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## RELATION OF ROMA TO EDUCATION

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This study presents selected results of a qualitative research project focused on the lifelong process of developing Roma relations to education and learning. The project was implemented as part of the doctoral dissertation entitled *Socio-Andragogic Contexts of Roma Education*, whose aim was to systematize existing knowledge about the nature and impact of external factors on Roma education and to draw attention to these factors as they seem to have a dominant influence on the development of Roma relationships to education and learning.

**Key words:** Roma, education, social andragogy, socialization, upbringing, relation to education

### Introduction

The present paper examines the education of the Roma ethnic, focusing on a complex of factors determining their education and their results. We consider factors that make education of Roma more difficult or complicated. In addition, we focused on possible incentives to improve the quality of education and its results at different levels (educational system, socio-cultural environment, individual level). Due to the complexity of the interaction between the individual and society we have been forced to look at the defined problems from the perspective of various disciplines, especially educational sciences (andragogy, pedagogy), sociology (especially the sociology of education), as well as from the viewpoints of psychology or culturology<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> We draw our current knowledge also from the practical application of a number of actions in the field of education and social policies.

The low educational level of Roma is generally considered to be the main source of social problems, which have been typically associated with the Roma ethnic group throughout their history. They are reflected in a low quality of life in general and become part of the professional and lay perception of Roma people as a problematic social group.

Education is considered to be crucial from the perspective of integration of Roma people into society. For several decades, we have seen an increase in intensity in the field of scientific exploration related to the education of the Roma minority, the development and application of various actions at different levels (creation of strategies, policies, specific teaching procedures, etc.); new monographs, textbooks and teaching materials are published; more and more funding is provided for education from EU funds; the professional potential in the form of specialized departments and teaching staff is extending, etc. Despite these efforts, however, no significant increase in the educational level of the Roma ethnic has been observed. Problems with low school attendance, school achievement, segregation in education persist. The general attitude to education is still the most significant issue in the Roma community. D. Šlosár<sup>2</sup> argues that it comes from the meaning that education has in their everyday life, the *circulus vitiosus* (low educational level) being the cause of Roma people's low social status. Their low social status strengthens inadequate processes of forming relations to education, as a result of which the *vicious circle* is closed.

### Theoretical background and the current state of knowledge

The formation of relation to education is a multidimensional process, which is why it is not possible to explore it on the basis of the single-sided prevalence of a particular theoretical and methodological approach. The basic theories used herein are theories of education reproduction socialization.

In the process of forming relation to education, the *intergenerational transmission of the value of education* plays the key role in the family environment. It is determined by the level of the social, cultural, and economic capital in Roma families. According to our research objectives, we consider P. Bourdieu's<sup>3</sup> theory as the most suitable. The author defines the notion of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital, which

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<sup>2</sup> D. Šlosár, *Edukácia Rómov*, Košický samosprávny kraj, Košice 2010, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Forms of capital*, [in:] *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J.C. Richards, New York 1985, p. 241-258.

he uses to explain the social and cultural reproduction of society. The cultural capital is formed in the process of socialization, the school and the family having the greatest impact on its acquisition. It presents a disposition that comes from the quality of the cultural environment that a person grows up in. The cultural capital of the family is reflected in the child's capacity at school and strengthened by the selective mechanism of school.

Therefore, we focused on the school and family environments as fundamental factors determining an individual's relation to education. The cultural capital is the central category of our research, our perception of cultural capital being closest to P. Ondrejko's (2011)<sup>4</sup> interpretation. The author claims that a successful education, in addition to material security and education of parents, is determined by the amount of time and the way of parents' engagement in children's upbringing.

Other important theoretical concepts from the perspective of education as a lifelong process were theories of socialization, particularly their elaboration theories of adult person formation. In Slovakia, the theory of education of adults has been developed by J. Perhác's<sup>5</sup>, who focuses on the personalization and socialization aspects of adults' development. Personalization is a phase of socialization especially typical for adulthood. An adult person is able to create their own personality based on self-regulation, which gives an opportunity to overrule possible deficiencies springing from the period of childhood and youth. Adult personalities are formed from their own internal sources as independent subjective beings – a structure integrating crossing internal and external influences, material and ideal incentives as the constitutive factors of psychosomatic and ontogenetic development (Macháček)<sup>6</sup>. An important resource for our work was the assumption that the potentiality of man to actively form themselves and their living conditions should increase as they get older and their personality matures. Ján Perhác (1992)<sup>7</sup> notes that individuals can manage themselves according to their own individual goals and plans of personal development. Personalities are moulded in the dynamic interaction of external (socialization) and internal (auto-

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<sup>4</sup> P. Ondrejko, *Sociálny a kultúrny kapitál ako sociálne hodnoty, normy a ciele vo výchove a vzdelávaní*, Pedagogika.sk, 2011, nr 4, p. 228-246.

