Analyzing the Discursive Constructions of Roma Children's Educational Reality

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Hungarian Case through the Lens of Teacher Education

Dorottya Deák

Department of Education – Faculty of Educational Sciences

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

March 2016

II

Analyzing the Discursive Constructions of Roma Children's Educational Reality

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the

Hungarian Case through

the Lens of Teacher Education

2016

Analyzing the Discursive Constructions of Roma Children's Educational Reality – A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Hungarian Case through the Lens of Teacher Education

Dorottya Deák

IV

Abstract

This research aims to explore and critically challenge how discourses and narratives explain and justify the inequalities experienced by so many Roma children in Hungary when it comes to schooling. Taking a top down perspective, the focus will not be the lived experiences of Roma children, but rather the critical analysis of the prevalent ways of thinking about the embedding educational realities by those who are mostly involved in its design and delivery. Therefore, decision-makers', politicians', policy and research analysts', teacher educators' and teacher candidates' accounts will be brought under a critical discourse analytical scrutiny to show how language procreates the objects it describes and interprets them through organized patterns of ideas and meanings. Teacher education has been selected as the broader context of this study, as I am particularly interested in how the peculiar ways of knowing and thinking about Roma children is constructed and how these affect the thinking about pedagogy, educational provision and the purpose of schooling. The research concludes that a certain discourse has become dominant in recent times; a discourse which helps to contribute to the justification of mechanisms of oppression working through the way education is planned for. It will be argued that this is instrumental in the reproduction of existing social injustices towards Roma and that reconsidering the way we use language is crucial to halt these processes and achieve educational equality and justice instead.

Acknowledgement

Table of content

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

LIST OF ANNEXES

ABBREVIATIONS

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CFCF- Chance for Children Foundation

ERRC - European Roma Rights Centre

KLIK- Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre

MoHR- Ministry of Human Resources

NSD- Norwegian Social Science Data Service

OFI/HIERD- Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development

SSoPE- State Secretary of Public Education

SSoHE- State Secretary of Higher Education

SSoSI- State Secretary of Social Inclusion

"I want (this book) to show how educational research can engage with the unavoidable discursive nature of educational realities, including those realities that are created by educational research itself."

(MacLure 2003)

Discourses and "narratives create the social fabric we inhabit. They teach us how to act; what is a good action and what is not, towards whom we may direct our compassion, whom we will regard with ignorance, and whom we will confront with aggression. Narratives socialize us into who we are as members of a community. They inform us who belongs to our community and who does not, who is a moral agent, who is a moral patient, and who is morally negligible."

(Mueller 2016)

1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue and purpose

Everybody is familiar with those quotidian, occasional and often invisible injustices which habit our social lives. They can happen at workplaces and schools, between parents and children, on public transport, in sport competitions, basically everywhere. I had encountered some forms of these in my life and so many times I did not have the means to act against them. When they happen too often the frustration grows stronger and stronger. Soon, one can start to feel a sense of intensifying isolation and worthlessness. It is indeed hurtful when there isn't any opportunity to speak up, when there isn't any attempt to be granted rectification. Despite of being inconvenient and unfair, these are only injustices that somehow leave life enough space to keep on rolling fine. They do not follow grander patterns through time and space. However, there are *those* ones which can make the person feel undignified and powerless. They are based on repetition and a certain form of consistency. They might also be quotidian-seeming, but in fact they are life-penetrating and life-constituting: huge in their effects but somehow also generally invisible. These are beyond the universal experiences of injustice. Sheltered by the different forms of un-recognition leaving their mark on most aspects of one's life, they are like lurking shadows inseparable from the bodies they were set to follow. They feed on ignorance or on the partiality and scantiness of knowing.

I am doing this research because I am concerned about these massive, and in their massiveness still often unnoticed, neglected and life-hacking injustices. The world is filled with them and each one deserves attention and spotlight to be called out and dealt with. I have chosen one. I decided to study the discursive constructions of Roma children's educational reality in Hungary because I have experienced it being penetrated by many-fold injustices to varying depths and extension. I have entered this project loaded with concerns but lot less prepared and aware. There were, and probably there still are, weaknesses in my state of knowing but this exploration into ways of speaking have already taught me a lot about the importance of critical reflection. It revealed that the way I described, explained and narrated the world around me influenced and framed heavily how I understood it.

Since the start of this research, through extensive reading, I became familiar with many new terminologies, concepts, critical theories and ideas which were formulated to challenge what seemed natural, right and unproblematic. Therefore, I have started to question ways of talking; linguistic formulations, expressions and assumptions that I had taken for granted before. As a result, the critical discourse analysis this thesis works with will not only be applied on the interview transcripts, but also on my own questions and formulations throughout these conversations. I believe that being able and willing to understand and reconsider is strength. It shows that there exists a pursuit for a deeper cohesion at the level of morality and a profound desire for justice. This is what can provide the firm foundation over

which reshaping convictions and beliefs by the expansion of our understanding and the shifting of perspectives becomes possible.

However, the qualities and interpretations pertaining to social justice are neither uncomplicated nor neutral, and education is a major concern for social justice. It is an interpretative mechanism. It prepares for ways of interpreting social reality and living itself. Furthermore, educational processes shape the prevailing qualities of social justice by helping differentiated individuals being positioned in divergent nature as the subjects of social justice. As a social institution it is tasked with creating the foundation upon which the members of a society can participate and negotiate the terms of their membership. Being such a purpose driven mechanism, it is both politically and morally engaged and engaging. It is value laden. Therefore, education and inequalities in education should be theorized about and understood from a political and justice perspective to entangle the subtle relationship between social life and what we are taught about it. (Snauwaert 2011 p. 316) For this reason, I will set out to challenge what constitutes the injustices in relation to the educational reality of so many Roma children. I will aim to explore such a conceptualization of justice which doesn't let the shadows slip through the blockades and follow the bodies they were set to follow today.

1.2 Setting the stage for the research

In today's Hungary, almost everybody seems to have 'well' justified, confident ideas about Roma. However, it seems that hardly anyone understands that their ideas have deeper roots than their own perceptions and experiences. Many seem to be sure about the existence of a "Roma problem" but there are few among the majority who are not cynical about an argument that claims that there are systemic mechanisms which relentlessly shape Roma's social position and societal perception. It seems that there is a tendency of developing a sense of entitlement to express unreflective judgments about Roma, while not being notorious about doing critical research. It is not common practice that we imagine ourselves in the place of someone else or being aware of the sources of our 'knowledge' often treated as unquestioned truth. We execute our moral judgments about good and bad ways of living or the worth of people based on the unexamined and overgeneralized knowledge we have. But what we assume we know is mostly partial. It is very often the knowledge what is made available. What we communicate towards the world is based on what we assume we know. We use words, expressions and stories when we talk with each other. We believe that we are able depict the world with them objectively. By doing this, we construct and offer an image for the other, with the imperative: 'hey see the world like this'. This process is far not so innocent, fair, neutral and harmless as we believe it to be.

This is essentially what I want to show with this research. I'd like to highlight how our everyday communication, the meanings, expressions and phrases which have become naturalized in our speech may not be so benevolent as we think even when they are spoken with good intentions. Therefore, they should be questioned and continuously reflected on. I'd also like to highlight how ordinary ways of expressing ourselves are able to locate the heart of

a problem at the wrong place, hide or perpetuate it. Therefore, the first thing I will deal with is the 'Problem' itself. How we explain problems, construct problem definitions and problem populations. I will examine ways of thinking, taken for granted notions and discourses about Roma people that may be lurking in the background of problem statements and responding actions. Therefore, the main focus will be on the discourses and narratives which transmit these.

I believe that our policies, educational systems and our schools, -most of them- are failing a very high percentage of Roma children in today's Europe, and inside Europe in Hungary. With this I have stated a problem, which will set the stage for the research and the interpretations that it will offer. The reason why it is important to note this is that not only research, this research, starts with a problem statement. Policy-making, strategies and educational directives, organizations' mission statements and curriculum plans, civil society projects or campaigns are also founded upon the problem statement they create or accept. Several studies carried out during the past decades by international, national and local non-governmental organizations stated that Roma are the most marginalized of Europe's both historical and newly forming immigrant minorities. This assertion embraces very complex societal phenomena which manifests in Roma peoples' deficient recognition as members of a larger European community, their homogenizations as one large group[1] and lack of access to political voice and representation. This is also unmistakably apparent in the media which often presents negative ethnicized stereotypes and anti-Roma sentiment. It is visible in the discriminative practices and institutional mechanisms which impair access to just services and participation on equal footing. (EC 2001; EC 2011; OSI 2006; UNESCO 2010, Vidra and Fox 2014)

The Agenda 2000 and later reports from the Commission evaluating Hungary's progress regarding the implementation of minority rights highlighted some of the limitations apparent. Among those were the lack of parliamentary representation and legal instruments to prevent discrimination and ethnic violence, the unequalized opportunities in education and in the labor market. They also pointed out that many Roma were the targets of prejudice and discrimination penetrate their daily lives. Besides this, in Hungary the racist public discourse reaches even the Parliament and the parliamentary representatives. (Kálllai 2005 p. 295) These descriptive conditions and processes concern a group of people, fellow citizens and Hungarians who form 4-10% of the Hungarian population. The estimations vary on a broad scale depending on the source of data, but even thinking in terms of a smaller proportion, it makes Roma to be the largest minoritized and ethnicized group of Hungary and Europe. (Ladányi and Szelényi 2006) The statistics produced by the PISA studies show a strong correlation between the school performance of students and their family's social background

---

[1] In this thesis I will use mostly the term Roma and also Roma/Gypsy. I am aware that these terms encapsulate and group under one single name a multitude of social, cultural, economic, historical, political and linguistic experiences and people sharing those experiences. I am aware that this identity interacts with others, mitigating some aspects of one's experience or doubling the effect of a prospective negative influence. I will later elaborate on this complexity and the importance of naming from a discourse analytical perspective. So, when I use Roma, Roma people, Roma population, Roma children, this understanding and the complexity pertaining to it will be present behind the name and its meaning. With this, I will simultaneously enweave this notion into the fabric of this project until its end.

in Hungary, as well as demonstrate that the chance of educational inequality is multiplied when the ethic indicator is introduced. (Kertesi and Kézdi 2005, Kerülő 2009)

Formal education is the site where the selection and socialization of individuals occur, where the reproduction of knowledge deemed valid and worthy takes place. But education is also the site of individual and societal transformation and change, a potential route to empowerment and social mobility. Therefore, marginalization at this sphere, the marginalization of a particular group of society from equal participation contributes to an uncontested, one sided- social structure and reality where the discourses, - building up what knowledge and ways of being are valued- can go unchallenged. (Kubow and Fossum 2001) So, education, more precisely schooling, can also serve as the means to reproduce socio-economic injustices from one generation to the other. With this, it conserves social immobility for a particular group who got caught up on the wrong side of selection and to whom a different knowledge via worst quality schooling would be thus delivered. Educational inequality, in terms of quality and access, has been proven to affect Roma children in higher proportions than non-Roma children in Hungary within today's Europe. (Kertesi & Kézdi 2009, Radó 2007) Instances of segregation, hate-crimes and anti-gypsy sentiments have been framing these conditions and events in the past decade. A constant communication prevails about the factuality of this on various levels: from policy level down to family conversations. Everyone seems to have opinions and ways of constructing a problem. Even though there is an abstract concern and nearly unanimous consensus that something is not all right with respect to the educational situation of so many Hungarian Roma children, there is no agreement about what that is, what the causes of educational inequality are. Therefore, there are different directions in theorizing about how to define and where to locate the problem. This calls forth different discourses and narratives that compete and struggle so that their definitions and understandings gaining support. They offer different repertoires for interpretation and making meaning of the 'reality' being experienced. They work as experiential translation tools, translating the experience of a phenomenon into a certain way of knowing. My first research question stemmed directly from this concern:

1.2.1   Research questions

1. What kind of explanations do discourses and narratives offer about the educational inequalities experienced by so many Roma children?
2. How do these discourses and narratives prevail in the 'field' of teacher education?
3. How do these discursive understandings reflect the purpose of education (schooling) which is provided for Roma children?

These three questions will be broken down into further sub-questions which will be directive during the process of data analysis. These supporting-questions are necessary to open the texts up and help to travel more deeply into the educational reality which I understand here as a largely discursively constructed aspect of the social world. What is

aimed to be achieved by this, is the identification of 'struggling discourses and narratives' and their differing potentials to exert impact on the educational reality of Roma children –both policy- and practice-wise. The practice-wise aspect will be understood as the selected contextualized aspect. It refers to the educational reality within the teacher education context and school context where ideas, concepts, regulations, policies and in the end discourses can turn into action.

The following are the main sub-questions formulated for interrogating the texts:

> A: *In what way are Roma/Roma children represented and talked about in these texts?*
> B: *How did the interviewees explain the problems and inequality in education affecting Roma children?*
>
> C: *How are integration, segregation and 'felzárkózás' conceptualized with respect to Roma children and educational provision?*

These sub-questions will help to establish a connection between the prevalent conceptualizations about inequality and their translation into solution seeking policy and provision approaches. So, in the particular case of this research, I will look at how Roma people and the educational reality of Roma children are seen, understood and thus constructed in Hungary, while knowing that there are several social groups experiencing similar forms of marginalization and injustices globally. With this statement, I have already put forth, that I will talk about 'group experience', or put it otherwise 'identity and subjectivity' experiences. This way of group formation can be problematic in itself, because talking about groups and identities carries within an inherent notion of generalization and a requirement of determining and delineating that social group. Using external definitions, categorizations and identities can be taken as the points of departures of explanations.[2].Another way can be to seek out a group's self-definition. Whichever way it is being done, both approaches are themselves discursive constructions and processes which should be called into question and problematized. So, when I do this and I talk about Roma and/or Gypsies as a group, I rely on the available terms but I do not intend to take with it an essentializing approach, making a group appear homogenous both in terms of identity and experiences. (Kocatepe 2005 p. 58) [3]

---

[2] The 1971, 1993 and 2003 representative surveys' of Hungary regarded Roma those individuals, who were believed to be Roma by the non-Roma community in which they lived. (Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 73)

[3] Kemény and Janky (2005) gave a brief introduction to the three major linguistic groups among Roma in Hungary. The Hungarian Roma identifying as Hungarian are also referred to as Romungro or Musician Roma, and speak Hungarian; the Vlach (oláh) Roma speak both Hungarian and Romani and their identification is 'Roma' or 'Rom' and Beás, consider themselves as Beás, and accordingly the speak Beás as well as Hungarian. (p. 100) By 2003, 86,9% of Roma's native language was Hungarian. This percentage has probably showing a growing tendency. (p.104) Many estimate it to be over 90-95%. In policy making and in the media, Roma are often depicted as a homogenous, uniform ethnic group. It is since the 80's that Roma as a collective name started to gain ground in politics, civil society and the media as an alternative to the most commonly used referencing name: Gypsy. (Szuhay 2005 p. 238)

What I believe and will assume is that there is a shared experience of 'romaness', which can differ substantially from individual to individual. Therefore it is important to see how that experience or identity is constructed from the outside in talk, how much is it simplifying, schematizing or rather revealing in terms of the complexity and polarity of social experiences the individuals within a group live up to. To me it appears very similar to being impacted by the concept of 'womanness' or the experience of being a woman. Still, by being conscious of this I am not assuming that I have the same social experience and social condition as all other women. Even though we share an identity-nest, our social experiences may substantially differ depending on our social location and other social processes such as sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability, class, religion, capabilities and so on. Phellas (2000) believes that ethnic and cultural discrimination - and discrimination by gender or sexual preferences- are shared by those experiencing it, but only to varying degrees and in different depths. (p. 53)

1.3 The narrower context of problematisation: zooming in to teacher education

In the above problematisation, I have already indicated that the contextual focus of this research will be on teacher education institutions and on the links they can erect between the world of the schools and the world of policy making; the world of teachers and that of the pupils, and several other relationalities which are shaped by the prevalent discourses. These discourses, as Hepburn (1999) highlights, implicitly indicate "systems of relations". They link and position those who produce these discourse and those who are the objects of them in relation to one another. (Hepburn 1999 p. 41)

Where empirical data is concerned, the research questions could become very demanding. Therefore, the scope of this inquiry had to be focused on teacher education, this very specific area of social practice. However, it will be apparent that I took a broader understanding of teacher education on the level of sampling. This means that individuals outside of teacher education programs where interviewed about their views on teacher education with respect to the educational inequalities. The point was to map the general ideas and discourses about education inequality concerning Roma children; and to see if they can be tracked down to a more specialized segment of education and people directly or somewhat indirectly involved in it. One of the major purposes of education is socialization and discourses are important tools in that quest. They are the 'messengers' telling one how to be socialized or how not to be. (RQ 2) (Gonzalvez 2013 p.49) Furthermore, they instruct about the proper ways and the goals of socialization. (RQ 3) Teacher education in this sense holds a double link to transferring the rules of desired socialization via discourses: (1) there is instruction on the part of teacher education institutions which provide the accepted and legitimate framework for passing along this knowledge to those future teachers who will (2) teach children about the desired forms of socialization and the necessary knowledge that entails. This is further complicated by the embeddedness of teacher education institutes. Even

though autonomous institutions in theory, they are engrained in the larger social fabric with its expectations, norms and ideologies. Besides, their existence is based upon those laws and rules, which are foundational to their functioning and legitimacy.

In this sense, they cannot be seen detached from the generally operating and competing discourses, nor from the binding institutional, legislative and social frameworks in which they are embedded and rely upon. However, this does not make them necessarily passive, and I will later argue that individuals/agents are not necessarily passive in the face of dominant discourses. Furthermore, they have the potential to challenge the discursive structure, the dominant ideas, and by this they can slowly contribute to reformulate the system. For instance, in the case of this research, the users and shapers of discourses and the objects of these discourses are policy-makers, the leaders of the teacher education programs, the teacher educators or teacher candidates. The focus is on the explanations and argumentative strategies used by them about the educational inequality experienced by many Roma children. In this case there may be a set of available knowledge, ideas, common sense arguments, myths and beliefs available for these users to express their ways of perceiving this slice of social reality. They may not be the firsthand producers however, by reproducing these as truths and confirmed knowledge they reproduce a particular view and form its object according to its rules.

1.4 Why choosing critical discourse analysis?

According to Foucault (1972 p. 49) and several authors working in the field of discourse analysis, for example Philips & Hardy (2002), Luke (1995-96), Schiffrin (1994) and van Dijk (2001), discourses are not only constituted by the social word, but they themselves are constituents of it. In other words, it is said that discourses are disciplinary in nature. This means that by their reiterative character they establish and naturalize those frames of references through which the world can be interpreted. This in the end will have a disciplining effect when it comes to controlling what representations of the world are accurate and true. (Luke 1995, Philips & Hardy 2002, Janks 1997, Schiffrin 1994 p. 31)

Since the outset of the project, I was intrigued to understand, how discourses construct the image of Roma children and closely connected to this their educational realities and needs. Do discourses construct a different purpose for their education than they do for the education of majority children? These are questions that are posed to decision-makers, policy-makers, institutional leaders, scholars, thinkers, researchers, teacher trainers who are in the capacity to formulate decisive answers. They are the drafters,- to different extents- of ideas and visions, concepts and frameworks, directives and curricula. They are in positions of authority to shape the educational reality in which these children grow up, learn about themselves, their places in society, their relations to others, about their values, worth and chances. These all are somewhat implicated in the tales discourses tell, in the stories representing lived social experiences. Thus, the purpose of this choice of theory and analytical method is to highlight how those in power positions talk and construct the so called 'Roma problem' or 'Roma

issue' or 'Roma question' inside the educational context and how do they relate it to the prevailing inequality. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has the tools to orient the researcher's attention to these often implicit workings of discourses and stories. Therefore, CDA's effort can highlight how discourses craft situations, form "objects of knowledge, (…) social identities and relationships between people and groups of people"; and how, by their ideological effects, these relations can become unbalanced, unequal, saturated with power, injustice and oppression. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997 p. 258 in Wodak 2004 p. 198)

So, discourse analysis in not only a method providing tools for the detailed studying of texts and their production, consumption, distribution and reproduction. It is also a "perspective on social life", an approach crafted on well-thought meta-theoretical foundations, which inform the concepts and theories used, and locate CDA's stance "on the nature of language and its relationship to the central issues of the social sciences". (Wood and Kruger 2000 p. x., Richardson 1994 p. 130, Fairclough 1995) Because CDA is one possible approach to analyze discourses, there are certain features which set it apart from the rest. Besides having linguistic and grammatical sensitivity, one of its main qualities is due to its macro analytical approach, which aims to locate textual analysis inside and in relation to the larger framework of institutional and social practices. CDA aims at orienting its understanding of discourses, with a purposeful concern, to their impact on social problems, and non-discursive processes "such as race, gender, (…) class, (…) power". (Wood and Kruger 2000 p. 21) Because language is considered by this approach to be a social practice, this analysis will be the "analysis of what people do" and how these actions constitute social reality. (Potter (1997 p. 146 in Wood and Kruger 2000 p. 4) Based on Fairclough's general approach, I will use the concept of *discourse* in three distinctive manners throughout this thesis. On the first, most abstract level discourse will be used to "refer to language use as a social practice." (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 66) This conceptualization will be leveraged in the theoretical framework, when I will examine the relation between discourse and power, knowledge production and identity formation. On the second level it will be understood as the language which is used inside a particular domain. The sociological discourse or media discourse could be considered as such fields. Finally, on the third level, it is understood as different "ways of speaking" which aim to depict and lend a particular meaning to what is being experienced or what is being known. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 61)

1.5 Philosophical foundations: introduction to doing research in the social sciences

MacLure (2005) starts her puzzling work *Discourse in Education and Social Research* with some reflections about a „new world" brought by the „linguistic turn". She depicts it as a re-imagined world which subverts basic assumptions about the nature of social reality, truth and knowledge, and which disarranges theories and approaches of doing research in the social sciences. (p. 4) In the epicenter of this perceptual change, there is language and what scholars had to say about its particular role in creating the social world. By principle, critical discourse

analysis is sensitive to how certain accounts of the world are created inside discourses and how certain knowledge produced get accepted as the official versions. Therefore, I need to be careful about the descriptions I aim to offer and the knowledge this research will produce. I would like to reflect briefly on these. When I describe something, I bring into that description all of my cumulated social and cultural experiences and knowledge even if my intention is to stay as neutral as possible. My descriptions have a home from which they open outwards, my socio-cultural nest and the apriori knowledge of the object or the concept described. Not knowing what a concept means will affect my ability to give a description of the phenomenon I want to capture. However, my lack of the critical awareness of the concept will not stop me from experiencing that phenomenon or attempting to engage with it, but it will have an impact on how accurately I will be able to do that. This depends, to a large extent, on what linguistic and conceptual tools I can rely on to make sense of my experience. (Fricker 2007)

Wood and Kruger (2000) emphasize in their analysis, that it is *not a requisite* aim of discourse analysts to make the judgment about intentions and attitudes. The aim is rather to highlight the utterance's discursive nature and the messages and views they carry. It is their goal to show how discourses have the capacity to construct subjects, identities, situations and broader beliefs about the social world. Discourse analysts of course can still make moral claims and there are events when drawing on a racist discourse is intentionally exerted by the human agent. In case of this research, however, I am strongly drawn to the following point Wood and Kruger (2000) make about the discourse analytical stance. They say that this approach "allows the strong condemnation of the utterance but *does not require* condemnation or exoneration of the speaker; it provides a conceptual foundation for the popular injunction that we should criticize the "behavior and not the person" and thus open up a space for change. (Wood and Kruger 2000 p.16)

1.6 Rationale and research interest

My choice of studying the discursive construction of the educational reality of Roma children in Hungary stems from several experiences. It comes from the puzzlement I felt as a child when I was discouraged to have a girl as a friend because she was Roma. Then, in my early 20s I began to realize how I used to draw on anti-Roma discourses throughout my early high-school years. Then, I slowly started to take notice the inherently uncritical and inconsistent reasoning offered by these. Having friends at university studying social sciences, who took up the extreme-right's discourse on Roma, was also a very unsettling experience. This led to the recognition that social injustices against certain groups of people and privileges are being naturally the share of some and not affecting others. These together became a tipping point which finally thrown light on the ethnicized face of inequality when it comes to quality and equality of treatment in schooling.

Being 'ethnic' Hungarian, part of the 'ethnic' majority of the Hungarian society, engrained in discourses on and in relation to/with Roma people in my interactions and conversations,- as speaker and listener,- I am witnessing everyday racism, but remain protected against it as a

recipient of the privileges of 'whiteness'. This bestows me with a naturally occurring advantage when it comes to social interactions and this was probably the unnoticed case when I carried out this research. (Martineau 1999 p. 34) My only experience of minority position and vulnerability to discrimination stems from being a women and encountering sexism engrained in everyday speech and interactions.

The struggles against gendered discourses and sexist talk have also encouraged me to undertake this research as I came to notice the power of talk in writing lives and constructing positions with the different narratives of living. Discourses concerning a women's life track, roles, behavior and social position – what we are expected to have at certain phases of our lives to be accepted and valued, and in order to not to be seen as socially pathologic,- can be questioned and busted wide open. These are stories constructed about us as members of a group essentialised into the dough of that particular social existence. So, when it came to questioning who has access to shape these discourses; to what extent have we internalized its constructs and subject positions, how identities are built and rebuilt in talk, I turned towards those who are in positions of social power, who have the authority to make decisions and plan policies, - or on the broader political scope or within institutions. All those who were interviewed, except those partaking in the focus group discussion, were above me in their social position and authority. Being a student and conducting the first research on a topic considered sensitive, in some cases, I sensed the unequal researcher-researched position being turned upside down. This concerned the epistemic relations such interview situations can create and those events when the justification of my research was called into question. Fricker (2007) talks about these as cases of testimonial injustice. It happens when the credibility of the speaker's words is questioned because of any forms of prejudice on the part of the listener. This again emphasizes that beside my own positionality, what I am and what I am perceived to be capable of, also affected the research and access to data.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 will elaborate on the socio-historical background which will help to place the research in context. It will touch upon the case of inequality in education concerning Roma children in Hungary and the related policy, legislative and institutional environment. Presenting the relevant European and domestic legal framework, it will highlight their deficiencies and challenges through the precedent case of the Huszár-telep school segregation which stirred profound debates.

Chapter 3 will focus on reviewing the literature after introducing the meta-theoretical framework and the radical humanist paradigm upon which this critical inquiry is based. After dealing with the development of the critical discourse analytical approach and its application to educational research and more particularly to identity construction in education, I will summarize the main questions, which will be asked from the topic-centered literature. The following overview of the construction of Roma identity from a historical perspective will feed into questions about how it affects the forms of provision. The discussion of this second

part of the chapter will review the literature in relation to segregation and integration and the prevalent problematizations. The chapter will be closed with the overview of how these findings translate into classroom practice concerning teaching quality and teacher preparedness and with the justification of this research by the literature and what it revealed.

Chapter 4 concerns the theoretical framework, which is made up of the conceptual and analytical frameworks introduced in this sequence. Presenting the guiding concepts of discourse, power, ideologies, subjectivities it will operationalize these ideas that permeate in the presented theories of inequality. Following this, the analytical framework will present and combine Fairclough's and Bernstein's framework and their theoretical relevance for studying the purpose of schooling and the processes of reproduction of inequalities.

In Chapter 5, I will prepare the methodological grounding for the empirical part of the thesis. Briefly highlighting the implications of constructivism on the methodological choices and the meaning and significance of doing a qualitative research, I will prepare the stage for the introduction of the procedures, analytical levels and tools critical discourse analysis (CDA) works with. The following part will outline my approach to comparison justified by the CDA stance and will present reflections on the fieldwork and how I went about sampling. Lastly, I will reflect on the generalizability and validity of the critical discourse analytical project and the ethical consideration of carrying out such research.

Chapter 6 will give the bulk of the text in this research. It is the one where the data and findings will be thematically presented and where I will carry out the first level of text analysis of the selected utterances. The chapter starts with the explanation of how I will approach coding and the consecutive analysis, which is supported by a participant encryption table. The strategy of data presentation follows the sequence set out by the research questions and sub-questions and will therefore be made up of three major sections.

Chapter 7 will be the concluding and closing chapter of the research. It starts with summarizing the findings of data presentation. Next, the main findings of the three sections of data presentation will be discussed in sequence, followed by the interpretations and the answers given to the research questions. The chapter will be closed with reflections on the research findings and summative, concluding thoughts about the thesis.

2 Socio-historical background

2.1 The approach to contextualizing

One of the particular demands of discourse analytical studies is to study the phenomena at hand related to the socio-historic contexts within which they take place, to explore the link between texts and a chosen aspect of social reality. This is why it is important to look at how the most relevant institutional structures, authorities, policies and social practices with regards to education impact on the current state of affairs: the manifest educational inequality of so many children in Hungary and among them a very high proportion of Roma children. For this reason, I intend to lift out my chosen aspect of social reality and put it under critical scrutiny. Here, this will be the educational inequality experienced by a large number of Roma children. The aim of this is to see the connections between the textual manifestations of the embedding socio-historical context and the perceived and 'factual' social reality created by them. There are some structural 'facts' and socio-historical events which have to be introduced in this chapter in order to support my later analysis. Even though this introduction to the background may not seem to be tied to questions of language, and how language may manifest ideologies or mediate social power directly, it actually is concerned about it. Free choice of schools, the renaming of the ministries and state secretaries, the structure of teacher education, the legislative instruments and the directives etc., are in the first place drafted in laws and policies; making up the legislative and institutional framework. They were and continue to be argued for and justified by the use of discourses, which support their uninterrupted continuation or aim to challenge them. My topic is located over the fault line of one of the most relevant debates on education which concerns the question of the capacity and capability of education to deal with social inequality. It is a broad theme, so I will need to tailor it tighter, but it is the central question at the heart of this work. In the next section, I will start with setting the scene for the socio-historical context of educational developments with respect to Roma children and the formation of inequalities in education. Then, I will scan the relevant European legislations and link them to the domestic legal framework and policies concerning education and equality of treatment. Following this, I will introduce the complicated and precedent case of the Huszár-settlement lawsuit to give a background to the discursive struggles over the concepts of 'segregation', 'integration' and 'felzárkózás'[4] and their demonstrative power on the forms of provision.

---

[4] 'Felzárkózás' is a Hungarian word which means convergence or catching up. It is widely used in policy-planning discourses and is often intended as a synonym of integration within that context. This concept will extensively feature in my later analysis.

2.1.1 The Hungarian case of inequality in education concerning Roma children

In 1945 primary education was made universal and compulsory. The percentage of children attending schools was growing gradually, however unequally among Roma and non-Roma children. This was widening the educational gap and threatening with the prospect that educational achievement or the lack of it will "become an ethnic characteristic contributing to the development of a colored minority". (Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 146, Kemény 1976 p.45 in Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 147) In the 50's, there was an increased demand for unskilled labor and a continuing rise in the employment rate of unskilled Roma who were less and less needed in the following decades by the industry which levelled off into stagnation in terms of its need for unskilled labor. The assimilation driven policies of the communist era, resulted in a paternalistic system, where when 'integration' occurred, it offered lower quality and a hidden agenda. The 'felzárkóztató' classes (catch-up classes) were the product of this educational politics. (Dupcsek 2012) However, soon this era which resembled full employment and the relative sense of security started to fade away with the arrival of the political transition. (Ladányi and Szelényi 2006 p. 87-88)

Even though, by 1993 77,7% of Roma completed primary education, prospects in the job market without further schooling remained stark and the figures have not changed much, stalling at the level of 79% of completion rate, including those youngsters who completed 8th grade by the age of 18. (Kemény and Janky 2005) Kemény and Janky (2005) wrote that even up to the time of writing their study only 15-20% of Roma families lived above the poverty level with reliable income. This led them to estimate that the completion rates of secondary schooling would reach this similar percentage. This is because to be able to send a child to school one needed to have the necessary financial resources. Already in 1971, it was observed that segregation became "one of the main obstacles to learning faced by Roma children". (Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 157) Roma classes were set up under the socialist administration since 1962, instruction, in all senses, was of worst quality and what was aimed to be a temporary provision, became penetrated into the system, up until 1985, when a ministerial declaration invited for the classes to slowly be dissolved. (Kemény and Janky p. 157) But despite of the legislative 'courtesy', practice showed, that the segregation and selection continued between schools, as well as within schools in terms of parallel classes even if unlabelled. This did not disappear up until today, school segregation and segregation in terms of housing are reinforcing one another. In 2007 there were 1700 Roma-only classes in the country. (Dupcsek 2012) In their study, G. Havas, I. Kemény and I. Liskó (2000) cited by Kemény and Janky, state that 10.300 Roma children were studying in classes which had higher than 75% of a Roma student body and all in all 1/3 of Roma children was in Roma majority classes.

The other finding they presented regarded the fact that 84% of children in remedial provisions are Roma. And with this, we arrived to the other manner by which segregation frequently occurs, and that is in the educational frame of special and remedial classes. With a

growing tendency, by 1986 18% of Roma students landed in special schools or classes. Even though, it did not take long to have research proving that many of these children were simply misdiagnosed and not mentally handicapped, still the practice was protected and justified by "a complex assessment procedure" for the evaluation of new student's cognitive states. (Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 160) In 2003, it was 14,5 % of Roma students who were in remedial classes or special schools, but this can be estimated to reach nearly 20%. (Kemény and Janky 2005 p. 163-4) In a stark contrast, the percentage of Roma students completing tertiary education was 1.2% at the time of their writing. Something truly went wrong on the way.

2.1.2 Changing policy environment since the political transition

Ernő Kállai (2005) suggests the division of the period extending from the transition of '89-90 to 2005 into two parts with regards to the different approaches with which they turned towards the problems haunting Roma people. Between 1990 and 1995, the legislative and institutional framework was reworked[5], followed by the first governmental programs in the coming years to improve Roma's living circumstances[6]. Soon it became realized how badly the transition effected Roma people and resulted in unemployment and growing hopelessness. (p. 288) Election was due again in 2002 and Roma politics came into the spotlight bringing with itself debates. The government asserted in the government's program's *Social Policy* chapter that they "consider the social deprivation of our fellow Roma citizens to be the result of a wide-ranging and dramatic social process rather than an ethnic problem. This launched the era of integration lead policy-making, guided by the EU developments, financial schemes and strategies. (Erőss 2012)

Kállai (2005 p. 299), who observed the constitutional framework itself, noted that it held principles of anti-discrimination and positive discrimination too, thus the weaknesses in the functioning of the legal dimension could have not directly derived from the prescription outlined by the constitution. The Minority Act, formulated in 1993, was also intended to guide the application of the principles outlined in the Constitution. According to its precepts, anyone can decide if he or she wishes to consider him or herself part of a minority group based on descent. A general prohibition of discrimination was also included but without giving a definition what the Act envisages as a discriminative practice. (Kállai 2005 p. 301)

---

[5] The Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (ONEM) was established in 1990 in order to create theoretical foundations, formulate policies and support decision-making for minorities. (Szuhay 2005 p. 310) Later the work of the office was transferred to the Ministry of Justice, then it was shifted back to the Prime Minister's Office, and it took up several other formation and names.

[6] The 'medium-termed-programs' policy initiative to tackle inequalities was started in 1995, it also focused on laying down the foundations of social integration. I aimed to give its definition and the measures needed for its functioning. In terms of education, among its priorities were child welfare, school fees and the issue of segregation. (p. 312) It also made recommendations for legal extensions on anti-discrimination and proposed the integration of knowledge of Roma into police trainings, and later aim at improving the rates of school attendance and reducing truancy and drop out. However as E. Kállai (2005 p. 312) writes that not much has been achieved of these „fine objectives" which were visible to the public.

14

This was also the document which established the institution of the ombudsman for national and ethnic minority rights[7] and regulated community rights, including the system of minority self-governments. (Kállai 2005 p. 302-3) Despite these advances in legislation, Kállai (2005 p. 308) pointed out that the guarantee of cultural autonomy was not sufficient for improving the condition of Roma in Hungary and self-governments are still unable, due to the lack of financial and authoritative powers to influence larger processes, such as job creation, issues of employment and schooling, and other social problems. (p.308) In 2003, the CXXV. Act on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities entered into force, giving more details on what is considered to be discrimination and how violations could be monitored. (p. 310)

2.1.3   The broader European legislative frameworks and their domestic implications

On the European level, the major legislative instruments, which set the stage for these domestic regulations, were provided by the EU Charter on Fundamental Human Rights, "the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the Convention on the Rights of the Childe (CRC)." (EC 2014 p. 7) Besides these, the EU Race Equality Directive (RED), coming into force in 2000, was the one which has extensively influenced the drafting of domestic legislation. It was created with the purpose of offering legislative instruments for states to deal with aspects of inequality of treatment concerning racialized and ethnicized social groups. It provides a legal-framework to protect against racial and ethnic discrimination and segregation with its prohibition extending to both direct and indirect racial discrimination and the resulting segregative practices.[8] (EC 2014, p. 7, ERRC[9] 2007. p. 15) Since, the directive has been applied to the case of Roma with respect to issues of labor and educational discrimination. Its recommendations were transposed to domestic legislation in Hungary, enshrined in the Equal Treatment Act. The Act's articles 27(3) and 28(2) & (3) outlined what is considered as the violation or non-violation of the equal treatment principle, and what should be and what shouldn't be understood as unlawful segregation.

It is stated in the act that the violation of the principle of equality of treatment occurs in education when:

---

[7] It was also inserted into the Constitution and Kállai himself was filling in this position until the government abolished it in 2011. (Kállai 2005)

[8] The Race equality directive defines direct discrimination as the "less favourable treatment on grounds of racial or ethnic origin" while indirect discrimination is understood as a situation or a process where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary." (Concil Directive 2000/43/EC 2000, Article 2(2) in ERRC p. 15)

[9] ERRC is the abbreviation which stands for European Roma Rights Centre

15

"a person or group is a) unlawfully segregated in an educational institution, or in a division, class or group within such educational institution, b) limited to a care or educational system, or a care or educational system is created or maintained whose standards do not reach accepted professional requirements or do not meet professional rules, and thus do not ensure a reasonable expectable opportunity to prepare for state exams." (Article 27(3) ERRC p. 17)[10]

On the other hand, the violation of the principle of equality of treatment is not present when:

(2) "a) in public education, at the initiation and by the voluntary choice of the parents, (…) such education, based **on religious or other ideological conviction or education for ethic or other minorities**, is organized, whose objective or program justifies the creation of segregated classes or groups; provided that this does not result in any disadvantage for those participating in such an education, and the education complies with the requirements approved, laid down and subsidies by the state.

(3) Any legal act may divert from the provisions of Article 27(2)a) in respect of educational institutions serving the protection of linguistic or cultural identity, or in respect of educational institutions of churches, ethnic, national and other minorities."[11]

(Article 28(2, 3)) in Kegye 2015 p. 76, Equal Treatment Authority 2003[12])

What Kegye (2015 p. 77) asks in relation to these exemptions is the following: what is the difference between denominational exculpation and the one requested based on ethnicity? The difference between the two will be highlighted by the following discussion where I will also touch upon one of the most recent amendments of the Public Education Act that aims to clarify the cases when the case of segregation is not present. According to the Race Equality Directive, only those cases are exempt from the obligations concerning equality of treatment which concern affirmative action. However this becomes more complicated in case of the Equal Treatment Act. (Kegye 2015. p. 76)

One of the hindrances of affirmative action, demonstrated by this case of the Ombudsman for National and Ethnic Minorities[13], is that the Act's legal framework only

---

[10] Nem sérti az egyenlő bánásmód követelményét, ha

a) közoktatási intézményben a szülők kezdeményezésére és önkéntes választása szerint,

((b) felsőoktatási intézményben a hallgatók önkéntes részvétele alapján))

A nyelvi vagy kulturális önazonosság megőrzése céljából egyházi jogi személy, vallási tevékenységet végző szervezet vagy nemzetiségi önkormányzat által fenntartott köznevelési intézmény, egyházi jogi személy, vallási tevékenységet végző szervezet vagy országos nemzetiségi önkormányzat által fenntartott felsőoktatási intézmény tekintetében jogszabály a 27. § (2) bekezdés *a)* pontjától eltérő rendelkezést állapíthat meg." Article 3(28-2,3) (http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A0300125.TV) http://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/data/Ebktv.pdf

[11] Modified by the 2013 Act CXXXIII. 100) quoted in Kegye 2015 p. 76

[12] http://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/data/SZMM094B.pdf

[13] It was the ***Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minorities*** who became entrusted to monitor and carry out instances of the violations of the Equal Treatment Act. The Ombudsman had been publishing yearly reports on the instances of discrimination towards Roma in general and in particular in educational provision and has formulated stern critique towards the prevailing legislation and its implementation's reinforcement.[13] (ERRC 2007 p. 21) However, the Ombudsman's office has been terminated

instructs about *'negative obligations'*, which means that it is only through complaints and bringing segregative practices to court, that such cases and the responsible authorities can be questioned. It remains the same even when then the judgment is not carried out by the authorities found responsible for mistreatment. This limited authority to the 'negative' aspect was recognized by the European Commission who has issued the *Non-discrimination and Equal Opportunities to All Framework Strategy*, which highlights how a weak anti-discrimination legislation without a remedy dimension doesn't suffice to hinder inequality of treatment in education. (ERRC 2007 p. 22) Kegye (2015) and Kádár (2009) echo the same concern about the legal instruments' insufficiency in resolving cases of segregation. The precedent legal case of the Nyíregyháza Huszár-settlement School, introduced in the next section, will be demonstrative of the arguments used for justifying segregations as well as it will illustrate how the interpretations of legal instruments are neither value neutral, and their explanations have discursive outcomes. I will be referring to the above quoted articles as Article 27(3) and Article (28)2 and 28(3) in the later parts of this chapter.

