spoken in the community, there is language shift.

The municipality is divided in several ways. The beautiful natural surroundings and the proximity to the capital have led to many wealthy families moving here. These families built luxurious homes on the boulevard above the Gypsy-inhabited part of the settlement. With few exceptions, they are not part of the life of the village. Their work, their network of contacts, takes them outside the settlement, and they send their children to schools outside the

settlement. They therefore rarely come into contact with the local 'natives'. The two groups keep their distance from each other. However, the group labelled 'natives' is also divided. The non-Gypsies, or 'Hungarians' as they are referred to by the Gypsy community, although their coexistence is disrupted by few conflicts, clearly distance themselves from the local Gypsy community. And there are the Gypsies, whose identity construction includes being a 'good Gypsy', trying to draw a strong line between themselves and a particular family in the community, which they typically identify as 'dirty' or 'bad'.

The Gypsy community lives in a specific area of the municipality, but within the municipality, which is centered around a distinctive place of community life, a square. This space is surrounded by the two settlements. One settlement is made up of 'Reduced Value' dwellings built as a result of the 'settlement clearance program' and subsequently purchased by the residents, while the other settlement consists of houses purchased from Swabian families. The houses are typically poor on the outside, but all families are making efforts to build and improve their homes. Annexes have been built by the owners to many houses thus expanding the living space. Most of the houses already have running water and many have bathrooms.

The municipality has two educational institutions: a kindergarten and a school, and an NGO is running an after-school program for local disadvantaged children. Unemployment is low, but due to being badly educated locals work mainly in low-skilled, low-prestige jobs (Bakó, 2017).

I carried out my fieldwork in the "Gypsy settlement" of the municipality. The subjects of my life history interviews came from this community, 23 in total. They were chosen using the snowball method. The sample consisted of women aged between 28 and 38. Partly because of the sensitivity of the research topic, I wanted to interview women close to me in age, as I was more comfortable asking them intimate questions. Furthermore, most of them had already been through at least one pregnancy and childbirth experience, which was of utmost importance for my research topic. In addition, most of them had already had at least one young adolescent child, with whom discussing some generally accepted topics of sex education, such as menstruation, first ejaculation, sexuality, contraception, might already be relevant. Finally, they were members of a generation whose parents had been raised or brought up in the classical multigenerational family model, who may have had experience of traditional crafts in the community, e.g.: a nailer, who as children experienced the heyday of traditional Gypsy music and dance, and who at the same time experienced a more defined and more segregated set of community norms, against which they also expressed their disapproval

in the interviews. In short, they are the first generation of women whose emancipatory aspirations are strongly visible.

In addition to the life history interviews, semi structured interviews were also conducted. My thesis includes the experiences of the preliminary research conducted with the head and staff of the aforementioned organization specializing in the out-of-school education of disadvantaged, mainly Roma/Gypsy people in the municipality.

Research questions and answers based on the results

The results of the research are presented in a chronological order of the development of a woman's life in a community, organized around three broad themes: women's gender roles; women's health, pregnancy and childbirth; and sexual socialization. Within women's gender roles, I have focused on gender differentiation among children, parenting principles related to girls, the place of girls in the family roles, the development of romantic relationships, learning, work and parenting. In addition, I have described the role of three important peer support 'systems', the mother, female friendships and the mother-in-law, and the role of heterotopic spaces in the lives of young Gypsy girls in Kettősháza, following the work of Michael Foucault (1999). Within the topic of women's health, pregnancy and childbirth, I analyzed women's behavior towards keeping their health and the knowledge related to it, family planning, pregnancy and childbirth experiences, and social support during the postnatal period. Lastly, within the theme of sexual socialization, I looked at the content and methods of teaching about menstruation, sexuality and, in particular, contraception. I formulated four research questions prior to my research. These and the answers based on the results are presented below.