<sup>5</sup> J. Perhác, *Utváranie osobnosti dospelého človeka v procese vzdelávania*, Národné osvetové centrum, Bratislava 1995, p. 93.

J. Perhác, *Personalizačné a socializačné aspekty rozvoja osobnosti*, Česká a slovenská andragogika, Praha 2011, p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> L. Macháček, *Generačný problém ako spoločný problém generácií*, <http://www.sociologia.sav.sk/old/dokument/suchy.pdf>, [accessed on: 20.3.2013].

<sup>7</sup> J. Perhác, *Teória školskej výchovy a vzdelávania dospelých*, Univerzita Komenského, Bratislava 1992, p. 137.

regulation) mechanisms<sup>8</sup>. The socialization of a Roma family individual needs to be perceived against the background of the cultural specifications of the Roma environment.

As for socially disadvantaged target groups, methodological inspiration was found in the theoretical concepts developed by P. Freire (1972, in: Fay, 2002)<sup>9</sup>. The author appeals to educational sciences to form educational activities that could help socially disadvantaged individuals realize their active behaviour skills. We perceive *an individual's relation to education as a result of a mutual and dynamic interaction between social conditions (especially cultural and familial factors) and intrapersonal conditions*. It involves the objective determination of the environment and its subjective meaning (based on self-reflection) for a particular individual. We relate the results of these processes to the *individual potential of our participants and their motivation to further education*<sup>10</sup>.

The issue of Roma education has been extensively elaborated on in recent literature. Only selected publications are mentioned here, namely those published after the social changes in 1989. At that time, or shortly after, a rich system of theoretical knowledge related to Romology began to form. From the viewpoint of our research interests, publications analyzing education in a wider social context played a crucial role (Kušnieriková, 2001<sup>11</sup>; Valachová et al., 2002<sup>12</sup>; Daňo – Ďuričeková, 2004<sup>13</sup>; Kosová, 2004, 2006<sup>14</sup>; Rosinský, 2006<sup>15</sup> etc.). These authors deal with the issue of Roma education from various points of view – related to various areas of social life or in the process of education to its particular components. Research devoted to adult Roma education has been implemented by

<sup>8</sup> S. Holubková, *Špecifiká rómskeho rodinného prostredia ako faktora socializácie a personalizácie osobnosti dieťaťa*, [in:] *Rodinné prostredie ako faktor socializácie a personalizácie osobnosti dieťaťa*, ed. J. Šatánek, UMB FHV, Banská Bystrica 2004, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York and Herder 1972, [in:] B. Fay, *Současná filosofie sociálných vied*, Slon, Praha 2002, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> We consider further education as an assumption to personal development and active life changes.

<sup>11</sup> N. Kušnieriková, *Prístupy k vzdelávaniu Rómov v minulosti*, [in:] *Čačipen pal o Roma. Súhrnná správa o Rómoch na Slovensku*, ed. M. Vašečka, IVO, Bratislava 2002, p. 679-694.

<sup>12</sup> D. Valachová et al., *Vzdelávanie Rómov a multikultúrna koexistencia*, SPN, Bratislava 2002, p. 205.

<sup>13</sup> J. Daňo, M. Ďuričeková, *Cesty vzdelanosti Rómov*, Metodické centrum Prešov, Prešov 2004, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> B. Kosová (ed.), *Rómske etnikum – jeho špecifiká a vzdelávanie. Zborník príspevkov z pracovného seminára*, ed. B. Kosová, UMB, Banská Bystrica 2004, p. 211.

B. Kosová (ed.), *Edukácia rómskych žiakov. Zborník vedecko-výskumných prác z riešenia úloh štátnej objednávky*, ed. B. Kosová, UMB, Banská Bystrica 2006, p. 174.

<sup>15</sup> R. Rosinský, *Čhavale Romale alebo motivácia rómskych žiakov k učniu*. UKF, Nitra 2006, p. 263.

D. Šlosár (2010)<sup>16</sup>, T. Loran (2007, 2008)<sup>17</sup>, M. Lukáč (2006, 2010)<sup>18</sup> and J. Balvín (2012)<sup>19</sup>. Another inspiring publication was recently written by T. Katrňák – *Destined for Manual Job: Educational Reproduction in Working Class Family* (2004)<sup>20</sup>, where the author presents the results of a research project focus on the intergeneration transmission of educational status in the Czech Republic. The impact of the environment on education and the issue of socialization of Roma children has been dealt with by J. Šatánek (ed., 2004)<sup>21</sup>, L. Hornák and I. Scholtzová (2005)<sup>22</sup>, and R. Rosinský (2006)<sup>23</sup>.

### Research objectives and methods

The aim of this paper is to systematize the existing knowledge related to the nature and impact of external factors on the education of Roma. We focus on factors that have a dominant influence on the formation of relations between Roma people and education. Our paper is based on research in an urban environment (a separated community) using qualitative methods and a case study procedure.