2.1.4   A precedent case: findings in relation to the legislative framework and educational policy

The loudest debates of the past years about the educational inequality experienced by Roma children were centered on the question of segregation and integration, the reality and justification of educational provisions in which Roma children were proven to have been receiving inferior quality education while being locked inside the poverty stricken settlements where these schools were operating.[14] The most pressing case was that of the Nyíregyháza Huszár-settlement School's which served as a precedent and spilled over into the spotlight of public debate. The reason for this was not only the lawsuit itself, but the involvement of the Ministry of Human Resources (MoHR) and its Minister, who were strongly denying the accusation of this being a case of segregation, and stood beside the preservation of the school, using it as an example of the 'felzárkóztató' effort's visionary project. This cracked the debate wide open on what segregation is. Besides, it problematized what educational provisions are unlawful and questioned when can the prevalence of educational inequality be identified with respect to Roma children?The arguments, explanations and justifications lined up, drew the contours of discourses about how the roots of inequality are understood, how Roma children and their educational needs are constructed and what provisions for what purposes would be seen as beneficial. These explanations and justifications are exemplified very well by the following Huszár-settlement School's case.

It was in 2006 that the Chance For Children Foundation (CFCF) filed a lawsuit against the municipality of Nyíregyháza, stating that they are operating an in-settlement school with mostly Roma children living in dire conditions inside the settlement. Due to the legal pressures the municipality closed the settlement school in 2007 and transferred the children to

---

in 2012 which has raised substantial concerns, and since then all appeals in this regard had been transferred to the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Fundamental Rights.

[14] Jászladány, Kaposvár, Miskolc etc. (Zolnay 2009)

in-town schools, providing free bussing services, but the integration initiative stumbled upon major resistance from the beginning.[15] (Kerülő 2009, Kegye 2015) The legal proceedings started again in 2010 when the new city government has given the operative rights and financial support to the Greek-catholic Church to reopen the school. Running an elite institution in the city centre, now they have agreed "to also cater for Gypsy children under their Gypsy pastoral activities." (Kegye 2015 p. 75) The school started the year with 16 Roma children living in deep poverty inside the settlement.

Soon, CFCF has initiated the second lawsuit, stating that the operation of the school violates the principles laid down in the Equal Treatment Act and that Roma children are unlawfully segregated based on ethnicity. The Greek Catholic Church was also accused with the charge of in-school segregation, as it has been offering the same denominational education in its city centre parent institution, in a brand new building (Kegye 2015 p. 75) The judgment of the Nyíregyháza Court of First Instance in 2014 has claimed that both the municipality and the Church were responsible for the segregation of Roma children and obliged the defendants to terminate the school maintenance contract. However, it hasn't called for the termination of the infringement itself. (Kegye 2015 p. 76) The defendants have appealed to the Court of Debrecen for a second hearing, where the Minister of the MoHR participated in the legal proceeding as a voluntary witness, stating that "*the school operating in segregated circumstances makes 'felzárkózás' possible and facilitates that integration will be successful.*" (Kegye 2015 p. 76) The Court of Debrecen has strengthened the first judgment, but the defendants soon applied with the case to the Supreme Court (Kúria in Hungarian). This last time the legal proceedings ended, in April 2015, with the Supreme Court's decision that "*it is not unlawful to operate a church school based on the grounds of Gypsy pastoral pursuit.*"[16] (Kegye 2015 p. 76)

So, what are then the main problems demonstrated by this case? As it has already been mentioned, there are two major cases, regulated in Article 28(3), in which exculpation from violation of the principle of equal treatment can be claimed. One is the provision of religious education and the other is national or ethnic minority education. When the case concerns

---

[15] Resistance to integration has appeared on both sides. Parents from the Huszár-settlement were concerned about exclusion, racisim, transportation and distant location and they were referring to their right to free choice of school to preserve the settlement school. They knew that their children are not welcome in these elite, city schools (Kegye 2015 p. 80) Parents of children studying at one of the six elite institutions who had to admit 10-15 students each were protesting because they believed the integration of children from the Huszár telep would be detrimental to educational quality and thus lower its market value. Heads of schools were afraid that the integration would lead to middle class parents taking their children to other schools, with this contributing to a declining school population and worse performing student body. Teachers were also resisting the change, not willing to teach the settlement children. These reactions draw a very stark image highlighted in Kállai-Törzsök's study (2003 in Kerülő 2009) who stated: „ The proportion of Roma students is such an indicator which surpasses all sound viewpoints of schools choice, second language education, subject specialization, pedagogical program, (…) it is the most important factor which makes a school appealing or repulsive." This integration attempt confirmed the scientific consensus that the earlier a children is integrated the more successful his or her integrations is. (http://ofi.hu/tudastar/kerulo-judit-integracio)

[16] According to the Supreme Court parent have the right to choose not only denominational education but also a school which is located close to where they live. Kegye (2015) argues that this legal explanation was crucial as otherwise nothing would justify why there are two separate denominational schools, run by the same church, one catering for Roma children the other for not Roma children.

minority education, it has to be (1) initiated by the parents, (2) be voluntary, (3) it should not result in inferior quality and (4) the content of this sort of education has to justify separated provision. However, these sorts of provisions do not necessarily have to be resolved in homogeneous settings, meaning that providing minority education doesn't make complete separation necessary by definition. This also means, that when this case is present, the expression of parental will should be directed at the provision of such minority content, as well as the criteria of parental initiation has to be fulfilled in this same regard. The criteria of voluntary participation can be further interrogated by looking at the available choice sets, whether choosing and agreeing mean that there are no other available or accessible options without too much extra expenses. On the other hand when it concerns denominational education, the same parental will has to apply to the religious content, and separation should be based on this criteria and not on any other quality such as ethnicity or nationality. (Kádár 2009, Kegye 2015 p. 77) This was what got mixed up in case of the Huszár-settlement School, and the Court of Nyíregyháza has confirmed this claim.

What caused concern in the case of this lawsuit, was that the Greek-catholic church officially ran the school program not within a minority education framework but within a denominational one, while the segregation had a clear ethnic characteristic: the school was attended by Roma children living in deep poverty. Furthermore, it was clearly proven that such minority content was not included in the educational program of the settlement school so that it could fulfill the exculpatory criteria necessary for not violating the statutes concerning minority education. However, the Supreme Court was only probing the criteria of denominational content and if parents were giving informed consent for participating in such provision. On the other hand, it was not tested if this consent was extended by the parents to minority education, as well as if there was any necessity of the separated provision based on ethnicity. The criterion of parental initiation was neglected by the Court. It only probed the criteria of voluntary involvement regarding parental choice. (Kegye 2015 p. 81)

2.1.5   Reverting to the levels of domestic policy and legal frameworks

Kegye (2015) highlighted that what could lead to legal and interpretative confusion is that the two exculpatory criteria, discussed above, are handled under the same paragraph in the Equal Treatment Act 28 (2). This could pose a risk that they will become washed together when it concerns application and justification and makes many concerned that the lawfulness of this exculpatory criterion will become precedent. (p. 78) This would mean that this case could pave the way to the normalization of segregative educational provisions in many primary schools with Roma majority, which were transferred for operation to the Churches. She argued, that from now on, the justification could be hidden behind denominational provisions, namely Roma pastoral educational pursuits. After the second hearing by the Court of Debrecen, the MoHR had distributed a press release in which it has stated that:

> *"it is necessary to examine, what lawful means can there be for the operation of those schools which support the opportunity creating, catching up education of disadvantaged children."* (EMMI 2014 in Kegye 2015 p. 79)

The CXC Public Education Act is the other field-specific source of anti-discriminative legal instruments protecting against violations. Soon after this governmental communication, the Act's Article 27(5z) was modified by the 2014 T/2085 amendment proposal. This authorized the issuing of a government decree regulating the criteria of lawful separation (exculpatory criteria) concerning minority/denominational education. The amendment puts forth the possibility of a governmental directive which would consist of concrete procedures and formulas for the agreement between institutions and parents. When signed, they would later testify for the parent's voluntary choice and informed consent. (Kádár 2009, RSK 2015[17], Kegye 2015 p. 79)

2.1.6   The mainstreaming of the 'felzárkózás' terminology

This event was preceded in time by the amendment of the Hungarian Constitution in 2013 which is in fact the foundational document ensuring the general protection against discrimination.[18] (Kádár 2009) The T/10593 proposal has *"lifted the social convergence terminology (társadalmi felzárkózás terminológia) to constitutional level"* by including it alongside the concept of equality of opportunity. (Mike 2013 p. 1) This embedded the use of the 'felzárkózás' term in the normative, legal genre of laws which is a fundamental regulative, authoritative and normalizing domain with a directive impact on provisional interpretations. The modification altered the text in Article XV. (4). from simply being centered on equality of opportunity promoting measures to the following phrase: "the realization of equality of opportunity and social convergence (társadalmi felzárkózás) are pursued by different measures"[19] (Infoszolg 2014, Mike 2013 p. 1) The official governmental definition of 'felzárkózás' available on the website of the MoHR states that 'felzárkózás' is:

> *"the governmental function which aims at the improvement of the living conditions and social position, as well as the promotion of social integration of Gypsy people, those living in disadvantaged regions, those having low qualifications, or those hardly or not at all employable due to health impairment; and which reduces the inequalities resulting from regional or social disadvantages and from ethnic belonging as well as promotes the equal access to public services."* [20]

---

[17] RSK is the abbreviation of the Roma Sajtó Központ, which stands for Roma Media Centre. A draft version of a the possible governmental decree has been published on their website http://romasajtokozpont.hu/a-kormany-szerint-hazudunk-nem-mondjak-miben/ The entire draft can be read here: http://romasajtokozpont.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/kormanyrendelet.pdf

[18] Anti-discrimination clause: Article 70(a)

[19] What Mike (2013) highlights in his discussion is that the concept of 'social convergence' or 'társadalmi felzárkózás' is uninterpretable when weighted against the normative terminology of Equity Laws of the European Union. (p.4)

[20] Definition provided on the website of the Ministry of Human Resources: http://emmiugyfelszolgalat.gov.hu/tarsadalmi-felzarkozas/tarsadalmi-felzarkozas

What does 'felzárkózás' mean as a word if taken out from the context of this study? Based on the concise dictionary to Hungarian, *felzárkózás* (I. form) means to catch up, to converge, to close up. *Felzárkóztatás* (II. form), is the causative form of the word. Someone causes someone to do something, in this case to catch up or converge. The Társadalmi Felzárkózásért felelős Államtitkárság is the State Secretary (responsible) for Social Convergence. When I refer to this ministerial department, I will use rather the word convergence as social catching up sounds incorrect. This emphasized distinction between these expressions in Hungarian has appeared in education politics in 2010. Before the second term (II.) was in use (*felzárkóztatás*). In educational provision, during the past decades, the factitive version of the word, 'felzárkóztatás', used to be used for remedial classes (*felzárkóztató osztály*) in schools, created and separated for badly performing or behaving children. These sort of auxiliary classes came to be associated with inside school/classroom forms of segregation/separation, as these classes very often had an almost purely ethnic composition. So, what is the Hungarian word 'felzárkózás' composed of? How is it used in general? It begins with: '*fel*' which is a directive adverb. It directs the movement upward, while 'zárkózás' is a verb indicating approximation, adjustment, closing in/up- until the indicated/imaginary gap is not closed. For this reason at the level of grammar it never refers to getting further than the end of the line or, for that matter, to be getting inside. This term is also used during PE classes, when the end of the queue has to close up/catch up to the rest. But it never meant getting into the middle or to the top, or changing places, or standing in a circle without an end. Using this as an imperative verb wouldn't have any meaning when standing in a group or in a circle, only when referring to a queue which always has an end as well as a beginning.

This discussion clearly shows how unsettled the use and the attached meaning of the word is, and demonstrates how translation makes it even more complicated to give back the contextual sense of subtle notions manifest in the chosen ways of wording. The equivalent of it in official documents is translated from Hungarian to English always as 'social inclusion'. However, there is no 'in' anywhere inside the Hungarian phrase while it stands there indicatively in '*befogadás*', 'be' being a directive adverb meaning '*in*'. So, with 'felzárkózás' nothing refers to including, mixing and being part of, only to alignment and convergence up towards a desired state which is to be defined, but which certainly holds a notion of an ideal or normal.

2.1.7 Ministerial structure, state maintenance and the 'felzárkózás' strategy

The restructuring of educational governance in 2013 at the ministerial level has resulted in substantial changes. The Ministry of Human Resources (MoHR) has absorbed the former Ministry of Education and Culture and other labor and social affairs ministerial portfolios. (Szabó and Fehérvári 2013) Today the MoHR has eleven State Secretaries, including the State Secretary of Public Education, the State Secretary of Higher Education and The State Secretary of Social Affairs and Social Convergence, the three main organizational limbs

which are relevant to the focus of this thesis.[21] At the beginning of this project in 2013, the 'State Secretary of Social Affairs and Social Convergence' was yet called 'State Secretary of Social Convergence' and in October 2015 the Mister of State has terminated his service and a new Minister was appointed. Since the establishment of *the 'State Secretary for Social Convergence'* 'felzárkózás' (social convergence) has become an extensively used concept, built into legal, political and public discourse. It has become normalized and confirmed by such 'objective' terms and references as ***'convergence-politics' i.e.'felzárkózás-politika'***.[22]

The Klebelsberg Insitution Maintenance Centre (KLIK), established in 2012, is under the governance of the Ministry of Human Resources. Its creation has signaled another major structural change in educational governance by which the strategic management of public education and school maintenance has become centralized. KLIK became the employer of public school teachers, put forth the reconceptualization of school programs and teacher profiles and have assumed responsibility for many aspects of school maintenance from financing and coordination to quality assurance. It also participates in the planning processes of educational policy concerning public education and was an active participant of the Anti-segregation round table. (EC 2014) The Anti-segregation Round Table was initiated by the Minister of the MoHR back in 2013 and its purpose was to establish a consultative platform, with the participation of major stakeholders of public education and civil society representatives concerned with segregation is education, who could together draft anti-segregation policy plans and proposals for legal instruments to amend the concerned Acts. According to the governmental communication KLIK was tasked with the preparation of an anti-segregation concept and implementation package and to set up the position of the county anti-segregation referent. (MoHR 2015a, b)[23]   One of these texts commented that "*Convergence politics has been built on the inclusion of the affected, instead of on the earlier dogmatic protection of right, since the National Social Convergence Strategy's acceptance in 2011.*" (MoHR 2015 a)

---

[21] Other State Secretaries are established on the following fields: parliamentary affairs, family and youth affairs, church, nationality and civil society relations, EU development policy, health, cultural affairs, public administration, sport. (Kormány. hu)

[22] The name of the State Secretary of Church, Nationality and Civil society relations would indicate that it is a relevant State Secretary to be included in this project, as Roma/Gypsy people are considered to be one of the 13 official nationalities and part of the fabric of civil society. However, I have not found among the available articles present on the State Secretary's website any which would have anything to say in relation to Roma/Gypsy, although there were news about Croatian, Slovakian Minority/National schools, the unlawful removal of national Serbian Symbol, award ceremonies etc. This finding left me unsettled: why Roma/Gypsy are only featured in the content of the State Secretary of Social Affairs and Social Convergence be that content related to any aspect: award, culture, sport, school, work,'felzárkózás' etc.

[23] Government communication: (a) http://www.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma/hirek/a-kormany-tovabbra-sem-turi-a-szegregaciot (b) http://www.kormany.hu/hu/emberi-eroforrasok-miniszteriuma/szocialis-ugyekert-es-tarsadalmi-felzarkozasert-felelos-allamtitkarsag/hirek/ujabb-lepesek-a-szegregacio-felszamolasara My non-exhaustive research suggest that the anti-segregation proposal package has been accepted by the Parliament's Legislative Committee to modify the Public Education Act, but it has not yet go through the Parliament and been implemented. After the amendment proposal came out,eleven concerned civil society organizations submitted a objection. (Jogi Forum 2014) http://www.jogiforum.hu/hirek/32998

The National Social Convergence Strategy, referred to in the above cited quote, was preceded by the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies by 2020, which was intended to serve as a framework and guideline for the development of national integration strategies. The corresponding national strategy in Hungary has been given a different title. It is called National Social Convergence Strategy and has the following subtitle: Extreme poverty, child poverty, the Roma (2011-2012). (KIM 2011) The Strategies are normative documents that summarize the envisioned approaches and understandings of the government; it clarifies who and what are seen as the object of 'social convergence'. The detailed analysis of this document and the discourses it strengthens will be only indirectly studied in this work, however I strongly agree with the critique of both Strategies by Daróczi Anna Csilla (2013) put forth in relation to women's health.

2.2 The right to free choice of school in Hungary

The problem of the free choice of school has already been mentioned in the above elaborated discussions. Now, it is important to see, how it turned into a structural problem in Hungary; how it ended up enabling and promoting the so-called 'spontaneous' segregation, whereby schools and even districts or larger demographic areas become homogenous, catering for one or another group of students. (Berenyi et. al 2008, Kertesi and Kézdi 2005, 2013, Kerülő 2009) It had all started in 1993, with the zeal of restructuring the education system after the process of political transition. Parents were granted the right to choose their children's school freely, while the state remained responsible to provide primary and secondary education for free for all children. (Kertesi and Kézdi 2005 p. 339) [24] The malformed system which gained shape by these changes now means that better off children go to better schools and children from the lower and less fortunate segments of society end up in worse schools. This process is also not eased by the operation of private institutions, run by foundations and private actors, as well as churches, as they mostly cater for the needs of children from the higher social strata.[25] (Vidra and Fox 2011 p. 3)

The free choice of school, the fabrication of educational categories, capitation payments and other mechanisms enabling differentiation, selection and tracking of children are the main structural flaws of the Hungarian education system reproducing social inequalities. It will be vital to see what different discourses have to say about these and how

---

[24] In more detail, the schools' responsibilities with the parent's right to free choice of school are the following: schools are obliged to accommodate children belonging (living in) to the school district, meaning parents under all circumstances have the right to their children's enrollment in the district school. However parents can choose otherwise and can take their children to any selected schools where they are still entitled to free education, but in the case of out-district children it is the schools' choice to grant admission. They have the right to refuse admission and the criteria of selection it is not ordained by the law. (Berenyi et. al 2008 p. 15, Kertesi and Kézdi 2005 p. 339) For some parents moving from one school district to the other can be seen as a solution to grant place to a children into a desired institution in case the competition is large. These schools of the highest quality tend to be located in wealthier areas where people from disadvantaged socio-economic background have hardly any chance to find housing, leading to patterns of segregation. (Kertesi and Kézdi 2005, 2013)

[25] "Private, foundation or faith based schools that impose extra requirements, such as entrance exams or tuition fees from which Romani children are de facto excluded on account of their social disadvantage." (EC 2014 p. 6)

they contribute and reaffirm their functioning. (Bereczky et. al 2008, Bereczky and Fejes 2003, Kertesi and Kézdi 2013) In their book, Bereczky et. al (2008) aim to look at whom are privileged by the system and who suffer from its working. Furthermore, their goal is to support the case for a deep and broad systemic change by studying the mechanism maintaining the differentiation and discrimination perpetrating social and political aspects of the system. (p. 7)

2.3 Teacher education and the National core curriculum

Since the early 90's, higher education institutes have had autonomy to make decisions about the content of their programs. The state's educational governance renounced its rights to regulate input and retained regulatory functions only over the qualification criteria (*képesítési követelmények*). (Hunyadi 2003 p.1) This directive came into force first in teacher and nursery teacher programs. The current institutional framework has been through profound changes since the millennium, which meant the integration ('reduction')[26] of previously independent colleges into faculties of larger universities. This is how the current structure was formed with 17 institutions. [27] The new teacher education system prepares teachers for the education of children aged 6-12, whereby they become qualified to carry out teaching in all subjects from grades 1-4, and they become specialized in a chosen subject for grades 5-6. (Hunyadi 2003 p.2) What teachers are expected to teach and what the leadership is expected to encourage in schools are outlined in the National Core Curriculum. According to this conduct-directive document the history and culture of minorities should also be taught in schools. However, the majority of textbooks, now restricted to few, misses content in this regard, or include them superficially or in a problematic manner. Besides this, teachers are not likely to be substantially prepared how to work with these sorts of material or they lack preparations to engage with their content critically. (Bereczky and Fejes 2003, Vidra and Fox 2011)

2.4 Concluding thoughts on the chapter

This chapter was aiming to outline the socio-historical, legislative and institutional context within which the research and its concerns are embedded and which has constitutive effect on the studied educational reality of Roma children in Hungary. It will have utmost significance in the later chapters when I will proceed with data analysis and interpretation, which can be understood against the background of the educational policy and domestic legislative

---

[26] According to Hunyadi Györgyné (2003) the current discourse of educational reconstruction depicted the changes as 'integration', although others perceived it rather as 'reduction', which brought losses to a unified system's capability for self-representation and advocacy for the interest of the teaching profession. (p. 3,5)
[27] Eight have the status of university faculties, five became integrated collages institutes/faculties and four remained independent (three being faith based colleges and the András Pető Institute of Conductive Education and Conductor Training College has a special orientation. (Hunyadi 2003 p. 4)

framework which provides the regulations and plans for normative action to tackle educational inequalities. The next chapter will continue zooming on reviews of the relevant literature.

3 Literature review

3.1 Outlining the organization of the literature review

Putting together the literature review started with the need to problematize. Not only because the identification of a research gap or problem is generally a meta-research prone activity, but also because one of the main tasks of this project is to critically engage with the currently available problem definitions, i.e. seeing how subjects (Roma and Roma children, teachers, schools etc.) and phenomenon (inequality, segregation, ethnicity relations, 'integration' attempts) are constructed and explained. [28] The first section of the literature review starts with detailing my answer to this question. I will outline Burrell and Morgan's radical humanist paradigms and its orientations for carrying out critical research. I will also engage with two important approaches in relation to knowledge production and its producer's position. I consider these as my complementary epistemological guides helping me to reflect on the criteria of being sensitive to situatedness and reflexivity in research. Based on these premises, I will follow the chapter with reviewing the development of the critical discourse analytical approach and its progressive application to educational themes. Following this, I will rationalize and justify the choice of studying my selected topic by the concepts and methods of CDA and ask questions of the empirical literature which I will answer in the next section of the chapter. These questions already have the necessary critical discursive analytical lens and work their ways from the research questions back to them. The answers provided by this more topic-centered and empirical part of the literature review together with the background and conceptual framework will become the base upon which I'll establish the research problem, explore further in this research and look at the data gathered.

3.2 The radical humanist paradigm- a critical inquiry

Burrell and Morgan's (1979) paradigmatic framework offers a handy aid for navigation inside the thick of schools of thought and theories of the social sciences. Their four paradigms are curved out by the vertical (subjective/objective) and horizontal (regulation/radical change) axes. This extends the regular subjective-objective differentiation with the conflict-order dimension and helps researchers to better locate schools of thoughts. With this, four views of the social world emerge, working as visionary references, "intellectual territories". (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 22, 24)

---

[28] This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. Advantage because I like to walk around the topic, discover across disciplines and go to the bottom of a theme until I feel my understanding has been saturated and satisfied. It is a disadvantage because it consumes a lot of times, accumulates new questions over and over again and broadens the horizon to the extent of risking the loosing of focus. So the challenge is making compromises in between not running out of the world while seeing and showing as much as possible within the sensible limits.

The bracket this research and its approach fall into is called the Radical humanist paradigm. It has a dialectical view of the world, where versions of truths compete, where dynamic change characterizes the social world and one needs to understand conflicting positions, structures producing modes of domination. Its projects are of emancipatory nature and seek alternatives to the social status quo with changing "modes of cognition and consciousness". (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000 p. 110, Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 17, 33) Siding with the anti-positivist, subjectivist standpoint it has human consciousness at the center of its attention. This is where social reality is constructed and where modes of dominations are produced and therefore could be demolished too. The dominating structures or modes, with which theorizing under this paradigm is occupied, include culture, ideologies, political and social power, identities and social roles, institutions and social practices. (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 32, 33) Critical theories, belonging under the aegis of this paradigmatic thinking, are occupied with how issues of power, domination and injustice penetrate the social architecture. They aim at producing critiques which can shake the pillars of domination and unjust social constellations. This intent, to build critical, emancipatory knowledge for supporting radical change, sheds light on the interconnectedness of knowledge and power, and the importance of former playing in sustaining forms of oppression. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000 p. 110)

3.3 Feminist standpoint theory as a complementary epistemology

These above sketched epistemological concerns lead to the question of the situatedness of knowledge and its processes of production. As research is knowledge and is produced by researchers, it is tied to the standpoints of the persons who carry it out. It will never be completely neutral, and it will always resemble the features of the perspectives and interpretations which stem from the knower. (Henwood 1993 p.5 in Woodward 2000 p. 43, Hepburn 1997 p. 32, Rogers 2004 p. 250) Reflexivity means that the researcher attempts to turn her gaze back on herself, becoming conscious of her situatedness inside the process of knowledge construction. This means the awareness that "the person producing the theory is included in the subject matter she is trying to understand." (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, Humphries 2000 p. 13, Rogers 2004 p. 250) To deal with these questions of situatedness and reflexivity, Martineu (1999) devotes a large section of her framework to the introduction of a feminist standpoint theory. She elaborates her story and her social context, in order to reveal the power of one's life on the research she carries out. However, she stipulates that neither the researcher nor the participant should be equated with their experiences "when larger political processes produce their positionalities". (Martineu 1999 p. 33) This is the core thought of the feminist standpoint theory, which reaches beyond complete subjectivity and unites it with the positioning of the sociopolitical context.

3.4 The development of discourse analysis

3.4.1 The development of the critical discourse analytical

MacLure (2003) made a remark about the renewed world of social sciences brought by the linguistic turn; (p.4) a turn which signified that language became the focal subject of attention, suited for investigation, an entry point through which the social can be studied. (Hacker 2005 p. 1) This view stemmed from the shift in thinking which posited that "truths are textual" and that looking at the world cannot be separated from the commentary of language which translates what we see. (MacLure 2003 p. 4) But not only knowing about the world is mediated by language but also the means are. How we gain knowledge of ourselves, our being, our primordial experience and self-reflection is engrained in language. (Hekman 1986 p.110) Thus what this event, taking place in the 20th century philosophy, suggested by its approach, was that social problems may be solved by studying language and language in use. It presumed that understanding better how language construes the social world and shapes it to its own image would help to untangle the social knots still strongly holding on. (Rorty 1992 p. 3)

CDA has its stronghold within this perceptual shift and has been acknowledged as a heterogeneous, interdisciplinary approach[29] (some suggest, it has become a field in itself) with plenty of smaller and larger variations and several proponents like Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Rogers, Allan Luke, Woofit et, L. Chouliaraki and Foucault. (Wodak 2004 p. 198 in Silverman) What holds these authors and streams together is the quest to "study the relationship between language and society", and their consideration of language itself "as a meaning making process". (Rogers et. al 2005 p. 365, Moses and Knutsen p.10)[30]

Discourse analysis gained inspiration from many other intellectual founts. Psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, social semiotics, critical ethnography, post-structuralist and post-modern social and cultural studies and feminist strands were all studying into the relationship between language, socialization and modes of social formations from different angles and informed CDA. Critical social theories, which aimed at radically altering the status quo of power asymmetries, were also feeding into the study of discourses. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2011 p. 110) They together with critical language studies, a term often used interchangeably with Critical Discourse Analysis were setting a tone, connecting linguistic understanding to critical sociological analysis to see how discourses construct the social world and in reverse how they become constructed by them. (Luke 1995-96 p. 8, 11)

---

[29] In each books, articles, anthologies, reviews and single research projects the history of the development of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been tracked back to divergent depths and was highlighted from different angles. But there have been two main events which are considered to be significant for the development (establishment) of the field. One is the Amsterdam meeting of 1990, where prominent scholars met to discuss the future of CDA and which was just preceded by the publication of Fairclough's Power and Language in 1989, which have coined the term itself. The other event was the publishing of the journal *Discourse and Society*, which has tied the two together irreversibly. (Rogers et. al 2005 p.

[30] Just like discourse analysis is sensitive to the situatedness of the phenomenon studied; its own emergence was due to the socio-historical changes and turmoil, in which the then current scholarship was embedded. What is certain is that it was tapping into many sources of inspiration. The turn away from the traditional functional linguistics towards a more critical approach -on the premise signified by the shift to see "language as a form of social action"-, was one of the main drivers of changes in theorizing. (Janks 1997 p. 329)

3.4.2   Discourse analytical research on education and minorities

Critical discourse analysis gained relevance for education soon and was applied in educational contexts, where researchers observed how institutional structures, practices and curriculum were constructed and challenged by discourses, or how they helped to reproduce the social structures present. They looked at how individuals within educational settings, such as schools, classrooms, universities etc. made meaning, how forms of socialization were becoming dominant and how identities and ideologies were formed in these relations and interactions. Luke's (1995-1996) article, *Text and Discourse in Education: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis*, is particularly relevant for this research. Besides explaining how discourse studies became relevant for studying educational phenomena, it introduces several texts set in different educational and social contexts to give examples how these discursively constitute subjects, social identities and categories for children and produce what they deem valid knowledge and truths. He points out that educational research needs to devote much attention to studying discourses about minorities, which produce their deficit social position by "interleaved textual and institutional practices". (p. 38) Two works of Rebecca Rogers resonate a similar endeavor to that of Allan Luke's (1995-6), and her closing chapter *Setting an agenda for Critical Discourse Analysis* in the book *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis(2004)* edited by her, captures this need for CDA's application in educational research. Critical *Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of Literature* (2005) also organizes a range of discourse analytical studies and the questions they aim to answer set inside the field of education. They add to the existing literature which justify that CDA is a relevant approach for studying educational realities and how they are constructed in language.

In Teun van Dijk's (1993) work the social representation of minorities and ethnic groups, instances of racism, dominance and ideologies are in the centre of attention. He scrutinizes how they come to the surface of public discourses and appear in several utterances of everyday interactions and speech. Many of his studies (1993, 2002, 2007) analyze the 'elit discourses of racism', to see how they contribute to the reproduction of racism and penetrate the public and institutional spaces and marginalize certain groups.[31] Further scholars emphasizing the importance of educational research embracing discourse analytical methods include: Bernstein (1990) Hepburn (1997), MacLure (2003), Martineau (1999), Popkewicz and Brennan (1998) Robinson and Ferfolja (2002) Teun van Dijk (1981) Woodside-Jiron (2004) and many more; and as Rebecca Roger's (2005) literature review attested, they all point to the direction that carrying out discourse analysis to challenge social inequality and injustice has high relevance. This shows how the micro-world of education was and still continues to be the ante-room of the big social world, working according to the rules and

---

[31] Even though there is plenty of inspiration and practical guidance to be taken from his work peering into both linguistic and social practices leading to ethnic or racial inequality, his particular conceptual tool of the 'cognitive interface' meditating between texts and discourses, and the actions and the macro-level, will not be applied as an integral method, or theoretical concern in this research. (van Dijk 1993 p. 257)

formations of the latter and preparing for the entrance to it at the same time. (Rogers et. al 2005)

3.4.3   Question to be answered from the literature review

So how inequality prevails today in education concerning Roma children and how is it thought about? How school-failure or school's failure had been understood by decision makers? How do teacher education leaders, teacher educators and decision-makers concerned by the training and quality of teachers present and talk about the 'problem'? And finally, what do the discourses of future primary school and nursery teachers express about their conceptualization of inequality and the suitable approaches to teaching? These are important questions to explore because education is entrusted with the role to reproduce the culture and values of society. Teachers are the messengers, the ones who implement the curriculum which confines the messages and social patterns to be transmitted to the next generation, so teachers have social impact. But how is the social impact of teachers regarding Roma children? What different discourses tell about the conceptualization of teacher training and teacher quality with regards to educating those who in some sense diverge from the mainstream middle class white (boy) ideal? So what discourses have to say about the conditions and ways of teaching, which would respond to the given explanations about inequalities experienced by Roma children?

These are important questions to ponder about because the problem can and has been studied from several angles. When someone asks, what is the problem with the educational inequality of Roma children, a wide variety of answers emerge. The problem is selection and segregation. The problem is discrimination and prejudice or racism. The problem is socio-economic inequality and poverty or redistribution. The problem is the culture of these children and their family and their incapability for adaption to the majority's norms. The problem lies in the parent-school relations. The problem is the lack of well-prepared teachers. The problem is with the general ignorance. The problem is with politicians and unsustainable, short-term 'solutions'. The problem is with the child, who is not motivated, undisciplined, has partial cognitive dysfunction and is inert. The problems are with the school leadership who are under parental pressure or with the schools lacking material resources. These are all possible answers to the same question. And what does the literature say about this? How does it explain the status quo of the pervading educational inequalities affecting such a large proportion of Roma children? What knowledge does it produce and what knowledge decision-makers' discourses produce or just simply sustain? What societal constellations are supported by that knowledge? The attempt to examine some of these views and systematize the answers from the literature read will be the aim of the following second part of this chapter.

3.5 The construction of Roma identity in a historical perspective

What we know about the historical developments concerning the situation of Roma people are what different sort of texts, laws, decrees, letters and other communications conserved. These texts make it possible to understand how Roma were seen and treated throughout history. They reveal that Roma have a history of hardships in navigating their peaceful and undisturbed living in Western and Central Europe from the 16th century. Although, different regions and their rulers were demonstrating divergent attitudes, generally anti-Gypsy, the most common practice was to force Roma to settle down and to turn them into a population which can be controlled, estimated, taxed and calculated with. Both Roma and the growing anti-Gypsy sentiments of populations became extensively exploited for the purpose of the different monarchs and emperors. (Daróczi 2013, Ladányi and Szelényi 2006, Wogg 2015) One of the harshest manifestation of these decrees issued was embodied by the lawful enslavement of Roma in the territories of today' Romania throughout 500 years which was only terminated in the second half of the 19th century. In Western Europe, Roma were facing laws which permitted persecutions, bodily punishment, whipping, branding, confiscation of properties and children, expulsions, deportations and even the killing of those who were caught not complying with the ordinances of the decrees. Within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy Maria Theresia's assimilationist approach meant a change in the form of cruelty. From the second half of the 18th century she was pursuing the goal of the *"centralized state to control its subjects and integrate Roma into the existing economic system. However, the religious beliefs of a few sovereigns also played a role. They saw an honorable duty in the "civilization" of the "Gypsies" by enforcing their "re-education" into becoming "good Christians"."* (Daróczi 2013, Wogg 2015)[32] The history of oppression and the development of controversial and destructive policies could be continued in length, including the extensive persecution, internation and extermination of Gypsies during the Holocaust justified by the Nazi Regime's racial ideologies and race laws.[33]

In their book Ladányi and Szelényi (2006) took a historical approach to examine how the Roma/Gypsy ethnicity was constructed and positioned inside the social structure in Hungary and several other Eastern-European countries. The explanatory theories they developed were built around the concept of 'under-class', and drew on ideas from the culture of poverty approach in order to give an explanation of the social exclusion and poverty experienced by so many Roma in the past centuries. They assert that Gypsy ethnicity is a social construction, and the social position assigned to Gypsies (whether defined as a lower class, under-caste or underclass) is the outcome of classificatory struggles. (Ladányi and Szelényi) I do agree with their claim, that both Gypsy ethnicization and the positioning in society it has been assigned to are both social constructs. However, I disagree and will later attempt to challenge why the under-class, under-cast and culture of poverty approaches are detrimental and lock groups into the positions they meant to criticize by the exact explanations they provide.[34] (Ladányi and Szelényi 2006 p. 123)

---

[32] http://romafacts.uni-graz.at/index.php/history/general-introduction/general-introduction
[33] Estimations claim that at least 250.000 and possibly 750.000 Roma were victims of the genocide. (Wogg 2015) http://romafacts.uni-graz.at/index.php/history/persecution-internment-genocide-holocaust/holocaust
[34] This critique, though, will not mean that I am not concerned about the economic aspect of oppression and its interaction with other social processes in creating subjectivities and positions. It rather means that I will argue

Population statistics in general and several studies, including the above one asked the simple question: *who are Roma*? (Bernát 2014, Ladányi and Szelényi 2006, Kemény & Janky 2003) This question pertains to assumptions about groups, ethnicity, nationality, descent and what is means to belong and self-identify. There are two main approaches in practice to determine someone's ethnicity. One takes self-identification as the point of departure, the other the environment's opinion about whom they regard as Roma/Gypsy or they can be mixed. A study on 'Roma Ethnic Data' attempted to clarify this by offering the following characterization: „the surrounding community regards people with dark skins or Roma ancestry as Roma. (…) Roma are defined on the basis of their decent. In this sense a professional who is known by his/her colleagues to be the child of Roma parents is considered to be Roma *even if* he/she denies having a Roma background." (Kemeny and Janky 2005 p. 73) The justification behind this approach is that with the exception of few cases when the origin is not visible, the environment keeps record of the ethnicity of a Roma individual, resulting in the fact that many Roma who identified themselves as Hungarians, are still locked into others' perception regarding ethnic belonging. When it concerns self-identification the question of dual identities or binary identities and the difference between nationality and ethnicity can become decisive. Kemény and Janky (2005) write that there are many individuals who identify as Roma/Gypsy or Roma/Gypsy and Hungarian but when it concerns nationality rather identify as Hungarian in the first place or Hungarian Roma/Gypsy.[35] This more inclusive and dual self-identification may be a response to transcending the apparent Roma vs. non-Roma binary, which is continually constructed in language and which is perceivably more prevalent on the part of the majority society, whose identification and self-identity is naturalized and not called into question and therefore serves as the basis of comparison.[36]Lastly, the 'who is Roma?' question can be transformed by the discourse analytical approach and asked in another manner: what identity (subjectivity) different discourses construct for Roma and how these position them? The next section with deal with this question and will look at discourse studies' findings about how identities get constructed inside discourses.

---

that these approaches still used in the current scholarship are incapable challenging the ideas they criticize and that they inherently locate the problem within the group only by using different explanations.

[35] The original meaning of *ethnic* Ladányi and Szelényi writes (2006 p. 125) is "*'other, not like us'* ". The name Roma has been given the role to act as an umbrella term overarching a diversity of groups and to become a host of a positive identity, but some disfavor this and rather identify as Gypsy. This, points to **the importance of the struggle of naming**, and the political leverage and political connotations different terms can have.

[36]For example, Gypsy on the other hand, is often used in a pejorative manner. That is also demonstrated by the case when one non-Roma calls another Gypsy because in most cases that is directed at the other person as an intended offense. But in order to know that, one need to have a shared understanding of what possessive this name is associated with because that supposedly shared implicit meaning and unuttered association is what carries the offense, not the name in itself.

3.6 Discourse studies related to identity and problem construction in education

There are several empirical studies addressing a wide range of educational themes which aim to highlight how subjects, knowledge, truths and also social problems are constructed by discourses; how social identities and categories are molded and assigned to those involved in the educational settings. (Daróczi 2013, Hepburn 1997, Kocetape 2005, Martineau 1999, Robinson and Ferforlja 2002) Robinson and Ferfolja's (2002) study pre-service teachers' perceptions on sexual minorities and the discourses accommodating these views. They look at the effects of TT students' resistance to teach about the complex world of sexuality, to reflect on homophobia and prejudices resulting in social injustice and inequality for the group becoming 'othered' in this positioning. This study is relevant to my research, because it looks at how the construction of normality, here in terms of 'heterosexuality' goes about and how it simultaneously constructs non-heterosexual's identity "as deviant and abnormal". (p. 56, 57) This positioning, assigning positive value to one side and negative to the other has been talked about as the 'notion of dualities' which "organizes our understanding of ourselves and others". (Hepburn 1997 p. 32)

As hetero-and homosexual subject positions and gender relations or ethnic identities become constructed through people's accounts, so can be the image of bullies and those bullied. In this case, the subjectivities we create through our discourses have an impact on how we access the problem of *bullying*; whether we see it as something serious, a problem of societal relevance, something pertaining to individual responsibility or as children's teasing. This, as a result, influences what we end up blaming and where we look for solutions. Hepburn's interview-based empirical study looked at how teachers give accounts of the phenomenon of bullying in schools and how they constructed it as a social problem. It aims to highlight how the child "becomes a subject", and how and on what ground the different subject positions (be that the bully, the bullied, the homosexual, deviant, truant, gypsy or the resilient child) are constructed and mapped out in discourses. (Hepburn 1997 p. 34, Martineau 1999, Robinson and Ferfolja 2002)

Martineu (1999) takes a similar approach to that of Hepburn's when she looks at how children's responses who experience(d) complex trauma are constructed and how childhood resiliency emerges as "an ideological code" constituting the norm for coping for other children exposed to "social risks". Resilience, both as a phenomenon and as a concept, is problematized, just as bullying is and they both suggest deconstruction of these terms for a more critical understanding. From this, one can see that not only identities and groups are formed by discourses but social problems and our interpretations of them too. In this case this concerns the educational inequality pertaining to Roma children and the responding provisional 'solutions'. (Hepburn 1997 p. 27, Martineau 1999)

3.7 How identity and problem constructions impact the forms of provision and classroom happenings?

3.7.1 The realities of segregation and integration

The third sub-question guiding this inquiry was asking: (2) *what implications do the identified discourses have on the imagined, practical means of educational provision concerning Roma/Gypsy children?* What effect does this have on conceptualizing the meaning and conditions of integration or segregation? Researchers talk about segregation and integration from different points of views, with slightly altered undertones, which make it sometimes hard to decide what is understood by the concept in a certain discursive event. Issues of segregation and integration at the level of schooling are an extensively researched areas in Hungary. (Erőss 2012) Their nature and justification has also got much attention in recent political debates, for example on the occasion of the Anti-segregation roundtables and the recent amendments to the Public Education Act, and it has also become a consistent occupation of public discussions. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will be reviewing the literature in this regard and will present competing arguments about how segregation and integration are understood and what impact that actually has on the perceived educational reality of a multitude of Roma children in today's Hungary.