1. What does the role of woman or mother entail in a given community?

The female gender role, as a social gender role, encompasses a number of other roles that change with age, i.e. what Béla Buda (2002) describes as the pluralism of being female. The first role is that of the 'daughter', who must be guarded and protected from the dangers that threaten her, and whose parents thus impose considerable constraints on her, compared to her male siblings. This double morality is a feature that is experienced through the whole of womanhood. She is also the one who is early drawn into the family system of duties, the household chores, so as to be prepared for her later responsibilities. Then, in adolescence, the preservation of her purity becomes the primary parental motivating factor, but by this time the narrow boundaries imposed on her through heterotopic spaces begin to expand (Popper, 1987).

The role of the daughter is replaced by that of the "wife", who is faithful to her husband and is the fundamental driving force behind her marriage, on whom the success of a marriage stands or falls. In this role, she is in most cases highly dependent on her husband, both financially and in terms of the family power structure. At the same time, there is the role of the 'housewife', whose most important role is to meet the needs of others, even to the detriment of her own. This is complemented and enhanced by the role of the 'mother', without which it is very difficult to imagine the life of a single woman in a household in Kettősháza. A good mother is one who puts her children first and thinks of her own life in terms of ensuring the well-being of her children. A good mother protects her children from everything, does not abandon them, provides them with love and security, and as far as possible gives them everything they need.

This is complemented by the role of the 'working woman', which, as Lux (1985, p.29) argues, is 'composed of a mosaic of individual solutions. No generally acceptable pattern has yet emerged which can be followed without difficulty.' Most women in Kettősháza, wives, housewives and mothers, try to fulfil this role without modifying their roles as wives, housewives and mothers, but there are growing emancipationist movements around this role, calling for a deeper involvement of men in housework and childcare, and for a correction of the power shifts between women and men.

That is to say, although we encounter basically traditional gender roles, in which men are classically represented as the procreators and family breadwinners, and women as providers and caregivers, we also see a dynamic change and continuous expansion of these roles.

2. How are the contents of the female role transmitted during socialization?

Vertical transmission plays a primary role in the process of gender role socialization, since it is primarily the limits imposed by parents, the tasks assigned by parents and the norms represented that serve as a point of reference for girls as to what their tasks as women should be, how they should behave and what values they should represent. In other words, parental ethno theories play a very important role in female gender role socialization. In addition, other forms of transmission are also important, through other adults in the community, as they constantly play a quasi-controlling and supervisory role in the life of the child and then of the woman. Their role is also crucial because we are talking about a community in which children are integral participants in the activities of adults, they are present in the interactions between them, and they are involved in adult work on various levels. In short, both types of

participatory enquiry described by Whiting are present in the community. This "apprenticeship" is typical from a very young age, as girls are involved in housework and caring for younger siblings from an early age, and they have the opportunity to "listen in" by spending a lot of time with their mothers, being with them during conversations with their female companions, and by becoming an ear witness to these conversations, they can learn a lot about women's lives and the social norms that apply to women. Children are therefore very much active participants in this learning process, through the 'social referencing' phenomenon, by which they try to find their role and position in their own community through the interpretation of the sentences and dialogues they have overheard (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981; Rogoff, 2003).

The micro- and meso-system, as defined by Bronfenbrenner (1994), thus plays a primary role in the process of female gender socialization, but as the community becomes more open, macro- and exo-system actors also play an increasingly important role. Through the phenomenon of horizontal transmission, young girls incorporate new elements into their ideas of femininity from their relationships with non-community peers and classmates, and through social media as a heterotopic space, they also learn about a truly colorful range of female roles, some of which are very different from the norms of the community. These phenomena, in addition to the fact that, as Super and Harkness (2003) point out, there are homeostatic processes between the elements of the developmental niche, i.e. the elements of the niche interact with each other and the child herself influences the different elements of the niche, further expand the content of female gender roles and ideas of femininity.