In general, our research issue is the *complex of conditions* that the education of Roma is realized in. We focused on context of education, its process, as well as the intensity of external factor influencing education and its results. The synthesizing category – the relation of Roma to education - is the *main object* of our research. The *main goal* of our research is to *identify and analyze the process of forming the relation of Roma people to education*; to analyze the influence of the major factors of so-

<sup>16</sup> D. Šlosár, *Edukácia Rómov*, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> T. Loran, *Potreby vedomostnej ekonomiky – verzus edukačná paradigma exkludovaných Rómov*, [in:] *Národnostné a etnické menšiny na Slovensku 2006*. Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, Šamorín 2007, p. 16; T. Loran, *Ludský kapitál u marginalizovaných Rómov z aspektu edukácie a potrieb znalostného trhu práce*. [in:] *Národnostné a etnické menšiny na Slovensku 2007*, Fórum inštitút pre výskum menšín, Šamorín 2008, p. 7-95.

<sup>18</sup> M. Lukáč, S. Lukáčová, *Rómovia a učiaca sa spoločnosť*, *Vzdelávanie dospelých*, 2006, 3, p. 12-18; M. Lukáč, *Rómovia – špecifická cieľová skupina vzdelávania dospelých*, [w:] *Vzdelávanie dospelých v poznatkovo orientovanej spoločnosti. Zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie s medzinárodnou účasťou*, red. I. Pirohová, E. Lukáč, FF PU, Prešov 2010, p. 269-276.

<sup>19</sup> J. Balvín, *Pedagogika, andragogika a multikulturalita*, Hnutí R, Praha 2012, p. 232.

<sup>20</sup> T. Katrňák, *Odsouzení k manuální práci*, Slon, Praha 2004, p. 190.

<sup>21</sup> *Rodinné prostredie ako faktor socializácie a personalizácie dieťaťa*, ed. J. Šatánek, UMB, B. Bystrica 2004.

<sup>22</sup> L. Hornák, I. Scholtzová, *Cesty k zvyšovaniu socializácie rómskeho etnika. Zborník príspevkov z pracovného seminára*, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov 2005, p. 247.

<sup>23</sup> R. Rosinský, *Čhavale Romale*, p. 263.

cialization on said process; and to reveal the subjective meaning of education.

The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. What factors are dominant in the process of forming the relation of Roma to education?
2. What is the personal experience with education and how is it assessed?
3. What role does gender play in the relation to education?
4. What is the meaning of ethnicity in forming a relation to education?
5. What is the relationship between relation to education and current potential?
6. What is the current potential in the relation to further education?

We decided to answer the questions given above in the process of qualitative research using the case study strategy. The process of forming the relation of an individual to education is too complex to be sufficiently understood by the quantitative method of research. An important role is played by adults' personal experience and learning experiences in looking back to their past life.

Our data was collected in Stará Tehelňa in Prešov, which is known as a Roma housing estate. Several *in-depth interviews* were made with a man and a woman (both of Roma nationality) in order to answer the questions related to gender-specific relations to education. To determine the economic factors influencing education, participants with various economic statuses were chosen. Nonetheless, the common characteristic of both participants was a low level of education (non-completed elementary education).

In the case study we used the methods of a *narrative interview* and its component – *participatory observation*. The phases of data processing and analysis appeared to be the most time-consuming (literal transcription of interviews, creating indicators and main research categories). In the phase of data interpretation, we used element analysis and case oriented analysis<sup>24</sup>. This approach is necessary for understanding the dynamics and impacts of various elements. It enables to determine the relations between variables and local causalities typical and unique for particular cases in particular environments and time. We identified the basic causes and consequences of selected phenomena in the individual cases, which were subsequently turned into graphic representations (causal models).

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<sup>24</sup> J. Hendl, *Kvalitativní výzkum. Základní metody a aplikace*, Portál, Praha 2005, p. 407.

In the process of selective coding<sup>25</sup> we created integrative diagrams that display the relation between the central category (relation to education) and other categories (e.g. educational stimulation of the family of orientation, present social status). The results of our qualitative research have been turned into hypotheses that are suitable for further research into selected issues (quantitative research).

## Discussion

In the process of data analysis we created thematic blocks that were continuously fed with more categories:

a) block – *situation in childhood and in the family of orientation* (main categories: socio-economic situation of the family, division of roles in the family, partnership of parents, relationship between parents and children, relationships between siblings, relationships with peers, parents' interest in the schooling of children, cultural activities in the family, language environment).

b) block – *formal education* (school results, relationships with teachers, relationships with peers, interest in school),

c) block – *situation in their own family* (socio-economic situation of the family, division of roles within the family, relationships between partners, relationships between parents and children, intergenerational relationships, relationships between siblings, parents' interest in the schooling of children, cultural activities in the family, language environment),

d) block – *potential to change* (interests and leisure activities, level of introspection, future expectations),

e) block – *ethnicity* (reflection on one's own ethnicity, relationships to the Roma ethnic, relation to the majority).