Kertesi and Kézdi's (2005, 2009, 2013) studies look into inter-school segregative tendencies, mechanisms and practices at the primary school level in Hungary in order to examine how social inequalities are amplified by segregation occurring inside the Hungarian school system. In their 2013 study titled '*Ethnic Segregation Between Hungarian Schools: Long-run trends and geographic distribution*' they show, how "the between-school segregation of Roma versus non-Roma students in the 1980-2011 period" has increased. It is a well established fact (in Hungary), that children from disadvantaged, poor families are very likely to be provided worse quality education then their peers and the same applies to many Roma children when their educational chances are compared to the majority's. (Eőss 2012, Gorski 2010, Havasi and Liskó 2005, Kertesi and Kézdi 2005, 2013, Fehérvári 2009, Radó 2007, Zachos 2012, Zolnay 2006) It has been also shown, that schools with a higher than average percentage of disadvantaged or/and Roma children are a lot more likely to (1) suffer from lack of teaching stuff, (2) have teachers teaching subjects who are not qualified for it or (3) do not even have any/proper qualifications in teaching. (Bereczky and Fejes 2010, Fehérvári 2009) The same has been shown by researchers studying the educational treatment of racial minority children in the USA. (Miskovic 2009 p. 206) While several studies prove and assert that -in whatever form it may be realized- segregation has a deteriorating impact on children not much political commitment, consensus and thus, sustainable improvement have been achieved in spite of the tentative projects implemented. (Bereczky and Fejes 2010)

3.7.2 The means and impact of segregation- from narration to manifestation

Segregation can occur along the fault line of assumed or tested capabilities and levels of cognitive development, or by ethnicity and race, separating and differentiating according to visible body/skin features (phenotypes) associated with a group. Sometimes these two are mixed, and selection according to ethnicity or social status results in an ability-based segregation and vice versa. (Erőss 2012, Kertesi and Kézdi 2005 p. 319, Miskovic 2009, Zachos 2012) In Europe and in Hungary, the majority of Roma children have long experienced segregated forms of educational provision/services, which manifest in different forms. Segregation can be realized in between schools within the same district or town, both catering for a largely homogenous student population, one being exclusive for the better-off children while the other institution struggles with lack of facilities, well-trained, knowledgeable leadership and teachers. (Kegye 2015) When it comes to teacher quality under these circumstances, it has been observed that in segregated schools, teacher's preparedness and professionalism is lower than usually, coupled with the beyond average pedagogical challenges these environments evoke. This is in stark contrast with the research findings which stipulate the utmost importance of quality teachers and teaching methods for student success, for any kinds of student's success. (Miskovic 2009, Zachos 2012) But the lack of great teaching staff in segregated schools is a main but not first line problem. Such schools are themselves problematic on the first place, as they reproduce social inequalities and division; they encourage mutual suspicion, and result in the oppression and unfair treatment of those positioned negatively by the effects of separation.

Martin Luther King (1963) in his *Letter from Birmingham jail* explains about the effects of segregation on the oppressed through a very personal though very universal story. He refers to the hardness of his and his daughter's experience, when he had to tell her, why she cannot attend the public amusement park. He invokes how these instances of differentiation and separation creep in shaping the soul, identity and inner world of a child, leaving their haunting shadows behind. Seeing *"the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness towards white people" you would "understand why we find it difficult to wait"* for changes brought by time, writes King to those who spurred him for patience. (p.2)Thus, racism in this sense reveals a treatment which indicates and incites in someone the feeling of "sub-humanness" or inferiority because of his/her belonging to a particular group. Miskovic (2009) warns of the lack of research looking into the historical, often times ideological, politicized construction of the Roma/Gypsies and the consequences which led to "legal, political and social discrimination and oppression" to be the share of many. This, she sees as a group's submission to the process of racialisation. But, both Miskovic (2009) and Launder (2010) highlight that there is rarely any willingness to build on the concept of race and racism when looking at visible minorities being mostly conceptualized in ethnic terms. (p. 209) Therefore, they call for the reevaluation of the race concept and its application.

3.7.3   Constructions and problematisations of segregation

When it comes to segregation there are two main approaches to the problematization in research. One can look at segregation as inherent in the decentralized school system: (1) in the right to free choice of school, (2) the implicit 'right' and conduct of schools for choosing their student population (3) or in the demographical and per capita biases. On the other hand one can question whether these are all conserved by the rules, laws, practices and not least by political interests, which legitimate the construct of the school system. The first approach sees this as such a tangled process that it assumes that 'unintentional segregation' cannot be helped by any political measures. This perception claims that it has become a self-perpetrating process which is often referred to as 'spontaneous segregation'. (Kertesi and Kézdi, 2005, 2009, 2011) Would this construction of segregation as 'spontaneous' and 'naturally occurring' be able to remove the sense of responsibility to do something about the processes creating it? Or can municipalities, school leadership and counselors, parents, politicians in segregation attempt to inquiry into the nature of segregation and the justification?

On a similar note, Zolnay (2006) poses the following question in the beginning of his study: does ethnic (racial) segregation have a responsible agent?[37] What he (2006) aims to observe is whether municipalities have the space for making decisions. My questions are partially mirrored in this pursuit in the sense that I would also like to see the spaces of action, but in case of this research in discursive terms. This is already an approach to problematisation which concerns the relationships between prejudices and the enacted discrimination. Erőss and Gárdos (2007) on the other hand criticize the results and short-cuts of prejudice focused research, saying that they cannot really give an explanation for "what short of mechanisms operate discrimination". They come to the conclusion that the perpetrators of discrimination are institutions and people who carry out duties under the aegis of these institutions. So, when negative individual attitudes act under the legitimacy of an institutional framework that can lead to discrimination enacted and be the foundation of segregation. (Erőss and Gárdos 2007)

3.7.4   Views on integration: problematizing a concept

In this part, I will deal with the idea and concept of integration (and social inclusion)[38], how it is thought about in the sociological literature and policy making, what notions it carries as a concept and why it is critical to be critical about it on the first place. (Erőss 2012, Daróczi 2013, Dupcsik 2012, Kovách & Dupcsik 2012, Neményi 2012) In educational discourse, integration, is mostly understood to be representing ideas and processes which embrace the

---

[37] A brief summary of a lawsuit from 2005 highlights the underlying operation of prejudices. The claimant (an NGO) filed a suit against a school in Miskolc in which Roma children were separated from non-Roma students within the school. Their aim was to stop segregation. As a response, the defendant had taken the position that this action would not lead to the equality of educational opportunities amongst students, but instead would realize migration from one school to another, and soon manifests itself in a growing phenomenon of in-between school segregation. (Zolnay 2006 pg. 49) Zolnay (2009) also states that „to parents the ratio of Roma children in schools is one of the most important factor of school choice". (Kállai 2003 cited in Kádár 2009)

[38] These two are often used interchangeably.

36

opposite attitudes and social purposes than segregation does. (Dupcsek 2012) Integration became a referencing term after the political transition in Hungary. It started to be used for such political, policy and civil society aspirations which pursued the creation of the "conditions of cooperation" between different social groups enmeshed in hierarchical positions.[39] (Neményi 2012 p. 306) In her article, titled the '*Dilemmas of naming*', Mária Neményi (2012) highlights, –what she calls the "*language-political game*"- the struggle of names and descriptions used for both the concerned processes and the subjects implied by them. She (2012) further points out that what often remain undefined in these naming quests are the aspects of agency: who are envisioned as the complying subjects and who are the ones directing these processes? (p. 306)

According to Kovách and Dupcsik (2012) there are three main uses of integration on the level of terminology. The first one concerns the fundamental questions of sociology; how societies work and what holds them together as an integrated whole. Education has a substantial role in ensuring integration at this societal level. (Fellegi and Ligerti 2003) At the second and third levels, the use of the term is related to social groups and their relations. Integration, in this second dimension of expert and political discourse, is used for describing and referring to "concrete phenomena, mechanisms, organizing principles and modalities in the functioning of institutions". (Kovách and Dupcsik p. 10) Kovách and Dupcsik (2012) say, that while integration in this sense can refer to the "connectivity of theoretically equal parties", it is rather about the integration of one or more small units into a larger one, whether those units are social groups, institutions or even larger social formations such as states.[40] (p. 10)Therefore, when the concept refers to the integration of a minority into a larger entity, whether that entity is represented by the classroom or the whole society, it might in fact be referencing a process of "incorporation and accommodation" which happens along a certain expected criteria of conformation. This may present "the 'integration problem' as the given minority's 'problem', - as if it was a 'problem' stemming from their 'otherness'" while those who are on the receiving side of the integration process will be presented as more unified. (Kovách and Dupcsik 2012 p. 11, Bereczky and Fejes 2003, Neményi 2012) In this case integration would remain on a procedural dimension, which is the act or process of incorporation. And while it might be addressing redistribution on economic terms and even in terms of access, it might not be extended to recognition and dignity concerns or to the examination of the terms in which they will become subjects of social justice.

---

[39] The terms 'social integration' and 'social inclusion' are found, for example, in the names of the EU Framework of National Roma Integration Strategies and Decade of Roma Inclusion, which are entrusted to offer legislative, policy and implementation guidance to nation states. This is also apparent in the Hungarian National Social Convergence Strategy which was created within the Roma Integration Framework Strategies. All of these pronouncedly pursue the economic and social integration of Roma. (Daróczi 2013)
[40] Integration discourse in education also includes the situation of children with 'special needs' (SNI). There is an extensive debate at parental, institutional and political levels, when education should be provided in integrated settings and when segregated. This is also a debate about what constitutes such a mental or physical disability that separate education would be needed. In the case of the study special educational institutions become important because ethnically/racially/culturally Othered children run higher risk of being classified as having mental disabilities and then relegated to special education institutions to be helped to catch up. The aim is often reintegration, but studies show that hardly any children end up getting back to mainstreams schools or study further on secondary level institutions.

Understandings of integration at the policy and school levels

In his study, Erőss (2012) overviews the terms, categories and "socio-semantic uses" of the last decades' "integration and 'equality of opportunity' discourses". The prevalence of this terminological multiplicity and ambiguity is also suggested by Dupcsik (2012) and can be particularly well demonstrated with the different ways in which 'integration' appears in discourses related to education and the attempts of readjusting the educational system. (p. 243)[41] Erőss (2012) distinguishes four different periods of public policy paradigms or 'conceptual switches' which occurred between 1993 and 2010 in Hungary in this regard. During the period between 1993 and 2002 the dominant thinking about integration and opportunity equalizing was understood in 'cultural-essentialist terms". (p. 264) This was the time when the Act on National and Ethnic minorities entered into force and the focus was on guaranteeing minority rights and cultural autonomy to ethnic and national minorities. The next phase leading up to 2005 centered on codifying desegregation supporting measures and drafting the domestic anti-discrimination legal framework. From 2004 onwards, the EU driven public policy approach to integration has took the stage with the implementation of "the tools of new public management". The fourth stage identified by Erőss (2012) represented the "second wave of EU developments" under the aegis of the principle of equality of opportunity and had the purpose of mainstreaming along a "horizontal system of criteria" of developments. (p. 264)

The following period after 2011 could be coined with the idea of 'felzárkózás'. In her thesis, Anna Daróczi (2013) asks "what is meant by 'integration of Roma' (…)" in the EU Roma Integration Framework and the corresponding Hungarian 'Felzárkózás' Strategy. Moreover, she problematizes what the "dis-integratedness of Roma" could in this case mean. (p. 4) Drawing on Wallerstein's (1991) and Foucault's (1991) theories, Daróczi (2013) offers the explanation that ethnicized differentiation is a response to the need of the majority for social power and domination over the processes of labor-division. The minority therefore is taught and socialized into having different kind of behaviors, expectations, life-prospects, which is then referenced as that group's culture to justify the "hierarchical reality of capitalism" and the corresponding labor market. (Wallerstein 1991 p. 84 in Daróczi 2013 p. 10) Therefore, in order to better understand ideas behind segregation and integration, impacting both the forms and contents of provision, more needs to be known about the way equality and social justice are thought about. At the end of their research, Bereczky and Fejes (2010)[42] learnt that teachers are mostly concerned about 'integration'[43] as a methodological problem present at the school level and that they are not aware what 'integration' may imply at a systemic,

---

[41] In his study, Dupcsek (2012) summarizes the opposing anti-segregation and anti-integration argumentation strategies and presents on both sides the most regularly employed arguments. (p.245)

[42] The study is titled: The examination of teachers attitudes and experiences in relation to a desegregation measure.

[43] Bereczky and Fejes (2010) define integration as the joint education of those children who are from different socio-economic background, disadvantaged or better-off. (p.329) However, the participating teachers named financial and municipality support, methodological innovations and public opinion as the main components needing change for the promotion of integration. And as a reverse, the lack of these, were seen as the main inhibiting forces of integration. (p.333)

38

societal level. Their study showed that teachers understood the main purpose of integration to be the teaching of toleration, and didn't see it as a pursuit aiming to fix inequalities and injustices apparent in the education system. Following from this, in the last part of this literature review, I will tackle questions pertaining to these observations at the level of the actual provision and teaching both in schools as well as in teacher education institutions.

3.8 How do these ideas translate into classroom practice?

3.8.1 Teaching quality and what should teachers be prepared to do?

Building on the findings of previous research[44], studies by E.G Cohen (1991), G.Gay (2002) and A. K. Lauder (2010) demonstrate the necessity of research looking into classrooms to see how teachers deal with ethnic diversity, heterogeneous groups of children, and children from minority or lower class backgrounds. What gains extra attention in their study is how teacher education gets pre-service teachers prepared for this. *Transforming Teacher Education: What went wrong with teacher education and how can we fix it*? (2010), similarly aims to find an answer to why minority groups generally underperform, (why they end up underperforming, what makes/leads them underperform) and how the hegemonic model of teaching has an influence on this, by "investigating the knowledge base and thinking processes of teaching". (p. prologue) Several studies cited by Kárpáti (2009) and Kertesi and Kézdi (2005 p. 332) among them the OECD Report *Teachers Matter*, concluded that the most crucial educational factors in student achievement is that of the teachers and the quality of their work. Their effect on children's educational success is nearly equivalent with the impact of the family background –falling slightly on the second place- when observing influential factors on a broader scope. (p. 203)

However, as the questionnaire-based impact assessment study of trainings on integration provided for in-service teachers, -conducted by Fehervari (2009 p. 59-62) with the participation of ~2569 respondents- shows, the majority of teachers hold Roma families and their traditions responsible for the school failure of so many Roma children. Hardly anyone questions from the sample the role of teachers and the teacher-training institutes which prepare them for their profession and the ideas, norms and policies regulating these trainings. Bereczky and Fejes's (2010) and Fellegi and Ligeti's (2003) studies resulted in similar findings. Their data showed that when asked about integration, teachers hardly pointed out the selectivity of the Hungarian school systems, or the problem of inequality of treatment. On the

---

[44] „There is evidence that ethnicity, language accent and visible ethnic appearance act as status characteristics. Research on status characteristics has demonstrated the power of differences in race, ethnicity and perceived academic ability to activate differential expectations for competence." (Cohen 1991 p.12-13) //a good teacher would be aware about these effects, unconscious biases and learn how to counter-act them//

other hand teachers often assessed school failure to be the result of cultural differences, stemming from the Roma.[45] Therefore, Roma's responsibility was questioned earlier than the school's or they system's. (p. 333)[46] Besides those research projects which approach the questions of integration and segregation from the angle of the educational system and institutional processes (Erőss 2012, Erőss & Gárdos 2012, Havas & Liskó 2005, Havas 2009, Kertes and Kézdi 2005, 2009) there are several studies focusing on the attitudes, experiences, prejudices and assessments of teachers and the relation of these to 'school failure' or schools failing a certain group of children. (Bereczky and Fejes 2010, Bordács 2001, Dudás 2007, Fehérvári 2003, Fellegi and Ligeti 2003, Liskó 2001, Nagy 2001 & 2002)[47] Referring to further research, Kárpáti (2009) writes, that Hungarian teachers' conception of learning is often that of knowledge reproduction and students are exposed to rote-learning chiefly. (p. 210) There is one more characteristic of the Hungarian teacher education system which she finds important to highlight as a problem and that regards the very often lower than average educational achievement and skills those students have who end up choosing the teaching profession. This is further troubled by the enrolled student per teacher educator ratio, which has also a negative impact on the quality of delivered education according to Varga (2007) and Karpáti (2009).

When the question 'how teachers deal with diversity' is problematized, the related findings show that (1) most teachers receive training which prepares them to work in "culturally and socially homogeneous classes with ('white middle class children")", and that (2) the teaching of diversity sensitive pedagogies' is not widespread. It is assumed, that this lack of knowledge and preparedness leads to "intolerance towards 'otherness' in several forms. (Gay 2002, Havasi 2009, Vidra and Fox 2011p.3) In their view, both the policy environment which doesn't manage to secure implementation even when it stresses the integration of such materials in theory, and the pedagogical practices of teachers are conceived in non-toleration.[48]

---

[45] Fellegi and Ligeti (2003) has emphasized that explaining problems with culture was predominantly featuring in the accounts of teachers. They warn that these sort of culture heavy explanations can become the engines of ethnicization, as well as help new kind of prejudices take shape.

[46] The research was prepared with the participation of 17 teachers with whom phenomenological depth-interviews were conducted to study extensively and in depth their attitudes and experiences.

[47] When comparing the requirement for teacher competences between the Hungarian regulations and that of the EU directives, Karpati (2009) notes a divergence on two points relevant to this thesis' focus. One regards the lack of attention to „social and civic competences" and „interest in highlighting and solving problems", the other concerns a very general wording of teacher competences when it comes to differences. While the EU document presses the importance to caring for „the needs of pupils or students of different social, cultural or ethnic background", the Hungarian directive phrases it under the following approach „exploit the pedagogical potential inherent in learner communities, assist an understanding of individual differences, make use of inter-cultural education programs, develop co-operation skills." (p.204, 205)

[48] This is despite the results of several large, sample-based international research projects, which were also cited and summarized in Hungarian in Kertesi and Kézdi (2005 p. 324-332). Their review of the most prominent international research projects, aiming to understand the impact of teachers, highlighted the positive correlation between teacher's quality (ability, knowledge, attitudes) and the performance of students. In these studies, teacher's decisions about teaching methods and pedagogies, has been shown to have significant influence on pupil's engagement, cognitive development and success. (Kertesi &Kézdi 2005 p.324, 332, Kende 2001)

Findings from a discourse analytical study

A less usual approach was employed in John Fox's and Aniko Vidra's study, titled *The embodiment of (in)tolerance in discourses and practices addressing cultural diversity in schools in Hungary. The case of the Roma.* [49] One of the results of the multiple readings of this discourse analysis was that I became uneasy with the concept of tolerance. I turned my uneasiness into critique in the theoretical chapter, where I discuss why I don't think tolerance is a beneficial concept for theorizing about educational inequality and 'social problems' connected to social groups. I also ended up disagreeing with the established discursive categories, which were presented in terms of '*the cultural accommodation of Roma in the school system*', and conceptualized 'integration' and segregation on culture-centric approaches. For this reason, their analysis of the policy debates about segregation and integration didn't transcend the interpretative lens of culture. Even the 'social-integrationist approach' uses culture-based interpretations to explain inequalities in education. This made me think whether this is because of the research questions were directly looking for discourses on '*cultural accommodation*' or is it because the general Hungarian perspective doesn't transcend the cultural interpretation and therefore this is what necessarily emerged from the data? [50] For the brief illustration of the findings of their research in relation to the prevalent discourses, I have prepared Table V., enclosed in Annex C.

3.9 Justification of my research by the literature

All the empirical research, I have encountered during my review of the literature regarding teachers, their experiences and perceptions connected to teaching Roma children (Bereczky and Fejes 2010, Bordács 2009, Dudás 2007, Fellegi and Ligeti 2003, Fehérvári 2003, Fehérvári and Liskó , Liskó 2001, Nagy 2001, Nagy 2002) were strengthening me in the belief that not only teachers themselves, but teacher education programs and teacher education institutions hold a very important position in dealing with societal inequalities. Radó (2001) emphasized that there are broader influences in operation when it comes to teaching; both the institutionalized and more hidden aspects of discrimination can become resources of pedagogical problems and have an impact both on the self-understanding and the performance of students. But in what forms do these appear and become transmitted? Critical theorists concerned with language, claim that communication is a constitutive social practice, therefore the way we use language have powerful impact on our perceived social reality and how it gets shaped. (Fairclough 1995) In 2008 the report produced by EDUCATIO on

---

[49] The similarities stroke me in terms of the methodological approach, the focus and the sampling of participants, and also made me unsettled. What is the point of my work now, I asked puzzled? I have only figured that out, while I was struggling to justify my research in light of their work, how much their project helped me better understand mine and I also started to see the points where I disagreed.

[50] In APPENDIX C I included the table with my tentative summary of the main findings of their discourse analysis

multicultural education posed the question: *"Have there been, similarly to that of healthcare, a research which has looked at the minority related stereotypes of the adult participants of public education, of educational decision-makers, educational policy-makers, directors and educators in relation?"* (p. 283)

In the Hungarian context, Vidra and Fox's (2011), Erőss (2012) Dupcsik's (2012) study were filling in this gap, studying up and seeing what those, who have more say in social matters, actually say. Hepburn (1999 p. 37) has also emphasized the importance of studying the perceptions, interpretations and experiences of those who are in positions of power, who work on the policies guiding a certain social practice, an institution or a segment of the educational system. This also motivated me to extend my sampling to see how those in power positions think about the roles, responsibilities, capacities and purposes of teacher education institutions, the teachers they train and their own when it concerns the educational inequality of Roma children. Hunyadi Györgyné (2003) and Robinson & Ferfolja's (2002) also stressed the importance of a critical approach when they asked for the revision of pre-service teacher's education, saying that they "need to be educated about the politics of difference and how it operates in schools and the broader society to be able to deconstruct discourses that constitute inequalities". (Robinson & Ferfolja 2002)

3.9.1 Locating this research in the literature

In the literature review I have presented empirical and theoretical works which will guide my analysis. Furthermore, their findings will give weigh to my later arguments by offering related scientific evidence. I have extensively studied the relevant literature on segregation in Hungary and I have drawn on international examples too. However, my research will rather complement these works than build on them. The reason for this lies in my treatment of the phenomenon of segregation as I will not define it as '*The problem*' but I will handle it rather as a symptom. Therefore, what I will problematize and will be concerned about are rather the ways of speaking and thinking which justify segregative practices, the narratives and discourses which are drawn on when it concerns separation or integration in provision. As Dupcsik (2012), Daróczi (2013) and Kovách and Dupcsik (2012) showed the meanings of these terms are contested and fluid; and the different explanations of inequality and definitions of 'the problem' will lend divergent meaning to 'integration' as a term. In this process the construction of identities/subjectivities, the conceptualization of groups, belonging and naming are having utmost importance. This is what links together ideas about inequality with the theorizing about current provision and planning for 'resolution'. The works of Hepburn (1997), Kocatape (2005), Martineau (1999), Robinson and Ferfolja (2002) are such empirical studies which were taking a very similar methodological approach and put at the heart of their work the construction of subjectivities in discourses and their connection to the different problem explanations.

My research falls on the conflux of several approaches and perspectives and builds on insights from several disciplines. In this sense, its contribution would be to bring a

contextualized, empirically supported case to the available literature on the relations between inequality, education, minorities and discourses in a critical manner. I aimed to establish a strong connection between the literature review and the theoretical framework in this chapter. I worked with materials which discuss relevant ideas and research findings in relation to the two sub-questions and the second research question which represents the contextual and empirical aspect. The next chapter prepares the ground to answer the first and the third research questions. However, these grounding chapters are to a large extent interdependent and bring in perspectives from different directions.

4 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction to the conceptual and analytical frameworks

Our choices are 'political'. Making a choice means deciding what we want to see and where we want to govern others' attention. Our choices of words draw on available discourses, their conceptual and communicative resources and by this they fix the "direction of thought". (Hekman 1986 p. 110, Diaz et. al. 2007) But before individual choices get too quickly judged, one needs to ask: what knowledge informed them? What knowledge is made available to us to build from? To what extent are these choices constrained? And finally what does it all have to do with justice and injustice?

In this chapter, I will elaborate on these concerns with the help of critical approaches problematizing the social processes behind the (communicative) choices we make. Building on my ontological and epistemological framework about the nature of social reality and knowledge production, I will theorize about the forms and effects of social power, notions of identities and subjectivities, and the manners in which they work through, and are worked through the competing discourses to position individuals and groups. This section will constitute the conceptual body of the thesis and will later support me in looking for specific data and their interpretation. Based on the literature review and the first reading of the transcripts, several concerns, concepts, theories, representations and discourses emerged regarding the education of children who are deemed in some sense different from the 'norm'. These, I intend to track through the levels of Fairclough's discourse analytical model to see, if the discourses and their critique apparent in the literature are manifest in the texts of the interviewees. Then, I will elaborate on these main, explanatory concepts and will attempt to question their taken for grantedness and explanatory power.

In the second part of the chapter, I will introduce the narrower and more systematic, analytical perspective provided by Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. Here, I will mostly highlight its theoretical relevance and leave the methodologically applicable part and the more precise tools for data analysis to the next chapter. Following this, I will try to see how the purpose of schooling is understood and if there are competing purposes constructed for different subjects. I do this, because my interest concerns the field of education and questions pertaining to schooling, -the school-society relationship in the broadest sense- and how different social group are implicated in these relational processes.

4.2 Conceptual framework

4.2.1   Discourse, social power and injustice

So why having a justice perspective?

We need to deal with justice because justice is at the heart of social matters, well-being and inner and outer prosperity. The way justice is understood in common sense will be inevitably turned into practice. For example, what is the common sense thinking about poverty? How do we think about it, describe it and give reasons for its prevalence? How do we conceptualize its existence and justify it in a way, that it gains theoretical capacity to present poverty as 'justly' deserved by some people. This leads to the next unfolding discussion on the notions of injustice and their connection to ways of knowing and social power. This, towards the end, will feed into a critical conceptualization about social justice and its relevance to the particular topic of this thesis. I start out with a brief, preliminary definition of 'discourse' in order to have a working definition. Broader elaboration will follow in the methodological chapter, where *discourse* will also be seen in its quality as data.

Words are saturated, charged with meaning, memories, experiences, moods and intentions, they can become the terrain of contest and struggle for people over understanding. They "map onto, curve on, bring into being (…), categorize and explain the things they describe." (Derek Edwards 1996 in MacLure 2003 p. 5) Discourse then is the 'wordly' manifestation of the lens through which one sees and understands a phenomenon, conceptualizes about it and seeks to give an explanation. In the end, these are the words and concepts, -made available to us- from which we make our 'wordly' choices and become able to express ourselves and get hold of our social experiences. (Fricker 2007 p.9) Because I will talk about hierarchy, domination, marginalization, injustice and abstract, conceptual inequality, power and power relations are important to look at and explore. So, how does it function that certain accounts of social reality become dominant and marginalize others? How discourses and their carrier, language, contribute to mediating and maintaining unjust power relations between certain groups? This is what discourse analysts consider to be their task to uncover by critical inquiry; how discourses are embedded in a network of power, how one discourse can become a dominant interpretation and then naturalize subjectivities in certain ways. (Kocatepe 2005)

Power as authority and representation

Social power can be understood as "the capacity (…) of social agents to influence how things go in the social world" with the aim to "effect social control". (Fricker 2007 p. 9, 13) In the domains of communication, representation and language social power includes the capacity to control the production, dissemination and reproduction of discourses, as well as their ideological content and the knowledge they engender. As Hepburn (1999) quoted Ball (1999 p. 2), it is "not only about what can be said and thought", what is deemed thinkable, but

also about "who can speak, when and with what authority". (p.57) Access to social resources through the abuse of social power can position individuals better-off within society. Exclusion from social resources can push those marginalized or unfairly represented into permanent socio-economic and recognition-withdrawing marginalization. This abuse of power is what becomes the most problematic. (Fricker 2007, van Dijk 1993) Wodak and Fairclough (1997, 2004) highlight how social power is played out in discourses through their ability to control the (re)presentations of subjectivities with this, establishing firm boundaries of authority and access. This struggle over representation happens in order to achieve and establish a dominating interpretation of reality. (Diaz-Bone 2007)

The ideological working of discourses

Fairclough (2013) asserts that it is a characteristic of modern societies to exercise power through consent and ideologies instead of force, and that the medium through which ideological aspirations can be brought to light is language. Discourses, recurring through events and texts, -from the most commonplace conversations to political speeches- hold the ideology-saturated, cognate versions of the world together. He argues, in the beginning of his book, that language has become the "primary medium of social control and power". [51]

When social power operates through discourses, it connects the construction of social identities to the shared conceptions about what it means to belong to a group, what it means for instance to be woman, black, to be trans-sexual, Roma or any mix of these. (Fricker 2007) According to Fraser (2000), these social variants[52] are "immutable aspects of a person's identity". (p. 18) Fairclough (2003, 2013) sees these as „modalities of power" (p. 9) which meditate relations between groups, beliefs, values. He holds them being capable of setting up hierarchies, thus becoming agents of domination and exploitation in their struggle for representation. (p.3)

Subjectivities as modalities

The conceptualization of subjectivity has a key importance in how social justice is theorized about. Its concept is similar to the notion of identity but they diverge in several aspects. The general understanding of identity rests on the assumption that it signifies an unchanging, unified self. What this conceptualization of the self in Western philosophical thought means, is that there can be a rational, self-conscious individual and her/his essence which is unaffected by external, contextual factors, even its own body and the perception of that. (Jane Flax 1993) This perspective has become the dominant definition, which need to be broken through in order to highlight how 'identities'/subjectivities get constructed from the outside, as well as get politicized. Subjectivity therefore, is a condition or way of being which is to a

---

[51] However, he also asserts that it is not only language in which power can be manifested. He reminds the reader that people getting deprived of their livelihoods, housing and freedom signifies the exercise of power and oppression beyond language. (Fairclough 2013 p. 3) This factual-material aspect of the here examined phenomena appeared more in the critical assessment of the literature in the review chapter.
[52] The feminist theorist Flax (1993) rather refers to social variants as processes which are constantly molded.

large extent produced in the process of socialization, in interactions and as I will argue in language. Based on these reasons, feminist and post-structuralist researchers have switched terminology and now work with 'subjects', 'subjectivity', 'subject position' and 'subjectification' instead of using the word 'identity'. (Kocetape 2005 p. 25) In my research I will use both ways of wording. I decided to retain the word 'identity' in my analyses because it figures substantively in critical discursive works. However, I would like to charge it with the above elaborated notion, that it is a continually constituted and constituting relation, cross-cutting, multiple and fluid. Jane Flax (1993) suggests treating 'identity'/subjectivity constituting social variants such as gender, race or sexuality rather as social processes. In that case they are not understood as constants but constantly moving effects which wash through our self-understanding, create and recreate forms of relating. (p.25)

4.3 Theorizing about the reasons of inequality

There are several explanations of inequality and their explanations are based on the terms in which inequality is defined and understood. Kirk and Goon (1975) reviewing the literature on desegregation have encountered several approaches which justified inequality with the arguments of cultural difference or cultural deficit. They examined what impact the use of this model of thinking has on integration and desegregation in theory and in practice. In the next section, I will be reviewing those socio-cultural theories, as well as ideologies from a critical vantage point which connect and explain inequality directly or indirectly. While giving a critique of these ideas and views, my aim is to outline the conceptual framework for the analysis of participant's views. With the help of these notions, I will try to find what are the main discourses regarding the educational reality of Roma children in the case of Hungary and see how they help to identify and justify segregation and integration.

4.3.1   Cultural difference, culture of poverty and cultural racism

There are several approaches which explain inequality in minority children's educational outcome in terms of cultural deficit in that group's culture. These theories go under the umbrella thinking of a cultural deficit perspective and their reasoning is very much based on 'intercultural' comparison, whereby one culture becomes inferior in light of the other. (Gorski 2010, Kirk-Goon 1975, Parks 2005, White 2014) One of the main problems with deficit approaches is that they wash difference together with deficit with reference to culture. This means that the concept of 'culture' has become an indicator of difference when it comes to minority populations and is often employed to substitute for race and ethnicity both in terms of description and explanation. (Park 2005 p.11) The other problem is that the discourse of deficit locates the deficit inside the individual and in his or her micro-environment, and drives the attention away from the socio-political context, the underlying structure of social reality in which schooling and education takes place. (Gorski 2010, White 2014) It ignores the systemic problems such as economic injustices, racism, sexism and looks for inhibiting traces in culture which could hinder the expected participation and results.

Scholars talk about 'deficit perspective', 'deficit theory' 'deficit ideology' (Gorski 2010) and 'deficit discourse' (Parks 2005)- similar notions running through the terminology developed around these, indicating a deep pervading way of thing about the world which penetrates the perceptions and attitudes of the society and its institutions, including its schools. (Gorski 2010) The following quote highlights their function:

> *"This is then the function of the deficit ideology: to manipulate popular consciousness in order to deflect the attention from the systemic conditions and sociopolitical contexts that underlie or exacerbate inequalities, such as systemic racism, or economic injustice, and to focus it, instead on recycling its own misperceptions, all of which justify inequalities."*

(Goski 20110 p. 6)

Culture of poverty- a theory based on the deficit perspective

Oscar Lewis's work from 1961 on the 'culture of poverty' hypotized that poverty lends a set of universal value, attitude and comportment package to poor people globally, who therefore share negative cultural and moral traces such as proneness to violence, undervaluing education, lack of commitment to work, etc. (Gorski 2010 p.14, White 2014)[53] Soon, there was born the image of the mostly ethnic/racial minority person who was entrenched by poverty and clung to welfare provision. This image and the explanatory power of his theory reached beyond the US (Gorki 20110) and landed oversees to become part of the popular Hungarian perception, most often related to Roma (wo)men. (Gorski 2010 p. 15) Parks' (2005) study[54], applying the critical discursive stance in analysing social constructs, highlights how the concept of 'culture' is ideological, political and biased: how it is employed in structuring hierarchies and identities as an "instrument of power and control". (p. 11-12) Therefore, it is important to see that there is no single definition and meaning of culture, while it has become a significant denominator of identity and the social worth of that. What Parks (2005) laments on is that the concept of culture used as an explanatory category instead of race, class, or gender is capable of ruling out the role of power asymmetries caused by these other categories in constructing social problems. (p. 13)

Cultural racism and the uncritical concept of ethnicity

The concept of race is obviously flawed. It is fictional, profoundly problematic and suggests that there are qualitative differences between differentiated 'races', which it then orders hierarchically. But even though the concept is widely ruled out, the social processes and ways of relating it has lent power to historically, continue to structure social dynamics and power relations, not only in the micro environment of individuals but globally. Its

---

[53] It is descriptive about this theory's program, that in the US the right wing government embraced and endorsed these ideas promoted by this perspective and used it to campaign against progressive welfare programs for the poor. The argument goes simply, if they don't value it and only waste resources given to them by their inherent cultural inclination, then there is no reason to have anything invested in them. (Gorski 2010)

[54] Park's (2005) study, titled '*Culture as deficit: a critical discourse analysis of the concept of culture in contemporary social work discourse*', studies how culture and the relevance of culture in explaining educational and social problems become constructed by the 'disciplinary discourse' of social work.

inheritance is dynamic, multiple, adaptive and pretty intangible. Many critical scholars talk about it as racialisation, a politicised dynamic process constituting collective subjectivities and positioning these in relation to one another.

The formulation of the concept of ethnicity in the '60s has displaced the emphasis from defining difference in terms of biological (phenotypical) characteristics to being identified in cultural terms, as I was elaborating above. This change ethnicized social problems and soon called into existence a whole new range of prejudices and justifications for discrimination. (Bereczky and Fejes 2010 p. 331-332) Biological essentialism in its pure forms has given its place to cultural essentialism, and dissolved and transformed itself inside it. By this, it had paved the way to hierarchical relations between groups becoming constructed on cultural identities, -their relative superiority or inferiority- while hiding the racially motivated sense of superiority. (Troyna and Williams 1986 p. 4, Williams 1989 p. 199) This has produced the modern or new forms of racism; on the one hand cultural racism, on the other hand those instances when the pronounced racist is mostly absent, while racism -caught on its own agency- continues to persist. (Jones 2002, Lander 2010, Miskovic 2009, Zachos 2010)

Miskovic (2009) and Zachos (2012) argue in their articles,[55] that the case of the Roma within Europe is such; therefore, the concept and language of race and racism shouldn't be abandoned to the advantage of explanatory categories "such as class or nationality" or culture for that matter. (p. 201) With this proposal she (they) points out several things: (1) the concept of race should be revised and expanded in public discourse, (2) a theory should be developed which situates and understands racism historically and within the context of the "global racial hegemony" (3) whiteness should be racialized (4) we should scrutinize how the conception of race/racism affects pedagogy. She makes these recommendations by drawing on the similarity of the social and educational experience of African-American and Roma youth in terms of the experiences of segregation, special schools, lower expectations, attributed lack of motivation or discipline. (Miskovic 2009 p. 202,206)

4.3.2 Meritocracy's promise and blame

The idea that we are the craftsmen of our (educational) success or failure, and individually responsible for our achievements, are not only beliefs which work through the base notion of meritocracy but they represent the inherent arguments of the above elaborated deficit ideology too.[56]. (Allen 2011, Gorski 2010) Inequality therefore, is easily justified by meritocratic ideas. Meritocracy entertains the idea that someone's position fairly reflects the personal ability and effort one has demonstrated and thus, its mechanisms are able to flawlessly reward them accordingly. A meritocratic society is presented as a representative of fairness and social justice. It is believed that the principles upheld by the meritocratic logic rule out prejudice and discrimination. This is how it became professed and settled in common

---

[55] The articles are titled: Institutional Racism? Roma children, local community and school practices and Roma education in Europe: in support of the discourse of race.

[56] The deficit ideology locates the source of underachievement and marginalisation and the responsibility for it in the inferior (less able, less developed, less valuable) culture of the individual.

sense, championed by politicians and popular figures.[57]This popularized, positive version advertised meritocracy's potential to mitigate inequalities and ruptures along the lines of class, gender, race or ethnicity. But "meritocracy is an abstract ideal". (Allen 2011 p. 2) It doesn't count with the unequal socio-historical and socio-economic embeddedness of individuals (groups) from whom the performance of 'merit' is expected, and measures these by the same standards regardless of the contextual conditions. Therefore, "the opportunities to achieve 'merits', are unequal." (Barry 2005 p. 110) This is demonstrated by the biased distribution of educational opportunities, resources and the quality of schools and classes.

Meditations on responsibility

What makes this worse, is that the language of this ideology shifts the blame for social ills and gaps to the individual, for his/her lack of (1) talent and ability (2) motivation and engagement (3) technological preparedness (4) appropriate moral values, (5) caring home environment. (Lampert 2013 p.41) While the state decreases egalitarian intervention, the individual is encouraged to take on more personal responsibility for their choices and thus for how their life goes. Therefore, the way responsibility is conceptualized tells a lot about the view of social justice in a given society, the way it is understood and therefore practiced in everyday life. In both legal and philosophical understanding a person can be accounted as responsible for his action, only if by the exercise of his will, he could have made the choice to avoid the action he is held responsible for. This connects responsibility to the concept of "blameworthiness", in the sense that the person is in his full capacity to influence both the available choices and the ones chosen in the end. (Bodenheimer, 1980 p. 9) Drifting to a higher level, than that of the individual, the questions arise: what is the state responsible for? What promises has it made regarding education? Does it comply with its 'legal promises' of fair and equally accessible education to all, drafted in its policies and legal frameworks? (Barry 2005) Who is included and who is excluded?