The process of female gender role socialization is also influenced by the fact that the second of the three levels of LeVine's child-rearing goals is predominant, i.e. that parents prepare their children for the ideal adult life, which is essentially shaped by traditional gender roles, and the economic skills needed to achieve it. However, there is an increasing tendency towards the third level, which emphasizes the importance of further education, intellectual work, etc., which also broadens the roles to be transmitted. Among the family models such as Kagitcibasi (2003), currently the interdependence model prevails, which also transmits the characteristics of traditional gender roles to younger members of the community, but the changes mentioned above are leading to a shift towards a psychological/emotional dependence model, which also has an impact on gender role content (Rogoff, 2003).

3. What patterns do women in the community follow when thinking about becoming mothers? What patterns lead to high rates of early motherhood? Is there an expectation of early parenthood in the community?

The majority of interviewees had their first child unplanned, during their high school years, in a long-term relationship, but typically living apart from their partner. In fact, it was through having children that they became adult members of the community, and most of them associate their coming of age with this event. After the arrival of the child, they moved in with their partner, with whom they were then seen as husband and wife by members of the community. In other words, becoming a mother can be understood as a rite of passage, in which the event of childbirth can be seen as the liminal stage, as Arnold van Gennep defines it. The woman who has successfully gone through the pain and miracle of childbirth moves on to the next stage of life, which is validated by the community (Gennep, 2007).

By early motherhood in my thesis I meant pregnancies that ended in childbirth, which disrupted the young parent's school career by not giving her a completed education, which also adversely affected her labor market position. Although many became pregnant during high school, the interviews suggest that early school leaving was not the reason for early childbearing, but rather the reason why the interviewees became mothers at a relatively young age. However, we can only partly assume that this phenomenon is the result of the internal norms of the community. The lower level of education of earlier generations, which meant that parents paid less attention to their children's schooling during high school, is certainly an influencing factor, and the fact that the first children were born at a younger age, typically between 14 and 15, is now being postponed. It is also typical that having children at what is considered to be a late age - in the second half of the thirties or early forties - is now seen as irresponsible. However, all respondents reported that they would consider it important for their daughter to finish high school, get a high school diploma, go to college, start working and then become a mother. What can be identified as the main reason for dropping out of high school is the lack of motivation to learn. That young people did not see a more attractive life path for themselves through the profession they were studying, or that their choice of profession was not motivated by internal reasons but by scarce opportunities or external constraints. Thus, if this trend is to be reversed, particular emphasis must be placed on making more attractive careers for girls more widely available and broadening the range of options. Mentoring programs and scholarships specifically designed to help disadvantaged and/or Gypsy girls progress in school can also provide a good basis. A more detailed discussion of these, however, is a new line of research and could be the subject of another paper.

4. In this context, what patterns of sex education are implemented in the community? Are there taboos and, if so, what are they in terms of sexuality?

The process of sex education is very similar to that of female gender role socialization. The primary carer, the mother, plays an important part in it. There is relatively little direct transmission of information in the form of age-appropriate sex education. Typically, at the time of the first menstrual period, she is involved in explaining to her daughter what is happening to her and showing her the utensils to use, and indirectly providing contraception, usually by taking her daughter to her first gynecological check-up, and is a key actor in the termination of an unwanted pregnancy, taking decisions for her daughter if necessary.

In addition, the effect of the peer group, i.e. horizontal transmission, is important. The girls gather a lot of information from their more experienced girl friends, who have already been through certain events, and ask them for advice in certain situations when a relationship is still in the hiding stage, and they are there for them and with them in certain situations in the clubs, which are considered to be heterotopic spaces. The listening-in phenomenon also plays an important role in this. From conversations between older, more experienced women, from communication between parents, from being an integral part of adult life, young girls indirectly gain a wide range of knowledge (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981; Rogoff, 2003).