### 1. Family environment and childrens' development of relations to education

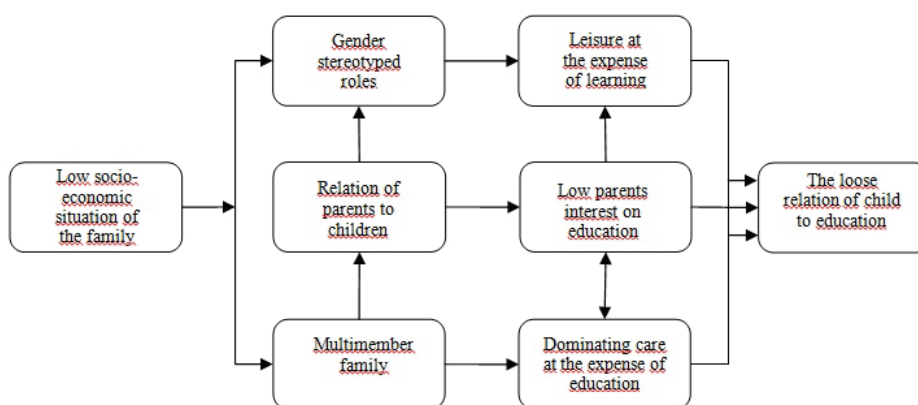
*Children's loose relations to education* correlate with a low emphasis on education by parents' priority put on education in both cases. In Case no. 1 (male – Július), the *low economic and cultural capital* of the multimember family was dominant. An orientation on the saturation of ba-

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<sup>25</sup> In the course of our analysis and interpretation, we used elements of the grounded theory.

sis needs prevails, as opposed to an orientation on systematic educational activities in such conditions. The parents generally do not pay enough attention and time to children's schooling.

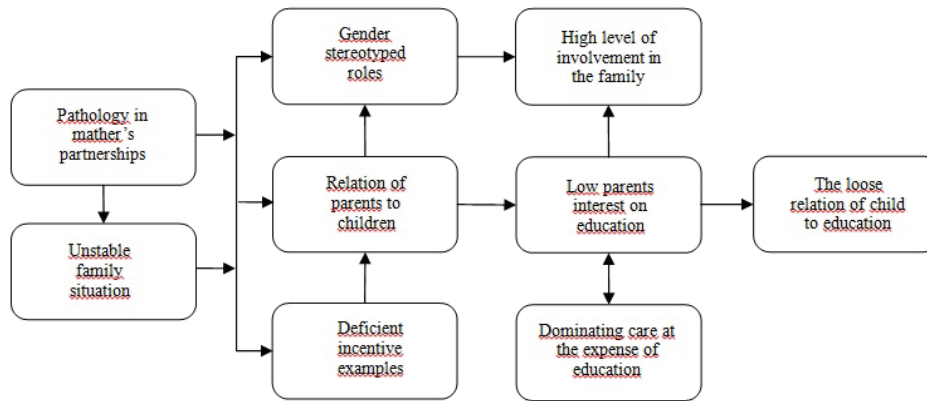
In Case no. 2 (female – Martina) the *unstable family situation* had a major impact on deficient educational stimulation. In both cases, the *gender stereotyped roles*<sup>26</sup> of family members were identified as crucial factors determining the relation to education. A high level of involvement in housework and taking care of younger siblings significantly contributed to forming a loose relation to education in Case No. 2 (female). In Case No. 1 (male) the participant has organized his leisure time and school preparation on his own, which resulted in a preference for leisure at the expense of learning. As it is known<sup>27</sup>, Roma boys have a larger volume of freedom as they have fewer obligations within the family. Girls are involved in housework from a very young age and their education is considered unnecessary, although they achieve better results at school.



Scheme 1 Case 1

<sup>26</sup> M. Bosá, L. Krištofová, J. Filadelfiová, *Učiteľky a riaditelia. Rodová nerovnosť a rodová segregácia na stredných odborných školách*, EsFem, Prešov 2009, p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> D. Selická, K. Vanková, *Metódy výchovy v rómskej rodine*, Rodina a škola, 2005, 1, p. 13.