In the end both the ideology of meritocracy and the responsibility shifting operations make it impossible to recognize the source of social ills in structural problems: in biased policies, unequal wages or dire employment, in lookism and sexism, in inheritance or the lack of required cultural capital, and finally in unequal access to quality education at all stages. (Allen 2011, Barry 2005, Lampert 2013, Macnamee and Miller 2004) But the greatest non-merit barrier of all is discrimination, with its most widespread forms of gender and ethno-racial discrimination and racism, which continually hinder equal opportunities, reproduce disadvantage and thus have an opposing effect than merit. (Macnamee and Miller 2012)

---

[57] The way meritocracy became crafted and invited as an organizing logic of individual progression, with a suggestive positive image, deviates from its initial satirical conceptualization in Michael Young's famous book *The Rise of the Meritocracy 1870-2033*, written in 1958. (Allen 2011 p.1, Macnamee and Miller 2004)

4.3.1   Institutional racism and discrimination

Jones (2002) defines **racism** as a system made up of ideas, values, mores, norms and actions which, when translated into policies, rules and social practice (institutional racism)[58], are capable of organizing and attributing „values based on the way people look" and can influence access „to the goods, services and opportunities of society by „race" or ethnicity. (p. 9) For the analysis of „racial disparities" Jones (2002 p. 8) differentiates three levels where the production and reproduction of institutional racism and therefore discrimination occurs. These manifest in (1) differential treatment, (2) access (3) and in terms of exposure to conditions and influences which deteriorate opportunities in life. (p. 8) This framework was set up to examine the operation of racism within the healthcare system, but it could be applied to the mechanisms of schooling to see if worse quality assistance is provided to someone because of a perceived ethno-racial background. (Zachos 2012 p. 56)

„Personally-mediated racism", engendered in intended or unconscious „prejudice and discrimination", frames the idea that even though racism penetrates the institutional norms and practices, it is the individual who mediates these biases by reproducing „differential assumptions about the abilities, motives and intents of others by 'race'". (Jones 2002 p.10, Lander 2010) She (2002) lists (1) lack of respect, (2) denial of service, (3) suspicion, (4) street crossing, (5) devaluation, (6) scapegoating and (7) dehumanization as passive or active manifestations of racism. (p. 10) As a result, racism can be internalized by those who are affected and negatively constructed through its diverse manifestations. This can lead the individual experiencing racism or discrimination to question „ her inner worth", self-realization and the belief in her own capabilities as it was put by Martin L. King. (King 1963) What discourses are concerned with in this regard is cultural and institutional racism as forms of racial or ethnic domination established through language and pedagogic work.

Notions of tolerance

The concept of tolerance is often presented as the antidote to discrimination and racism, as the desired foundation upon which the societal and educational situation of minority groups could be improved.[59]I propose that the use of *tolerance* in these contexts is mostly contra-

---

[58] Passive racism as defined by Lauder (2010 p. 26) and Tatum (1999) cited in Lauder (2010), implies practices, norms and policies which are pervasive to the extent that they are not noticeable from within the majority perspective, and Lander notes how intentionality is more emphasized than impact or outcome when dealing with racism. When „dysconscious racism" or unintentional racism operates that is the case of someone being ignorant, patronizing, „unquestioning and uncritical" of her or his beliefs and stereotypes of minority groups and contribution of inequality along racial/ethnic lines. (Lander 2010 p. 27)

[59] This becomes very visible in Vida and Fox's (2010, 2011?) study, who work within the scope of the "tolerance framework" devised by the Accept Pluralism project under the aegis of the European Commission. They take a stand on tolerance in their paper titled: *"The embodiment of (in)tolerance in discourses and practices addressing cultural diversity in schools in Hungary. The case of Roma."* They differentiate three discourses in the "desegregation and integration policy debates" one of these being the "firm-advocacy discourse" which is a "clear-cut case of tolerance". This approach refuses segregation on any grounds and sees "Roma cultural difference" as the manifestation of the "culture of poverty". (p.5) What I realized while reading their study, very similar to mine in its focus and methodology, is that their own work, maybe unintentionally, falls very close to

productive.[60] The meaning of the word *tolerance*, in everyday language, has got an inherent "objection component." (Forst 2012) Tolerating something indicates that beliefs, values, practices and ways of being to be tolerated, are seen "in an important sense wrong or bad".[61] (Forst 2012) When tolerance is attached to group identities,- who will have to be tolerated and who will do the toleration- the latter side becomes normalised. This shifts the normative power to those who are doing the toleration, and this can be used to affect social control. This becomes very problematic when it concerns disenfranchised and marginalized groups.

The "paradox of the tolerant racist" highlights this aspect very well. (Forst 2012) The case here concerns a cultural racist, -holding another person's culture and beliefs inferior- who is asked to be tolerant. Tolerance here would mean that this person does not enact a discriminative action towards someone, for other reasons than his racism being immoral. The paradox stems from the general understanding of tolerance as a moral virtue, because if he restrains from discriminative action, e.g he is being tolerant, he will be seen as morally virtuous, while his 'virtue' rest on his immoral belief that another culture/ethnicity/race is inferior and undeserving. With this logic, the more this person restrains himself from discriminating action without having to change his racist objection, the more morally virtuous he can still appear. In this moral perspective racist objection will mutate into a sensible-seeming ethical objection that can be held at bay by bringing up good enough reasons for non-interference, for example economic or other strategically motivated reasons.[62]What this argumentation shows in the end is that the racist belief, being as subtle as it can, cannot be mitigated by the invitation to being tolerant. The belief itself has to be overcome and transformed and one needs critical education to do that. (Forst 2012)

4.4 Social justice and social equality: difference within and equality framework

Why a theory of social justice is important?

Social justice, in its essence, is about how people treat one another, how they cooperate, live in a community, share resources and spaces. A conception of social justice in a given society is not only about who is included as a subject of justice, but also about exclusion, over whom the practices of justice are not extended. It is possible, for example, that such a theory excludes from its consideration nature as its subject, and thus the human-

---

the 'firm-advocacy approach and therefore understands difference as the working of the culture of poverty, suggesting that their own notion of tolerance is embedded in a deficit approach.

[60] The article on toleration and tolerance in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, asserts, that one needs to be context sensitive to accurately analyze and understand the justification and motives behind the application of the concept; and who and what have to be tolerated, by whom or what?
http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/toleration/

[61] If there is no objection towards the object of toleration, then it chases to be it and turns into „indifference or affirmation." (Forst 2012)

[62] But even if tolerance is not understood as a virtue, it still requires one not to be vicious, thus it doesn't really change the conclusion, because all racist attitudes and acts are, per definition, vicious.

nature relationship and the concerning care and ethical conduct.[63] But it is also possible that such a theory fails to consider its human subjects equally, or that it excludes groups based on their group membership. (Flax 1993) In this case, the oppressed and exploited human beings are not considered as having equal worth, which would mean that everyone by virtue of their humanity are granted equal moral value and political consideration. (Snauwaert 2011 p. 316)

Human dignity is the matter of social justice and where the 'matter' is abused the construct of justice will also suffer harm. In Flax's (1993) theorization of social justice, justice is not perceived as a rigid framework of unchanging principles, but as a fluid process, constructed, changed, molded and adjusted in practice, fermenting in the demands of the interrelated network of societal purposes. Flax (1993) says, that justice "arises in part out of the play of differences." (p.112) Therefore, the way we conceptualize and understand difference and relatedness in a society, -if we see them ambivalent, dualistic, oppositional, hierarchical vs. having equal worth and interdependence- influences they way we will enact justice among one another. For this reason, she calls for transcending the binary opposition of the traditional, humanistic justice theories based on the argumentative dichotomy to treat differences in a hierarchical manner, or understand everything under the embrace of universal sameness. (Flax 1993 p. 112)

Difference within equality, equality within difference

After these readings, I came to the conclusion, that inequality should always be conceptualized inside a framework of justice, and difference should be understood within an equality framework located inside the former. To me the property of something being unjust necessarily indicates inequality as it presupposes that something is being the subject of justice to a different extent, therefore justice is measured out unequally. Kabeer's (2000) work on inequality and injustice presents a framework that discusses how injustice can be conceptualized from a redistributive and recognition-based point of view and what these two approaches have to do with how justice is dealt with in the end. She asks if the focus on poverty is sufficient to deal with injustice via the focus on redistribution as well as challenges the readers to ask if all forms of 'inclusions' are necessarily good. In different forms these two questions can be spotted behind the theorizing of this chapter. The educational reality of many Roma adults and children are often thought about in light of problems of redistributive policies and poverty, which contribute to what many scholars call 'spontaneous segregation'. Regarding the other aspects, *inclusion*, I became conscious during this thesis, that it is neither an unproblematic concept; the word often rings hollow when seen against the backdrop of supporting discourses. So, it is important to study the discursive aspects producing what integration and inclusion means and therefore on what terms and for what purposes they are hoped to be realized.

---

[63] Even though, I am inclined to extend my theory of social justice to nature, this time, I will have to restrict my conceptualization of justice to an only human breach. However, I strongly believe that the complete disconnect between humanity and nature, which gives way to the exploitation of nature by its objectification and fragmentation, works with a very similar logic of justification than the ones which are employed in the objectification and oppression of certain human subjects.

Kabeer (2000) identifies injustices such as deprivation and marginalization in the economic sphere, while "at the cultural end of the spectrum"[64] she identifies those kinds of injustices which "stem from social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication" and manifest in the acts of "imposing dominant values, devaluation, issues of integrity, denial of recognition, insult, degradation and disrespect", etc. (p. 4) Using the discourse analytical methods, it will be possible to highlight how these manifest at the level of language, in references made to groups of people, their situation, perceived ways of being and capabilities. In case of dual disadvantage mobilization, it will encompass concerns with both economic and 'cultural' aspects of justice, and how the production of subjectivities is implicated in this. In practice, this could likely lead to tensions as the logic working behind the two is contradictory. Disadvantage which is resource based requires redistribution and an egalitarian approach in order to close the gap and treat individuals and groups equally, while questions of identity and recognition require remedies with the logic of diversity. This contradiction to me can only be resolved if all assessment and resolution targeting injustices are conceptualized under the breach of a difference within equality vs. equality within difference framework sprouting from a reconsidered critical theory of social justice transcending and uniting what seem to be contradictory.[65]

4.1 Towards an analytical framework: combining Fairclough's and Bernstein's theories and models

Due to the particular focus of this thesis, I decided to combine and merge Fairclough's three dimensional discourse analytical framework with Bernstein's (1990) analytical model of the *pedagogic device*. I have synthesized the two approaches and the supporting conceptual framework in the following diagram, in order to facilitate the reading of the analytical process and the thesis itself. In his explanatory model of the pedagogic device Bernstein (1990) differentiated between *regulative discourses* and *instructional discourses*. Regulative discourses are the "moral" discourses which construct social positions, identities, and relationalities between social groups and define how societal order should be thought about. Their explanatory scope can be identified with Fairclough's framework's level of text, i.e. the micro-level, which concerns the actual, textual realization of discourses. The (dominant) regulative discourse(s) control the instructional discourses which set(s) the competencies and skills, specialized knowledge within the given context, in this case teacher education. In Fairclough's model this resembles the level of discursive practice, i.e. the institutional context framing the first level. It is the relationship of these two which is referred to as the pedagogic device. (Woodside-Jiron 2003) As Bernstein (1990) defines, the pedagogical device is the "precondition for the production and reproduction of culture", it sets the desirable forms of

---

[64] As the textual context and the semantic scope highlights, here, the notion of culture is understood and used in critical light.

[65] Indeed, they are only contradictory if they are perceived as being located one beside the other 'pulling the carriage to different directions at the same time'. But at the moment when they are treated as one encompassing the other, or one being the necessary condition of the other, the contradiction chases away. (Kabeer 2000 p.9)

socialization - with the term of Bernstein *symbolic control*- and forms the link between power and ways of knowing. (p. 125) The pedagogic device is in the centre of the struggle over who has the access to determine how educational knowledge is constructed. It also "provides the intrinsic grammar" -or I would say-, 'mentality' of the pedagogic discourse which is the "rule" integrating different discourses within the educational domain. Therefore, it functions as the linguistic tool describing the relationship between the regulative and instructional discourses. It sets the 'mentality' and it is set by it. (Rogers 2003, Woodside-Jiron 2003 p. 177)
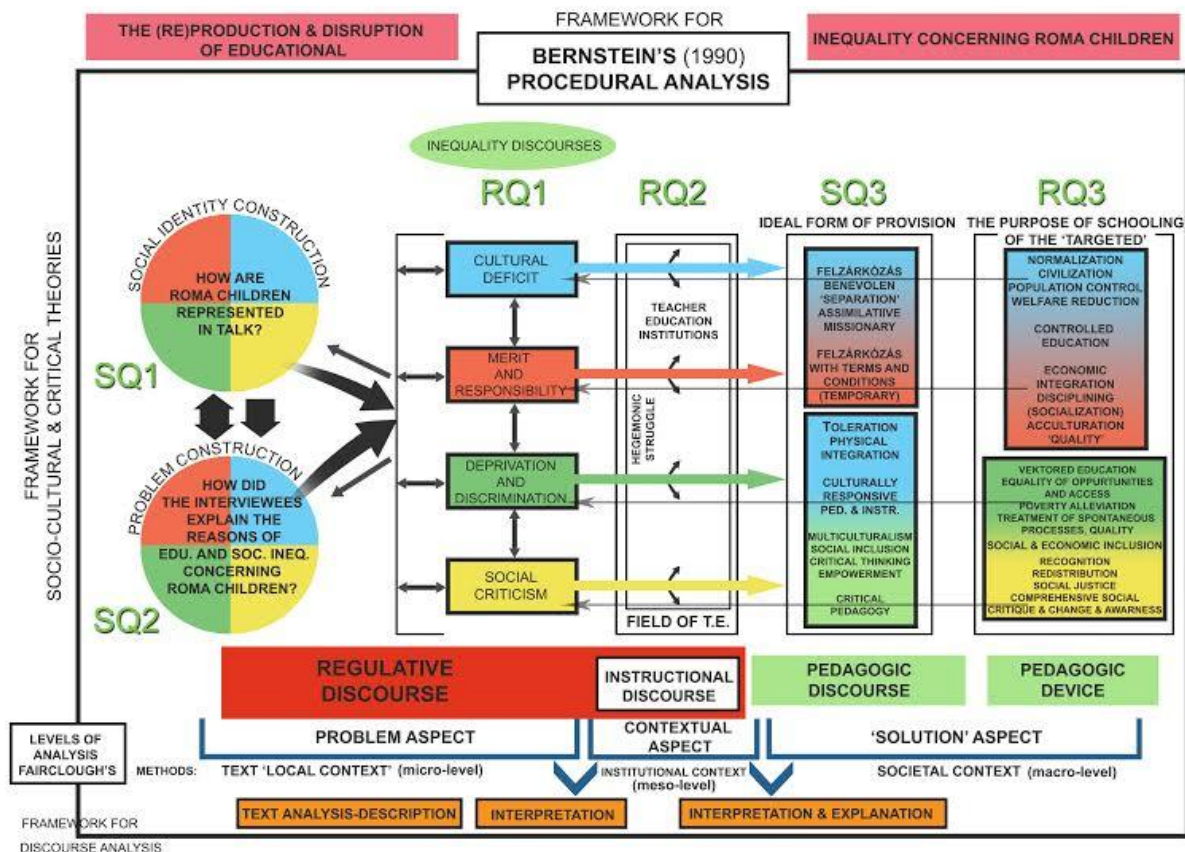
Figure I. Mergence and application of Bernstein's and Fairclough's analytical models (full size p. 157)

In order to track this ideological work of texts and the linguistic forms (semantics, grammar, lexicality, rhetorics, argumentation etc.) which host the meanings, the analyst needs to take into account, „how texts are interpreted and received, and what social effects they have. (Fairclough 1995 p. 7, Wodak 1996 p. 18-19) Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2012, 2013) three dimensional analytical framework suits this purpose. It is both a methodological tool for data analysis and a supporting instrument for locating theories and concepts and ordering these to the appropriate levels for data interpretation and explanation. The first dimension, which takes the actual text under scrutiny, will require me to connect the methods of text analysis with the explanations about what texts are, how they are capable of carrying and transmitting power relations, positioning subjects, mediating ideologies and manifesting facets of the social order at the level of grammar.

The meso level looks at intertextuality, the (re)production and distribution of the text analysed and the institutional context in which the discursive practice is embedded. This is where the micro level of text with the macro level of social reality are connected. The last, macro level is what requires familiarity with the socio-political background and the inclusion of the conceptualisation of normative mechanism working behind socio-political processes. These theoretical insights into the societal context will guide the interpretation and the explanation of findings. In the end, all of these layers are connected by the presumption that language is constitutive of the social and that the social constitutes our linguistic solutions and patterns. Fairclough's framework is the aid to systematically go about revealing these relationships of construction. (Fairclough 1992, 1995, 2012, 2013)

4.1.1   On the purpose of schooling: social and cultural reproduction

In each society there are several purposes of schooling which -on the broadest scale- compete to influence the cultural, economic and political structures and social identities. (Kubow and Fossum's 2003) So, schools fill in essential functions in this socio-economic and cultural reproduction, capable of both "reflecting and objecting changes". (Apple 1982 p. 9) Bernstein's (1990) theories and the above introduced model of the pedagogic device tackle these productive and reproductive aspects of schooling and the role of pedagogy in knowledge construction, while being strongly connected to the broader scholarship on the sociology of knowledge. His theory of the pedagogic discourse and his explanatory model of the pedagogic device provide a macro analytical approach to studying pedagogy as the relay which facilitates the transmission of culturally valued knowledge. Pedagogic discourse is therefore, the discursive interface about what purpose schooling should serve concerning the knowledge, social values and behaviours it was meant to transfer. (Apple 1982, Bourne 2006, Kubow and Fossum 2002)

So, based on these presumptions, the question arises: are there different purposes intended for different groups of children? This thread of thought stands behind the third research question: how the discursive understandings, identified with research question one, influence the construction of the purpose of schooling (education) which is provided for Roma children? The answer to this question will be inductively arrived at, based on the findings emerging from the data analysis and interpretation of the relationship between the regulative discourses and instructional discourses. For this, I have to follow a thorough text analysis to reveal how social representations and correlating problem definitions are created in the text making up a certain category of the inequality discourse. Then, I will examine how the different inequality discourses control the instructional discourses within the two institutions and therefore, speculatively within the field of teacher education. This will concern the analysis of the texts produced by participants located within the field and give particular attention to the knowledge, competences and pedagogic solutions which are cultivated by the prevailing inequality discourse's assumptions about how children -who do not fit the normalized idea of the child-, learn and should be taught.

56

The *field* of teacher education and the embedded institutions

Bernstein (1990) calls "the relay which translates power relations into discourse and discourse into power relations", the field of symbolic control which is made up of agencies and agents that compete to (re)produce and distribute „ways of relating, thinking and feeling, (…)" and knowing about the social world via discourses. (p. 135). Bourdieu (1991) also capitalises on the concept of the field and he identifies several fields and subfield, being shaped by each other's practices. These (sub)fields are made up of "*institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorize certain discourses and activities.*" (Bourdieu 1991 p. 22) He considers institutionalised education as a field itself located inside two broader overarching fields, that of politics and power, but it is also a field which intersects and interacts heavily with the field of economic production or the field of culture. (Webb et. al. 2002 p. 105) During this analysis, I will apply this conceptualization and I treat the educational system in general and teacher education in particular as such fields, where agencies (e.g teacher education institutions) and agents (e.g teacher educators, leader of the faculty etc.) draw on, reproduce and distribute certain discourses.

Symbolic violence and discourse

Bourdieu (1991) believes, that pedagogical practice,- teaching to think about the world and relating to it- is where symbolic violence is persistently manifest and is capable of reproducing a given social order. This is not an accidental concurrence. Because power relations and the social hierarchy are not natural but are naturalized, they have to be internalized, and that happens via pedagogic action, that is to say via what is taught and how it is taught. (Webb et. al 2002. p. 118) The capacity of hierarchical distinction and the normalization of one subject relative to the 'other' by pedagogical practice,- informed by particular discourses- enable dominance to be maintained over the 'othered'. This process is a key form of symbolic violence, a concept Bourdieu has crafted and many has used or capitalized on it since then. In his conception, violence is symbolical because it is not committed on the physical dimension even though it causes material consequences and plays a role in the distribution of privileges and in the maintenance of social hierarchy. Even though, I will not be studying pedagogic action in classroom settings, therefore I cannot experience any direct manifestation of symbolic violence, I work with the presumption that the discourses teacher educators and teachers draw on, influence their practices and they way they conceptualize the content (curriculum) and form (pedagogy) of (their) teaching.

4.2 Concluding remarks on the chapter

Before arriving to the next chapter concerned about the more practical level of this research, methodology and methods of data analysis, I'd like to summarize the purpose of this section and the justification of the selected concepts and theories. It was important not only to me but also for the research to have a clear picture from where my critical perspective comes from,

how I am -as a researcher- implicated in knowledge production and what political stance I take on these issues. It is also important to be familiar with these concepts and theories to see what leads to certain conceptualizations and justifications of segregation or integration, and what purpose justifies these forms of provision. I am also hoping that they will help me navigate in the flood of data, which the transcribed conversations mean, and orient the organization and presentation of finding. Furthermore, they will also have a role in explaining how social processes and arrangements are coded in language. I have attempted to develop a conceptual framework of critique, which links together theories and concepts dealing with issues of inequality and link it into the analytical frameworks provided by Bernstein (1990) and Fairclough (1992, 1995) These concepts, critical theories and analytical approaches will dictate what I will look for in my data for the preliminary coding, and provide background against which I interpret and explain the Hungarian case.

5 Methodology

5.1 Implications of constructivism on the methodological choices

Several authors talk about the greater philosophical division between the positivist-constructionist stances, which can be mapped onto the logic of the qualitative-quantitative distinction. However, the paradigmatic thinking and philosophical grounding which precedes and underlies most research has lot more variety and complexity. (Burrel & Morgan 1979, Crotty 1998, Deniz and Lincoln 2012, Moses and Knutsen 2012) While both traditions have their raison d'etre, Crotty (1998) warns that what can pose a problem, is not necessarily to chose one over the other but to be in both brackets at the same time or changing in between them inconsistently.[66] But in the end, as J. W. Mosses and T. L Knutsen (2012) said, the two traditions have in the end the same overarching purpose which is learning about the (social) world.[67]

The anti-foundationalist and anti-positivist vision of the social sciences has a conception of truth which rejects the totality of one objective version and celebrates diversity. It asserts that there are several truths residing inside and about a subjective, context determined world. This tradition is called constructivist because it sees the social world as constructed by those experiencing it by their perceptions and constructs such as "names, concepts and labels which are used to structure reality". (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 4; Hekman1986 p. 10; Moses and Knutsen 2012 p.10) In this anti-positivist tradition of social sciences, knowledge is viewed as contingent and situated both historically and socially, dependent on the wider and local contexts. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000 p. 110, Hepburn 1997 p. 32, Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p., Hekman 1986 p.8, 10) Proponents of epistemological constructivism hold that knowledge of the world, the knowledge of social phenomena or social relationships can't be generated from the detached, objective, elevated vantage point of the observer-researcher. What is known originates from experiencing individuals. It is situated not only in the socio-historical context but is also a product of our interactions, leaving its mark on a given understanding. (Burrel and Morgan 1979 p. 5, Denzin & Lincoln 2011 pg. 8, Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, Moses and Knutsen 2012 pg. 200)

---

[66] And while a constructivist stance is more inclined to turn into a qualitative research and a quantitative fits better into the positivist approach, it is not necessarily the case, and quantification based methods can be used in a constructionist approach. (Crotty 1998)

[67] As a person, I have a somewhat need-based policy which could be characterized by the term, back to the basics. My first back to the basics move stemmed from the need to clarify the chosen methodological orientation, eg. my hesitating fight between the approaches of critical discourse analysis or phenomenology.[67] I really needed to understand my meta-theoretical framework to ground the research and see how that justifies one and disqualifies the other, in this case a more phenomenology oriented approach. Besides this, I had to find out what will support and orient me on the broader scope while I will be inside this research.

Because of this situatedness, our knowledge of the world is never value-neutral. (Silverman et. al p. 3)

5.2 Inside the qualitative strand: an interpretative endeavor

In the previous two chapters, I have made an attempt to outline the meta-theoretical framework guiding this research. This is what designates the modes held appropriate for the studying of the social world and producing knowledge about it. The answers given to the main questions about the nature of the social world, the nature of knowledge and human agency mark out the type of track on which someone starts off to gather data. This track will then determine the methods the researcher can reach for along the way. Besides this, the other factor which plays an important role in what methodological route one takes resides inside the purpose of the research. These two shape the methodological decisions which are already implicated in the phases of elucidating the philosophical foundations and wording the research problem. (Moses and Knutsen 2012 p. 5, Silverman et al. 2004 p. 7)

From this follows, that my purpose and the constructivist stance draws me inherently towards a qualitative inquiry, towards an interpretative quest. Entering the streamline of the qualitative research methodology and the sort of thinking it entails, the researcher will feel penetrated by its overall disposition: its quest for understanding. What this disposition entails is a specific research attitude seeking a deeper glance and grasp of the social. It wishes to approximate the object of the study and ponder about the context in which they are both located. (Fairclough 1995) It is also inclined to see through the eyes of the people being studied or shift its focus to get a glimpse of another perspective. It asks the questions which will lead to a more balanced and refined knowing with this going beyond measuring and quantification. It is charged with the pursuit of 'aboutness' and 'substance'. It works with different methods and theories to extract answers to the 'what's, 'how's, 'why's and 'what-if's' of processes, phenomena, institutions, groups and a rainbow of topics from the social sphere. Notwithstanding, it is not hostile towards the concept of objectivity, only distances itself from that version of it which does not recognize the situatedness of all knowledge and which observes from above, detached from everything. The manners and gestures of the qualitative strand thus, can be objective inside the subjectivist stance; it can aim for achieving trustworthiness and reliability for the research. (MacLure 2003 p. 87) All these features are deeply seated in the overall qualitative disposition. They will flow through my methodological preparations, they will appear in the choices of theories and concepts, guide my selection of samples and suitable data, support the analysis and interpretation, and feed back into the style and language of writing up.

5.3 Discourses, narratives and intertextuality

5.3.1　Discourses as ways of 'worlding'

Said and Spivak (1978 in Diaz et. al 2007 p.4) described discourses as "*ways of worlding*", efforts of a specific kind to make sense of our world and invite others to see it and participate. This pun can become a playful reminder of the two main assertions about discourses' nature and their effect. Firstly, it highlights that discourses operate through words; peculiar ways of wording their object. It also shows how these peculiarities are regulating, connecting and separating what belongs to one discourse and what belongs already to another one. This demonstrates the value laden dynamics of discourses' "worlding" labor. Being value laden here can simply mean the aspiration to understand and make the world understood in a desired way. So, discourses and their users leverage words, statements, concepts and a range of grammatical and non-grammatical features to keep certain aspects about their topic/object almost invisible or unimportant while highlighting and emphasizing others. This presupposes a coherent logic or way of knowing needed for the representation we want to achieve with the text.

5.3.2　Text and intertextuality in discourse analysis

Discourses are comprised of particular sets of delineating rules in the form of recurring images, vocabulary, metaphors, categories, concepts, ideas, argumentations, myths etc. which determine and manage what ways of speaking and thinking are desirable for the discourses' users about the discourses' object in order to support a given underlying logic. (Csigó 1997; Luke 1995; van Dijk 1993; 2001; Diaz de Bone & Bührmann et al. 2007) These recurrent elements then appear across spoken and written texts and this connection and orderliness is what makes them natural and reproducible. (Phillips c Hardy 2002; Martineau 1999)

Text is an important concept of discourse analysis, defined as "language in use". It is a more graspable level/form of discourse which encompasses both written and spoken communication with "coherence and coded meanings". (Luke 1995-96 p. 13 in: Hepburn 1999 p. 41) Talk, in this approach, is considered as spoken text, for example interviews, conversations, stories, speeches, presentations and conferences, articles and scientific texts etc., and they together with written form of communications about a shared subject make up a discourse. (Fairclough 1995, p. 4, Hepburn 1999 p. 43) For this reason, 'text' in the thesis will be understood and used according to this broader definition. This observation already includes a reference *to intertextuality* being one of the main features of a discourse. Intertextuality refers to the communication, the interaction of texts about a shared subject. It is a building block for something growing into a discourse in which cross-references, shared meanings and symbols, reiteration and patterns are apparent. Intertextuality indicates how different texts, often different genres produced by different individuals from varying communicative

positions draw or build on one another, make references to each other or take over certain words, statements and ways of speaking. (Fairclough 2003 p. 47 Hepburn 1999 p. 43)

The notion of intertextuality can also help identifying contradicting or competing discourses about the same subject. As not all texts interacting and having cross-references have a shared understanding about their subject, and not all texts receive the same weight and voice in the struggle to shape the social world in their desired way, a field of smaller and larger discourses is drawn out, where one has more power to be visible and audible than the other. Thus, it is intertextuality through which discourse becomes "the political context in which we make meaning". (Hepburn 1999 p. 43) In texts, the "interactive process of meaning-making" is a negotiated process, and not only the explicitly stated level is important, but also that what is assumed, what is implied by the text. (Fairclough 2003 p. 10, 11) This is the point where analysis and the later interpretation becomes relevant and the interpretative quest of discourse studies and critical studies comes in. (Fairclough 1995 p. 6)

5.4 The levels and procedures of discourse analysis

Besides the emphasis on the conceptual and theoretical foundations, which direct the researcher's thinking about discourses, one needs to be aware how to treat discourses as data, what constitutes data, and how that can be opened up, entered into, analyzed and interpreted. For this, Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2007) created *a three-dimensional framework* to facilitate the identification and analysis of data between the different levels, as well as in order to smoothen the interpretation which includes the linking of these three segments. The tree dimensions are the following: (1) the object of analysis (text) (2) the processes of the former's production and distribution (3) and those socio-historical, cultural contextual conditions which steer these processes. Each of these dimensions retains a certain level of analysis, requiring different analytical methods and supporting conceptual tools, but they are interrelated and inseparable for a holistic, context sensitive understanding. This dynamic process, where the entry point of analysis is not set, includes the (1) detailed, linguistic analysis of texts, in a more descriptive manner; (2) the assessment and translation of the processes of production, establishing a more interpretative layer; and (3) the weighting of these against the societal conditions, which provide the opportunity to explain and connect that which has been occurring at the micro-level of the text. (Janks 1997 p. 329, 330, Fairclough 1992, p. 73 Fairclough 1995 p. 2, 9)

Importing analytical tools - interpretation

Scanning through the literature and works of main theorists and contributors on the 'what's and 'hows' of discourse analysis can first end up being both overwhelming and confusing. The several overlapping or contradicting theoretical strands and applied methods working with different terminologies can give the impression of a cauldron of soup, where it's hard to indentify anymore what started where and what was what before they started to resemble something integrate. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) and Hardy and Phillips (2002)

expanded on this observation highlighting how discourse analysis is often used as an umbrella term for something complex and varied, philosophical or empirical, committed to macro-level analysis or looking into the deepest details of language and linguistic features. In their work they aim to compare and break down three of the reputable strands and their sometimes incompatible assumptions to details, in order to make it possible for the reader to understand upon what terms one method, concept, or tool can be lifted out from a certain discourse analytical stream and be integrated into another one. They also want to create space and capacity for the interested researches to grab and pull in resources from non-discourse analytical approaches. (p. 153)

Being and experiencing inside narratives

Narratives carry recognizable patterns of discourses, informing ideas, justifications of actions or moral decisions and judgments. I think, we all know stories which are not ours but we tell as if they were. We incorporate them into our communications when we want to make sense of the world through them and also want to orient others. (Webster and Mertova 2007) So, narratives also provide a framework for meaning-making. They are one possible medium of knowing and passing on knowledge; they are performed representations. (Sandelowski 1991) Martin Lee Muller's (2015) remark quoted above catches this fine tread of narratives which run across our lives and connect up the dots of our social perceptions and social positioning, which is described by the Heideggerian term 'being in narrative'. He invokes Thomas Berry's thought about those larger stories which guide our social relationships, the ones which are formed between groups. (Berry 1998 p. ix in Lee Muller 2015 p. 5)

5.4.1   Nodal points and floating signifiers

One of these discourse analytical tools concerns high importance words which can be polysemic. Being polysemic means that the word's meaning is not fixed, but to a large extent determined by the context. In this case the meaning it carries is influenced by the surrounding words within the semantic scope. Therefore, such a word's meaning is completed when it is inserted in a discourse, which lends it a particular understanding. Its 'truthness' is also created within the interpretative boundary of that discourse, and there are different discourses competing to define that 'truth'. Some theories refer to these words as 'nodal points', understanding them as central words within a discourse. Discursive theorist call them 'floating signifiers' and strive to highlight the in-between discourse struggles which aim to "fixing their meaning". (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 24-25) Identifying floating signifiers is important because, by the different meanings ascribed to them, it becomes possible to map, what discourses are there challenging one another, hoping to modify their content. For example integration and segregation are such nodal points in sociological discourse. One of my aim will be to try to find out how the different inequality discourses attempt to invest them with their own meanings. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 30)

5.4.2   Deconstruction, binary-oppositions and 'différance'

Starting from this premise, Hepburn (1999) draws on post-structuralist concepts in her discourse analysis of childhood resilience. She does this, in order to help to clarify the difference between a dualistic understanding, -which works with the combined "logical structure of dichotomy and hierarchy" - and the approach to analysis which breaks down the hierarchical understanding of binary oppositions. These are those binary oppositions which previously resulted in one side being perceived as superior, while the other as inferior. In this reconceptualization, she suggests putting one entity or category as the condition of the existence of the other, thus creating a platform to understanding where and how differences are interacting, and to let dichotomies to be seen "as dynamics". (p.39)

Building on the work of Derrida, Hepburn (1999 p. 40) sees this deconstruction of dualism necessary in order to expand the notion of difference –"Différance"; and she says, that this will provide new ways of talking about two entities seen before being in opposition. In the case of the Roma and non-Roma or Roma and Hungarian binary categories this would mean a chance for the transformation of the hierarchical logic operating inside this distinction and would prepare a space for the multiplicity of standpoints within the interacting differences. One of the reasons why she devotes a central place for deconstruction in her project is that she beholds this effort as one of the main duty of critical discourse analysis, together with interpretation. (Hepburn 1999 p. 40) With the words of Martin Lee Mueller (2016), in order to succeed with the "deconstruction of separation", the efforts have to be "mirrored at the level of speech (…)", in finding "different ways of speaking, different ways of knowing." (p.) Discourse and narratives will have to become the scenes of transformation.

5.4.3   Tools for the close analyzes of texts

Tools for text analysis are the aids which help the researcher to find linguistic patterns in the examined texts,- such semantic, lexical, rhetoric, relational and functional patterns and links- which help certain meanings and worldviews emerge from an utterance. The close textual analysis then will help to see how language can confirm broader ideologies, subject positions, power relations or truth claims. (Gee 1999 p. 99) To open up the meanings realized by a chosen part of a text, among other analytical steps, I will look for content words and function words. Content words are responsible for the lexicality of a given text, while function words are responsible for relating bits of information, content and words to each other. The relational and semantic meaning of a text couldn't be accessed without function words. (Gee 1999 p. 100, Wood and Kruger 2000) This close analysis is useful because it helps the researcher to demonstrate how certain ideological and power functions are achieved in texts.

Another important analytical tool is *'transitivity' which* is a grammatical device, it refers to the textual representation of agents and agencies, their power or powerlessness to carry out actions and be in control over what they do. The chosen voice, passive or active therefore can highlight the connection between subjects, objects and the processes they enact or are implied

in. It also enables complete exclusion of the acting subject from the sentence structure. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 83) The use of this grammatical device can also sign the level of responsibility, which positions the subjects into an agential role while it relegates the "non-doers into the semantic role of the patient." These become indicative of the sort of identity being constructed. Modality, on the other hand, indicates the level of affinity the speaker wants to convey. This refers to the strength of the claim, the degree of certainty and the 'trueness' of the knowledge behind the statement. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p. 84) The close analysis of texts also focuses on disclaimers, metaphors, exemplifications, pragmatic acts, presupposed knowledge and assumptions, the employed identifications and attributes, semantic coherence and connection building, casual relations, categorizations, the use of adverbials and adjectives, the functions (factive or causative verbs) and moods of verbs and pronominalisations. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002, Fairclough 1995, Gee 1999, Kocetape 2005, Schiffrin 1994, Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2003, Wood and Kruger)

Explanations have meaning making and deepening functions in text; they make their objects more comprehensible and clear as well as draw attention to purposes, intentions and consequences. (Reisgl 2014 p. 73) Narration, the telling of illustrative stories can also resemble this function of texts, when the intention is to make a claim more accessible and palpable. Validity and truth claims on the other hand relate to "normative rightness", "epistemic certainty", authority and power which influence how social relations, ways of knowing, being and acting are formed in discourses. (Reisgl 2014 p. 70-71, Jorgensen and Phillips 2002)

5.5 A comparative design

In discourse analysis, language in use, thus texts receive the main focus. These units may be utterances, discourses as themes or competing discourses supporting a certain kind of logic and thinking. (Luke 1995-96; Wool & Kruger 2000 p. 78) For this reason, comparing different worldviews, ideas, values and reasoning about the social word with a critical approach can be revealing about their comparative effects on producing 'reality'. (Calliott and McRae 2014) The other level of comparison will be carried out at a more agential or functional level, looking at how the participants as representatives of certain institutional and societal positions, -situated differently in power relations- draw on these discourses, themes and ideas.

Therefore, I will compare the different discursive and narrative means of constructing the explanations of the educational inequality faced by many Roma children. I will compare how these explanations draw Roma children into differently constructed subject positions and the implications of these on broader inequality discourses. I will also aim to see how these different inequality discourses concerning Roma children and their position in education is translated then into the provisional realities. Here, I understand provisional realities both as factuality as well as possibility because evaluations of the present are foundational for theorizing about the future. Explanations not only create meaning behind the currently

prevailing situation of educational segregation vs. integration but give hints on the perceived reasons behind them and put forth conceptualization for the future. Based on these reasons, teacher education and the framework the involved faculties provide will not be used as units of comparison. They will rather represent the empirical context for studying something which may remain more abstract if only looked at on the level of policy-planning.

5.6 Methods of data collection and sampling

My methods of data collection were informed by the qualitative strategy's requirements and CDA's stance on what counts as appropriate data. The primary data of this research consists of sixteen interviews conducted during the fieldwork and one 5 person focus group discussion. As the transcribed data from interviews, which will be the object of analysis, proved to be oversized for the scope of this research, amounting over 160 pages, a second round of selection and sampling will have to be carried out based on the research questions, the purpose and what emerges from the data after the first few rounds of reading and coding. The main challenge for selection herein lies in assembling meaningful data and accurate interpretation of the chosen texts. The original sampling of the research sites and the participants will be summarized in Figure 2 which can be found in Annex D.

5.6.1   Reflections on the fieldwork and limitations

The fieldwork was conducted completely in Hungarian, and the semi-structured interview guides, which were first written in English and later translated, became informative guides into the conversations with the four distinctive categories of participants.[68] The original research instrument soon transformed itself into thematically connected questions which were threaded through the conversations. This collection of the question is attached in ANNEX B. The initial contact letters as well as the forms of informed consent shared with and signed by the participants can be find in Annex A at the end of the thesis. When it comes to the challenge of interviews, Wool & Kroger (2000), who drew on the work of Potter & Wetherell (1992) highlights two things which can be problematic about the nature of informant-researcher interactions. One of these concerns the desirability of the researcher being „neutral and uninvolved" instead of embracing a more mutual, value-explicit questioning to active meaning construction. They argue that the interventionist approach is unavoidable in case of data collected for the analysis of discourses, because this approach offers potential for challenging alternatives in terms of interpretations and questioning. This then can enable a broader elaboration and further exploration of deliberative or antagonistic processes of thinking. The second concern is an offspring of the first one: namely the risk that the researcher's abstractions, categories and constructions lead and construct not only the way

---

[68] After the first unsuccessful interview, where the participant could not answer half of the questions, due to their unexpected irrelevance to the person, I decided to change, rethink and rewrite the interview questions, which in the end became thematic guides into these interactions. The conversations were rather unstructured and flexible towards the end, shifting away from the stricter turn-taking approach.

of questioning (leading and suggesting questions) but also the answers, those frames within one can formulate their thoughts. (Wool & Kroger 2000 p. 73-74) I found this a challenging task to avoid and control. When I attempted to be value-neutral or kindly reacting to what has been said during the interview I might have given the impression of agreement and encourage the speaker. When I was explicit about my stance and took a more critical approach, my 'bias' was pointed out or my suppositions were questioned.

The focus group discussion was initially planned to last for an hour, but ended up being three hours long. What Silverman et al. (2004) says makes focus groups particular, resonated with my personal experience. He writes that focus group discussions "are likely to reveal contradictory, complex and shifting definitions and different senses of agency". (p.65) However, sampling for focus group discussions differs from sampling for single person interviews in some senses. Even if it was set by the institutional context from where I had to find participants, those coming to a meeting like this, represented a more homogenous stance, at least at the level of openness, interest and care for the topic, which still didn't exclude that utterance often were problematic. Summarizing my reflections, the lessons learnt during the first few weeks into the process, substantially and sometimes unintentionally, altered my later interview questions. They made them more deliberate. They also led to discussions about the terminology used in recent education-policy making when it comes to defining the 'problem' and dealing with the manifestation of the educational inequality of Roma' children and the pedagogical and real life implications of these constructs.