However, they only receive adequate information in a structured, direct and detailed way through institutional education, which is also part of the micro-system, but which is significantly influenced by elements of the exo- and macro-system, i.e. the social context and the prevailing principles and views on sexuality and sex education, including legal regulation. However, for this reason, I also consider it very important to use the results of cultural research to create a culture-appropriate sex education program, so that young people are provided with more or less personalized knowledge that they can actually use in their adult lives, and that will enable them to make responsible choices and ultimately to become mature, adult, valued members of society (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

I also find the latter important because in the community, female sexuality and sexuality are almost entirely taboo. During interactions between women, practical information is shared, for example, about contraception, but this is not discussed in any greater depth. It is regarded as a private matter for the women and the couple, so that, for example, any degree of physical display of relational intimacy is not accepted in public spaces. Furthermore, the female body itself remains hidden by restrained dressing. This taboo is also reinforced by certain community norms, such as the key role of external and internal cleanliness.

Blueprint for a culture-identical sex education program

The concept of culture-identical pedagogy

"The notion of culture-identical pedagogy implies a kind of reconciliation process, a harmonization. It is not a complete correspondence between school and family cultures, but rather an adaptation in which the culture of the kindergarten and the school culture is adjusted to the basic features or logic of the background culture of the children and students" (Boreczky, 2014, p.31). Why do we need this adjustment process? Because without it, the gaps between students' performance and, above all, their opportunities, will continue to widen. As stated in the definition above, there is no need for a complete cultural match between the home environment and the school world, but it is important to create a medium of communication, a learning environment, and to strive to use a learning style, teaching examples and topics that are relevant, familiar and comfortable for the students. In fact, as with many other pedagogical approaches, it is a matter of designing or adapting the whole school life to the needs of the child, i.e. a child-centered approach should characterize the whole school life. The teacher is the central figure in a system of pedagogical principles, who, in fortunate cases, comes from the same cultural background as the children and thus serves as a role model for the learners. To this end, however, it is essential that he or she is able to come to terms with the traumas of being a minority, that he or she does not have any resentment towards his or her group of origin, and that his or her minority identity is not an externally imposed stigma, but rather a role that is taken on with love. In addition, it is important to transform the traditionally hierarchical relationship between the teacher and the family, the school and the family, into a partnership, since the family must be present in the life of the school as an important source of information and as an important supportive medium. Furthermore, the school must adapt to the role of the child at home, so that if the student is already considered an adult in the home environment, the school cannot force him or her into the role of a child (Boreczky, 2000).

In order to do this, we need to know the cultural milieu, customs and norms from which the children come. Many authors agree that there is one method that is truly and profoundly suited for this, and that is a cultural anthropological fieldwork. Ideally, "teachers will interview family members, observe family interactions, communication, adult-child relationships, expectations and parenting habits, children's activities, etc. The interviews and observations will be analyzed with anthropologists to arrive at insights that will help them to create a learning environment that is adjusted to the learners' experiences and language use"

(Boreczky, 2014, p.32). Within this, the narrative strategy I also use is of particular importance, it allows intergenerational changes and individual life histories to be explored.

Criteria for setting up the program based on cultural research

Based on cultural research, the following factors should play a significant role in the construction of a sex education program.

First of all, it is very important to consider the role of heterotopic spaces in the community. This knowledge can provide a basis for the framework within which we implement our educational program. We must create an environment and conditions that allow us to establish such heterotopic spaces. In my opinion, this is not currently possible in the local public school. The reason for this is that research shows that in terms of parents' expectations of it and of the teachers who work there, it is defined as a very formal space. Their main expectation is that it should be strict, and this cannot help to ensure that sex education sessions can take place in a relaxed atmosphere, where the taboo of communicating about sexuality in the community is lifted. The key to these sessions is the ability of children to be uninhibited. At the beginning of the sessions, if necessary, their confusion is resolved by disruption, laughter and talking among themselves, so that we can build on their constant opening up to form and develop new attitudes. Thus, the ideal location for the educational program would be the previously mentioned education-focused organization in the municipality, where the above conditions can be met, because in many cases the organization has already been working with local disadvantaged and/or Roma children from birth, involving families in their programs in a complex way, thus maintaining a close relationship with all members of the family.