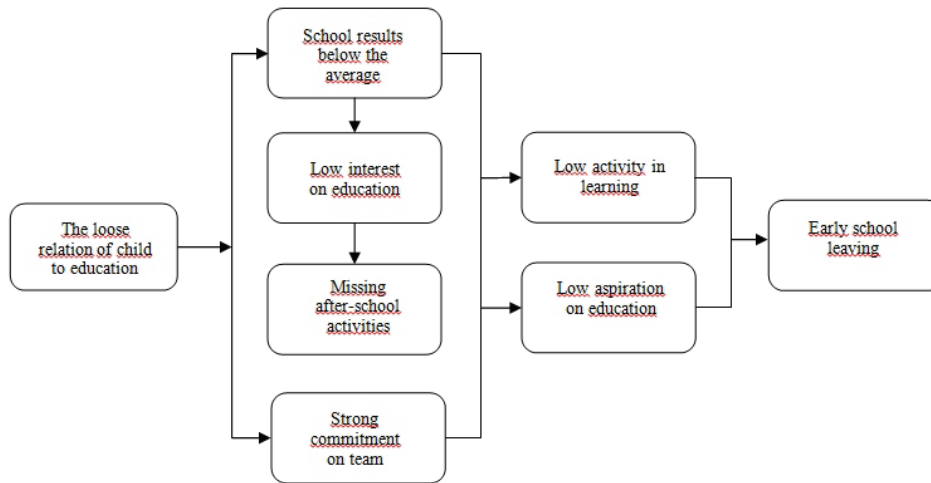
Scheme 2 Case 2

## 2. Reflection of relations to education in the course of school education

In both cases, the individuals' loose relation to education in their families was reflected as a low interest in learning and appeared as the determining factor in the course of their school career. Accordingly, sub-standard school results (achievements) and general failure were identified.

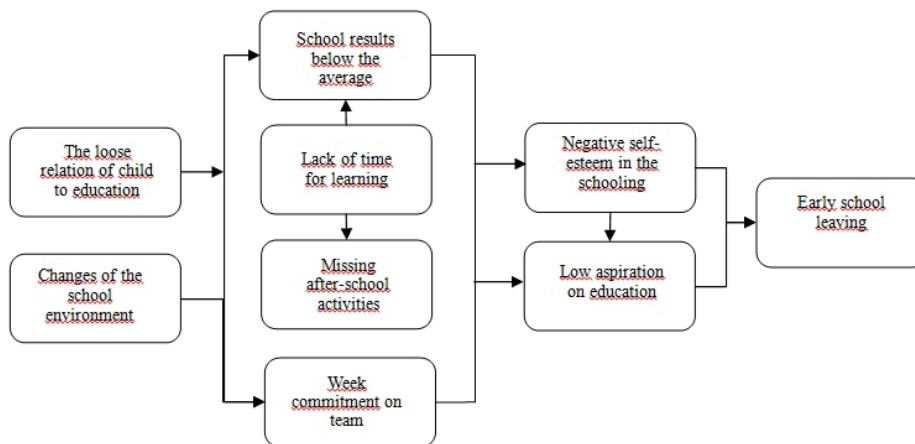
In Case No. 1, Július was motivated mainly towards an interaction with his schoolmates, rather than education itself. His orientation on interaction in groups was strong in his leisure time as well. In his life, school meant primarily relationships with his schoolmates and games, not duties (he never joined leisure or other after-school activities). Consequently, other factors were involved, namely *low activity related to learning* and *low aspiration* with regard to his own educational status. It is clear that the resources of this orientation are in his family of origin, in his parents attitudes to education and schooling. With a low emphasis on education on the part of his parents, the common effects of factors given above led to *early school leaving*<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Reaching 16 years of age means the end of compulsory education in Slovakia.



Scheme 3 Case 1

In Case No. 2, Martina's loose relation to schooling leads directly to *low achievement* (substandard school results) and general failure in school. Her family moved several times so there were also changes in the school environment. Her unstable family and school environments were reflected in adaptation problems, which appeared as difficulties with establishing contacts with schoolmates. In addition, she did not join any after-school activities. Low school achievement reinforced her negative self-esteem in the course of her schooling, which resulted in a *low aspiration with respect to education*. These major factors led to *school dropout* (repeating grades) and her decision not to continue any further education.

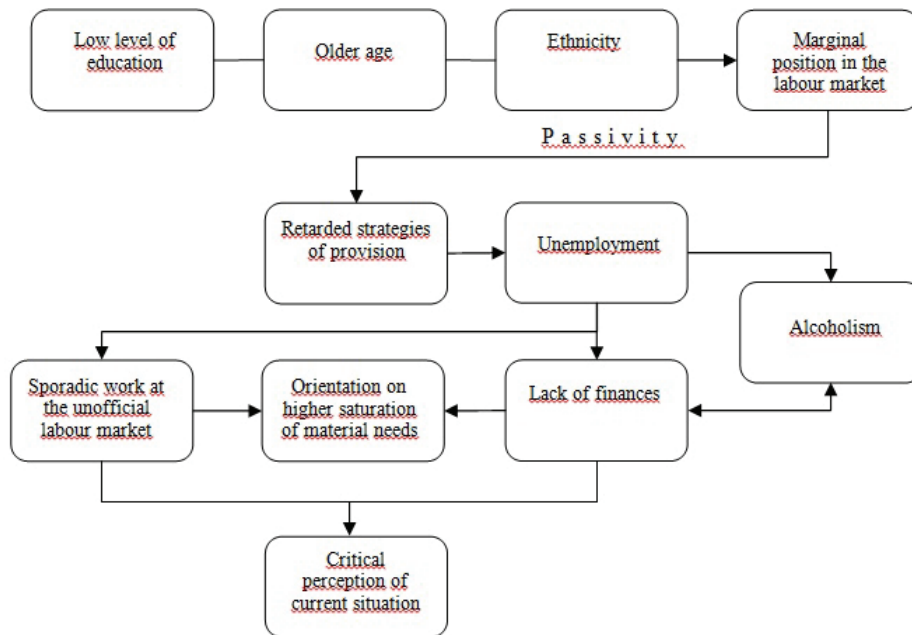


Scheme 4 Case 2

### 3. Current situation according to educational status

The widest gap between reality and the individuals' subjective reflection was identified in *assessing the reasons of the current situation* in both cases.