5.6.2   Sampling and site

The selection and invitation of participants was based on CDA's disposition about studying up, studying those who are in positions of power, have authority in policy- and decision-making, who have access to and control over discourses. Because initially I planned to focus on what are the prevalent discourses at the national level, manifesting in educational policy and national politics, I chose the Ministry of Human Resources (MoHR) as a research site (A). Within the MoHR's structure there are three main secretaries working on broader topics covering and concerning the interest of this thesis. These are the State Secretary of Social Convergence[69] (Inclusion) (SSSoC/I), The State Secretary of Public Education (SSoPE) and the State Secretary of Higher Education (SSoHE). Located inside the same building can be found the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (HIERD) which gives the definition of its work with the following words on its English site: "*founded by the Ministry of Human Resources, is an institution providing general and strategic support services for the educational sector and contributing with background research and policy recommendations for educational development.*" Within each of these functional locations I carried out at least one interview, inside the SSSC/I I conducted two, one with a high-stake policy-maker and politician and one with a government official working within the same State secretary.

---

[69] Recently it has been renamed. Now it is called State Secretary of Social Affairs and Social Convergence.

Research Sites A(1) and B(2) were purposively selected, however one of the Teacher Education Institutions initially selected and invited for participation never responded to the request. Therefore, a third institution was contacted, who agreed to become part of the project.. Regardless of their organizational difference (to be independent colleges or in a status of faculty or department), I will treat all institutions as if they were having a Faculty position, so that with this I contribute to securing anonymity. The faculty leaders were contacted with an initial contact letter and the interviews were scheduled. Before the research, I have informed participants about the data protection methods ensuring their anonymity, and they signed the informed consent letter which was already emailed them before the meeting. Teacher educators working inside the institutions were contacted by me or they were recommended by the leader of the faculty. The selection for the focus group discussion happened by snowball sampling, I was referred to a girl studying at Faculty 1, and she helped to forward my contact letter to several co-students who then formed a group of people in a random manner. Most of them knew each other and had the willingness to participate and a genuine interest in the topic. I have also approached two - in different manners affiliated-professors and teacher educators. One of them has worked extensively on integrating materials about Roma culture and history into the mainstream curriculum of teacher education programs. The other is an educator of the Faculty of Educational Sciences and Psychology at Institution I. Besides this, I interviewed two leaders of major NGO's working on educational research, projects and legal cases related to Roma children. Lastly, I have also carried out a joint interview with two representatives of the Hungarian Institute of Educational Development and Research. The initial plan with the sampling and selection of the sites was designed with the purpose of creating a three-layered structure of national, institutional (local) and individual levels, in order to see how discourses prevail across these levels.

5.7 Generalizability and validity in critical discourse analysis

As reliability, validity and objectivity are hard to achieve in CDA, unlike in quantitative methods, researchers working in the field rather talk about quality assurance or quality criteria. Quality criteria in this case are understood as rigor, well grounded critique and intellectual challenge. (Silverman 1993 in Wodak and Meyer 2009) Jorgensen and Phillips (2002p. 173) suggest that solidity and transparency should work as 'validity' criteria in case of CDA research. According to them an analysis is solid when interpretation itself is comprehensive, meaning that more "textual features" and tools for analysis and interpretation are used. Transparency refers to the testability of claims made by the researcher. In this research, I will follow these principles and strive to present and analyze data in a credible and authentic manner, and come up with explanations of the findings in a way which allows for strong critique within the framework of transparency and fairness without harming the promises made for anonymity.

Generalizability concerns the validity of the findings beyond the sample. Wood and Kruger (2000 p. 77) writes that warranting the research or the extent of generalizability lies in the researcher's move, how s(he) approaches the findings and how (s)he uses them to confirm or challenge what has been 'known' about that phenomenon. For securing the validity of the findings the researcher also can attempt to triangulate at several levels of the research with the purpose of relating the angles "to counteract the threats to validity identified in each one of them." (Berg 2001 pg. 5) Data gathering methods, participant sampling, levels of theories, analytical techniques can be triangulated. In the case of this research, I made attempt to triangulate several aspects. As Fairclough's framework suggests, I will do a micro-, meso- and macro analysis of the texts. I have also triangulated his analytical framework with Bernstein's pedagogic model and the conceptual framework. At the level of sampling participants were included from the policy level, institutional levels and 'individual level' as external stakeholders related to the focus of this study.

5.8 Ethical considerations

My research interest and problem was explicitly pronounced and communicated towards the participants for ethical reasons, due to the claimed political, moral and social sensitivity of the topic. What made this already sensitive-claimed topic more sensitive was the fact that many of the participants were individuals working in high stake positions at ministerial and policy-making levels, as well as they were leaders of the Teacher Education Faculties, teacher educators, researchers and NGO leaders. The potential outcome of the analysis, which may not always shed positive light on the participant, could be considered as a risk factor. If this research would present a negative portrayal of an individual or an affiliated institution, that could run the risk of having negative consequences on that person's work and his or her professional and personal perception. Even though, this research aims to word strong critique on matters which it discloses as unjust, it was not tasked to disclose to whom these belong. Following suit the ethical guidelines is also important to ensure the researcher's safety and credibility because when the topic is considered sensitive and the approach is critical of the status quo that may also pose risk on the research and his/her work.

Concerning the process of data handling the following steps were taken. Interview recordings were transferred to my personal computer. The audios and the transcripts were both stored with codes. Transcriptions were typed with using a basic coding system and then the more complicated participant codes started to be used at the first level of data selection and translation. I have also decided to exclude any reference to gender when it concerned the research participants. I supplanted any pronouns with (s)he, she/he, his/her, herself/himself. Where single pronoun references can be found that is chance work when it concerns interviewees. I have only aimed at being consistent when there are several consecutive references to the same individual. According to the ethical guidelines of the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) and general research obligations 'initial contact letters' were sent out with the research description and ethical obligation. They were emailed before the meetings, together with the 'informed consent letters', which were then signed before the

interview. One copy stayed with the participants and one copy stayed with me. They were assured that at any point of the process they can contact me for updates or any questions they may have concerning the research. NSD's ethical guideline for doing research in the social sciences also regulates how the collected data should be handled. The research plan and a plan of prospective data handling according to the set guidelines had to be submitted to NSD and approved by them. This approval happened before the fieldwork was started. As this thesis went through several extensions, NDS had to be updated about the reasons of the delay and had to be informed about the state of data and encryption.

6 Presentation of data and findings

"Discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. (...) Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

(Fairclough and Wodak 1997 p. 258 in Wodak 2004 p. 198)

6.1 The outline of the chapter

The following part of the research will be presenting the findings in a systematic manner so that the research questions could be answered. Throughout the analysis, I will seek out patterns of explanations in the participant's utterances in order to see how the problem of inequality is constructed in relation to Roma children and the education they receive. Explanations matter because they highlight causes and effect and their relations. This exploration of the textual construction of these relationalities will be one of the main concerns of the text analysis. The section will be followed by the two interview/interviewee coding tables with which I aim to ensure anonymity but remain informative and clear about the characteristics relevant for the later interpretation of data. The second part of the chapter will commence with the outline of the thematized views of the participants. The coding and the organization of this part were based on the direction set out by the research questions and the theoretical framework and supported by the insights the literature review and the chapter on the background provided.

6.2 Coding and analyzing data

The data was collected by semi-structured interviews and a focus group discussion and then rigorously transcribed in Hungarian in a word-by word manner, but transcription symbols were not added to the text. After a preliminary, inductive analysis in Hungarian, I have selected the parts to be translated to English. This was necessary as the amount of the transcribed data was too large for the scope and theoretical breach of this thesis. My approach to coding was informed by the theoretical nature of critical discourse analysis. This, to some extent, afore equips and orients the researcher to look for certain discursive resources, themes, ideas, particular patterns of language use which could be associated later with how "larger patterns of social reproduction and cultural reproduction" manifest in these interactions. (Abate 2013; Luke 1995-96 p. 11)

One of the main challenges before interpretation is the translation of the macro and middle-range theories and concepts into 'instruments' which help coding and analysis. The process should be critical in the sense that it aims to challenge and denaturalize habitual use of language about a subject and potentially offer conceptual tools to challenge orderly forms

of talk about a phenomenon. (Hoppers 2013; Luke 1995-96, Wodak and Meyer 2009 p. 23) Codes were thought about as 'sensitizing concepts', which matured into more exclusive categories later during the analysis. (Fairclough 1995, Martineau 1999, Silverman 2004, Wood and Kruger 2000) This process should take the style of an exploration, a discovery with the pulls and pushes of the background knowledge, sensitizing theories and the congenitally emerging landscape of discursive devices, patterns and connections. Thus taken this as a metaphor (which is also a discursive device, often that of persuasion), the researcher can imagine codes as "road signs that allow" her to "traverse the text", building up into "interpretative and pluralistic categories." (Hoppers 2015, Martineau 1999 pg. 61) It is also important to note that I will not claim that the utterances of people necessarily or consequentially correlate with their views or intentions, but at times they clearly do. This difference can be speculated by the rhetoric, modality or the lexical choices made. With this it is possible to see how different discourses construct divergent meanings, contest ways of seeing and pave the way by their linguistic formulas to make sense of the word in certain ways.

6.3 Codes for encryption and participant anonymity

Based on my ethical obligations about the treatment of data and the protection of the identity of the research participants, I have developed an encryption strategy which shows the broader institutional and functional locations of the individual but hides all other indicators (such as gender, race/ethnicity or exact position and affiliation) which are not being highly relevant for the focus of this thesis. In some cases, mostly when the institution itself is explicitly known, the exact department and position of the individual was not given. In other cases, when the institution itself is not introduced, the structural position of the participant was more precisely defined. It is in hope that with this strategy I will live up to my promise of protecting the identities of those who were involved in this research and have shared their opinions, but also can clarify from what position they were speaking, what power pertains to this position when it comes to decision making, planning and influencing discourses.

Because not all people get the same kind of authority and visibility to their utterances it is a significant difference if the person talking is a departmental leader or a teacher candidate. For this reason, I have also implicated the functional level of the speakers as national/institutional/external/personal which is meant to indicate their speculated access to discourses and impact on respective planning. The first capital letters of the final encryption codes indicate to what institution the speaker belongs to. These codes are assigned in Table I. and these I also call the institutional/structural locations.

CODE	Institutional/structural location of the participants
A	Teacher and Nursery Teacher Education Institute I.
B	Teacher and Nursery Teacher Education Institution II.
C	Ministry of Human Resources/ State Secretary for Social Convergence
D	Ministry of Human Resources/State Secretary for Public Education
E	Ministry of Human Resources/State Secretary for Higher Education
F	Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development
G	NGO

Table: I. Codes for the institutional location of participants

The next table was designed to create the final encryption codes, which instantly share the most relevant information about the person talking while keeping the identity anonymous. The coding table includes all of the participants with whom interviews were conducted during the fieldwork. These codes are made up of several parts. The starting letters in capital, indicate the institutional affiliation as it was elaborated in Table I.

 The number in the bracket: (1), (2), (3) etc., indicate the reference number of the participants belonging to the same institution. It was necessary because often more than one individual were interviewed from the same institutional background. For example, A(1) tells me that the speaker belongs to Institution A and has been assigned the position of Speaker number 1. In most cases, one person counts as one interview. There are some codes with lowercase letters (a) (b). Those are used in those cases when the interview was carried out jointly and more of us chatted. I found this important, because then the meanings were co-constructed not only with me but with the other speaker as well. In the following codes B(1)-a-FL and B(2)-a-TE 'a' stands for this.

The last part of the code is with capital letters again, this is the simplified abbreviation of the functional positions of each participant. I tried to keep it as logical as possible not to make the reading overly complicated. For example TE, indicates Teacher Educator, PA, policy advisor, FL, Faculty Leader. When an extra 'E' is added at the end of the code that signifies that the interviewee is an external affiliate. So the encryption code can be read as following: E(1)-c-PA. The speaker is the first speaker (1) of the two who were jointly interviewed 'c', her/his institutional location is at State Secretary for Higher education 'E' and his/her functional position is policy advisor 'PA'. Because the length of the conversations varied a lot, from 3 minutes to 3 hours, I thought to make it visible in Table II., how much time one given interview have lasted and how hard it was to select the extract from such a huge amount of transcribed data. As I have proceeded with the transcripts word by word as best as I could, I have received very dense text.

#	CODE IN TEXT	POSITION	LEVEL	DURATION	METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION
1.	A(1)-TE-	teacher educator TE	institutional	15 min	interview 1-1 (1-4) pg.
2.	D(1)-PA	policy advisor PA	national	30 min	interview 1-1 (4-10) pg.
3.	G(1)-L	leader of an (I)NGO	external/ internat'l	35 min	interview 1-1 (10-19) pg.
4.	C(1)-P-DM	politician/decision maker P-DM	national	3 min 14 min	interview 1-1 (19-20 & 149-156) pg.
5.	A(2)-FL	faculty leader FL	institutional	40 min	interview 1-1 (20-29) pg.
6.	B(1)-a-TE	teacher educator TE	institutional	45 min	interview 1-2 (29-40) pg.
7.	B(2)-a-FL	faculty leader FL	institutional	45 min	interview 1-2 (29-40) pg.
8.	A(4)-TE-E	teacher educator – TE-E	institutional external	40 min	interview 1-1 (40-49) pg.
9.	G(2)-NGO	leader of an NGO	external	48 min	interview 1-1 (49-59) pg
10.	F(1)-b-RP	researcher for policy RP	semi/external -national	57 min	interview 1-2 (59-74) pg
11.	F(2)-b-RP	researcher for policy RP	semi/external -national	57 min	interview 1-2 (59-74) pg
12.	C(2)-PA	policy advisor PA	national	45 min	interview 1-1 (74-85) pg
13.	A(3)-TE-E	former teacher educator TE	institutional/p ersonal	105 min	interview 1-1 (85-101)pg
14.	E(1)-c-PA E(2)-c-PAA	policy advisor PA & PA assistant	national	80 min	interview 1-1 (101-118)pg
15.	A(5)-d-S	student in TE nursery teacher c.	personal	180 min	focus group (118-149)pg
16.	A(6)-d-S	student in TE nursery teacher c.	personal	180 min	focus group (118-149)pg
17.	A(7)-d-S	student in TE nursery teacher c.	personal	180 min	focus group (118-149)pg
18.	A(8)-d-S	student in TE nursery teacher c.	personal	180 min	focus group (118-149)pg
19.	A(9)-d-S	student in TE teacher c.	personal	180 min	focus group (118-149)pg

Table II. Encryption codes of participants and data collection

The interview guide used during these meetings will be enclosed in APPENDIX 'B', however it will be visible from the presented extracts, in which I will include my questions, that I have deviated from the guides from time to time. This was due to my lack of experience both in setting up a sequence of interview questions, as well as my lack of experience in conducting these structured or semi-structured conversations having a stake. So, the way I posed my questions have several times resembled my lack of knowledge and my uncritical approach, whereby I was using linguistic formulations, which support discursive constructions of subjectivities in ways which I now find problematic. This has become a really important learning point and an indication that ways of knowing and speaking can be shaped and improved, so that the meanings communicated comes closer to the intention and vice versa.

As translation is a problematic process in discourse analytical methods, it was a challenging task to transfer the subtle notions stemming from intentional or unintentional linguistic choices. I have decided to follow the original intonational units, repetitions and false-starts of the utterances and not to force them into grammatically correct sentences, in order to stay as close to the original communication as possible. These units in which spoken communication gets organized "reflect not underlying grammatical structures, but underlying focuses of consciousness in which information is organized". (Schriffrin 1994 p. 25)

Data presentation signs and encryption codes

The utterances are broken into smaller semantic units to facilitate reading. These lines are then listed so that it will be easier to refer to certain lines in the extracts. For example (6-7) indicates these lines within the utterance. This sign (…) will mark that a part of the text was cut out, so that relevant content could be drawn together. Where larger parts would have to be omitted, there I have decided to treat the two units as separate extracts. All extracts (for example EXTRACT 9, 41 or 50) will be treated as separate units or utterances. When I selected these utterances and decided where to start and end them, I tried to take an approach which helps to preserve the coherence of their meaning, but the utterance remains meaningful as data as well. Following each presented unit, I will present its number (e.g. EXTRACT 10) and then the speaker or speakers who have been producing that fragment of text. The number is important for two reasons. On the first place it helps referencing during the analysis, as well as will hold connected utterances together which are used at different sections of the data presentation due to their respective relevance. If there is an EXTRACT 5/A and B that means that the utterance has been broken into two and used in two different sections, however their connectedness may be relevant or interesting. In some cases, I cut the text in A version to save place and the B version is an extended repetition of the utterance. The execution of this was informed by the research question and the given unit's relevance. In cases, there are two speakers involved in a unit in a conversational manner. In this case I refer to one as A and the other as B. The encrypted identity of the speaker will be shown at the end of the quote.

1. **B:** or they don't know what it is.
2. **A:** and yes, **they don't have a demand for it**

EXTRACT 19   F(1)-b-RP (A) F(2)-b-RP (B)

6.4 Presentation of data and findings

The research questions set out at the beginning of the project were the following:

1. What kind of explanations do discourses and narratives offer about the educational inequalities experienced by so many Roma children? (problem aspect)

2. How do these discourses and narratives prevail in the 'field' of teacher education? (contextualization aspect)

3. How do these discursive understandings reflect the purpose of the education (schooling) which is provided for Roma children? ('solution' aspect)

In order to find out what kind of explanations (and narratives) are offered by different discourses on the educational inequalities experienced by Roma children (RQ 1), I carried out the text analysis of the transcribed data guided by the following two sub questions:

A: *In what way are Roma/Roma children represented and talked about in these texts?*
B: *How did the interviewees explain the problems and inequality in education affecting Roma children?*

These sub-questions were helpful not only in selecting the relevant utterances but also in highlighting what central ideas prevail in the participant's thinking and knowing about inequality. In this manner, I hypothesized that competing discourses would emerge from the process of analysis. I will refer to these later on as the '***inequality discourses***' which comprise ideas both about the subjects of inequality, the perceived problems causing them and the relation in between these two.

The third sub-question dealt with in this chapter expands on the first two. It asks:
C: *How are integration, segregation and 'felzárkózás' conceptualized with respect to Roma children and educational provision?*

Following this outlined sequence, I will present my findings in this chapter. First, I will introduce the selected extracts and analyze them in more detail to ground my interpretations and explanations based on which I can inductively theorize in the discussion chapter. The extracts presented here are treated on the first place as utterances or conversational units and will be the objects and basis of comparison. Therefore, the utterances on the first place will not be organized according to the identity of the speaker. The position and institutional location of the speaker matter mostly at the second level of the analysis, when issues of intertextuality, the contexts of consumption and production of the texts are under scrutiny. As I aimed to explore what discourses these texts resemble, it seemed justified that I sought demonstrative examples to present and analyze according to this stance. Because

interviews were most often lengthy and turn taking was less frequent leaving space for the interviewees for elaboration, utterances had to be selected and cut out - sometimes from larger units of text- based on their perceived relevance or irrelevance.

6.5 Constructing subject positions and the problem of inequality in language

In discourse analysis, much of the attention goes to understanding how discourses function, how they carry out a certain ideological work for example at the level of texts, or how do they engender relations of dominance, construct social categories or craft certain subject positions. When I was coding and selecting the data, I looked for utterances which help to answer sub-questions 'A' and 'B' to achieve this understanding. During this process, I identified four major discursive cases of talking about Roma children and problems concerning schooling, learning and education in general. Each of these cases represents distinct ways of drawing Roma into subject positions, with this constructing a differing image and social identity for the 'group' and the 'individual'. Simultaneously, the correlating problem statements and definitions have emerged from the data. Relying on the guidance of the theories presented in the conceptual framework I organized, coded and selected those extracts which offered distinctive approaches to subjectivity (identity) and problem construction. Discourse I, which I identified as the deficit approach, was the most pronounced and common form of description and explanation prevalent in the interviewee's language use. With each of the four discursive cases, I will introduce the most relevant extracts identified, which highlight the representations and explanations characteristic of that particular discursive stance. These extracts will be followed with the textual analysis which will be the base of my later interpretations and explanations.

Discourse I. - The deficit approach

1. I think that this is a process lasting through many years
2. and obviously depends on the local specificities, (…)
3. It is simply about, that **their vocabulary is more narrow,**
4. and **because in that culture**,
5. where they grew up, there they don't use certain words,
6. which they **should already know at school**,
7. so I think that on the one hand there is a **vocabulary enlargement aspect** of the preparation,
8. which is in all event necessary,
9. and on the other hand it has a **socialization aspect**,
10. as they are already when little**, they socialize completely differently**, *right*,
11. as the **culture of that nation is different**,
12. **other behavioral things** are expected from them by the parents,
13. they give feedback on different things as good or wrong.
14. so, then if with this kind of socialization, with which they come,
15. **we want to put** the Roma child into a group consisting of Hungarian children, **then again**
16. **it will happen that the teacher expects what s/he was socialized fo**r,
17. which the other children also have acquired, and then

18. they will be marked that (s)he is the **bad child**,
19. because **(s)he is socialized differently**,
20. **behaves different**ly,
21. **handles less the constraints**, the limits,
22. so then from one side (s)he gets the mark
23. that there is not sufficient preparation,
24. that **(s)he is stupid,**
25. **and that (s)he is bad**,
26. and from this point it is a problem,
27. **so this has to be prevented**,
28. so then, by all means for this
29. it is necessary that there will be **preparations**
30. so then naturally, I do not deny that **there are such Roma families**
31. **who prepare their children** completely
32. so that they straight away from the first class **fit in**,
33. although this is pretty much **a question of deliberation,**
34. **that this child actually how much is suitable for that.**

EXTRACT 11/A   B(1)-a-FL

The problems faced by children at schools are seen as the result of "the vocabulary" being "more *narrow*" and "*because in that culture (...) they don't use certain words*". This already contains an implicit comparison with "*more*". But it is in line 3, "*that culture*", highlights that the unuttered *this culture,* the speakers' culture, the majority's abilities are the objects of comparison. The following part is an elaboration of this assessment. From line 9, the speaker explains and argues for the claims made between lines1-8. By this elaboration of the roots of the problem the speaker simultaneously constructs the identity of the Roma child in lines 9-10-11, 17-18-19-20, 23-24.

In the argument another aspect is also included, the aspect of the stigmatizing teacher, whose actions are deemed bad, therefore "*should be prevented*". But before any condemnation happens, these supposed teacher perceptions are excused and justified in length. Leading up to that point, where the speaker tries to explain why there should be a special "vocabulary enlargement" and a "socialization aspect" of that education which is provided to Roma children. These are enumerated in a bullet point-like manner, where 'as' fills in an explanatory and elaborative function: "*as* (…) they socialize completely differently, *right*", "*as* the culture of *that nation* is different, *other* behavioral things are expected from *them*, *they* give feedback on different things as good or wrong."

What can be observed is the sequential othering of the subject of the talk by the adjectives, verbs and nouns which are used to compare, contrast and differentiate Roma children from the non-Roma. The word different/differently is used five times, while "that nation", "they", "them" "other", "that culture" is also employed in the text carrying out a heavy comparative function. In the end, the role of these in creating the emerging meaning is not simply conceived in differentiation but also in distancing and value-transfer (good/bad, right/wrong). The qualifying adjectives used in the sentences help to create oppositional values and relations and this way they draw Roma children into an inferior subject position.

Line 14, starts with "*if we want to put the Roma children into a group consisting of Hungarian children*" and refers back "*then again*", -reinforcing the clarity and factuality of the problem which would be caused by 'their' socialization there. In line 18 the same casual link is created with "because" between socialization and being a bad child. On the contrary the socialization and expectations of the teacher and other students are normalized in lines 15-16. It is the perceived difference what gets problematized not the expectations. The final conclusion is that this have to be prevented and because parents are incapable of "preparing their children completely" with the

exception of some Roma families, and whether it happened, whether the children is "suitable" "to fit in", into integrated classes, will have to be deliberately judged suggestively by the teacher or a person in position of authority to decide.

1. **Why** they **will not be or not come to become teachers**,
2. - those who have graduated from high school,
3. -politicians can say more about,
4. the other, right, **is that**, that environment that **social context where they come from,**
5. **studying is not yet there where it's place is, where it should be,**
6. **the little children's socialization, that it is not taken in that direction,**
7. **but to another direction** […]

<div align="center">EXTRACT 8/A   B(2)-a-TE</div>

The starting explorative question seeks reasons out: why there are no graduated Roma children who apply "to become teachers"? Firstly, the question itself indicates that there should be more 'ethnic' teachers, but there is hardly any. In line 4 the following reasons are introduced with "is that": (1) "socialization (…) is not taken in that direction" and (2) "studying is not yet there where its place (…) should be", " in that environment". It then becomes suggestive, that not only the "little children's" way of socializing is conceived in not valuing studying, but also the graduate Roma students' who don't want to become a teacher for the same given reason.

1. It is a **really complex question and it is not a surprise** that,
2. it is not resolved, so that, here there is a something,
3. **this very strong cultural particularity**
4. which keeps the- this particular **nature of the community**
5. which it has carried with itself for so long,
6. that nearly **sees it as its identity**. (…)
7. so I feel that this is a really **deep, culturally rooted problem**.
    (…)
1. so we are working on a foster care program (…)
2. yes, we wrote the curriculum,
3. and in this we introduce those cultural circumstances
4. **and those particularities which Roma children carry** in **themselves**
5. **and also those differences in the value system which are very often problematic**. (…)
6. the foster family, very often encounters with that,
7. that **the children, for example, steals something**
8. and brings it home joyfully, waiting to be praised,
9. they **want to please their parents** that way.

Here the speaker tries to separate a biologically racist argument,- "it is in their blood", which (s)he doesn't characterize as being okey by simply saying that "we " don't talk about the Gypsy like that.- from the culturally racist explanation. It is their "living circumstances", and their culture which is pathologized not them being "Gypsy people" in a biologically racializing understanding. (Lines 1, 6) In the 2nd and 3rd lines the speaker strengthens the default perception when (s)he goes on to access that "there are such Gypsy families" who diverge from the default negative cultural norm represented by other Gypsy families, but this only functions in this utterance to strengthens the rule and the argument. The logic of 'felzárkózás' appears at the end of the utterance, imputed in the complaine that "we are struggling" (understand non-Roma people) "in vain" but they are not partners, though they have to want it for it to work.

<div align="center">EXTRACT 12/A)   B(1)-a-FL</div>

1. But with Gypsy people we neither talk about that **it is in their blood**,
2. **but that the circumstances** where they come from,
3. **because there are such Gypsy families**
4. **who live according absolutely different norms**
5. **and there are no problems with them at all** in this level.
6. so **not because** they are Gypsies
7. **but because** of their culture somehow.
8. only that **they are also needed** for this,
9. that **we are struggling** in vain,
10. trying to figure out, they are needed for this,
11. that they also want.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 44   A(5)-d-S</div>

Between lines 1-7 it is emphasized with the intensifying adverbs that the 'Roma question' and the pertaining problem is "a really deep, culturally rooted problem" conceived inside "this very strong cultural particularity", in "the nature of the community" which is inherent and so persistent that it became an identity, what more, a form of self-perception and self-identification ("sees it as its identitiy") In part B, the closely connected utterance then creates a comparison between the child with a problematic value system inherent in him/her and in his/her original family and the foster family. The value difference is introduced as so 'deeply rooted' that it sustains even in the new value positive morally good, universally unproblematic environment.

I also asked participants about their perception of the majority's role in the identity formation of Romani people.

ME: does then the majority have a…
1. Yes, actually everything comes down to that **acceptance** here….
2. to act, in the same way, it has to be worked on here
3. that the gypsy society **accepts the other society**,
4. the Hungarian society,
5. **the Hungarian majority nation where it lives**.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 14 B(1)-a-FL</div>

This sentence constructs the idea and image of two distinct societies. The Hungarian society is presented not as a home society but as a host society, where the "other society", the "Gypsy society" "lives". The relationship is coined in terms of unidirectional and hierarchical acceptance and conviviality; there are no signs of commonality or sharedness, but rather the signs of othering, the Hungarian majority nation's identity's exclusivity which is not being extended to the Gypsy society. This constructs the picture of an inside outsider group.

1. Who is in disadvantaged situation,
2. doesn't matter for what reason,
3. to help that.
4. It can be said, that **(s)he cannot behave civilized**,
5. that (s)he **doesn't have socialization**;
6. then (s)he has to be **helped in socialization**.
7. **These disadvantages** cannot be handled **alone** by the school,
8. but **cannot either** be handled **without** the school.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 5/B   F(2)-b-RP</div>

Disadvantage here is presented as lack of socialization ("doesn't **have** socialization") and civilization ("cannot **behave** civilized") in reference to the Roma child: "s(he)". "These" here functions to connect the noun "disadvantage" to the description given in the previous sentence. These inherent-made problems are presented as something the child "has" or something which belongs to his/her

"behavior". This "has to be helped" and "handled", by the school, but the school doesn't have enough compensatory power "alone". It remains only suggestive and unspecified who else's help would be needed.

1. I think that those who absolutely condemn, those absolutely don't see it through,
2. they only see that **they don't work**
3. and that **they live on the money of the state**
4. and that **they are not clean** and etc.
5. and **if you start to talk to them and if you sit down with them**,
6. although I can't ((do)) it completely, but sometimes **I have the opportunity for it**
7. and then you know what happens to them and how,
8. then at least they get to the point that well, maybe yes.(…)
9. So they already see the end result and they don't see behind it
10. and I think that is bad.
11. so, that vainly they condemn **but they** don't look behind it,
12. but **they don't look** behind it why this is,
13. **why do we hate them**.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 40   A(7)-d-S</div>

First the speaker distances her/himself from the people who do not make an attempt to understand by saying "they don't see it through", "they only see", "they don't look"; but then she expresses fellowship at the grammatical level when says it in first person plural that "*we hate them*". With this s(he) both extends her/his opinion to the collective as well as the agency for carrying out the act. So, on one side there is the collective 'we' as the impart-er while the direct object of shared hate is "them". The statement becomes rather problematic because it is formulated as a justification of the explanative statements given before, which gave potential reasons for hate with "they don't work", "they live on the money of the state", "they are not clean". This generalization overrides the concern, that there may be in cases something in the background which could help understanding.

1. **The key thing is** that **the Roma, Gypsy thing**,
2. that practically has to be known,
3. so that **this ethnic group's** customs, history, origin,
4. and **everyday behavior culture** have to be known (…)

<div align="right">EXTRACT 7/A   A(2)-FL</div>

   ME: oh, and I remembered a last question, sorry, so what possibilities the individual has in these cases to shape this whole…
1. Well, of course, look, (s)he ((the teacher)) has far the opportunity,
2. but we don't know that, if (s)he has the energy and
3. how much, how much energy (s)he has,
4. well, this a really difficult question,
5. when when ammm, let's say,
6. **they commit something against** someone,
7. let's say, **(s)he has** ((the teacher)) **two bad experiences**,
8. for example the **victim of two gypsycrimes**,
9. then it is a man-challenging ((idiom: really hard)) task to **remain tolerant**,
10. or to trust another man and to do something, well,
11. this **is not an easy thing**.
12. Unfortunately, everyone has to cope with this alone.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 7/B   A(2)-FL</div>

Extract 7 shows that there are two interpretative lenses of culture. In these four lines both prevails; in one sense culture is associated with 'everyday behavior', which is mostly leveraged by the deficit approaches and is given explanatory power. The other part of culture is not explanatory and is not

leveraged in comparative function; however, the two can be really easily washed together. The second extract uses "gypsycrime", "they committing something against", "bad-experiences" in reference to Roma, while in reference to teachers and the majority the speaker used the words, "victim", "remain tolerant", "man-challenging" "to trust", "to cope", "not easy". "Gypsycrime" is used here as a noun. Nouns are those types of words, which establish reality, by naming things, objects, phenomena, processes or people. Here, "gypsycrime" is therefore a clear indication that according to the speaker there is a factuality of this phenomenon. It is used also as one of the examples. The exemplification, here even used twice "let's say" and "for example", have the effect of strengthening the claim and supporting the generalizations by providing evidence, therefore the danger of Roma "committing something against someone" is reinforced by several linguistic means. (Schiffrin 1994 p. 120)

Main findings of the text analysis

In *discourse I,* the utterances of the speakers produced the image of the Roma children with the mediation of two dominant explanative aspects which emerged from the descriptions and explanations several participants provided. The first aspect produced the explanations via the construction of the binary of normality and abnormality in relation to culture and values. In this aspect the following attributives, associations were used in relation to Roma children: "*more narrow vocabulary", "socialize differently", "cannot be taught according to our norms", "culture is different", "problematic value system and particularities Roma carry", "they don't work"* and *"they live on the money of the state".* The other aspect within the deficit discourse used the following attributives, associations and representations to describe and explain problems pertaining to Roma children in education: *"behavior is different", "bad child", "handles less constrain" "stupid", "cannot behave civilized" "doesn't have socialization" "steals"*, according to these narratives Roma children were associated with the idea of the problematic children and problems of inequality are hardly separable from the social identity constructed for Roma in these utterances. The use of "Gypsycrime" in the utterance of one of the faculty leaders is an even more worrisome finding. This artificially constructed noun, often used in the media discourse or in the extreme-right's narratives, merges Gypsy and crime into one word creating the impressions of a fact-mature connection between these two. This and the other attributes used contribute to the pathologizing of Roma and also to incite fear and anti-Roma sentiments.

Discourse II. - Merit and responsibility

1. Maybe it is a superficial observation,
2. exactly because this is not my field of expertise,
3. but I perceive, that **those Roma have the chance to break out**
4. **in whom faith is operating,**
5. **they find the way, the right way**,
6. and to the proper communities, religious communities,
7. and it doesn't matters to which one,
8. because very interestingly the Buddhist and other religious communities
9. also affect them.
10. but **there are already a sort of distancing from those**,
11. **distancing from stealing** and in the direction of such,

12. who find these ((communities)).

<div align="right">EXTRACT 18/A   B(2)-a-TE</div>

The speaker starts the statement with hesitation, and there is a degree of uncertainty introduced with "maybe" which is disclaimed by "but" presenting then a subjective but confident personal opinion. The comparison, between "those (…) in whom faith is operating" and "those" in whom not is achieved by the repetition of the demonstrative pronoun and the use of a similar sentence structure: "distancing from those (…) stealing", There is also no agency given to Roma, (9, 10, 11) they only get agency in those sentences where they are already in connection with the church (3, 5, 12) they have to be first "affected" by these "religious communities" to "break out". It is also problematic that the utterance achieves the effect to identify Roma with stealing as a default.

3. **A:** My children of course go to language courses, and do sports and arts and so on,
4. in my neighborhood this **is not given to the Gypsy children**.
5. On one part because **they have no demand for it**,
6. there is **nothing which would compel them for it**,
7. and **there is no money**.
8. **B:** or they don't know what it is.
9. **A:** and yes, **they don't have a demand for it**
10. **because they don't know what it is**.
11. **They enjoy that we go home** from school at twelve **and play** jumping game.
12. And the aim of the whole day school is to create equal access to this.
13. So this is a very positive goal.

<div align="center">EXTRACT 19   F(1)-b-RP (A)   F(2)-b-RP (B)</div>

The speaker starts with the introduction of an exemplary regular action/opportunity, which is then contrasted with not being done and not being "given to Gypsy children". "Of course" emphasizes the naturality of what the first sentence states and doesn't question its take-for-grantedness, thereby making that appearing as the norm. Then s(he) goes on explaining why, it is not like that for Gypsy children. The reason is given after "*because*" in lines 3, 4 and 5. The first reason (1) they have no demand for it", gets double emphasis when it is repeated after the interruption of the other speaker offering another, different reason with "*or*" "they don't know what it is". Speaker A agrees, and repeats the modified first claim, strengthening the rightness of the first one with it. In this utterance Roma (children) are constructed in the position of passive persons, having no responsibility, both at the grammatical and semantic levels. "they don't have demand for it", "they don't know", "they enjoy that we go home (…) and play" are the relating clauses with the last one being an impersonated direct speech with a derisive tone. The proposal of the whole day school, then offers the solution for the problem both at the level of demand and access.

1. I think it is really changing from the point of view of minorities,
2. because **there are who say,**
3. **but I will break out from this**,
4. **assesses** that it is not good,
5. because **she sees it** continually,
6. **and some acts on it it**
7. that **they don't have money**,
8. so I think is this complex.

<div align="center">EXTRACT 41 A(5)-d-S</div>

The idea of "breaking out" has been emphasized in several utterances. (Extract 18/A) The speaker tries to take up the changing "point of views of minorities", which in this case is seen as the assessment of his/her detrimental situation and then the decision of overcoming it. This is the exception, standing in

contrast with those who are not changing, who "act on" not having money, act on being in a bad situation.

Main findings of the text analysis

Based on the detailed text analysis, it emerges, that under the discourse of merit and responsibility explanations constructed their subjects in different light than in discourse one. Here, the conception of being Roma was associated with "having no demand" and lacking knowledge for executing demands with regards to education. This was extended with the idea that they rather "enjoy" that they "*go home from school (...) and play*". Besides the presentation of Roma as having lack of will and responsibility, the inequality in access was also connected by two speakers to not having enough money. One of the speakers went on to supposing that "*some acts on it that they don't have money*". This remark was made by two speakers. "Breaking out" was seen as the solution of inequality, but it was seen as conditional; "*those Roma have the chance to break out in whom faith is operating*" – "*there are already a sort of distancing from those, distancing from stealing (...) who find these communities*" or a rare personal merit; "*there are who say, but I will break out from this,- assesses that it is not good.*"

Discourse III. - Deprivation and Discrimination

ME: And in your opinion, what role the majority has in the identity formation of Roma children?

9. Well, damn it, they should **accept it.**
10. what would be really important to make non-Roma conscious of
11. is a very simple,
12. that **poorness and destitution are not cultural specificities**,
13. so when someone comes with **that Roma live this way** and that way
14. that is **not cultural particularity**.
15. If everyone was conscious of this,
16. that this **is not our cultural thing that** *we* **live in ghettos** and I don't know,
17. I don't know in what housing situation
18. and our study results are bad.
19. That is not a *cultural specificity*,
20. *this is a problem*, a huge part of which,
21. - it comes out from research-
22. stems from **poverty**
23. and the **given social status**.
24. It is of course possible to intensify
25. to what extent this two is washed together,
26. but the carrier research shows
27. that falling behind
28. doesn't originate from **someone being Gypsy**,
29. but that **(s)he is in a life-situation as the one (s)he is in**.
   (….)

ME: So than the way the majority thinks, that really has an effect…?

22. Of course, yes, clearly there is a,

23. what it the name, this **self-fulfilling prophecy**,
24. the other's logic,
25. that when I obviously **expect** something from the other,
26. (s)he starts to perform like that.
27. obviously, at the school level,
28. when **(s)he is a small child**
29. it has an exponential effect, so this has to…
30. that what I **expect** from you,
31. the same thing, the stereotypes work this way,
32. so that I **expect** that they perform as such and such,
33. it is not sure, that the given character
34. know about him/herself and
35. obviously to change or break this is a big task.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 13/B   C(2)-PA</div>

The speaker's answer (lines 1 and 22) to the question suggests that in his/her perception the majority, "non-Roma" plays a role in the identity formation of Roma, and it unfolds in the text what exactly this identity shaping perception is. (S)he emphasizes the lack of awareness "make (…) conscious", "if everyone was conscious of this". (S)he uses indirect reportive speech (line 5) which is a usually characteristic of narrative telling, but also functions to draw in views associated with another discursive word views or roles, from which the speaker would want to distance him or herself, with this emphasizing and intensifying the perceptual difference.

This way it is easy to follow and separate the two threads of discourses apparent in this text which the speaker even warns - are easily "washed together". The utterance's aim is to clarify this distinction between viewing "poorness and destitution", "that we live in ghettos" interpreted as "cultural specificities" (2x) or "particularities" or "originating from someone being a Gypsy". (S)he goes on to leverage scientific knowledge "comes out from research", "carrier research shows" that "this problem", which shows that "poorness and destitution", "bad (…) study results" and "living in ghettos" actually "stems from poverty", "the given social status" and the "life situation". (S)he draws in the intertextual reference to the behavioral theory "self-fulfilling prophecy" which theorizes about the power of other's perceptions and expectations, over both the results and the interpretations of the actions themselves. This then applied to the way "stereotypes work" which can be built into explanations and interpretations provided by a discourse. In light of the first part of the utterance it is a reference to the two sort of interpretations (s)he has outlined about the production of disadvantages.