It is also important for children to have a less formal relationship with the educators involved in the sessions. Instead of a teacher-student relationship, I would like to think of a mentor-mentee relationship, which would allow them to ask questions about the issues in question not only in the context of the sessions, but also over a wider time span, while respecting the boundaries of the relationship, in accordance with the rules of cooperation between mentor and mentored. In this way, they may even receive adequate answers to questions that they would otherwise not dare to ask in front of their peers, or that they would only formulate later after reflecting on the issues in question.

Also, we cannot ignore the need, voiced in many of the interviews, for mothers to be actively involved in the sexual education of their children, but they cannot provide adequate and comprehensive information due to their limited knowledge and lack of personal

experience from their childhood, as their parents did not have such conversations with them and therefore no examples were given. For this reason, I also consider it important that the program should have a parent education aspect, which covers the topics that the children should learn about, and expands them to include important content that arises later in life, such as pregnancy, childbirth and the postnatal period, which came up as a critical point, full of negative experiences, in the interviews and during the fieldwork. The mother's circle in the association mentioned above, which currently also has a parenting education focus, but presents different content, could be a suitable tool.

Furthermore, it is very important for the program to reflect upon the phenomena that form the basis of the norm system of the community, not trying to change them, but to be able to follow their development and changes, which result from the inner needs of the members of the community. This is particularly true when gender roles are concerned, which at present are essentially traditional gender roles, but which are constantly expanding as adult women in the community seek emancipation. I believe that we also have the opportunity to present more colorful alternatives for the children involved, because although they may not meet a Gypsy woman with a degree in their community, for example, the interviews reveal the desires of the children to go to university, to obtain a driving license, to work as an intellectual rather than a physical worker, to have children later, and for men to be involved in housework.

We also cannot neglect the key concepts of 'fear' and 'purity', which play a central role in the interviews, and for which I consider the parent education branch to be indispensable. In several of my conversations with members of the local community, the real purpose of my research, namely the desire to develop this sex education program, emerged. When I explained the enormous importance that I believe this has in education and the topics that I consider to be of the utmost importance, fear was also the primary emotion that was expressed. Parents are afraid that if their children encounter these phenomena in this way they will become interested in them and become 'dirty' at an early age. When I had the opportunity to explain how I imagined such sessions, in most cases they calmed down and we found common ground. For this reason, I believe that if parents themselves take part in the program, if they get to know its components, if they become active participants in its design through their feedback, if they can vocalize their fears in the sessions and receive appropriate responses to them, we can create the basis for the success of the program and avoid the collective parental resistance that could easily arise from the taboo of sexuality.

In addition to these, the cultural factors identified by the research as being important are of course indicated in the topics of interest. First, there is the issue of gender roles in

transition, as mentioned earlier, which includes gender hierarchy and gender role positioning, as well as the discussion of adult gender roles and the life choices that they entail. It is also necessary to discuss the issue of relationships, given that, on the one hand, cultural norms mean that parents do not express their feelings to their children and, on the other, most relationships start in secret and often last a lifetime. For this reason, it might be important to talk about the framework, boundaries and self-limitation of relationships, so that relationships can be built on a solid foundation that is secure and satisfying for both partners. It is also extremely important to address the issue of intimate partner violence, as abusive relationships are a recurring element in both everyday conversations and life course interviews, where the people involved are left powerless, experience a high degree of vulnerability and are left without peer, family, community and official support. Furthermore, a relatively new phenomenon is the emergence of social media as a heterotopic space in young people's lives, which is completely uncontrolled. As there have been several examples of this in the community, we need to discuss the dangers of this, what should and should not be posted and, as it has become a very important space for young people to meet the opposite sex, the pitfalls of it, and the sharing of private, intimate content while chatting.