Július interpreted his present situation mainly in relation to the economic problems of his family. He saw the causes of the unpleasant situation in the inability to get a job, older age, and ethnicity. He blamed either the majority or the state for being responsible for his problems. He considered the situation as highly *critical* due to financial problems caused by unemployment. His lack of activity resulted in *retarded strategies of provision*: from a permanent job during the period of socialism, through odd jobs mainly in the unofficial labour market, he reached the *state of resignation* as he grew older. Another thing we need to take into account is his low level of education, which he does not consider very important.



Scheme 5 Case 1

In Case No. 2 (Martina), her risky position on the labour market has its causes in a combination of her *low level of education*, *motherhood*,

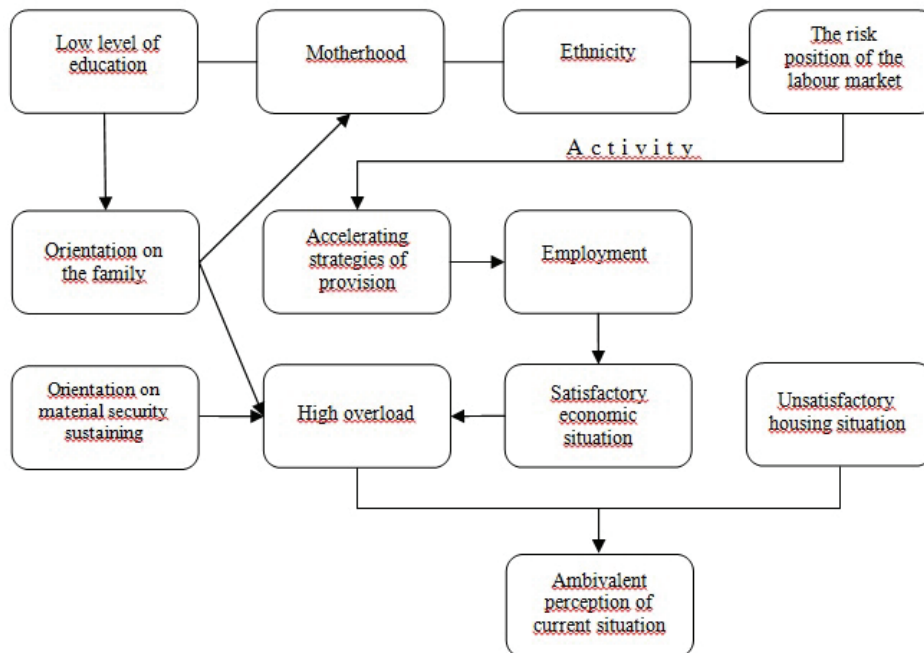
*and ethnicity*. Despite such obvious factors of exclusion, she entered the labour market largely thanks to her:

- high motivation,
- activity,
- cultural integration,
- young age.

The reasons of her being overloaded include:

- gender stereotyped roles in housework and her internal identification with them,
- low-skill jobs (work shifts),
- tendency not to copy the model of life she sees in her family of orientation.

An unpleasant housing situation is underlined by intergenerational conflicts. She is therefore strongly motivated to become independent, even if this would probably lead to financial problems. As a consequence, we consider this particular individual's perception of the current situation as *ambivalent*.



Scheme 6 Case 2

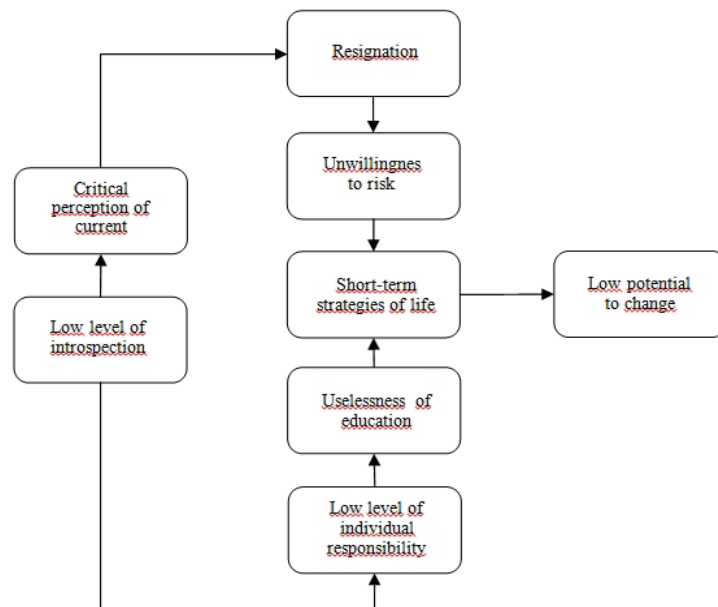
#### 4. The key factors determining an individual's potential to change