1. (…) A big part of **disadvantages**
2. stem from that **they are poor**
3. and live in such **life-circumstances** as they do
4. and because of this they **have very little chance**
5. to have normal training or qualifications,
6. obviously in accordance with this their **employment chances are deteriorating**,
7. the roma, the roma, obviously the hint originates from
8. this group having Roma in large numbers. (…)
9. to me it obviously comes out from research
10. that **half of the 3H children are Roma**,
11. but not the whole.
12. so at least such a big stratum,
13. but in proportions this concerns Roma a lot more,
14. because it can be that 50% Roma,
15. we are talking about 60-70 thousand children,
16. if we look at statistics,
17. then in the numbers of the Roma population this is a very big number (…)

From line 1 on the speaker further elaborates on disadvantage production. A chain of casual links, pronouns and conjunctions hold the explanation together, which is built on the arguments presented in the previous section, and elaborates further from conclusions of the presented view. Disadvantages "stem" from "poverty" and "life circumstances" which inhibit the opportunity ("have very little access") to "have *normal* training", indicating that there is probably access to worse quality provision, but that doesn't offer any gains on the labor market, contributing to deteriorating "employment chances" which will spill back into "poverty", reproducing the disadvantage. The reference to 3H children, who are Roma and the statistics highlights the related expert discourse drawing in with intertextual references those policy texts and statistical data sources which ground expert knowledge and which produces such categories as "3H children" and its meaning with respect to disadvantage in education. With this 3H reference the speaker has drawn in meanings and concepts which were not uttered in this very text, but included in its final meaning and message to be conveyed.

1. It is not by accident that Bourdieu says **hidden**, ((discrimination))
2. so that amm, these can prevail **in the very subtle communicational signs**,
3. so it is hard to talk about it in general,
4. and also in given case the teacher can also be that
5. (s)he loudly advertises that how tolerant (s)he is,
6. how well (s)he handles Roma children
7. and **(s)he doesn't even realize**
8. that with one or other of her/his sentences,
9. (s)he engages in **such kind of communication**,
10. so it is really hard to grasp,
11. of course this also has degrees.
12. That for example, that they create a 'c' class beside the 'a' and the 'b'
13. and they take it to the wooden cottage in the back from the building,
14. that is graspable,
15. that is noticed straight away,
16. but that (s)he only twinges there with a sentence
17. which either (s)he thinks through,
18. that is already hardly palpable.

Here the speaker discusses the subtle forms of discrimination, co-constructing meaning with me in this case, as I have drawn into the conversation Bourdieu's ideas on the hidden curriculum and hidden forms of discrimination. This intertextual reference then is thread through the argument contrasting communication styles with the conscious: "how tolerant s(he) is", "how well s(he) handles children" with the unconscious actions and biases "very subtle communication signs", "twinges (…) with a sentence, "doesn't even realize (…) (s)he engages in such kind of communication", where *such* is a pronoun reference to discrimination. Exemplification then is leveraged to contrast the material and immaterial, the "graspable" and "hardly palpable" forms in which discrimination can prevail in the school environment and effect children in very different manners. The "palpable" form is the creation of a segregated class "in the wooden cottage in the back." The adjective and adverb combinations "how well" and "loudly" add strength and life to the comparisons beside the sarcasm they carry, which have the function of providing the required rhetoric device to express irony towards this behavior.

Main findings of the textual analysis

In comparison to the first two discourses, the discourse of deprivation and discrimination aimed to distance itself from the view that "*poorness and destitution*" affecting many Roma

are "*cultural specificities*" or "*particularities*". Roma are represented as a group, in a more critical manner, who are more vulnerable than non-Roma to be affected by poverty, lack of quality training and education, bad housing situation ("live in ghettos"), "discrimination" or "falling behind" in schools and with employment chances. Identity formation was not perceived here to be a "thing" the minority creates for itself, but was acknowledged that it is co-shaped by the majority population's perceptions, expectations, ("self-fulfilling prophecy) the working of stereotypes and discrimination. Explanations about educational inequality have also highlighted that while "half of the 3H (children with multiple disadvantages) children are Roma, and it "in proportions concerns Roma a lot more" disadvantage and poverty is not exclusively identifiable with Roma, as it is generally perceived.

Discourse IV. - Critical Approach

1. They often bring up Gandhi, ((as a segregated institution)) but that is a gymnasium,
2. not a public education institute, not a primary school
3. and it is **voluntar**y,
4. so it is a nationality gymnasium
5. and **there students go vo-lun-ta-ri-ly,**
6. while to such a 'settlement'-school by compulsion,
7. despite saying that **there is free choice of school**,
8. **for them it is not free**
9. because **they are in constrained situation**. pg. 52-53

EXTRACT 30 G(2)-L

1. I think it definitely **correlates with impoverishment**,
2. that the gap is growing
3. between the society's lower and higher strata
4. and **that there is no middle strata,**
5. **that someone is or really poor or really rich**
6. **and this gap is just growing**,
7. I don't know that-
8. politicians or economics researchers surely can explain it more clever than I,
9. **but poverty really plays a part in this**
10. and 95% of Roma **belong to** the strata in extreme poverty
11. and the same thing is with the non-Roma poor strata,
12. they always cover with this in schools
13. that this is not a gypsy school
14. there are Hungarian kids here,
15. but those, who **live in such misery as the gypsies,**
16. **those are there,**
17. **who don't stand anywhere in the domain of representing their interests**(…)

EXTRACT 39 G(2)-L

The problem of inequality of access and choice of school as well as segregation is brought up and explained through the example of Gandhi. The reference to Gandhi is made because it is one of the most known schools which provide national education and curricula and which is often referred to as an example of self-segregation in the segregation debate. The example is used to highlight the importance of the principle of free choice and access, which stands in the case of Gandhi but is different with a "settlement school" which is a public education institution. That those Roma children attend who are "in constrained situation" and there the right to "free choice of school" rather

perpetrates this situation instead of providing real freedom. The syllabication of "voluntarily" and its repetition emphasizes the importance of this criterion and is put in contrast with "the compulsion" and constraint the free choice of school and the living "situation" establishes in the school system. In the next utterance, the use of the word "impoverishment" highlights that poverty is not only a state but is rather a process which is being constructed and reproduced continuously and this effect is also strengthened by the present continuous tense's forward pointing effect, which is used to express how "the gap is growing". This is suggestive that this process is not being halted, but getting more apparent. The repetition confirms this claim. The phrases ""really poor", "really rich" extreme poverty", "poor strata" and the noun "misery" make the comparisons expressive, and highlight the unjust nature of the situation, in which context, the accusation of segregation is being fended off: "*they always cover with this in schools that this is not a gypsy school, there are Hungarian kids here*". Not even the claims of interest are recognized. What creates a union between those who are continuously kept in this situation with the reproduction of miserable conditions be them Roma or non-Roma is highlighted by the statement: "*those are there, who don't stand anywhere in the domain of representing their interests*", which also throws up inexplicitly the questions of responsibility, with this highlighting the production of "dual disadvantage" as this utterance shows both economic and recognition based oppression. (Kabeer 2000)

1. **This problem of cultures**
2. gets to the forefront very often, right, here
3. it is simply about **that we perceive disadvantaged children**
4. as such who *has worse or weaker knowledge,*
5. *who know less about the world,*
6. *who are worse,*
7. *have weaker abilities,*
8. *who cannot communicate as others can,*
9. *that they grow up in poor stimuli environment* and so on and so on,
10. so they,- *stigmas* are stick on them
11. and these are really *stigmas*
12. because it is not like that.
13. It always gets figured out that **it is like that**
14. **from where the school looks at it**,
15. from there, it seems like that,
16. but if we examine it globally that how these children-
17. then it turns out that this is not like that,
18. let me say an example,
19. so we say that **disadvantaged children know less about the world**,
20. **but hell no**.
21. *They know less about that world*
22. *which the school considers the world.*
23. What it expects, what it awaits from the **little first graders**
24. to know about the world in that **these children** may be behind,
25. and **gypsy children** specially
26. but about other parts of the world and in general **they know a lot**,
27. **what others don't know**,
28. however the schools brings this to the fore and
29. straight away there is the inequity,
30. and the lack of balance or the development of abilities.

1. This economic or social circumstance is a disadvantage
2. this is transformed
3. into a learning disadvantage
4. and this is done by the school. (…)

5. the school is not white hearted
6. because it is the school which makes this transformation.
7. **Learning disadvantage** evolves in the school
8. because why would be
9. **a six years old Gypsy children** less prepared to learn,
10. **(s)he is not worse prepared** only becomes that
11. when a one sided cultural expectation system
12. operates against him/her and
13. *cannot integrate him/her the school with integration.*
14. (…) **it is the school**
15. **which creates those circumstances**
16. **in which these children become disadvantaged.**

<div align="right">EXTRACT 50/A A(4)-TE-E</div>

The argumentation presented in these two quotes serves to challenge the truth claims of the other discourse which understands the problem as a "problem of cultures", e.g. it represents a deficit point of view and makes its validity claims based on that perspective. The utterances draw the views of this other way of reality construction to present, contrast and then dismiss the truth-claims it produces. One of the knowledge produced by the claims of the deficit discourse which the speaker refutes is about disadvantage and disadvantage production. The speaker calls these claims, representing Roma children as "stigmas" which are "stick on them". (S)he goes on elaborating what the other view presents by listing the claims of the deficit discourse between lines 4-6.

The argument contrasts the epistemic power practiced by the school with the powerlessness of the ways of knowing the child represents. "From where the school looks at it" "the disadvantaged children knows less about the world", and with the school not recognizing the multiplicity of values and ways of knowing (lines 23-30) it creates an epistemic inequality and injustice which is then turned into disadvantage, by producing the disadvantaged children with inherently worse abilities and capacities to learn. "They know a lot, what others don't know", makes an equalizing comparison where Roma children are the subjects and not the 'others' drawing in an altered perspective usually excluded. The school itself and the knowledge it represents, produces and expects already at the entry level remain in most discourses unproblematized. However, here the speaker explains the epistemic injustice of the school "which is not white hearted" in contrast with how it is usually perceived: as a neutral institution and not as an institution representing a "one sided cultural expectation system". Disadvantage production is a "transformation", is a process, by which "economic and social disadvantage" are turned into "learning" and ability disadvantage. Line 13: "cannot integrate him/her the school with integration highlight how integration simply at the procedural level as the act of mixing or including or teaching together, cannot alone stop and resolve the production of "those circumstances in which these children become disadvantaged" without questioning power relations.

Main findings of the textual analysis

Similarly to the discourse of deprivation and discrimination much of the critical approach's argumentation was built on contrasting and comparing with the first two inequality discourses. It heavily drew on negating their claims constructing 'romaness' and Roma children along the binary categories of bad and good, the civilized-uncivilized, the moral and the immoral, the responsible and irresponsible, the knowledgeable and less aware children, discursively constituting a collective identity whereby disadvantage production happens within the conceptual framework of the deficit approach. *This problem of cultures (…) is simply about that we perceive disadvantaged children as such who has worse or weaker knowledge, (…) who are worse, (…) cannot communicate as others can, that they grow up in poor stimuli environment*".

(EXTRACT 50/A lines: 1-12) The production of inequality in education concerning Roma children is understood in this discourse in a more procedural light (*"transformation"*, *"impoverishment', "a one sided cultural expectation system operates against him/her", "creates", "the gap is growing"*) sensitive to the individual's situatedness and those neutral-seeming processes (*"schooling"* or classroom interactions) which transform "*economic and social circumstances (...) into a learning disadvantage*". The utterances bring up, with a critical scrutiny, the issue of knowledge production, the question of what sort of knowledge gets reproduced and from whose perspective that knowledge seems valid and unproblematic and contrasts it with the epistemic positioning of Roma children.

6.6 Inequality discourses within the field of teacher education

Aligning with Fairclough's framework and following Bernstein's (1990) theorization about the functions of regulative and instructional discourses in shaping the pedagogical discourse and therefore the pedagogical device, I have also separated my empirical inquiry into three parts. The *inequality discourses* with this terminology can be identified as having the *regulative discursive function*, which means that they are responsible for constructing how social order, responsibility, social identities and relations are thought about. By this, they control the ways in which instructional discourses set the ways of thinking about practice and therefore settle the necessary skills, knowledge, modes of organization and methods to be applied within *field*, in this case teacher education. In Fairclough's framework this level can be identified with the meso-level of analysis, the discursive practice which is located within a certain institutional context. Therefore, seeking out answers to my second research question, I will aim to examine the selected texts about how inequality discourses and their explanations play out in the 'profession' related utterances of those participants who are located within the field of teacher education and in the institutional context of the two faculties. I aim to highlight how teaching and learning, pedagogy, methods of class and group organizations, curriculum or the responsibility of the teacher and teacher education institutions is explained, and how much these explanations are grounded in the different discourses and therefore highlight the "sociological nature of pedagogical knowledge." (Woodside-Jiron 2003 p. 173)

The research question therefore asked the following:

RQ 2: How do these discourses and narratives prevail within the 'field' of teacher education?

The instructional discourse of faculty leaders

1. <u>ME: (….) so I also wanted to ask, that-that if now, at the level of definition- we speak about 'felzárkóztatás' (convergence) or integration, does that have different pedagogical and methodological implications?</u>
2. yes, yes, yes, absolute, this is a **big difference pedagogically**.

3. <u>Me: and how do these appear?</u>
4. So, well, from a pedagogical point of view
5. it concerns that if we talk about 'felzárkózás' in case of the Roma
6. then, if we think about that
7. later they will be then able in a **normal Hungarian language class**
8. **to acquire the content of the Hungarian language books**
9. **in the same rhythm as the others,**
10. **not to have continuous learning problem,**
11. **then we, on the one hand,**
12. **there is a need for a strong linguistic training….**
35. I think that this is a process lasting through many years
36. and obviously depends on the local specificities, (…)
37. It is simply about, that **their vocabulary is more narrow,**
38. and **because in that culture**,
39. where they grew up, there they don't use certain words,
40. which they **should already know at school**,
41. so I think that on the one hand there is a **vocabulary enlargement aspect** of the preparation,
42. which is in all event necessary,
43. and on the other hand it has a **socialization aspect**,
44. as they are already when little**, they socialize completely differently**, *right*,
45. as the **culture of that nation is different**,
13. **other behavioral things** are expected from them by the parents

<p style="text-align:right">EXTRACT   11/A B(1)-FL</p>

1. <u>ME: and to what extent there is an opening to this in future teachers?</u> (22:48)
2. well, we do everything, actually in our program it is built into,
3. in any event, even in those groups, who do not necessarily specialize for this,
4. **we teach Roma ethnography everywhere**.
5. Therefore, exactly for this, **so that those students getting out from us,**
6. **could better understand,**
7. **that from where the different behavior of Roma children originates,**
8. **or their habits,**
9. so that they wouldn't make these castigate them,
10. but understand that process, that background which makes this up,
11. because then obviously they will treat them differently as persons,
12. or they and their families will be looked upon differently.
13. So, I think that this is definitely such a plus we can offer
14. to all of our students and in all of our programs.

<p style="text-align:right">B(1)-a-FL   EXTRACT 57</p>

1. the key thing is that the Roma/gypsy thing,
2. that practically has to be known,
3. so that **this ethnic group's customs, history, origin, and everyday behavior culture**
4. **have to be known, this is the foundation,**
5. **this can be acquired ammm, from history of education, didactics, social history,**
6. **ethics and so on**, in many places it surfaces,
7. for example, lets say, last time there was a **thematic lecture**,
8. so during one day, where I showed you **the website**,
9. so we looked at, **practically there was a whole lecture about this**,
10. **so this happens** (emphasis), then the other thing,
11. you can **draw the conclusions from this**,
12. right the conclusions, **let's say concerning that in this culture the emotive,**
13. **the emotional effects, that is really important,**

14. so this means that story telling has to be learnt, telling stories expressively,
15. interestingly telling stories, so that to engage the child. (…)
16. it does no harm if (s)he knows to play on some instrument,
17. so they are the more successful the more they know,
18. so our teachers and pre-school teachers, they learn, so it's required to know to sing,
19. will straight present the thing in song.
20. Well, now, who is even better in this can also dance to it,
21. even more can teach with the help of dance.
22. (…) **on the field of visual education, this culture …,**
23. **or its special sense of colours, that can be used**.
24. So it appears in this way.

EXTRACT 7/**B**   A(2)-FL

1. ME: (..) <u>I was curious, what do you think, to what extent it is the responsibility of a teacher and pre-school teacher institute, that well, let's say, if there, to form or deal with the supposedly brought prejudices or predispositions?</u>
2. so us, **we have a big responsibility in this,**
3. so that **the appearance of the idea of tolerance is really important for a**
4. **((high school)) teacher and teacher, a humanities intellectual**,
5. and I **wouldn't say that it only concerns Gypsies**, it also concerns Jews, Armenians,
6. Ukrainians, the 13 nationalities, and ((people)) of other languages, and many things.
7. this is a very hard task, basically during their whole education
8. we have to see that **there should be a way of thinking, the way of thinking**,
9. in a situation like this **I always offer a triple model**,
10. first when man encounters such a situation, then pays attention permanently,
11. so one has to walk with open eyes,
12. after, what I have seen I analyze,
13. and also that happens, well, that I talk about it with others,
14. I compare and after in the end I decide.
15. So, then a teacher, **a humanities intellectual is characterized exactly by that,**
16. **so that there are really hard situations**, in our lives it is the same,
17. that **someone has his/her wallet stolen, and a gypsy stole it on the bu**s
18. and (s)he didn't catch him/her and (s)he went away with it,
19. and then (**s)he comes here for class and then we are talking about tolerance**
20. and then this is one…or they broke into his/her home
21. and then this and that happened, so then if you see a 150 person student body
22. then 100 can list direct harm straight away,
23. so **then somehow we have to reach that**,
24. it's alright, this happened, you have to get over it, because there is a good side,
25. and there is other side, you have to understand, **you have to step forwar**d,
26. because this hostility, the overgeneral-,
27. **this has to be taught, -the overgeneralization doesn't lead anywhere**. pg. 24

EXTRACT 15   A(2)-FL

1. Well, it can be palpable with **showing example, right**,
2. **if I want to teach someone for tolerance I have to be tolerant too.**
3. well, this is not an easy thing. in the everyday fights, this is the first,
4. so the **exemplariness, this is the most important,**
5. **after then the curriculum**,
6. and the **careful selection of the examples taken from life**.
7. (…) and not to go around the sensitive issues, so, so these situations,
8. that I have been robbed, that this happened,
9. that happened, there are such problems in the family, this was in the neighborhood,
10. **you lived beside them**, so here are many interesting things.

11. they were hurting and picking at you on the street many things… pg. 25
12. <u>ME: and is there a forum where students can talk about this?</u>
13. amm, well, well the, for example these, what I talk about now,
14. were said **during the thematic day**, where it came up fact like,
15. that who has what sort of experiences and there sits 150 people and
16. at least 100 had bad experiences with Gypsies,
17. but not like this…ammm, 15 could concretely tell what was the problem,
18. what happened, and then **we concretely checked who has good experiences,**
19. **but this was less, and then we went on like that**.
20. <u>ME: Did the lectures have any human rights or minority rights aspect</u>
21. <u>or are there any subjects which deal with human rights and other things like that?</u>
22. A(2)-FL: this whole is human rights, and citizenship ((focused)),
23. so this is its framework. (..) but the substantive law terminology 'is not our table' ((idom))
24. that what violates, what doesn't violates,
25. to what extent can one go, we leave it to the lawyers,
26. and after to the politicians and so downwards,
27. **we have to move towards the solution**. pg. 25

EXTRACT 61   A(2)-FL

Main findings on the instructional discourse of faculty leaders

The main findings of the first section on inequality discourses, has revealed that both A(2)-FL and B(1)-FL's utterances, set within this institutional and positional context, drew on the deficit culture discourse. In this part, the focus was on selecting utterances which reveal how the regulative discourse they were operating inside (the inequality discourse of the deficit culture) control the perceptions about the theory of the practice (instructional discourse) within this profession. What are those specific skills, attitudes or competences which should be known in relation to children who are affected with unequal educational processes and conditions as well as in relation to teacher candidates who are educated within these faculties? The production of this discourse was set inside the institution and with clear and proud representation of the teacher education practices. This quality is not affected by the anonymity.

There were two main aspects the speakers highlighted. One concerned the preparation of teacher candidates in 'relation to Roma children' the other concerned the ideas about in-school classroom interactions, classroom arrangement and pedagogy. At Faculty B, "*Roma ethnography is everywhere*" it is built into the program, "*so that those students getting out from us, could better understand that from where the different behavior of Roma children originates, or their habits*" –said B(1)-FL. This is assessed to be necessary so that teachers don't "*castigate them*". A(2)-FL had the same concerns and (s)he posited that the knowledge of teachers and teacher candidates about "*this ethnic groups custom, history, and everyday behavior culture*" the essence of the practice. This practice can be acquired in specific classes (Extract 7/B (5-6)), or on "*thematic lectures*". The thematic day was also mentioned several times, where students could talk about their experiences "*sensitive issues, these situations that I have been robbed, (…) you lived beside them, so here are many interesting things, they were hurting and picking at you on the street many things*." A(2)-FL declares that the faculty has

big responsibility in prejudice formation. According to him/her this is done with "*exemplariness*", the "*appearance of the idea of tolerance*", the "*careful selection of examples taken from life*" and the curriculum. This presupposes a way of thinking which can be summarized in a "triple model". (Extract 15 (8-15)) The teacher has to be characterized by this, to deal with negative experiences which come up while talking about tolerance, when someone comes in "*has his/her wallet stolen, and a Gypsy stole it on the bus, (…) or "they broke into his/her home*", and if this teaching concerns a "*150 person student body then 100 can list direct harm straight away*".   In terms of classroom practice in schools B(1)-FL emphases the importance of the preparatory socializing and language training of children who have more "*narrow*" vocabulary and who "*socialize completely differently*". Felzárkózás, is pedagogically acknowledged as different as integration, it is about helping children to catch up to be '*in normal classes, and learn in the same rhythm"*. The conclusion of A2-FL in relation to practice and preparedness when it comes to classroom practice is that stories have to be told expressively and playing some instrument or singing is key to success; "*even better if the teacher can dance*", or s(he) is good "*on the field of visual education*" (12-24) because "*in this culture the emotive, the emotional effects*" are important, and because "*this culture*" has "*special sense of colors that can be used*".

The instructional discourse of teacher educators

1. well, **in pedagogy we know few things for sure**,
2. **but that we know almost for sure, that a group works effectively if it is heterogeneous.** (…)
3. here, **educational governance has absolute responsibility in this**,
4. that **to what extent we open up students by pedagogic instruments**,
5. who then could help that school failure doesn't get reproduced.
6. ME: and now is it an individual decision within a subject…
7. rather than an institutional decision- or a
8. no, I think this is an institutional agreement,
9. so that the educators maybe don't get enough support to do it better
10. is not because the institution decides that it is not its preference
11. but simply because of **over-loadedness,**
12. because of the number of lessons there is no capacity for this,
13. but I think if someone would like it even a little bit, that gets all support. (…)
14. **one has to find the way from the bottom up**,
15. has to find but there is receptivity above, this is not getting organized now explicitly
16. but not because there would be a philosophical divergence.

EXTRACT 58   A(1)-TE-E

1. ME: (…) have you experienced that the students have completely oppositional idea about the pedagogical methods concerning the education of Roma/Gypsy children. (…)
2. (…) **the students have not primarily different approaches**
3. **regarding the pedagogical methods,**
4. **but generally about integration, they have different…** -
5. but I don't think that this is our thing to judge students,
6. that krhm, how prejudicial they are,
7. but our task is to take in **techniques into the organization of learning**,
8. from which (s)he can be different. (…) so I not only say that this is how to think,

9. and this is how to think about it, but to –what problems it brings up,
10. to what extent is can push students to the margin in the class and how this can be helped,
11. then they open to this, so this is our responsibility as educators,
12. that if we don't change this, at least **we can show a different point of view**,
13. look at the problem from elsewhere. That is not enough in itself
14. that we say that this is prejudice. (…)
15. this is also our task, not that we change their convictions but that we open,
16. that for example, there is something like this, it can be looked at from here.

<div align="right">A(1)-TE-E   EXTRACT 62</div>

1. it was a FAR program. It was an EU program,
2. but we were not yet members but we were already in accession stage. (..)
3. and to the extent in institutions there is opportunity to deal with this problem area,
4. that they went OR to the **direction that specialization**
5. and in **Roma topics to insert into per semesters,**
6. -this is done **in Faculty B** or this was done and this is being done now,
7. what I know is that they have one such semester at them, if I know it well,
8. **OR, and this is a completely other way**
9. **we say that Roma children has to be taught and educate d well,**
10. **individually tailored,** in the way everybody should, in the way adequate to him/her,
11. so we don't highlight it as a group **but we try to prepare teachers**
12. **that in the whole teacher and pre-school teacher programs**
13. the knowledge would be included which is needed to Roma children.
14. this is a completely different route, there are no separate subjects or programs (…).

<div align="right">EXTRACT 74   A(3)-TE-E</div>

1. ME: I was also curious that how big space and how big responsibility training institutions have in the formation of the predispositions and prejudices of students, even brought from home, if the individual has something like that?
2. they virtually have as big of a space as they do for themselves.
3. Actually this is an educational question, this is a humane question. (…)
4. before it wasn't allowed to talk about this,
5. so I think that there was a social agreement
6. and a political kind of explicit prohibition
7. that to give voice to prejudices, about prejudices,
8. even anti-semite or anti-roma or homophobic things,
9. this has been freed as a steam which comes out of the lid.
   (….)
1. I was for a good **while still teaching educational theory,**
2. **very often the school come up naturally and then prejudice erupts from students**
3. **but this can be experienced as something positive**
4. that they can be talked with so even though they are biased,
5. but they **are inclined to listen** to the other,
6. today it is unfortunately not so natural among circumstances
7. that two people **representing opposing points of views would listen to each other**.
8. We are at the point that they do not even talk to one another anymore.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 78   A(3)-TE-E</div>

1. ME: and in this case what opportunities teachers have…
2. theoretically (s)he has opportunities,
3. obviously we **would need to open ourselves, the classroom happenings,**
4. **the teaching, the working** with children **should be made very inclusive**,
5. **teaching should be opened to all sorts of cultures and abilities,**

6. **to all forms of behaviors**, etc. etc. and if we could do this
7. then the problem could be substantially relieved,
8. however there are two problems,
9. one is that **for this the decisive majority of teachers are not prepared**
10. why would they be, **they were not taught about it**,
11. (…) so they were not taught, they didn't acquire it,
12. so they don't sense that this would be a problem,
13. they take it in a way that those phenomena, that the children come in
14. and smashes the classroom and that there are tragic conditions there
15. are effecting them negatively,
16. **while it is the school which creates those circumstances**
17. **in which these children becomes disadvantaged**,
18. the other reason is that often, **pedagogy itself either knows**
19. what we would need to know, so we don't yet have enough knowledge. (…)
20. simply we don't have enough knowledge for this, it should be researched obviously, (…)
21. because clearly that is the case that (s)he enters the classroom,
22. closes the door and from that point on **what happens in his/her relation with the children,**
23. **there happens the latent discrimination.** (…)
24. I am saying this without I would be willing to scold teachers,
25. I am saying that it is not their fault,
26. this is the situation and such is the training. and that is not their fault.
   (…)
27. (…) so, **competence development is necessary**,
28. (…) so, (s)he comes into the institution, (s)he starts to be a teacher
29. that his soul is full of with wonderful things,
30. that (s)he will teach every children and how beautiful and good it will be
31. if he doesn't come in like that then there is already a problem,
32. so let's take this best case, that this is really how (s)he came into the institution
33. and this is how (s)he started the teacher education,
34. **but she is not clear about how to handle a multicultural situation**
35. **or how she would need to treat different kind of children,**
36. **that this situation is really sensitive to how (s)he communicates,**
37. **what concepts she uses, what tasks she gives, what exercises she draws children into,**
38. **on who's prevailing knowledge and strengths how (s)he builds on.**
39. **that with one group she builds strongly on preliminary preparations**,
40. with the other group I push it to the background
41. so that she is sensitive, that **she understands this process**,
42. which we call it in pedagogy, that teacher candidates has to **go through a conceptual change**,
43. so that **they have to learn a new world**. (…)
44. so this **they don't see in the beginning (…) but us, who train them**,
45. (…) this is a long process, conceptual change. (..)pg. 45
46. which is that **I have to confront certain things,**
47. **my own ideas and other's ideas, (…)**
48. **so a problem-consciousness has to be formed**. p. 47

<div align="right">EXTRACT 79 A(4)-TE-E</div>

Main findings on the instructional discourses of teacher educators

Within the institutional context of the two faculties two educators were interviewed. One specialized in pedagogy (A1-TE), the other in language teaching (B2-TE). Two other teacher educators were also interviewed who I considered as external voices. However, they are loosely connected to Institution A. One of them, A(3)-TE is an expert in pedagogy, former

teacher of Faculty A, who used to work on a larger project on integrating materials concerning Roma children into the curriculum of Teacher and Nursery Teacher Education Programs. A(4)-TE is affiliated with another department within the same institution, an expert on educational theory and pedagogy. In terms of the inequality discourses B(2)-TE, who was giving a joint interview with B(1)-FL, was presenting deficit-approach informed views on Roma children and on the origin of educational inequality. The two speaker's utterances were co-constructed; they drew on each other's questions, explanations, examples and therefore the meanings were to a very high extent intertwined. It is important to note, that there was definitive agreement between the two speakers in core issues. B(2)-TE echoed B(1)-FL's conceptualization of the ideal classroom practice and linguistic preparatory classes, however (s)he pointed out her lack of expertise in the field of pedagogy, weakening her utterances strength and transferring this expert-identity's epistemic power to B(1)-FL several times. On the other hand (s)he pointed out her participation in and support for the pedagogic program of the Faculty in relation to 'the education of Roma children', this is demonstrable with utterances 8/A p. 80 and 18/A p. 83, 10/B p. 105 where the meritocratic argumentation was washed together and supported by cultural explanations. In A(3)-TE's utterance a textual reference appeared in relation to Faculty B's approach within the framework of a comparison offered about the two prevalent ways of integrating "*Roma topics*" into the teacher education program. Faculty B represents the approach of a separate specialization integrated into the semester. The other approach, with which the speaker associates, represents the view that "*Roma children has to be taught and educated well, individually tailored, in the way everybody should*" and this knowledge should be included "*in the whole teacher and pre-school teacher program*". Both A(1)-TE and A(3)-TE are concerned with teacher candidate's prejudices, however while A(1)-TE said that the "*educational governance has absolute responsibility in how teacher educators open up students*" A(3)-TE says that the teachers themselves "*virtually have as big of a space as they do for themselves*". A(1)-TE thinks that it is not the teacher educator's "*thing to judge students about prejudices*", or "*to say that this is how to think*" nor to "*change their convictions*" but that they "*open*" by "*showing different point of views*". A(3)-TE and A(4)-TE goes further than showing other viewpoints, but she laments that this is becoming harder nowadays. However, *opening* has been a recurring theme in teacher educators' talk about teacher candidate's preparation.

A(4)-TE connects the opening of the classroom happenings at the teacher education programs with the opening up of teachers (receptivity and inclusivity) in schools. While A(1)-TE asserts about the pedagogic methods that a group "*works effectively if it is heterogeneous*", A(4)TE emphasizes that not only the arrangement should be made inclusive, but teaching itself: "*the working with children should be made very inclusive, teaching should be opened to all sorts of cultures and abilities to all forms of behavio*r". But "*teachers are not prepared*", "*were not taught about it*", they are not critically prepared to assess the source of the problem because there was not formed a critical "*problem-consciousness*", they only see the level of the phenomena and this is "*affecting them negatively*". So the pedagogic instruments necessary would be: sensitivity to communication, "*the prevailing concepts she uses*", the "*tasks she gives*" and the "*knowledge (...) she builds on*" and the understanding of the role of these in the processes which enables latent discrimination in schools. "*Teacher candidates have to go*

through a conceptual chance, so that they have to learn a new world (...) confront certain things", this is essential of a more critical preparation. These views presented here highlight how the inequality discourses of deprivation and discrimination as well as social criticism (a clear case with A(4)-TE) feed into the instructional discourse of teacher education and classroom practice and how it shapes its theory of practice.

The instructional discourse of students

1. **if we look at that, at them**, the Roma,
2. traditions and all other kind of things, the accepted norms,
3. then there is such a difference, that
4. even because of this **they cannot be taught according to our norms**… (…)

<div align="center">EXTACT 43   A(5)-d-S</div>

1. Usually during classes it happens that *there is a word about Gypsies*
2. or at least I experienced this until now,
3. I have been studying here for two years and during this,
4. **we speak about a topic in general,**
5. **some pedagogical topic and then the teacher mentions that yes,**
6. **where there is Roma children the case is a bit different or we get a like anecdote**,
7. say that how different it is, for example how it works to adapt into kindergarten
8. and then let's say we talk about this,
9. and then let's say that the teacher mentions that in the city centre in the 8th district
10. the children surround the toilet and wonder how the push it down
11. and then (**s**)**he tell such an anecdote**
12. and then everyone gets a bit surprised that wow,
13. this is totally different what we have experiences
14. and then we don't really know what we have to do.

<div align="center">EXTRACT 68   A(6)-d-S</div>

1. I don't think differentiated education is, or at least I always differentiated, they expect,
2. if we submit a plan then **they always expect that we differentiate**
3. **but they expect age differentiation under this I think ,**
4. at least to me never told, I think
5. that why **didn't you integrate the disadvantaged or anyone**,
6. but for small or big, this is what they expect.

<div align="center">EXTRACT 69   A(5)-d-S</div>

1. ME: and this, among you as classmates, to what extent does it come up as a topic?
2. ALL: absolute, the Gypsies, a lot.
3. A(3)-d-TE_S: there are really extreme opinions by the way.
4. A(2)-d-TE_S: not to me. or maybe I am friends with others than you,
5. it doesn't come up or between my friends, we are not used to talk about it,
6. if it comes up on class rarely, **the question of Gypsies**
7. then we usually tell our experiences but we,
8. I think, **treat it fairly as a taboo**, I think, that with whom I am friends with to them,
9. I don't know. To be honest, I have no clue what they think about this,
10. because we talk very little about this, we maybe share experiences…
11. ME: and to you it is the contrary?
12. A: With us it absolute always comes up, I don't know why or how but we always get here.

13. ME: I mean in your class or in your friend group?
14. B: in the friend group, I mean the friend group from here
15. <u>ME: and it is extreme?</u>
16. B &C:yes
17. **B: there are some who really, everyone brings their own experiences**
18. **and their opinions** coming from that and only relies on that
19. and I see it very often that (s)he doesn't give a chance for him/herself
20. or to them to prove that there is other way,
21. and that despite of what have happened in the past
22. it is not the little Gypsy children who is responsible for that.
23. Although, **I think the lived experiences really influence people**.
24. <u>ME: and are there places where you could talk about this</u>?
25. B: in the school?
26. <u>ME: yes</u>
27. B: no, there isn't.
28. D: to **me the advanced studies college gives this experience**. (…)
29. a girl will start a Gypsy topic next year
30. because she is **bothered if we talk about this on other courses**
31. then we **use the expressions badly** (…)

EXTRACT 70 A(5)-d-S (A)   A(7)-d-S   (B)   A(8)-d-S   (C)   A(6)-d-S (D)

1. So **we learnt about differentiated education**,
2. if someone gets behind,
3.   if is at a level that he just comes to school that he knows basically read and write
4. and the other doesn't even know the letters
5. then **we don't give the same exercise on class**,
6. because one will be totally bored the other would he hard if there would be…
7. <u>ME: so isn't there a word about how to 'felzárkóztat' or to divide into smaller groups?</u>
8. yes, there is such that they take them apart,
9. it happens usually in the practice (schools) too
10. that they take children apart according to this.
11. I mean **separate groups based on knowledge**. (…)

EXTRACT 71   A(5)-d-S

1. A: yes, **children can learn from each other a lot**.
2. so this way in the kindergarden you can see that a three years old
3. is friends with a six years old. (…) I don't know if you have read it
4. but **there is a book which is called Gypsy labyrinth**.
5. This is an interactive boardgame, (…) an interactive book and then you read it
6. and there is when you can decide and if A then you flip here and if B then there
7. and then the event goes like this
8. but there is sometimes when you have to do it with the dice
9. and then I started to read it and I got really nervous after a time
10. because any kind of decision I made, I found walls somewhere
11. because I am Gypsy. So, you try to step well in vain, decide well,
12. I always hit the wall because I am Gypsy
13. and it is fundamentally really hard for them to get out of there. (…)
14. **I think these games and book would be really great in education too.**
15. **to empathize with, because they cannot empathize**
16. **and from this there are many prejudices.**
17. They see the end result and that is of course not good.
18. But this is like this with everything

19. that we look behind very few things and we stamp everything. It is sad.
20. B: say, that it cannot be though said that they are saints,
21. because in fact they are humans too and the same way as we make mistakes
22. they make mistakes, so this is not so black and white, this thing, to me,
23. my grandfather told the story that it happened that he watched along
24. as the Roma woman taking off the golden necklace in front of the office
25. and then goes into the office for subsidy
26. and after this try explain it to the other,
27. to the sixty year old man that this is not like this.
28. A: **many act on it that they are gypsies.**
29. B: yes, yes this is the other.

EXTRACT 72   A(5)-d-S (A)   A(8)-d-S (B)

1. **A:** So until they **incite the people**, now I really don't want to go into it,
2. the Jobbik and the such, then **how shall we expect that we integrate**
3. when my own classmate, to my consternation says
4. that they should win the next election, that they sweep all of the out from here.
5. **B:** yes, (….) openly, not like that in school but in the small group,
6. what you asked, if it comes up, yes and there are really extreme opinions
7. <u>ME: and what would they say if they would get to a school</u>
8. <u>where are let's say there are Roma children?</u>
9. C: they would say that they wouldn't get down there.

EXTRACT 73   A(8)-d-S (A)   A(5)-d-S (B)   A(9)-d-TE_S (C)

Main findings of the instructional discourses of teacher candidates

In case of teacher candidates both the inequality discourses and the resulting instructional discourses were inconsistent. The same individuals, very often drew on different, even contradictory discursive resources even within the same sentence scope, or changing discursive 'paradigm' from one turn-taking to the next one. When views were presented with much confidence, views shifted less easily and even some light disagreements surfaced, but there were no discussions neither at the really problematic statements or narratives. This highlights the complex nature of establishing claims about intentions when language and reality construction through language is concerned. The interview was conducted within the Faculty building and participants were asked the questions *as* teacher candidates, but were also requested on some occasions to put themselves in the place of an in-service teacher, how would then they go about practicing their profession. This condition of the production of this text was not addressed to any audience but can be considered significant because the same views would have been represented if they were asked about it in other circumstances, discussions in between other teacher candidates or teacher educators. The whole conversation, lasting for 3 hours, was conceived in the well-known *inherent volunteer bias* which means that individuals with genuine interest and to a large extent similar viewpoint came to the conversation in their free time. (Martineau 1999) However, the several references to their classmates, friends, families and teachers brought in other ideas and experiences than their own. The reasons for their involvement were discussed in detail and it has highlighted (1) that there are lots of intentionally extreme voices among their classmates as well as (2) that in

their assessment there are no forums, credible educators or non-judgmental, safe spaces to talk about "the question of Gypsies" (3) and that they are unconfident with their own way of communicating. They expressed this uneasiness of talking about the topic several times, and said that they were unsure if they say something "badly". Because of this, throughout the conversation, lot more views were presented in the forms of lengthy narratives, often only indirectly related but functioning as explanations or clarifications of standpoints.

 "There is a word about Gypsyies"; "the teacher mentions that yes, where there is a roma children the case is a bit different or we get a like anecdote", when "we speak about a general (…) pedagogic topic" these are the quotes which report about what happens in the class. This could even fit the approach put forth by A(3)-TE about a comprehensive approach of treating all children equally well and differentiated according to their needs. But some remarks in the speakers utterances suggest that teacher educators might be afraid or uncomfortable to go more deeper in it than touching it as a surface issue with anecdotes said about how there are children who "wonder how to push " the toilet down. This comes out from how questions pertaining to feeling and thinking about Roma children are "treated as a taboo", or as "sharing personal experiences" which are based on the given examples likely made up of "bad" personal experiences. It is also questionable how these get processed. Pedagogy or methodology is only talked about in a very remote form enmeshed in narratives about loosely related remarks, personal stories, echoes of the popular and media discourse with the exception of the practice of differentiation based on knowledge or age. However, there is a confusion, how that would concern any unspecified disadvantage in class. Lastly, a more hands on pedagogical instrument is introduced with the presentation and explanation of a sensitizing game in one of the utterances (Extract 27) which starts with the statement that "children can learn from each other a lot" which is a core idea of integration/inclusion. Here the speaker presents a possible means to generate critical thinking and challenge prejudices, but few lines later slips into prejudicial thinking him/herself switching in a sentence from critical thinking to deficit thinking.