We have to discuss the changes in the female body, the menstrual cycle, relatively early on, as almost all the interviewees have lived through the first menstruation and other physical changes associated with adolescence as traumatic experiences, and have a mixed knowledge of the cycle itself. It is useful to note that all the mothers interviewed felt it was especially important to inform their daughters about this as soon as possible, because of their own negative experiences. As some have experienced frustration at experiencing changes to their bodies, especially because they have been made fun of, we need to address the issue of normality and abnormality in this context, and I believe it is essential that not only girls but also boys should be aware of the changes that are taking place in the opposite sex. The issue of sexual health should also be touched on, specifically the importance of gynecological examinations in the case of girls, as there was also a recurring mention in the interviews of how neglected conditions caused severe symptoms in some cases.

Last but not least, sexuality must of course also be an important topic, as the people in the research sample had a very limited knowledge of it, mainly through their peer relationships, before they had their first intercourse in adolescence. In addition to general topics such as genitalia, the sexual act and conception, particular emphasis should be placed on avoiding unwanted pregnancies, as several of my interviewees had to face the psychological stress of abortion, due to their lack of knowledge and access to contraceptives

and their lack of knowledge about sexuality. As far as contraceptive methods are concerned, it is necessary to present alternatives that are easy and cheap to access and have a relatively high safety rate, as the methods that were mentioned by the interviewees as having these characteristics, such as hormonal injections available from a nurse, were positively described by them. In this way, we can provide participants with a very good tool by introducing them to the Fertility Awareness Method, which can be used almost entirely without the financial cost, without the need for equipment and without the involvement of an external specialist, such as a gynecologist or a nurse, and which, in addition to providing contraception with a similar level of effectiveness as condoms, also offers the opportunity for conscious family planning through a high level of understanding of the functions of the body. In addition to this, we must also talk about sexual abuse, which was an important theme in two of the interviews and was understandably recalled as a crucial memory.

Since it was a negative experience for almost all the interviewees, and has become relevant relatively soon due to early childbearing, we need to include the topic of childbirth in some ways, especially in the context of maternity rights, obstetric violence, interventions during childbirth, and the high caesarean section rate, compared to vaginal births. I believe that, just as it is true in the case of sex education in general that information is a tool in our hands which we can use in decision-making situations, it is also true in this case, and can greatly reduce the feeling of total helplessness, as reported by several of the people interviewed.

Topics to be covered

Based on the above, I have outlined ten topics in my thesis, which cover a range of sub-topics and I believe cover most of the important areas of sex education. In detailing the topics, I have kept in mind both the cultural aspects discussed and the age specificities of the target group, and I have also considered it necessary to include a parenting education component. The specific topics are the following:

1. My body
2. Me online
3. Our relationships
4. Love, affection
5. Cycles in our lives
6. Sexuality
7. Sexual health

8. What to do if the baby comes?
9. Everyday sexism – men and women in our society
10. Everyone is different – sexual orientation

Methodological considerations

As we usually deal with very sensitive and intimate topics, we need to start our program with a clear framework. These can be set out in writing or in words. If your students are not yet experienced in working with a similar approach, it is a good idea to use the written form. It is useful for us to lay down the ground rules, but we should also make sure that we include any additional suggestions from the young people on our list. If the framework for cooperation can be agreed on by all participants, they can sign it and the paper can be posted in a clearly visible place in our venue. What could be part of such a common set of rules? The basic rule is that all participants should speak respectfully about others, to others. We should avoid judging the other person. Of course, there may be opposing opinions, but they must not be expressed in an offensive or insulting way. It is also a basic principle not to cut each other off, but to wait until the other person has finished. It is important that what happens in the room stays in the room. This is particularly important for us teachers to bear in mind, because we often find that it is the person leading the session who breaks this rule. In addition to expecting honesty from the participants, it is also worth giving them a chance to pass, so that they can withdraw from those parts of the session that are really unpleasant for them and within their danger zone.