Our objective was to go beyond the borders of institutional education, which is why we focused on the field of informal learning in both theory and research. Our analysis and interpretation of ample empirical materials enabled us to analyse the past of our participants (in connection to education), but also to predict the possible development of the situation in the future<sup>29</sup>.

We perceive the **potential to change** as a condition necessary for active changes in one's own personality (self-education) and living situations in adulthood. It includes personality predispositions towards active changes in living situations.

In Case No. 1 (Július), the following major reasons of low introspection and passivity were identified:

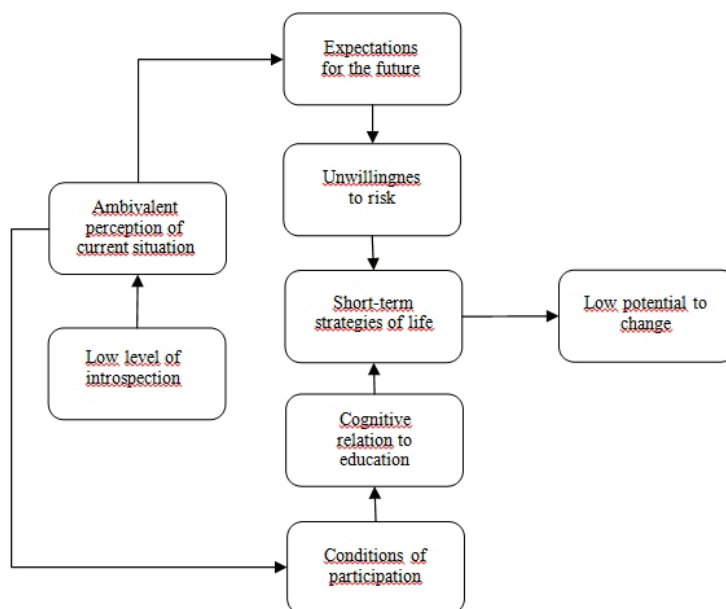
- absence of
- individually oriented upbringing in the family of orientation,
- dependence on state care during the socialist regime (social security),
- and ethnicity, which has an important role in the previous causes.



Scheme 7 Case 1

<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the factors determining the motivation for further education became important factors that mold the examined potential to change.

His resignation was shown in shifting his responsibility for his own situation to the majority, especially to the state (government). He does not consider his educational status or personal characteristics as important factors in facing living problems. He finds the causes of his problems in the external environment. His low potential to change is closely tied with the educational stimulation provided by his family of orientation in combination with „paternalistic pampering<sup>30</sup>“ during the period of socialism. At the moment, he is not able to change his situation, although he is still dreaming about a better life. Consequently, we call his situation *inactive anticipation*, since he prefers to wait for opportunities, rather than to search for them or actively create them. He prefers to use his age and ethnicity as arguments, rather than his absence of qualification and low level of education.



Scheme 8 Case 2

In Case No. 2 (female), uncertain living conditions combined with strong conformity led to low willingness to risk and orientation on short-term living strategies. We can confirm S. Rigová and M. Maczejková's (2002)<sup>31</sup> statement that Roma living strategies are orientated on the

<sup>30</sup> P. Řičan, *S Romy žít budeme. Jde o to jak*. Portál, Praha 1998, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> S. Rigová, M. Maczejková, *Vzdelávací systém a Rómovia*. [in:] *Čačipen pal o Roma. Súhrnná správa o Rómoch na Slovensku*, IVO, Bratislava 2002, p. 695-724.

present, on survival, which is the main reason why the potential for doing something about their future is missing. This kind of reality construction is not suitable for developing the conditions necessary for increasing one's own educational status. Education is considered important only in a declarative way. The main factor forming her low motivation, however, was her relation to education formed within her family of orientation. At present, she does not have the potential enabling her to stabilize the family situation for the future. Although she is aware of her risky status on the labour market, she lacks the necessary motivation and support from her next of kin to even think about working on her potential. In relation to everyday activities in within the family and work environments, she is very active; but in relation to her own and her future, she has come to a standstill. Consequently, we have labelled her living situation "**active stagnation**".

## Discussion

The results of our analysis enable us to formulate a hypothesis<sup>32</sup> according to the research questions asked at the beginning of our research project.