The interplay of the regulative (inequality) and the instructional discourses, - making up the pedagogic discourse and the interface between the sociological, pedagogical and political aspects- is clearly visible from the following utterance, which also sets up the case of the negotiation of meanings and purposes:

1. **the differential pedagogy and the questions of Gypsy children**
2. are the most closely related, because **if we could differentiate well,**
3. **which behooves every single children basically,**
4. **then there wouldn't be a need for separate Gypsy pedagogy**,
5. as there are many who deny that there is a need for separate Gypsy pedagogy,
6. because the groups has specificities
7. but those are result primarily from the life circumstances.
8. And then with little delay **appeared integration and the question of integration**,
9. **that those children who needs to be educated really differentiated**
10. **if they have to be educated separately or together,**
11. **it all connects on this thread, right. (…)**

EXTRACT 75 A(3)-TE-E

6.7 Negotiating meanings and purposes

Because of their contested nature and scope, it is not particularly clear today what precisely integration and responding educational provisions mean in public and policy discourses and what bases segregation is perceived to have or how it could be alleviated. In Laclau's term, they are both 'floating signifiers' around which discourses revolve, trying to conquer and settle their definition and meaning in a consensual form. Furthermore, this also means that the ways these terms became understood are based on deeper ideas about other essential and constitutive issues. For example: what inequality is and what is considered to be good education, how Roma are perceived to be subjects in education and subjects of policies, how they are viewed and positioned within the Hungarian society? The answers given to these questions have both pedagogical (RQ2) and social implications (RQ 3) and thus, the way these facets of the issue are explained, depends to a large extent on, what being Roma is perceived to mean and how *the problem*, concerning the educational reality of Roma children, gets defined.

The third sub-question grounding the third research question asks: *how are integration, segregation and 'felzárkózás' in education conceptualized with respect to Roma children and educational provision?*

This section will aim to answer this question by studying the discursive struggle of the four major discourses identified over the meanings of these 'floating signifiers'. The way these discourses negotiate these concepts and invest them with certain ideas, highlight how social practice and its meaning becomes constructed in language. Each discourse already works with certain understanding of the subject as well as with a more or less coherent understanding of the problem. The struggle matters, as the quoted conversations and utterances will prove it, because the meaning which becomes dominant will set the means (the nature of provision), the image (acceptability and credibility) and the purpose too (justification and rightness). This 'wording' debate will be the main focus of the next section as well as present a justification for the appropriateness of the analytical approach.

6.7.1 Conceptualizing Segregation

Segregation can be justified or denied

ME: there is a pretty big debate about what is segregation. (…) what is your opinion about the 'to-from' categorization of segregation?

1. A: well, they already formulated it here,
2. that the culture is really different,
3. so it **is not sure that they want to integrate**,
4. **there also exist such, that fully segregated kindergarten**
5. and that society, the community of that village,
6. they, just gypsy kids attend them

7. and they **really enjoy themselves**,
8. because the nursery school teacher is gypsy,
9. who is with them and, amm and this is like, I think like…

    (….)   EXTRACT 10/B   B(1)-a-FL

10. So this is something, very-very complex,
11. **social processes** should begin so that **they integrate**,
12. or the two cultures fit together in some form,
13. because **they are so different**,
14. but this must be accepted.
15. I don't say that it necessarily should be separated, (default, yes, but not necessarily)
16. for example in other schools,
17. it works that there are two three Roma students among the non Roma,
18. *but* I think, that at those places,
19. where the Roma live together in blocks,
20. and yes, **in very bad conditions**,
21. there **it is justifiable to work separately with Roma students**
22. **during the first years of schooling**.
23. So, it is better for them too,
24. so this is in no way a disesteeming **of that culture**,
25. but it is simply **better for the**
26. **from the professional and methodical point of view.**

                                    EXTRACT 10/B   B(2)-a-TE

Here both speakers leverage 'legit' professional/expert justifications: one says that it is professionally justifiable to educate children separately during the first few years of schooling, (due to language differences, different backgrounds in socialization, very different culture), as well as they try to demonstrate how language creates and justifies separation and offer it as something in the '*interest of them*'. Here, the reference to integration is rather a reference to fitting in (lines 11-13), accommodating on the societal level. In line 3 the speaker even questions if "they want to integrate" because the culture is so different. Separation then is justified by the existence of "such fully segregated kindergartens" where "they really enjoy themselves" being among themselves in that "community. The same argument is brought up in line 23, "so, this is better for them too. In line 15 the speaker goes on elaborating "I don't say that it necessarily should be separated" (…) but the first part of the sentence is disclaimed in line 18, "but I think, that at those places, where the Roma live together in blocks" (…) "there it is justifiable to work separately with Roma students during the first years of schooling. This shows that separation is imagined as the default, but there can be cases when this can be dispensed.

1. Right, the experiences from this point of view are really mixed,
2. because to say that in Hungary **discrimination would be institutionalized**,
3. **that is not true**,
4. there are unfortunately **individual phenomena in discrimination**,
5. **relatively rarely**, indeed there **nearly isn't any**,
6. there are very **few cases when it is at school level**,
7. we can speak about more when it is at class level,
8. so **within school segregation**,
9. these are **inherited**, these we have **inherited**,
10. we try to break them,
11. but **the experience is that**,

12. that **where the proportion of the Roma population is high or they are in majority**,
13. there **these things work a lot better**,

14. **There is an inherited situation** and this the international right defenders always ask,
15. that with **the special needs children there was a such,**
16. amm, Hungary has even got sentenced because of such a 2003 event,
17. where the then current educational governance **chose the easier way**,
18. they **classified the difficult to manage children**
19. and **the children in need of 'felzárkózás'**
20. **special education needs** (children)
21. and then after this
22. —this is not our aim-,
23. so, so it can be shown statistically that from 2007 and 2009
24. **the numbers of special educational needs childre**n has been drastically dropping,
25. exactly because **these type of difficult to handle Gypsy children**,
26. **we send them to these institutions, that doesn't --**
27. —amm, I dare to say-- **that radical**
28. so it didn't chase away,
29. because I wouldn't dare to say something like that,
30. because there are individual cases,
31. but **the system has switched so that this couldn't happen**, for sure.

EXTRACT 48   C(1)-P-DM

In the first part of the utterance the idea of segregation is detached from the institutional and systemic level, with the following claim: that it "is not true" that "discrimination would be institutionalized", and it is then brought down to individual acts of discrimination (line 4). On this level it is acknowledged that there are "*individual phenomena in discrimination, relatively rarely*" but even this assessment is weakened in (lines 5-6). Segregation, therefore becomes conceptualized as class-level, within school incidence which has been "*inherited*" and are standing as individual, unusual cases. Lines 12-13 presents a very interesting claim, which has been contradictory with all other opinions given on this topic. The speaker goes on to state that where the "proportion of the Roma population is high or they are in majority, there these things work a lot better". Therefore, there is a connection made between the majority-Roma classes and almost homogenous classes and better quality provision, which reduce the charge of discrimination and therefore the risk of intentional segregation. In line 24 there is a claim presented with scientific style, "*the number of special education needs children has been drastically droppin*g, *exactly **these type of difficult to handle Gypsy children**"*, (a pronoun and phrase repetition reference back to lines 18-19. "***They classified the difficult to manage children and the children in need of 'felzárkózás" as special need children***"), -the speaker says in reference to the previous governments-"we send them to these institutions, that doesn't—(…) that radical". This line of argument raises the question if segregation is becoming invisible because it is melted into the not so '*radical*' and '*better quality*' 'felzárkózás' provision?

Segregation as spontaneous or intentional

1. A: yes, this is one part of society then,
2. and there is also a **so called spontaneous segregation**,
3. when in the settlements
4. **the Gypsy children start to become dominant,**

5. **then the Hungarian parents take the children**
6. saying that well, they will not send them to such Gypsy school,
7. and then *even if the settlement wants it or not,*
8. there is a segregated school. (…)
9. B: I also usually say that good practice, that good practice has to be spread,
10. but very slowly--- the bad practice spreads very fast,
11. but **good practice is really hard**,
12. there is always **collision with resistance**,
13. **oppositional interests**, you know,
14. and are defined fundamentally by those **local circumstances**,
15. what leaders there are in a school, a city or a settlement,
16. to what extent they can have an effect against the **society's segregative aspirations,**
17. **because it has such aspiration, what to deny it now.**
18. we can see that there are really successful segregated programs too.
19. ME: that is not national (minority) education…?
20. B: yes, yes, it is segregated in the sense, that that is there not an integration experiment but a Roma convergence or Roma talent program.

EXTRACT 27/B   F(2)-b-RP (A)   F(1)-b-RP (B)

Segregation is treated here as a spontaneous process or as a tendency, and the helplessness against it is emphasized. Segregation in this case is not seen as an intentional or institutional act, but as the result of non-Roma parents choosing other school to their children. (4-8). This view raises the critique that this is not good and that the society in general has "segregative aspirations", that there are "collisions and resistance" against good practice (in this case a reference to integration). But it doesn't go into deeper critique about these segregative aspirations, the reasons behind it and takes away the edge of the critique with the claim that there are "really successful segregated programs", "Roma convergence or Roma talent programs". However it leaves the question open what the content and the nature of the successful claimed segregated Roma convergence/talent program is; as well as it brings up the question if there can be good segregation?

1. this is a changing definition,
2. my opinion is that obviously **there are such situations and such age groups**
3. **where the residential contexts determined** that,
4. **that here we speak of segregation**
5. or **a situation in which people live there**.
6. I think **segregation is a negative expression** and it tells me,
7. that a situation, when it could be integrated,
8. someone, somebody or the educational policy environment
9. or the any kind of local decision-makers
10. do not do those steps which could be done,
11. so, ammm I feel like this about it,
12. this is why **I am against this expression**,
13. I don't like to use it and I am not used to.
14. Then this means, that the **residential segregation**,
15. is a **residential situation**,
16. there is **a place where there are lots of Roma**,
17. or lots of disadvantaged live,
18. among really poor circumstances, together
19. and if there are,
20. let's say small children in large numbers
21. and for them someone provides a service,

22. good or bad and the next provision is 15 kms away,
23. then it is obvious that we say,
24. three years old children in the kindergarten and 2 years old in crèche,
25. they will not take to on these impassable roads. (…)
26. to me **segregation means that if it could be solved they don't solve it**. pg. 14

<div align="right">EXTRACT 28 G(1)-L</div>

This utterance also describes and explains segregation on a symptom level and treats it as given in certain residential contexts. According to this view a case of "negative" segregation stands when there is identifiable intentionality involved, when the option would be available to integrate, but the policy response is missing. However, here the need for policy response is only extended to cases where intentionality prevails. This understanding doesn't problematize why there are such settlements/ghettos formed, if that is just or unjust, what the grander processes are that play part in the production of residential segregation, or why there are such "*really poor contexts*" where "*there are a lots of Roma*" or disadvantaged people crammed. The speaker is even permissive with "bad provision" if the next provision which could offer better quality is 15 kms away. When it concerns little children, bussing is seen as a worse option. The last statement summarizes the argument of intentionality: "*segregation means that if it could be solved they don't solve it*" but the strength of the claim is weakened by the subjective presentation of this definition. These views shift the responsibility to mechanisms which are out of reach to be treated by any policy interventions.

Segregation as 'bad', segregation as 'felzárkózás'

1. I think, **segregation. that is a really bad thing**,
2.   segregation really concretely has very bad consequences,
3. one of the most important is that the members belonging to different social groups
4.   of the whole generation growing up
5.   will simply don't learn **to cooperate** with each other
6. if we lock them away from each other,
7. if they are in separate learning groups in school,
8. even more in separate schools,
9. then they don't learn the elemental cooperation these children,
10. so, so this is **fundamentally bad and unjust**
11. and everything bad can be told about it,
12. but interestingly the inequality of opportunities
13. is not the decisive reason of it,
14. to some extent it contributes,
15. this too contributes to the inequality of opportunities
16. but that has somehow a much more important reason
17. and that is **latent discrimination**.
18. And latent discrimination is not other
19. than that *the education system is biased in one direction*,
20. how to say that, it is half sided in certain sense,
21. so that it is about that *the education system prefers*
22. **certain types of preliminary knowledge**,
23. **certain types of abilities**,
24. **certain communication**,
25. **certain forms of behaviors and certain knowledge about the word**
26. and these are the white middle class ones,
27. and let's add that somewhat prefers the boy's preliminary abilities,

28. knowledge and communication, etc, etc, experiences, patterns of behaviors…

In this utterance segregation is presented as "fundamentally bad and unjust". It prevents generations from "learning to cooperate with each other", "lock" children "away from each other" and has "very bad consequences" in that "members belonging to different social groups" don't cooperate, don't meet or recognize each other's presence. But segregation is not the "decisive reason of" the inequality of opportunities even though contributes to it. So, segregation is the symptom of a deeper stretching cause which is the "latent discrimination" of the education system,- "biased in one direction"- that requires certain ways of being and knowing, and then it carries out the selection along those lines, or by default or intentionally selecting the student population as the system allows it.

1. and he, voluntarily, **applied to the court**
2. so **that he can tell** how good school it is
3. and it shouldn't be condemned,
4. influencing the court a bit, right,
5. and he says that **there i**s, you know,
6. **bad segregation** and **good segregation**,
7. **the good segregation is, right**,
8. that one **when they help children** in Nyíregyháza,
9. **the bad segregation** is when they **intentionally lock away** children
10. and all **services are missing** from the school,
11. which is in fact true for all, **all segregated schools**,
12. that **the environment is a lot more dilapidated**
13. as all the other schools of the neighborhood,
14. **including teachers and am all other services**
15. included and there is a competence measurement which measures the **quality** of schools.

In this fragment there are two larger units of thought. The second one presents the speaker's understanding and definition of segregation which is also coined in the mock-reference of 'bad segregation'. The whole utterance is conceived in a sarcastic style which functions to highlight the non-sensual nature of differentiating "bad segregation and good segregation. For understanding this text one has to rely on contextual knowledge and the intertextual references to the discursive events surrounding the Nyíregyháza school case, including the voluntary attesting of the Minister of Human Resources during the court proceedings. His views are drawn into the argument. According to those views when intentional segregation and bad quality provision don't prevail and such schooling takes place in a 'spontaneously' segregated environment, one cannot talk about segregation. The speaker argues that this has spit the idea of segregation into two, into segregation which is justifiable, unavoidable and benevolent and therefore is not segregation (here called "good segregation) and the bad segregation, which presupposed intentionality, bad quality, discrimination and involuntary participation.

Main findings on the conceptualization of segregation

The case of 'Justifiable segregation' produced two arguments for justifying separate education. One was based on citing the very different culture and values, as well as the 'better for them' explanation. In the other main thread segregation was presented as the product of discrimination, however its existence and relevance was quickly played down, therefore the prevalence of segregation as well. When segregation is presented as the result of individual

acts of discrimination the impression created is that they can be hardly, if at all controlled by policy measures. This utterance produced within the context of the State Secretary of Social Convergence by a policy-maker and politician is telling about where responsibility is located. When segregation was presented as spontaneous or intentional the focus was on residential patterns which inevitably provide a breathing ground for segregation. However, as the arguments show (1) there could be cases where these forms of provision work well (2) the expense of providing integrated services may be bigger than the gain. Segregation is seen and dealt with on the symptom level and is not further problematized. The last approach presents segregation as "fundamentally bad and unjust" and also identifies with 'felzárkózás' and its provisional logic.

6.7.2 Conceptualizing Integration

Integration as conditional and unlikely achieved

1. A: this ((integration)) is a big challenge for the country,
2. but it is already a time for Europe too,
3. but I can see now that they are interested,
4. that there is a similar situation elsewhere as here.
5. B: well, every countries have their own particularities,
6. but at most places **they don't manage to solve the Roma question**.
7. So, it is really hard to *integrate* this **population into the majority** nation,
8. as well, preserving their own characteristics,
9. they cannot sustain on the labor market.
10. So, well, actually I see it on the one **side a cultural,**
11. **on the other a social problem**,
12. **this two** is reflected in the issue,
13. and even though there are *many kinds of endeavors in education*
14. to make Roma **catch up**
15. **or to help them on the labor market** –
16. **usually they are not partners in this**.
17. so if they want to create specially that kind of schools
18. where teachers prepared for that would work with Roma children
19. **the way they need it**,
20. weeeell, **then these institutions would be attacked**,
21. that, well, why **they don't study together with Roma children**,
22. when from a professional perspective
23. that would be justified.

EXTRACT 9 B(1)-a-FL [B] & B(2)-a-TE [A]

Integration is introduced in this utterance as a big challenge, a hard to solve and manage problem. It is conceptualized in terms of 'Roma catching up', starting being 'partners' (line 16), and changing their 'own characteristics' which impede them from "sustaining on the labor market'. This inability to integrate ((themselves)), highlighted with the word "cannot", is attributed to perceiving Roma as a population having distinctive characteristics of their "own" which inhibit integration, because "*preserving their own characteristics, they cannot sustain on the labor market*" and that they, in spite of the many "endeavors in education" to help them, "*they are not partner*" in "catching up. The verbs, linking the subject and the object, has a function of

constructing relations in between, and here this relation is shown as unidirectional, patronizing as it is indicated by the direct and indirect causative verbs used: "*to manage*", "*to solve*", "*to make catch up*", "*to help*". We then learn that these efforts are unappreciated. This sequence of reasoning and the rhetorical constitution of Roma as uncooperative subjects with problematic population characteristics leads straight to the argument that there is another "way" of institutionalizing, schooling, e.g. achieving 'integration' for which "they" have a need, which "would be justified" by the "professional perspective" and the solution would be that "they don't study together" even though "these institutions would be then attacked".

1. so then I think that **a society's integration**
2. **has only one chanc**e ,
3. that **those who are in disadvantaged situation**,
4. **doesn't matter for what reason**,
5. **to help that** ((person)).
6. So there is no other way. No other way.
7. It can be said, that **(s)he cannot behave civilized**,
8. that **(s)he doesn't have socialization**,
9. then (s)he has to be helped in socialization.
10. These disadvantages cannot be handled alone by the school,
11. but cannot either be handled without the school.

EXTRACT 5/A   F(2)-b-RP

The semantic scope of this utterance shows that the speaker first asserts that integration has only one chance to be achieved, while the causative verb suggests that this could be done by "help"ing those who are disadvantaged for ~whatever reasons~, but then in the following sentence she provides the reasons of being disintegrated. "These disadvantages" are associated with the ideas of "she cannot be civilized" and "she doesn't have socialization". They give the impression that the problem could be solved by a benevolent civilizing mission, by the civilized whose main civilizing and socializing agent is the school.

Integration as the destination on the road of 'felzárkózás'

1. A: so if someone doesn't speak Hungarian, as a mother tongue well,
2. e.g was socialized in romani language until school age,
3. then aaam, teaching together with Hungarian children,
4. then it straight away causes vocabulary problems.
5. and unfortunately in lovari language
6. the primary school curriculum is not transmittable,
7. because the vocabulary of lovari language is not sufficient. (.....)
8. so it is a really complex question,
9. so **it would be justifiable**
10. **to deal with Roma children specially**,
11. however **there is a political pressure that not to do so**.
12. I think, that **this is not good professionally,**
13. **so professionally it would be better**…
14. ME: **that first there would be a separate education…?**
15. A&B: **yes** (one saying it with a tone of hesitation)
16. **ME: which prepares them for *integration*?**
17. **B: yes**
18. A: weeeell, yes, well, this that it is really… (….)

Integration is constructed here as a destination to arrive at and an approach on the road of a separated preparatory 'education'. (lines 14-18) Something has to be achieved before integration can be started or allowed due to the attributed "language and vocabulary" gap. This utterance was part of the conversation where reference has been made several times to a perceived cultural/civilizational/value and socialization difference. The message is co-constructed by the two speakers in agreement and conveys its message as a professionally justified approach which asserts that integration is conditional on preparedness and capabilities. This makes the argument more convincing coupled with the context of production and the location of the speakers as representatives of the Faculty of Teacher and Nursery Teacher Education at Institution II.

1. ME: and in your opinion **the logic of 'felzárkóztatás' and integration**, *how do they relate* to one another?
2. So the logic of 'felzárkóztatás' and integration?
3. ME:yes
4. Well, it is like, ammm, I-
5. a bit I think differently,
6. the official politics looks at integration a bit differently than before.
7. **Integration is a spectrum**,
8. **not a point**,
9. so I don't think, we don't think
10. that integration means that someone has to give up him/herself,
11. so to integrate, at the same time,
12. obviously, so that we could **speak about integration**,
13. in some sense the minority and the majority societies have to conform to one another.
14. But none of this works without one not giving up something,
15. **all have to give up something**
16. **but this changes with the spectrum,**
17. depending on the different questions and positions,
18. so I perceive integration a spectrum, a 'from-to' within which ...
19. ME: and **convergence leads there**?
20. **Convergence then leads to this**.
21. It is **a process contributing to this**, as well as **a toolbox**.
22. So, that someone could integrate,
23. the convergence-politics can give tools, help, knowledge and etc

(EXTRACT 1.) C(1)P-DM

Here integration is conceptualized as a "spectrum", not as a "point" where "convergence leads" and to what convergence contributes. Convergence (felzárkózás) and convergence-politics (felzárkózás politika) offers a "toolbox" for this preparation, "help and knowledge". Therefore, integration is a condition of convergence and a condition of the quality of convergence, as the levels of conforming (line 13) changes and giving up "changes with the spectrum.

1. And actually, a bit later comes **the principle**
2. **that the only way is educational integration**.
3. well, that's a bit late---
4. so that this **became an axiom**,
5. **that the only way of advancement and convergence is integration**,
6. which then they changed for the inclusion word.
7. ME: yes and here is the definitional debate, that 'felzárkózás' or 'felzárkóztatás'…
8. and *I feel* that **this axiom now have been question**ed.
9. for two, three years, the expert sentences
10. such as "***segregation has its place***"

11. have **become presentable** *again*..
12. so there is this, you certainly know, *this civil society organization*
13. working for equality of opportunities,
14. who *attacked every educational segregation (intertextuality)*
15. in front of the court which it has experienced.
16. ME: the CFCF…
17. yes, so *there were many legal proceedings*
18. and the court usually called the school operators
19. for the elimination of 'szegregátum'
20. now, there is an example from *Nyírség*, (intertextuality)
21. where they could line up experts
22. who justify, to justify
23. **why** <u>*there is a place for Gypsy schools*</u>,
24. **a** <u>*'szegregatum'*^{70} *supporting 'felzárkózás'*</u>,
25. so that this discourse has taken a new turn two three years ago.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 64   F(1)-b-RP</div>

In this utterance the relationship between convergence, advancement and integration is flipped. Integration is presented as an axiom which "has been now questioned", as the good approach and "the only way" to achieve advancement and convergence. The new view, now attests that it is not only integration which can achieve *these 'goals'*, but other forms of provisions as well. The intertextual reference to the Nyíregyháza case again has explanative power, as the case challenged whether it stands for 'integration and felzárkózás' or is an example of segregation. The sarcasm the speaker employs makes it hard to decode whether he sides with this new trend of questioning or refutes its claim. However, the last lines make the point that there is now an available expert knowledge that Gypsy schools, 'felzárkózás' supporting schools are going to be the new axiom when it comes to societal integration.

Integration as social inclusion

1. Well, I think that one of **the primary field of integration is education**.
2. there was a – it could be heard in the public sphere,
3. or if you read newspaper, that
4. **where social integration has to be started from**
5. and many envision it,
6. that these **social groups will join the labor force**,
7. how well they will be integrated.
8. But obviously it cannot be expected
9. that these two groups only meet in adulthood
10. in relation to employment.
11. **The best road to social integration is obviously through education.** pg. 76

<div align="right">EXTRACT 16 C(2)-PA</div>

1. That would be important **to keep them in**,
2. so that is a EU educational policy priority,
3. that the **early school leaving is decreased**,

---

^{70} Szegregátum is a place where the population lives in a segregated, concentrated, ghettoized manner, usually in poverty separated along class or racial lines.

4. we say that metaphorically as 'churn rate' ((drop-out)
5. the educational governance embraces of this EU priority as its own,
6. so it will be one of **the cornerstone of the new strategy**, (('social inclusion/convergence))
7. **the reduction of drop-out, the control of early school leaving**. (…)
8. these children (..) (s)he is anyways stronger,
9. if (s)he can do it that (s)he get out after 16,
10. then (s)he will stay out. So this should be prevented (…)
11. **ME: but then the general reduction of the age limit,**
12. **that not exactly working against this**?
13. **well, yes, it works against this,**
14. **right, that is probable**,
15. that this early school leaving—in Hungary,
16. by the way it has a very good statistical indicator,
17. it can worsen it a bit, or will worsen it. (….)
18. So, this, this, but it is important,
19. that if the compulsory school attendance was brought down to 16 years,
20. but this doesn't mean that (s)he would be pushed out, extruded from it.
21. So, only the danger is bigger. (p. 68)

EXTRACT 33 F(1)-b-RP

Integration in education is conceptualized as the necessary criteria for achieving broader economic and societal integration. Integration means that groups are not given different treatment, access and provision throughout their time spent in school. Integration also means affirmative action and conscious planning to help vulnerable children and groups to stay inside the school system. However, there is a contradiction between what the speaker says, that "it will be the cornerstone of the new strategy" (referring to or the social convergence strategy or a more general government strategy for public education) "the reduction of drop-out and the control of early school leaving." but knowing the context it is possible to know, that the age limit of compulsory school attendance has been decreased recently, which doesn't strengthen the impression about the proclamation of the opposite, it would exactly effect the more vulnerable group of children.

Integration as recognition

1. well, behind these two approaches
2. there is a huge difference, right,
3. **integration,** ammm you can say it other way,
4. we used to talk about **inclusion too**,
5. that rather wants to express that students
6. **who** *got* **into a minority situation**
7. or **in case of disadvantaged student**, amm,
8. we aspire for integrated education,
9. we aspire for such education,
10. so that we don't separate apart these children,
11. we don't separate different kind of children, (…)
12. we try to bring out from everyone what is possible, (…)
13. **not differentiating**,
14. separating based on different background culture
15. and not discriminating students,
16. so this is what integration, inclusion means in a nutshell.

A(4)-TE-E EXTRACT 53/A

This is the first half of the utterance which compares the logic of 'felzárkózás' with that of integration. Integration and "inclusion too" is reference to the approach to education when it concerns "student who got into a minority situation, or in case of disadvantaged student". There is a conscious approach to non-separation and non-discrimination of 'different kind of children" due to the recognition that there are processes which create a disadvantaged situation, and the school shouldn't aggravate it as an institution but consciously do against it.

Main findings on the conceptualization of integration

I have identified four major ways of conceptualizing integration. The first approach, 'integration as conditional and unlikely achieved' presents the other side of the 'justifiable segregation's, and draws on very similar arguments and justifications on why it is (1) unlikely or even not necessarily desirable to happen or (2) very hard to be achieved, almost a „missionary project". Integration has also been conceptualized as a desired state and not a process or an act to which the road leads through 'beneficial' separate preparatory provisions, e.g. felzárkózás with its special 'provisional and pedagogical toolkit'. This approach is presented as having the support of experts and gaining foothold in mainstream discourses. This convergence advancing „discourse" helps justifying the rightfulness of quality „segregatum" schools. Integration as social inclusion is the most commonly held concept, the one which is mostly used in the sociology discourse. It emphasizes both the economic and educational aspect and their interrelatedness. The fourth conceptualization 'integration as recognition' takes an even more critical aspect and goes beyond the affirmative-policy measure thinking and extends it with the calls for understanding disadvantage production and make it foundational to all integrative aspirations.

6.7.3   Conceptualizing 'Felzárkózás'

'Felzárkózás' is one of the key words of the inequality discourses beside integration and segregation. It was extensively used in the interviews and it is heavily debated in public policy and NGO circles. It is both used as nearly synonymous with integration or inclusion while some see in it as a clear road to the justification of separation. This is why I posed the question as integration/catching up in the interviews. One of my frequently asked questions was the following: *What is seen today as the main purpose of the Roma's/Gypsies integration/catching up, realized through education?* Based on the way I think now, I would pose this question differently because "*The Roma's/Gypsies' integration/catching up*" is formulated in a way, grammatically, that the definitive article fills in a distancing and objectifying function and the possessive suggests that there is something inherent problem of integration belonging to Roma children and it locates the attention rather inside Roma and not outside in the social, institutional, political, school system which create the context in which this question appears. If I could ask today, I would reformulate the question as: *what is the main purpose of the integration/catching up aspirations in education relating to Roma (children)?*

'Felzárkózás' as benevolent preparatory separation

1. (…) The basic thing is that **this 'felzárkóztatás'**,
2. **this assistance**, is a really expensive thing.
3. there is, so everybody can be helped,
4. **everybody can be made to catch up/converge**
5. but sometimes it cost as much as a training in Oxford,
6. **so more man, more special education teachers**,
7. **specialists has to be put on it**,
8. it has to be measured and then it can be done.
9. now then this is the question of money and man,
10. how much time, how much energy we devote to it on the basic level. pg. 25-26

(EXTRACT 3) A(2)-FL

1. ME: And you have mentioned in one of your replies
2. that the convergence-politics can give
3. such instruments and knowledge and in your opinion...-
4. So we have to start from that,
5. the Hungarian public education and higher education
6. has to provide *possibly* **high standard** to everyone.
7. ***To this standard***, ***onto this standard***
8. **has to be helped those**
9. **who want to participate in this process**,
10. that they could reach this level.
11. This applies the same way to a Hungarian children,
12. doesn't matter if Gypsy, German, Croatian or Slovakian
13. or any kind of nationality children,
14. so in this there are no different criteria.

EXTRACT 47   C(1)-P-DM

'Felzárkózás' as help with terms and conditions

ME: As the first question, I would like steer the word to, how would you define the comprehensive aim of the Roma's felzárkóztatás (to be made converged- this is a factitive form).

1. Let's start from that, that **we have already been speaking about 'felzárkózás' in Hungary**,
2. **for two and a half years…**
3. (Me: yes, yes) **which is apparently only a difference of a syllable,**
4. **or that difference is two letters,**
5. **but philosophically, right,**
6. **there is a lots of difference between**,
7. as we have broke with the attitude,
8. that the state as well as those official agencies,
9. which have a thing in this,
10. work as a quasi single channel process,
11. ammm, quasi **they expect**
12. **that they try to convince the Roma to catch up**,
13. we perceive as partners **those**,
14. and here we do not only talk about Roma, as well as Gypsy,
15. but about all people who live among multiply disadvantaged condition,

16. that they become active partners,
17. while we are offering and giving chance
18. and also expect
19. that they become active participants of this process,
20. and this, and from the consequence of this can be unfolded,
21. but, so we instead of the rights/entitlements based thinking,
22. we say that **there is a responsibility-based thinking,**
23. **thus nothing is due automatically,**
24. **but everything has to be done for.**
25. This is a bit of a synonym,
26. as well as goes fundamentally together
27. with that we think **in a society**
28. **where everyone has to do for his own welfare**,
29. and the welfare of the community,
30. this, **the automatically expected benefits**
31. are due only if this person makes something for it.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 70   C(1)-P-DM</div>

With the first statement (s)he asserted that this one or two syllable difference has a real, meaningful significance. The shift in the wording is envisioned here as having the power to sweep away the *"entitlements based thinking"* and encourage a different sort of conceptualization and "*attitude*" about the project of 'integration' when Roma and disadvantaged children are concerned. The result of this wording difference will then be the shift towards a "*responsibility-based thinking*" whereby nothing comes without it being "*done for*". So, this opinion doesn't only confirm that language is constitutive of our perceptions and even the social world but also that this critical discourse analytical approach is relevant to study this selected topic. And although this utterance was aimed to strengthen the position and usefulness of the word 'felzárkózás' it did it on the same terms in which I will criticize and problematize it both linguistically and philosophically. This extract condenses many other, interrelated notions and ideas, so I will take it up again.

1. **I didn't talk about sharing**, but that,
2. - responsibility sharing means that
3. when there is a case and it has more responsible,-
4. but **I talked about mutual responsibility**
5. so the responsibility sharing from this point of view is criminal law,-
6. that **mutual responsibility sharing**,
7. so that has to be ended,
8. there is **a need for attitude change**,
9. that **something was due**.
10. so **the entitlement-based thinking has to be ended**
11. and we are working on this,
12. that when the state, an NGO, a civil society organization gives
13. then on the part of the other appears a responsibility
14. in relation to how (s)he lived with this.

<div align="right">EXTRACT 46 C(2)/II-P-DM</div>

This utterance communicates, that for those who are assumed not wanting to participate in this process of 'felzárkózás' and the "attitude change it requires", leaving behind the "entitlement-based thinking", the state and its institutions are not obliged to guarantee help or support. So, the condition of help and quality standard is the question of demand and merit and willingness where there is no question about anything being "due" based on citizenship, disadvantage or any socio-economic contextual factors.

'Felzárkózás' as the opposite of inclusion and as segregation

1. it **very often happen that words don't cover**
2. **what is being done on the field,**
3. **but I am afraid that in this case they are**.
4. So in many domains and not only in education
5. but other domains too,
6. **this separated, paternalistic desire to help**
7. **dominates in these fields**
8. and it doesn't bring what they hope from it,
9. obviously it can happen in the social area,
10. to some extent it can happen on the healthcare domain
11. and there are examples for this on the economic domain,
12. so it is the same as education,
13. I know that better but I also see
14. that on other social terrains
15. the same is the situation,
16. so **this really wants to be 'felzárkóztatás'**
17. and it achieves **what usually the 'social convergences' achieve**,
18. that **is actually nothing**.

EXTRACT 54   A(4)-TE-E

1. it is so **twisted in Hungarian, the 'felzárkóztatás'**,
2. no, '**felzárkózás**',
3. here, the minister figured out already at the very beginning
4. that **it shouldn't be 'felzárkóztatás'**
5. **that is a passive thing,**
6. **in that the subjects don't participates**.
7. but they are being 'felzárkóztat'va.
8. This was before, but (s)he doesn't want,
9. (s)he want 'felzárkózni'
10. that the subject is an active participant of convergence.
11. Well, now translate it to English,
12. that what he want to talk about,
13. **while he translates 'felzárkózás'**
14. without a problem **to inclusion,**
15. **but it doesn't have to do with that, the opposite**. pg. 59

EXTRACT 6/A   G(2)-L

Both of the speakers highlight the problematic nature of the word and wording, „it is so twisted in Hungarian, (…)" and this is apparent that felzárkózás is translated into inclusion. The utterances outline that 'felzárkózás' is thought about as helping and aiming at the „subject" becoming an active participant of convergence" moving away from the „passive thing" which „was before" that „she doesn't want 'felzárkózni'" but the effect achieved is exactly the opposite then that of inclusion. It is conceived in „a separated, paternalistic desire to help" which „achieves what usually the 'social convergences' achieve, that is actually nothing, the „opposite" of what is being proclaimed.

1. (…)on the other side, '**felzárkóztatás' works on the kind of logic**,
2. that there are **students who fall behind**

3. **and to them separately has to be provided such opportunities**,
4. so that they could progress faster,
5. amm, **provide separate pedagogical criteria** for them,
6. this happens usually in some sort of selective form,
7. so they separate these students. (…)
8. it is not a good form,
9. simply **doesn't bring those results which it should**,
10. students don't catch up,
11. it was many times that **their re-integration, or how to say,**
12. was not successful,
13. **so it further deteriorated the situation**,
14. so **these are a lot more segregative kind of solutions**
15. and they **contribute a lot more to discrimination**
16. than to the solution of the problem. (…)

A(4)-TE-E: EXTRACT 53/B

16. Returning to **Nyíregyháza** (Huszártelep school)
17. **he says** ((the minister)) **that this is a good program**,
18. that this should be introduced,
19. because Roma children **have to get strong first**,
20. **they have to catch up** and *then, after*,
21. **they can be integrated**,
22. then **they will cope**
23. and that this is a really, really **supportive program**
24. and it is true that the Greek Catholics do many things there in the settlement,
25. they deal with children, families,
26. they collect cloths for them,
27. they take social problems of their shoulders,
28. so this is good for the parents on the short run,
29. but not on the long run,
30. because the longer they are *locked into the settlement*
31. the less chances they have *for true integration*. (…)
    (…)
1. Whatever, there is a double communication on the part of the government
2. because well, right, the EU expectations should be complied to,
3. it's not allowed to segregate openly,
4. so they, tunneled, try now to legalize it with the 'felzárkózás'
5. because this will now be now the new magic word.

EXTRACT 31A   G(2)-L

The speaker highlights how the logic of 'felzárkózás' inherently connects the provisional aspect with the pedagogical one, which is based upon the thinking that to those „students who fall behind (…) separately has to be provided opportunities, „with „separate pedagogical criteria", „so that they could progress faster. But what it achieves is actually a „lot more discrimination", which is the opposite of what it officially preaches, the convergence and „reintegration" of students". Extract 53/B p. 114 then is continued with the explanation of what integration is in contrast with felzárkózás. Extract 31 draws in - through an intertextual reference supposing that there is a shared knowledge about it - the Nyíregyháza, Huszár-settlment school case to illustrate the slipperiness of the concept and name of 'felzárkózás' applied on these sort of provisional 'solutions'. Furthermore, the speaker raises the concern that this 'new' name and 'new' concept could hide or alter the perception of the content and purpose of the provision and help to legalize its practice.

Main findings on the conceptualization of 'felzárkózás'

I have identified three main ways of conceptualizing 'felzárkózás' in the participant's talk. The first one, 'felzárkózás as benevolent preparatory separation' corresponds to the ideas and arguments presented within the 'justifiable segregation' approach in relation to negotiating the meaning of segregation. In relation to the struggle over the naming of integration these views played out in the 'integration as unlikely achieved' approach and the one in which integration was conceptualized as a goal reached by the instrument of 'felzárkózás'. The second way of negotiating the definition put forth the idea of felzárkózás as 'help with terms and conditions' outlining a conceptual shift -on the part of educational and social policy- behind the name from „entitlements based thinking" to „responsibility-based thinking". Lastly, the third highlighted the problematic nature of the prevailing concept of 'felzárkózás under two complementary themes (1) 'felzárkózás as the opposite of inclusion', (2) 'felzárkózás, explicitly stated, as 'segregation' the logic of which comes done the level of pedagogy with the requirement to „provide separate pedagogical criteria". It was also charged with providing hardly decodable idea, mostly when it comes to securing funding from the EU for integration projects and therefore allows a space for the legalized game of "double standard".

Concluding thoughts on the data presentation and findings

In this section, I have presented the selected data grounding my inductive inquiry and outlined the main findings based on the sequence of the research questions and sub-questions. In order to establish the underlying modes of thinking about inequality, I have engaged in a thorough text analysis in the first section of this chapter. This was made more difficult be the amount of data available which was in contradiction with the pursuit to create solid linguistic and semantic foundations for the later interpretations. The selection of relevant data and the organization and presentation of it in a logical sequence proved to be one of the major challenges of the empirical aspect of this thesis. However, the research purpose and the outcomes of the analysis have justified the approach, which possibly still struggle with the due limitations. The discussion and interpretation of the findings, emerging from the closer textual analysis of the four main inequality discourses, will be the main task of the last chapter.

7 Discussion and conclusion

7.1 Introduction and summary of data presentation

One of the essential discourse analytical principles is that social relations and realities, the way they are perceived and made sense of, are constituted in language and vice versa. Following this line of thought, l merged linguistic analysis with social criticism through the three interpretative levels set out by Fairclough's (1992, 1995) and Bernstein's (1990) frameworks. I did this in order to see how the respondents construct certain versions of reality and knowledge, as well as ways of relating via the way they use language. (Kocatepe 2005 p. 102) This construction of social realities is imbued with questions of power, mostly enacted via the fabrication and maintenance of consent, in which discourses transmit "ideologies, practices and values' and "mediate the teaching and learning of identities and subject positions." (Fairclough p. 219) I presented the data to demonstrate this; what discourses and ideologies, values and practices my interviewees reproduce regarding Roma children and 'their teaching'.[71] Studying the impact of certain discourses on the conceptualization of teaching and learning were important because they are social processes embedded in power relations, and power is about manufacturing consent and naturalizing that. Power is not a material object to be distributed, but power is the relationship between those who perform it and those who are implicated by it. (Cochran-Smith 2004, Young 2011 p. 31) It is about setting forms of relating and affiliating via discourses and their capacity to normalize and shape how one views and habits the social world. This construction of subject positions, identities and difference inside schools -in an asymmetrical and hierarchical way- is what underlines the constitution of societal inequalities. It is able turn schools into vehicles of the reproduction of unjust constellations rather than contributing to empowering change. (Apple 1982 p. 10, Robinson and Ferfolja 2002) Here, my purpose was to see and understand how the injustices affecting Roma children get reproduced via language.