It is a good idea to start the sessions with introductory games or questions and discussions. Of course, for sensitive topics, it is essential to create an atmosphere of trust, which can be based on long periods of collaboration and a deep mentor-mentee, educator-child relationship built up over the years. If the students are feeling tense, we can open with an ice-breaker game not or only remotely related to the topic, of which there are many examples in various books collections, but also on numerous internet portals. If the atmosphere is relaxed enough to explore preliminary knowledge, it is worth asking some thought-provoking questions to get as many members of the group as possible thinking, and then asking for answers in the form of brainstorming sessions or small group activities. We can also use pro-con lists to explore attitudes to the topic, or pair discussions around thought-provoking statements, after which their conclusions can be shared with the large group, or we can generate discussions within a strictly pre-defined framework, etc. It is essential to get to know the concepts and the set of vocabulary that children use in relation to

a given topic. This can be done through an activity game where they write down related terms, but there are also a number of online platforms for generating word clouds. A very important point here can be to ask participants to explain certain terms if we are unfamiliar with them and to try to incorporate these terms into our own speech. We should be prepared for the possibility of being confronted with vulgar expressions. It is important to be aware that these are often also used by students because of a lack of knowledge, as they do not have the appropriate vocabulary for many sexuality-related phenomena. In this case, we should try to offer acceptable alternatives, thus broadening the participants' knowledge.

There are a number of tools available to help us work through the core component of the session. However, I think it is crucial that whatever method we choose, we do so in a way that is consistent with the goals of constructivist pedagogy. In other words, we should always try to build on children's existing knowledge and, instead of 'passing on' knowledge, give them the opportunity to acquire parts of it themselves and to build up their own knowledge, attitudes, values and norms in relation to the subject matter. I feel it is essential to emphasize that, although we have a wealth of pedagogical tools at our disposal, in this field of education it is of the utmost importance that we always choose them in line with our pedagogical objectives, not for their own sake or to add color to the activity. As Nahalka (2013, p.24.) puts it: "If we accept constructivist interpretations of the formation of values, then our practical assumptions about the purpose of education change. When we draw up curricula, when we clarify the basic aims of an educational community, our task is not to formulate the values that the teaching staff will be responsible for 'representing' in the pupils. The primary task is to plan how alternative values will be presented to pupils and how they will have the opportunity to construct their knowledge of them. What will we do to ensure that pupils also come to see the basic process of constructing values, to see that they are faced with choices, to feel the significance of this? And what are we doing to help them learn to make choices?" Although for some content it is essential to use a frontal teaching method, I think that in most cases it is best to use cooperative techniques, as these create opportunities for children to engage in depth with a topic, discuss their thoughts, feelings and opinions about a phenomenon with each other, and they provide an opportunity to include more aspects, in addition to generally sustaining the interest of the students. Apart from these, it is also worth using extracts from films, series, some images or videos on social media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and even extracts from online or offline newspapers, blogs and books popular in their age group, as this can bring the topics closer to the children and help them to make a conscious consumption and critical interpretation of them.

In all similar sex education sessions, appropriate teacher behavior is crucial. It is very important to declare that there are never right or wrong answers. Nor should we force a particular idea, which is most likely based on our own values. Let us make it clear that the goal is for the student to make the choices that are best for him/herself and his/her environment. We should also be open to opinions that may be in complete contradiction to our own, and try to understand what might be behind the belief system.

It is important not to force students to participate in a particular task. We should try to distinguish whether they do not want to be active participants because they are not motivated or whether there are other factors at play. It is also important to be aware that students have already undergone a long process of sexual socialization, which has involved family members, previous educational institutions, peers and the social and cultural context in which they live. These actors may have shaped different sexual attitudes in the students. It is possible that there will be participants for whom it is perfectly natural to talk about these topics, but there are also likely to be some for whom these topics are taboo. It will be much more difficult for them to open up, so we should be patient with them.