### Hypothesis 1

*In the process of forming the relationship of a Roma child to school and education, the educational style applied in their family appears to be more important than the socio-economic situation of the family.* In the cases examined, different socio-economic situations occurred; nevertheless, neither of the participants completes their elementary education. Similar conclusions were reached by M. Portik<sup>33</sup>, who argued that the main determinant of school achievement in Roma pupils (success) is the location of housing and parents' attitude to education, the economic status of the family being less significant.

### Hypothesis 2

*The gender-stereotyped division of children's roles in the Roma family has an impact on various causes of low educational status. In compari-*

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<sup>32</sup> Similarly, P. Gavora (2008) and R. Švaříček - K. Šedová (2007) say in unison that qualitative research can lead to hypotheses, which can be perceived as premises for further (quantitative) research.

P. Gavora, *Úvod do pedagogického výskumu*, UK, Bratislava 2008, p. 111.

R. Švaříček, K. Šedová, *Kvalitatívny výskum v pedagogických vedách*, Portál, Praha 2007, p. 377.

<sup>33</sup> M. Portik, *Determinanty edukácie rómskych žiakov*, PdF PU, Prešov 2003, p. 177.

*son to boys, girls are much more involved in housework and looking after younger siblings at an early age.*

#### Hypothesis 3

*Roma people's personal experience with education in elementary schools is assessed more positively, even though the school is perceived as an obligation that must be met.* In their personal experience, an individual's own responsibility for schooling prevails. We consider this a consequence of parents' low interest in their children's schooling.

#### Hypothesis 4

*Roma people coming from an urban environment associate education with high importance. However, its meaning is more likely to be formed by life experiences than by the process of education value interiorization that takes place in the course of socialization.*

#### Hypothesis 5

*Increasing the educational status of Roma adults does not depend primarily on the financial situation, but rather on individual characteristics.* Different economic situations in the cases examined did not have an influence on the level of motivation towards further education.

#### Hypothesis 6

*We assume that our research participants will not participate in any further education due their low motivation and will continue to apply relatively short-term life strategies in their future lives.* Based on their personal experience with schooling, they do not consider education helpful. Their vision of the future is not connected with their own individual development and they are oriented towards satisfying the material needs of their families.

#### Hypothesis 7

*As for the research subjects' low potential to change, we expect their living conditions to stagnate and deteriorate rather to improve.* The subjects' low activity with respect to their personal development, combined with their lack of focus with regard to the development of their skills, knowledge, and characteristics, will lead to stagnation. We have not identified any grounds necessary for the improvement of their situations.

## Conclusion

In the course of our research, we arrived at a number of important findings. The form of relations to education in particular cases depends mainly on parents' *emphasis put on education* in childhood. At the same time, the *cultural capital* of the family and the *quality of parents–children interaction* seem to be more important than the economic situation in the family. If the parents do not pay enough attention to a child's schooling, i.e. if they don't support their child's free time activity, then the child forms a corresponding attitude to schooling and education.

Although various intervention measures have been taken to increase the quality of Roma education to achieve long-term effects, there has not been a significant increase in Roma people's education level. This leads us to the conclusion that it is necessary to devote more effort and attention to adult Roma population. Moreover, it is imperative that intensified actions be taken in urban Roma communities, which show greater potential for positive changes.

By way of conclusion, the following recommendations can be formulated – on the basis of the research described herein as well as from our dissertation:

a) *More intensive orientation on andragogical, ethnological, and sociological research into adult Roma population.* We are convinced that Roma adults should become one of the most important target groups of adult education.

b) *Alignment of the specifically targeted actions of social and educational policies to support Roma urban settlements.*

c) *Development of the issue of Roma parents as a target group of social andragogy, social pedagogy, and social work in both theory and research.* Andragogy (adult education theory) and adult education should aim to explore the processes of personalization, enculturation, and self-education with regard to the personality of adult Roma people.

d) *In order to improve the currently insufficient educational measures with respect to the majority, we perceive as highly important to present positive information about Roma people, i.e. Roma public figures to counterbalance the dominant negative representations of Roma people in the media.*

e) *Provision of more intensive support where seeds of motivation towards change can be found.* We recommend specific and aimed detection and support for Roma families in which andragogical and social-educational measures can be more effective.

f) *Increasing the availability of adult education for Roma people.* In the center of Roma communities, the school could take the role of both a

community leader and an organizer of local public life. Under suitable conditions, various courses could be provided in addition to elementary education, such as the completion of elementary education for adults, tutoring, preparing youths and adults for secondary education, or re-qualification courses. Not for the Roma only, but for the whole community.

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## Stosunek Romów do edukacji

### Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia wybrane wyniki badań jakościowych dotyczących całościowego rozwoju stosunku Romów do edukacji i uczenia się. Badania te zostały zrealizowane w ramach projektu, którego celem było usystematyzowanie istniejącej wiedzy na temat czynników warunkujących stosunek Romów do edukacji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Romowie, edukacja, andragogika społeczna, socjalizacja, wychowanie, stosunek do edukacji