I also believe it is essential to point out, in connection with the above line of thought, that we must pay attention in such sessions to what patterns of behavior we consider "unacceptable". Of course, we must take great care to ensure that students do not judge each other or each other's opinions. The key word here is also diversity. At the same time, due to the different socialization and taboos mentioned earlier, some may become frustrated by the subject of sexuality. This frustration can manifest itself in a number of forms of behavior that may seem dysfunctional and disturbing in the situation, e.g. laughing, joking around with questions. If we experience this, we should try to be patient and discuss the situation with those involved in person as soon as possible.

Summary

In my thesis, I investigated the characteristics of female gender role socialization, sexual socialization and early childbearing and their correlations in the Romungro community of Kettősháza, in order to create a framework for a culture-identical sex education program based on my findings.

I structured the thesis in the following way. After explaining the reasons for my choice of topic, I built a web of key concepts around the main ideas of the interdisciplinary literature I considered important, the results of related research, and then selected or created the definitions of the key concepts I wanted to use. In the third part of my thesis, I focused on the

anthropological approach to cultural research that I have taken. After formulating the research questions, I explained why I consider the chosen methodological framework, participant observation and the interview technique, including the life history interview, to be appropriate for the research topic. I presented the municipality in central Hungary, where the research was conducted, as well as the research sample, and finally I presented my research findings along the lines of the typical development of a woman's life history in a community. I outlined the process and characteristics of the changing gender roles of women, the findings related to women's health, pregnancy and childbirth, and the patterns of sexual socialization in the community I studied, and based on these, I answered my research questions. This was followed by a presentation of the culture-identical sexual education program that I had designed. To put the program in context, I briefly introduced the concept of culture-identical pedagogy, international guidelines for institutional sex education, and content analysis of relevant national regulatory documents. In the last part of my thesis, I have presented the information I have taken from cultural research as a basis for the design of the program, the heterotopic spaces in which I consider it feasible, and the topics and methodological considerations I regard as appropriate.

As can be seen from the description above, my thesis has elaborated on a number of content units, sometimes superficially, sometimes by going into more depth on the subject. Although I have spent more than five years in the community in question, I believe that the research can be expanded with many new directions and aspects in the future. First of all, it would be essential to get the full picture from the male perspective, which I believe is not possible for myself due to my own gender. In addition, the inclusion of a broader age sample could add many new aspects to the results, in the context of comparative research on the experiences of generations, exploring changes in culture and within this the normative system of female gender roles. Many new research themes could also emerge from the results of this study. It would be very important to understand the reasons for the traumatic birth experiences that recur in the interviews, focusing on whether the often experienced inappropriate treatment, obstetric violence is an area-specific feature, whether it is a result of the functioning of the designated hospital, a typical experience in today's Hungarian obstetric care, or perhaps a typical experience among disadvantaged and/or Roma/Gypsy women. Further research would also be needed to explore in more depth the correlation between early childbearing and early school drop-out and early school leaving, which would enable the implementation of targeted measures to improve the labor market situation and, over time, the quality of life of those concerned.

In order to formulate the final version of the presented sex education program and to eliminate its potential errors, it is necessary to test it on the target group, to monitor it on the basis of the feedback and to modify it. I believe that if we develop a well-functioning pedagogical program and train educators to implement it - the process of which is also a future task - it will be able to adapt organically to the dynamic changes in the cultural environment and will also offer the opportunity for professionals who are open to this methodology to create community-tailored educational programs for the children they educate.

As is clear from the description above, there is still a lot of work to be done, but also a lot of opportunities. I believe that my thesis has set us on a path that ultimately will lead to a sex education for every child that is appropriate to his or her cultural context and at the same time is necessary for responsible adulthood.

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