The close textual analysis of participant utterances, following the methods of discourse analysis, was carried out to give a well-established foundation for the interpretations of this last chapter. The first part of chapter six revealed four major ways of talking (discourses) about Roma children and the inequalities they experience in education. Within the Bernsteinian framework these corresponded to the concept of regulative discourses. Each of these inequality discourses contributes with different perceptions, ideas and ways of knowing to the discursive production of social problems and identity-truths which relegate the subject of the talk into different social positions and value-representations. In the next section, I proceeded upon the assumption that if one of these discourses becomes dominant in an

---

[71] I put 'their teaching' in between ascents to note that the expression is no t without problems. In this case there is already an underlying assumption that 'their teaching' is in some sense different from 'our teaching', that there a division of needs and qualities marked by the exclusive pronoun. In this case, deconstructing the notion of 'their teaching', it is important to see what differences pertain to this differentiation. On what terms this differentiation is conceptualized?

institutional setting, it will have an implication on the mainstream instructional discourses which determine the desirable forms of practice, the competences, the knowledge and the positional-identities pertaining to that context. Therefore, I presented data, which highlight in what patterns the different inequality discourses influence the instructional discourses of faculty leaders, teacher educators and teacher candidates within the two selected faculty which I located within the broader field of teacher education. Within the speaker's instructional discourses two major aspects featured. One concerned the preparation and necessary skills of teacher candidates within the institutions, the other the pedagogical practice and implementation of the theoretical and practical competences in schools and classrooms.

In this chapter, I will systematically summarize and discuss the main findings of each sections of the data presentation and respond to the research questions with the help of the analytical and conceptual frameworks outlined earlier. I will illustrate the distilled and systemized answers with Table III. and IV., which serve as visual and thematic aids to draw the conclusions. Reflecting on the answers which the research yielded, I will reflect on the significance of the research outcomes in light of the literature review and the socio-historical background in order to place the conclusions within the broader social context. I will close the chapter with conclusive thoughts and reflections about the project and my ideas on the connection between inequality and social justice.

7.2 Explaining inequality in education in relation to Roma children –discussion

The first research question asked: *what kinds of explanations do discourses and narratives offer about the educational inequality experienced by so many Roma children?*

Based on the close analysis of the before presented quotes whose selection was guided by the first two sub-questions the following findings emerged which lead me to theorize about the prevailing inequality discourses and their content. In the next section, using comparison, I will aim to highlight the four main types of social representations of Roma children in relation to education which were prevalent in the interviewees' use of language. Then, I will move on to introduce the discursive approaches to constructing the problem of inequality and its attributed roots -when it concerns Roma children's educational reality- with the aim of delineating the specific discourses of inequality.

In *discourse I,* the utterances of the speakers produced the image of 'Roma children' as deficient learners with the mediation of two dominant explanative aspects which emerged from the descriptions and explanations several participants provided. The first aspect produced the explanations via the construction of the binary of normality and abnormality in relation to culture and values. In this aspect the following comparative attributives, associations were used in relation to Roma children: *"more narrow vocabulary", "socialize differently", "cannot be taught according to our norms", "culture is different", "problematic*

120

value system and particularities Roma carry", "they don't work" and *"they live on the money of the state"*. This aspect therefore constructs the category of the culturally anomalous children of differentiated social groups by comparing it to the universalized 'normal' majority children. With this, the aspiration of normalization with respect to these children and their "particularities" becomes evident. (RQ 3)The other group of explanations was produced by the civilization/disciplining interpretative framework. Here the following attributives, associations and representations were used in descriptions and explanations in connection to the presence of the Roma child in education: *"behavior is different", "bad child", "handles less constrain", "stupid", "cannot behave civilized", "doesn't have socialization" and "steals"*. This and the more elaborate text analysis ground my claim that both lexically and semantically Roma are Othered and inferiorized in these texts by being consequently assigned negative values, behavior and an 'outsider' position. Several other utterances about difference made direct connection between Roma and danger or deviance. (EXTRACT 12/A, EXTRACT 21) These associations appeared even more frequently and naturally in the stories told during the focus-group discussion. Thinking about educational inequality with respect to Roma children were therefore constructed on these premises and was seen as originating from this pathological social and learner identity.

The more responsibility and merit oriented explanations were also imbued with the deficit culture aspect, but only implicitly, in a 'color-blind' manner. These explanations constituted the social category and ethnicized image of a passive group and a passive, disinterested learner who is responsible for the creation and maintenance of his/her own situation. This discourse, like Discourse I, was also essentializing to its core as it didn't suppose any internal heterogeneity and diversity of experiences. On the only occasions when such were drawn into the explanations their function was to strengthen the rule by the exception they exemplified. In the end both of the interpretative repertoires (discourse I and II) the participants drew on constructed the problem as inherent and created the image of a 'problem population' which has to be dealt with. In discourse II, "breaking out" from the conditions of "poverty", the deficit environment of the family and socializing communities (instead of breaking the conditioning effects of poverty) was made into a question of individual decision and will. The texts suggest that the problems faced in education and in society could be avoided by self-realization and 'de-identification', by which the action of distancing from the deficit environment and passivity is visualized. This could be also helped by deciding to opt for choosing to belong to a 'morally better' community and leave the "bad" one behind.

Both *discourse III* and *discourse IV* grounded their arguments on the refutation of the truth and knowledge claims discourse I produces. On the other hand the *discourse of deficit* and to large extent the *discourse of merit and responsibility* didn't rely on any internal comparisons with other perceptions to ground its claims and explanations. This is suggestive that *discourse I* is in a hegemonic position to shape interpretations and understandings, therefore those who drew on its explanations saw it obvious, natural and objective. While those speakers who coherently represent other ways of talking and thinking felt the urge to contrast and distance themselves from the default position of *discourse I* and bring in

argumentative techniques to highlight why *discourse I* is flawed. These utterances also struggled to reconstitute how Roma children are represented as learners and how inequality is conceptualized. In discourse III. the causes of inequality in education are identified in the more subtle (communication) and tangible (institutional barriers, segregation) forms of discrimination, as well as in the poverty-induced life circumstances. These, -in contrast with the culture of poverty approach's conceptualization- are not made internal to the culture of the individual but denote the access and opportunity inhibiting conditions. Discourse IV. represents an even more profound critique than discourse III. Besides being concerned about poverty and discrimination too, it does not only problematize them as phenomena but as processes being produced in epistemic relations between social groups and pertaining to relations of power and interests. It also highlights how subjectivities, such as the disadvantaged learner is a product of the 'translation' labor schools do. This means that disadvantage is seen not only as extant due to certain conditions and experiences of inequality but as being produced actively, irrespective whether that production is the outcome of conscious or unconscious actions.

7.2.1   Answering the first research question

These are the foundational explanations the four identified discourses offer for the speakers to draw on when thinking about educational inequality concerning Roma children. The discourse of cultural deficit links deficit with culture and locates the source of difference or disadvantage within the individual, or his/her given culture. Cultural racism is the essence of this thinking, entertaining the deficit culture approaches by notoriously subscribing less ability and educational ambition to students of minority cultures. It supports a perception in which ethnicized students become seen not as biologically inferior but culturally less able, lacking proper values and socialization and thereby creating the foundations of their own 'disadvantage' and exclusion. The discourse of merit and responsibility on the other hand distances itself from making any culture related remarks explicitly linked to performance but its logic also locates the source of any educational inequalities within the individual and his/her lack of merit and responsibility. Its 'neutrality' and colour-blindness is also narrated as fairness and desirable competition but this thinking and the explanations it provides delete any systemic and social processes to be seen as constituents of educational inequalities; and therefore, it shifts the blame solely to the individual and the family. On the other hand, the discourse of deprivation and discrimination places its explanations outside of the individual affected. It focuses on the effects in constituting both the learner's identity and the unequal conditions. It discusses prejudices and racism, and their transformation into discrimination and institutional racism capable of inhibiting access and opportunities. Among all of the explanations prevalent in the interviewee's utterances, the ones informed by the discourse of social criticism were the rarest. This approach is critical, systemic and procedural when it comes to inequality and disadvantage production. Its explanations are focused on power relations, ideology criticism and the deconstruction and denaturalization of taken for granted knowledge and ways of knowing which produce the unequal subject positions and the unjust outcomes. In summary, these are the four discourses which fill in the regulative function and

will be influencing the instrumental discourses the 'agents' within the field of teacher education draw on and use for founding their pedagogical and methodical perceptions upon. The interplay of these two co-constitute the pedagogic discourse and are constituted by it in return.

Discourse I	Cultural Deficit
Conceptual lens for analysis	deficit culture, culture of poverty, cultural racism
Pedagogy and Instruction	separate, assimilative, missionary, essentializing culture
Provision	benevolent segregation, felzárkóztatás, felzárkózás
Purpose	normalization, disciplining, 'civilizing', socialization, welfare reduction, paternalistic 'help'
Discourse II	Meritocracy and responsibility
Conceptual lens for analysis	the ideology of meritocracy and questions of responsibility
Pedagogy and instruction	preparatory, convergence, attitude change, toleration, minority lens
Provision	separate but quality, justified cases, felzárkózás, temporary
Purpose	accommodation, convergence, population control, vectored economic integration, socialization
Discourse III	Deprivation and discrimination
Conceptual lens for analysis	institutional racism/discrimination, equality of opportunity/access
Pedagogy and instruction	differentiation, multiculturalism, tolerance, integrated, cooperation
Provision	toleration, physical integration as social inclusion
purpose	equality of opportunities & access, social integration, poverty alleviation, directed economic integration
Discourse IV.	Social criticism
Conceptual lens for analysis	social justice, redistribution and recognition
Pedagogy and instruction	critical thinking, empowerment, critical pedagogy
Provision	inclusion, comprehensive, extended, participation based
Purpose	true recognition, comprehensive social critique, critical language awareness, social change, empowerment

Table III: Systematic summary of discourses and their thematic constitutive significance

7.3 Inequality discourses within the field of teacher education

Pedagogic discourse is "the state discourse on education" and in this project I am focusing on it with respect to educational inequalities and Roma children. I looked at how its logic stumbles down to provision and treatment when it concerns the instruction of learners perceived different. (Bourne 2008 p. 41) Teacher education, as a 'function' and as an institution, is of particular relevance for the pedagogic discourse because it is the site where the organization and selection of knowledge taught to teachers is confirmed or refuted. It is where the body of knowledge and the methodology of transmission are decided about and taught. The second research question was devised to highlight these connections and

relationships in context. It was also hoped that it can help to reveal, how the micro realities of classroom happenings are influenced by the macro-level processes and ideas about inequality, its perceived origin and the constitution of differentiated subjectivities with different learning and teaching needs. Therefore, I was asking how these above identified discourses (the inequality discourses) prevail in the field of teacher education.

In Fairclough's framework this question targets the contextualization aspect of the embedded text -the discursive practice- where the production and consumption of the given discourses take place. In Bernstein's analytical framework of the pedagogic device (discourse) its equivalent is referred to as the instructional discourse -located at the institutional level- which is regulated by the views of the prevalent inequality discourse. Because pedagogic discourse - which can be taken as the overarching relationship between the regulative discourse and the embedded instructional discourse – structures different categories of learners and corresponding needs, it will eventually lead to corresponding 'prescriptions' when it concerns pedagogic practice in classrooms with respect to these differentiated learner identities. Pedagogic discourses are therefore held to account for the political and policy-level conceptualizations of the 'ideal' education and the desired means of its achievement which regulate and affect the micro-level of classroom practices and also the theories of learning and teaching apparent in the given instructional discourse. (Bourne 2008) In order to see the extent in which the different inequality discourses (regulative discourse) where drawn on at different functional levels and positions within the two institutions at scrutiny, I have examined faculty leaders, teacher educators and teacher candidates' instrumental discourses in a comparative manner. The examinations were complemented with two external teacher educators' insights, so that the findings can be theorized about beyond the two institutions, and possibly offer reflections on the field of teacher education.

7.3.1   Answering the second research question

Based on the detailed text analysis it became visible that the default inequality discourse within which most participants' ideas were formulated was the deficit approach, as well as the discourse of merit and responsibility mixed with the former. Both faculty leaders, A(2)-FL and B(1)-FL were explaining problems of difference and inequality with a deficit view of culture, running the risk of producing an essentialised and universalized sense of group identity with homogenized group needs and experiences. This not only hides intra-group diversity and the processes enabling the constitution of certain social identities and positions in talk, but also schematizes the problems teachers are presented with when it concerns classroom interaction and pedagogy. (Barry 2005, Barry 2001 p. 12) These problem formulations therefore will not be critical about the processes producing difference. Rather, they will prepare teachers to look for the sources of inequality within the community, the family and the individual. The deficit thinking furthermore offers explanations for the 'underachievement' of any Roma children in an 'ethnicity conscious' way, lowering expectations towards the child based on his/her perceived 'romaness' and what this subjectivity represents within the deficit view of culture when it concerns teaching and

learning. It is also likely to reproduce this cultural distance, -established in between groups of children- within the classroom with this essentialised view and treatment of cultures and pupils, who are believed to belong.

The two Teacher Education Faculties which were selected to participate in this research represented two different but at its core similar approaches to teaching in relation to Roma children. Faculty B explicitly specializes on giving preparations in 'nationality education' ("here *Roma ethnography is everywhere*") to teacher candidates in focused classes. The coherence between the ideas presented by B(1)-FL and the ideas and knowledge upon which such preparations were based was apparent. B(1)-FL asserted that these special Roma pedagogy classes are built into the program "*so that those students getting out from us, could better understand where the different behavior of Roma children originates or their habits*." The leader's emphasis on different levels of socialization, abilities and culture with respect to Roma children oriented the instructional discourse towards defining pedagogy as being preparatory for Hungarian language acquisition, socialization and civilization which is perceived as not having been carried out by the community. The learner's needs are presented in a paternalistic manner, which extends to the teacher-student relation and transfers power and a sense of superiority to the teacher. These perceptions about the children's ability to learn and his or her needs also make them more vulnerable to being assigned specialized forms of knowledge (convergence knowledge) which is weakened and reduced in content and represents inferior quality and treatment. In case of Faculty A and A(2)-FL, pedagogy, in relation to inequalities and Roma children, was conceptualized within the uncritical idea of tolerance. Based on A(2)-FL's culturally racist utterances and remarks about "Gypsycrime" and violence consequently associated with 'romaness' (also in the name of students), the '*paradox of the tolerant racist*'[72] became integrated into the idea of teachers and teacher preparation. Furthermore, it became complemented with the emphasis on a culturally responsive pedagogy and instruction. When tolerance is attached to group identities defined in a deficit culture view the normative power and legitimacy for social control is shifted to the person doing the 'toleration', in this case the teacher and the school representatives from the majority population. (Forst 2012) However, at this institution these ideas were less 'programmed' in the sense, that there were no overarching 'minority culture courses'. There was also no 'Roma pedagogy' in the form of obligatory course work within which these interpretations of culture and deficit subjectivity constructed to Roma could be tied down. In this sense, individual teachers have been left much more space to rethink and approach the topic with more autonomy.

In conclusion, the views discussed above were produced by the faculty leaders (A(2)-FL and B(1)-FL) who have background in pedagogy, have extensive decision making power within the given institutions and definitive say in curricular, extra-curricular or financial matters. Therefore, the level of authority from which they speak is firmly grounded in their

---

[72] The paradox of the tolerant racist highlighted the case in which someone who holds culturally racist beliefs is asked to be tolerant, meaning that this person would be required to refrain from turning his/her prejudices and racism into discriminatory action, but driven by other reasons than his or her racism being wrong or immoral. The idea and the gravity of the problem pertaining to it has been elaborated on p. 67. (Frost 2012)

functional/institutional, as well as professional position. This has epistemic consequences in terms of how much validity their truth claims receive. By their position of power,- which this leadership-identity grants- they can stand into supporting projects, mold the image of what it means to be a teacher, what is expected or allowed or what forms of practices are desirable. Despite of them being the representative voices of the two faculties and the dominant discourses on the faculty level, teacher educators have a space within the classroom setting to reconfigure the dominant discourses and bring in different interpretations. The possibility of this was proven to some extent by A(1)-TE and the two loosely affiliated external educators interviewed within Institution A. But this seemed not to stand when the dominant discourse was imposed in the form of fixed 'Roma pedagogy' and the deficit views it was based on and represented by B(1)-FL and B(2)-TE). However, it is a definitive weakness of this research that it cannot confirm this supposition, as I have not reviewed any course materials, did not hold focus group discussions in Faculty B or carried out observations in respective classes.

Despite of this, the data analysis allows me to infer that teacher educators can deviate from the dominant discourse depending on to what extent the structure, the programmatic circumstances allowed and to what extent there was an individual will for that. B(2)-TE presented his/her views in almost complete harmony with B(1)-FL, while A(1)-TE's utterances were set within the discourse of deprivation and discrimination. This had demonstrable consequences on how (s)he viewed pedagogy. With respect to the teacher candidates, A(1)-TE said it should be open, presenting and introducing divergent viewpoints. Within schools it was conceptualized as teaching practice sensitive to the heterogeneous organization of the groups. In the instructional discourses of teacher candidates in Institution A an undefined, digressive thinking can be identified about Roma children, their educational needs and prevailing inequalities. However, the dominant and default discourse which provided the bulk of the explanations and operated behind the narratives was that of the discourse of cultural deficit. When there were some more critical perspectives brought in, as presented by Extract 27, one interruption of another speaker could completely switch the perception and explanation presented a sentence before. (22-29) This often antagonistic thinking highlighted that their thematic experiences, vocabulary, interpretative tools and preparedness did not seem to approximate the level of those in leading positions and produce the same cohesion as they did in their talk. Teacher candidates were neither familiar with the here mentioned legal frameworks and polices, the 'Felzárkózás' strategies, nor the 'felzárkózás' concept's policy nor political relevance which I addressed to them in my questions. With this, I am not saying that this should have been the case, or that this sort of depth in preparation beyond pedagogic aspects would be expectable. However, this difference in contextual knowledge also constrains the ability of self-expression as they have pointed this out several times. However, this doesn't do away that they produced and negotiated contradictory and problematic 'truths', often with unconscious gravity.

In this sense, teacher education institutions play a „normalizing function", meaning that they set the norms regulating communicative and discursive instances, mold the consciousness of teachers, teacher trainees and pupils and carry ideological codes which inform their mission, thus modus operandi. Students who come in with uncertain ideas,

126

digressive ways of thinking about Roma children, Roma children's learning needs and problems, -as well as thinking about the sources of inequality- are exposed to discursive input from several sources beyond teacher education. These can be confirmed or refuted within the institutional framework and that have far stretching consequences. (Bernstein 1990 p.138-139) This is highlighted in the idea presented by A(5)-d-S in Extract 43, where (s)he states in reference to Roma children that "*they cannot be taught according to our norms*", suggesting a binary of norm-systems. This creates a normative distance between teachers, the generic '*we'* and the knowledge and values "*they*", the pupils represent, -whom they will encounter and teach in schools. This way of thinking, which might not be the product of discourses picked up within the faculty, calls out two possible conclusions which link pedagogy with the form of provision: (1) justified separation and (2) the learning and application of certain methods which carry out the expected normalizing function of schooling. This example highlights the responsibility of teacher education institutions and teacher educators in terms of how they teach to think and to what extent they engage with students critically. It is possible that such a view becomes confirmed within faculty B but may be challenged in faculty A. This is only speculation, what is important is to see how the regulative discourses are able to set and shape the instructional discourses which will turn ideas and purposes into practice. In the end, the consumption of these inequality discourses and ways of thinking happens via the social practice of teaching, a power and authority induced process. It is built on the social positions of the teacher and teacher candidate, the teacher and the children and the relations of these positionalities in relation to each other. The social position of the teacher is conceived in epistemic authority and power and therefore has substantial impact on the selection and transmission of knowledge, however it can be criticized.

7.4 Constructing a purpose

Educational strategies, reforms and the ideology-wrapped interests behind these are part of the discursive struggles to shape the institutionalized perception of learner categories and selected forms of knowledge subscribed to them. In case of this research the struggle between the policy aspirations for integration or segregation, as well as the ideas of felzárkózás policies will provide a framework for peaking into the pedagogic discourse in relation to educational inequalities and Roma children. Teacher education institutions are embedded in the surrounding legal, institutional, political and policy frameworks and are also impacted by a multiplicity of factors which may be beyond their direct control. Therefore, they will be treated as enmeshed in the interdependency and vulnerability of the socio-political system producing and being produced by the pedagogic discourse and device, which set the desirable forms of socialization and ways of knowing. This way, instructional discourses are implicated in the broader conceptualization of the purpose of education provided for the differentiated (social) groups of learners. (Bernstein 1990, Bourne 2008)

> How do these discursive understandings reflect the purpose of the education
> (schooling) which is provided for Roma children?

Sub-question: C: *How are integration, segregation and 'felzárkózás' conceptualized with respect to Roma children and educational provision?*

7.4.1   Summary of findings in relation to negotiating meanings

Felzárkózás, as a term, is in a special position as it is used both as a synonym of segregation and as a synonym of integration. It has also featured as reference to both in the interviews while being invested with a wide spectrum of meanings. After analyzing the data, I have identified 3 major ways of talking about segregation. These were built on the justifications and ideas provided by the inequality discourses. When it comes to the constitution of subjectivities and purposes of education, the *discourse of cultural deficit and the discourse of merit and responsibilities* put forth very similar solutions in terms of provision. The directions from which they come are different, but their explanations and arguments are similar in that they treat the problems as inherent in Roma. While the cultural deficit approach uses the arguments of cultural racism, the discourse of merit and responsibility relies on flawed ideas of meritocracy. Both approaches place a very heavy emphasis on the individual's and communities' responsibility, and are completely devoid of deeper social criticism. This led to segregation being seen and argued for as justifiable or deniable. The reasons given for its legitimate existence were traced back to the individual's lack of socialization, values, effort and different culture. Segregation therefore, was presented by B(1)-a-FL and B(2)-a-TE as justifiable and necessary in terms of provisional arrangement and pedagogic methods at those places where the differences in learner populations prevail. Furthermore, segregation is introduced as being in the interest of the differentiated community members and children, who will be 'more happy and safe among themselves'. C(1)-P-DM on the other hand denied that there would be systematic problem with segregation and only acknowledged individual, sporadic cases inherited from the former government.

The corresponding ideas of integration correlated with the treatment of segregation and demonstrated integration as unnecessary and hardly possible, if at all, and "from a professional perspective", not so beneficial. They also proclaimed that if integration occurs, it should be 'allowed' at the broader societal level in condition of proper civilization and socialization achieved by those individuals who lack it. This view was present in the talk of B(1)-a-FL, B(2)-a-TE and F(2)-b-RP. On the other hand, the ideas provided by *the discourse of merit and responsibility* do not deny the aim or necessity of 'integration' per se, but still keep it conditional. Integration in this case is seen as the end result of the social convergence aspirations, which comprehend a preparatory, separate and catch up educational track for those 'who have fallen behind'. This controlled 'felzárkózó' education, -provided for the selected subjects who are comprised of Roma children- mostly envision conformation and the disappearance of the perceived behavioral and cultural differences causing inequality. These findings were confirmed in the conceptualizations put forth about the meaning of 'felzárkózás'. The explanations of discourses I and II were feeding into the conceptualization of 'felzárkózás' as 'benevolent *preparatory separation'* and '*help with terms and conditions'*. In these cases felzárkózás became a modified, euphemistic and professionally justified

version of separation, which replaced and refined the negative tone and association 'segregation'- as a term- gained in the scientific community and in the political and public discourses. This underlying purpose and meaning was demonstrated in the proponent's detailed text analysis. It was also strengthened by the arguments given in the selected utterances of those who saw 'felzárkózás' in provision as segregation and as a cover term for the double standards in policy planning. In discourse III and IV, this view of 'felzárkózás' was based on such conceptualizations of 'integration' and 'segregation' which were the complete opposite of the ones presented by the deficit and merit discourses. Segregation was not only defined as inherently bad, but also was disclosed as the hidden logic of 'felzárkózás'. It becomes visible from the data that they demonstrate substantial similarity in their ways of conceptualizing 'segregation' and 'felzárkózás' as featured in policy discourses in relation to educational provision.

The discourse of deprivation and discrimination presents integration as its goal, as a necessary step towards the alleviation of inequalities and as a condition of equality of opportunity and treatment. T*he discourse of social criticism* goes further than this, it moves beyond problematizing the tenets, purpose and context of integration instead of seeing it as an all-fit and fine approach. The way they think about the issue of responsibility also highlights this observation. In discourse III responsibility is dispersed, while in discourse IV it is both contextualized and politicized. The differences between these conceptualizations put forth by discourse III and IV were most visible at this point, in their explanations and understanding of 'integration'. Here, they diverged mostly in their depth of critique and problem construction. They also differed in their understanding of inequality and Roma children's educational needs, as well as in terms of the ways in which forms of provision respond to the purposes created by these ways of thinking. The following table summarizes and systematically presents these findings which have emerged from the text analysis as a response to the third sub-question.

NEGOTIATING MEANING	SUPPORTIVE INEQUALITY DISCOURSE
CONCEPTUALIZING SEGREGATION	
1. Segregation can be justified or denied	Discourse I. and II.
2. Segregation as spontaneous or intentional	Discourse III.
3. Segregation is bad, segregation is felzárkózás	Discourse IV.
CONCEPTUALIZING INTEGRATION	
1. Integration is conditional or unlikely achieved	Discourse I.
2. Integration as the destination on the road of felzárkózás	Discourse II.
3. Integration as social inclusion	Discourse III.
4. Integration as critical social recognition	Discourse IV.
CONCEPTUALIZING FELZÁRKÓZÁS	
1. Felzárkózás as benevolent preparatory separation	Discourse I.
2. Felzárkózás as help with terms and conditions	Discourse II.
3. Felzárkózás as the opposite of inclusion, segregation	Discourse III. and IV.

Table: IV: Discursive construction and justification of the ideal form of provision.

7.4.2   Answering the third research question

The way the purpose of education is thought about is imbued with ideology. It reflects on how one thinks of the differentiated human 'subjects', their function in society and in the economy and their value and worth. Ultimately, the discursive control over how Roma children are constructed as learners and what purpose the education they receive should serve for feed into the educational policies in relation to the ideal form of provision. These, in fact respond to the way social order and justice are conceptualized. This purpose of schooling is very often only implicitly communicated. Its messages are coded into the curriculum discourse, strategies and official governmental communications, political documents and declarations and in experts' and politicians' speeches. But they are also there in more permanent and objective seeming functions and structures, such as institutions and their normative arrangements, agential positions, social processes, long existing norms, regulations and 'social habits'. These messages, preserved and nourished by discourses, are also internalized by those who carry out the provisions –consciously or unconsciously-, those who are on the 'field' teaching, maintaining schools or working with children and parents alongside. These are the locations where implementation happens, and the discourses these agents draw on will determine how the practice -the content, teaching and learning and the organization of teaching and learning- will be realized.

The four inequality discourses constructed the problem of inequality, 'romaness' and the related meanings and ideas of provision in a substantially different manner. These forms of representations point to different ideological stances on the purpose and function of schooling. The *discourse of deficit* culture shifts the blame and attention to the 'poor and different' and makes poverty into 'their' culture and all-encompassing way of life, something internalized and inherent, structuring everything they are, they do or wish for. (Apple 1998, Gorski 2010 p. 4) Beyond this blame transfer for any sort of 'condemned behaviour' it only formulates excuses in a paternalistic way, if it does at all. This results in the understanding of *'empowerment' through schooling in terms of civilizing, re-socializing and paternalistic 'help'*. (White 2014 p. 159) Based on the detailed text analysis and the discussions of this chapter, it can be concluded that the *discourse of cultural deficit* constructs a purpose for education and schooling when it concerns inequalities and Roma children in terms of a desired normalizing, disciplining function which *should be carried out in the form of a separate form of provision with "moral orthopaedics"*. (Deacon 2006 p. 181) This outlines a view of social order ('integration') as *assimilation via subjection and separation*, where subjection is controlled by the discourses' construction-labour crafting certain subjectivity (identity) for Roma people, - in harsh contrast to a normalized image of the majority.

Working with a similar logic, *the discourse of merit and responsibility* says that inequality and school achievement reflects abilities fairly. It asserts that problems of achievement stem from Roma children and their families who do not care about education, but are passive, disinterested and are responsible for their own conditions and status within the society. From this stems that *the purpose of education is to fix these wrecked morals of people incapable and unwilling to be agents of their own lives and to be useful as human*

resources. The concept of 'felzárkózás' has been tailor-made to this purpose. It is supported by the discourse of merit which visualizes *the role of education as entrusted to achieve social and value convergence, accommodation, self-discipline and population control as well as vectored economic integration*. This means the introduction of the 'converged' population into the lower segments of the labour market and thereby the reduction of welfare reliance. The construction of the purpose of education in these terms highlights that it is based completely on differentiation, distancing, lower labour status reproduction and an unequal and deficit subject position in comparison to the one constructed for an individual who is part of the majority. This ideology of seeing and treating individuals as human resources or capitals, - serving the national economy- glints also in the name of the Ministry of Human Resources which includes all the State Secretaries responsible for education and social affairs. It includes both the State Secretary of Public Education and the State Secretary of Social Convergence and Social Affairs. (Cochran-Smith 2004)

The discourse of deprivation and discrimination sees the inequality affecting Roma children to be the outcome of institutional racism, prejudices and poverty, which hinders equality of opportunity and access. *The purpose of schooling* should therefore mean *the alleviation of these conditions by granting equal opportunities and access, and thus means to social and economic integration which are seen as the routs to tackling institutional and individual forms of discrimination* appearing at other aspects of social life. Economic integration receives a double emphasis as a pre-condition of sustainable poverty reduction and as a means of social integration by Roma's accommodation in the labour market. This view is the one which features in most of the EU, World Bank and other internation organization's integration policies and strategies. Among the participants of this research it was also mostly represented by the expert educational policy maker's discourses. Finally, *the discourse of social criticism* underpins a critical view of educational inequalities and demonstrates reflexivity in how subjectivities (identities) become constructed and instrumental in processes of domination. Schooling, teaching and learning are not viewed as value neutral social practices but political ones. They are imbued with power relations; therefore *the purpose of education is on the one hand to establish the foundation of critical reflection*, in a way that it is also capable to critically reflect on its own social effects. On the other hand, it is to *nurture and empower individuals who understand their social positions and conditions and are able to critically engage with processes creating these conditions. Its aim is societal change and the reconstruction of a more inclusive theory and practice of social justice*, which doesn't exclude groups from being the subjects of equal and just treatment and social welfare. This critical view of education, created in social and political demands, does not only challenge exclusion and discrimination on the procedural-factual level. It challenges them at the level of theory and aims to achieve true recognition for 'differentiated' individuals as equal subjects of social justice.

7.5 The significance of the research findings

Public education can be thought of as one of the institutional mechanisms which allocate resources, as well as 'recognition', by selecting out who are granted these two. This happens, to a large extent via those discourses which are reproduced and legitimized within the institutional framework, and which in exchange reproduce and legitimize the patterns of allocation and its broader societal effects. There are many children who, -because of not getting quality education or getting an inferior one in a segregated setting- are denied equal membership of the larger community. This early starting process builds up to an imaginary social passport which regulate the ways and qualities in which the adult world, -the world of work and other social institutions (welfare or health care) - can be accessed. Institutions, inclusive teacher education and public schooling, creating their rules, become "the claimers of moral economy" (Kabeer 2000 p. 10) But, it is important to note, that even though institutions have regulative and normative powers, in the end, it is not them who realize and enact "patterns of inclusion and exclusion" but those individuals, social agents who compose them. They are the ones who "provide the agency behind the patterns." (Kabeer 2000 p. 15)

Reflection on the case of felzárkózás

The construction of subjectivities and subject positions is often imbued with questions of responsibility, whether the subject is depicted as an individual solely responsible for his/her given situation or not. In 2011, with the creation of the National Social Convergence Strategy and the integration of the State Secretary for Social Convergence into the Ministry of Human Resources in 2012, appeared the critique on the part of politicians and high level educational governance that those who are the addressees of *'felzárkóztatás'* may feel waived from taking responsibility and that the state would not need to take all the effort to make them caught up/converged. Therefore, *'felzárkózás'* replaced the former expression with the argument that this new version of the word signals not an exclusively top-down approach but an imperative that those targeted has to make a move to deserve the help. Looking at the institutional and functional location of the speaker, C(1)-P-DM's talk represents most clearly the official, political stance on 'felzárkózás'. Based on the detailed text analysis of the selected utterances, (s)he conceptualizes 'felzárkózás' as a spectrum, a toolbox, a road to 'integration' for disadvantaged children with a distinguished attention to Roma children among them. In order to understand more clearly what this means, it was important to study how this approach and the supporting discourse constitutes the subject of 'felzárkózás',- in this case Roma children- and the purpose of schooling. Seeing how being a subject of felzárkózás is constituted in text and how the sources of inequality in education are explained, it will be possible to see the fixes this approach wants to offer to mend inequalities via schooling. This approach was also identifiable in the way instruction, teaching and learning were thought about as the means of achieving the prescribed purpose.

The Huszár-settlement lawsuit introduced in the background chapter is an exemplary case which sheds light on how the purpose of this sort of provision is constructed. The legal proceedings and accompanying political debates stretched the explanatory definitions, and pushed affront legislative measures for interpretative clarification. These legislative measures

were the recently introduced amendments, among them Article XV. (4) of the Constitution of Hungary. However, it remains undecided if 'felzárkózás' amounts to segregation or if it is a form of integration and an equal opportunity creating type of provision.[73] The Supreme Court's decision, in the end, did not clarify what is the relation between 'social convergence', the anti-discrimination statutes and the obligation of providing equality of treatment and equality of opportunity in education. Furthermore, it doesn't make it easier to see clearly that these legislative uses of the concept lack any indication on what the actual content and meaning of the 'felzárkózás' concept is. (Kegye 2015, Mike 2013) This analysis was attempting to seek out and track back this meaning and content to the semiotic level to contribute to the debate and provide indicative empirical 'evidence'. The discussion of this chapter demonstrates the strong indication that the discursive struggle continues over the definition of 'felzárkózás', 'segregation' and 'integration' and the relations and distinctions among these. In this research, I attempted to highlight how these struggling interpretations manifest in the interviewees' text and how the different conceptualizations of these terms draw on divergent explanations about the reasons of inequality and the prevailing differences in the constitution of subjectivities.

The significance of the research findings

In the beginning of this project, I asked if education (schooling) can cease away the disadvantage of less privileged groups, better their chances and deal with social divisions; or if on the other hand it rather works as a vehicle reproducing social inequalities? I have surveyed different theoretical approaches and substantial body of research which has been carried out with respect to the plight of Roma children. These studies showed the evidence that the Hungarian school system is presently incapable of alleviating the effects of socio-economic hardships and the varied manifestations of discrimination accompanying many Roma children's experience in schools. This thesis aimed to add with an empirical inquiry to this scholarship from a theoretical, methodological perspective which has been rarely leveraged in the Hungarian context. The perspective and the tools with which critical discourse analysis equips the researcher provided the foundation for looking into the linguistic embeddedness of the reproduction of inequalities and the semiotic bases of power relationships and their maintenance. Sampling speakers in power position, which is also a less frequent practice, unfolded a field of discourses struggling to define the problem of inequality affecting Roma children and the ideal teaching and provisional forms to tackle these. It also highlighted that agents and agencies have the power to rewrite the dominant discourse imposed on them and by this reshape the instrumental discourses, which in this case

---

[73] If 'felzárkóztatás' is a subcategory of the idea of equality of opportunity or equals to it, why does it conceptualizes a distinctive track to achieving and providing equal opportunities to a differentiated group of subjects? (2) If these subjects are supposed to be targeted in the project of equality of opportunities with "different measures", how are they constructed as (legal) subjects? So, while the equality of opportunity and its anti-discrimination pursuit may be extended to all groups prone to suffering from any forms of discrimination, such as women, the LGBTQ community, old people, disabled etc. why are they exempt from the target group of the 'felzárkózás' operations, and in what means are they constructed as different subjects needing different support for achieving equality of opportunity? (Mike 2013)

determined how pedagogy, the processes of teaching and learning were theorized about and implemented both within teacher education institutions and schools. This means, that even though language has the power to create relations of dominance and oppression, it also has the power to challenge these modalities. It can have the empowering effect by creating critical awareness and resistance to challenge the dominant discursive structures and displace them. (Fairclough's 1992, Fairclough 2013 p. 4)

Other important lessons emerged from this project. The combination of the reviewed literature with the theoretical insights and the application of these onto hands-on, empirical data, - I believe- can add to the literature located at the intersection of questions of inequality, minorities and the power of discourses. The extensive review of the literature, my engagement with policy and legal texts and the interviews all suggest, that not only in politics, policy-making and at several instances in the field of teacher education there is no critical awareness of how language is constitutive of the social reality, but more surprisingly either in research and in researcher and expert discourses. This was visible in the works of Csepeli and Simon (2004) Ladányi & Szelényi (2005) and Vidra & Fox (2011) more explicitly and a lot more subtly and inconsistently in several other studies. Their ways of outlining the varied qualities of inequality affecting many Roma children were operating within the deficit view, mostly unintentionally. The norms and ideas behind these official and expert genres of knowledge production were embedded in white middle class norms, unconsciously structuring the socio-cultural standards by their normative and uncritical use of language and contributing to the "cultural work of disability production." (Miskovic 2009 p. 206) This highlights the importance of the problematisation of knowledge production. I strived for this in my research, aiming to show that reflexivity and critical questioning are essential. In fact, questions are the doors of language which open into the world of alternatives. They are needed for the re-expansion of discourses and can direct one's thinking to ponder about how perception and knowledge generating processes work.

7.6 Concluding thoughts

Concluding this chapter, I can say that the most important thing this thesis taught me was the linguistic vulnerability of social reality. The text analysis' explorative attitude informed by the critical discourse analytical stance, highlighted that the way language was used by the research participants to express our views was capable to constitute substantially different representations of Roma children as learners. Each of these representations assembled a reasonably coherent idea about whom and how Roma are perceived in Hungary today and what are the supposed causes of the inequality many Roma children experience in education. Therefore, embarking with an inductive approach instead of hypothesizing about the purpose of education -concerning the alleviation of inequality-, I took apart the text of agents located at important functional or institutional positions to see how educational realities become constituted in language. By this thorough analysis, I established discursive categories and checked how they play out within the field of teacher education and what they reveal about the different purposes of education constructed for differently conceptualized

categories of subjects and 'their' identified problems. I weighted these against the views on pedagogical solutions -what teachers should be prepared to do- and the ideal form of provision for 'dealing' with inequality.

Building on these findings stemming from both the critical views, as well as from the 'felzárkózás'-supportive utterances, I concluded that today in Hungary the concept of 'felzárkózás' is the dominant idea within policy making and within the field of teacher education when it concerns inequalities affecting Roma children. The concept of 'felzárkózás', - emerging in the midst of the integration-segregation debate- is built on the idea of a preparatory and benevolent segregation. It works both as a provisional model and as a pedagogic approach with the aim of a later controlled 'social integration' and population normalization. This conclusion is extensively supported by the way the 'felzárkózás' supportive language draws on the inequality discourse of deficit, as well as the discourse of merit and responsibility. With this it creates the image of a passive, unmerited subject strongly linked to 'romaness'. This construction of subjectivity perpetrated the idea of a culturally deficit, unsocialized and uncivilized group in need of social convergence and moral adjustment. This way, the simultaneously emerging dominant problem definition could easily locate the very problems of inequality inside the cultural or merit-related "particularities" of Roma. This is because, the policy measures and theorizations involved in setting up the official project of 'felzárkózás' demonstrably need to construct a political subjectivity for Roma in order to be able to justify and legitimize this reconceptualized and renamed form of segregation, and to make it into the condition of 'merited' integration. This form of subjectivity construction in the political discourse -strengthened also in the legal discourse and exemplified by the Huszár-settlment court case -enables the emergence of the image of an outsider group whose members are not equal subjects of social justice or are not given the terms and conditions to become one.

If transposed to the model provided by Bernstein, this state of affairs reveals the current state of the pedagogic discourse concerning inequality, e.g. the dominant ideas coded in government produced documents, policies and communications. Furthermore, it highlights how the state's interest permeates pedagogic practices and the selected knowledge to be taught. The operation of the official pedagogic discourse, its ideas reflected in and strengthened by the corresponding regulative discourse was clearly manifest in the utterances of the two faculty leaders and their instructional discourses. (Bourne 2008) This specialized and valid pedagogical and methical knowledge which were produced with authority in these teacher education institutions were to be transferred to teacher candidates. The question remains, what extent teacher education has the critical potential to disrupt these discourses and offer knowledge which supports the deconstruction of the deficit view of Roma children and the attributed educational inequalities? Therefore, the kind of knowledge and educational environment provided by teachers and schools to children from 'disadvantaged' background will be decisive in whether the school strengthens the inequalities prevailing in education and reproduces them as deep pervading social injustices. It is the inequality of treatment and recognition magnified by the classroom happenings what realizes the epistemic injustice of

schools and reproduces inequalities, working in an echo-like manner. This suggests that all pervading forms of inequality rest on injustice and social justice working inadequately and incomprehensively cannot eliminate the unjust forms of inequality. This self-propelling process highlights the need of rethinking critically the underpinning theory of social justice, because if there is no inclusive social justice, there is no equality. If there is no equality there is no quality. If there is no quality then there is no equity and if there is no equity there is no fairness and social justice for all.

List of References

Abate. T. (2013). Applied Research Methods Part II. Lecture notes. University of Oslo: Oslo.

Allen, A. (2011). Michael Young's The Rise of the Meritocracy. A Philosophical Critique. In.: *British Journal of Educational Studies*. 59(4). pp. 367-382.

Alvesson, M. & Sköldberg, K. (2000). Reflexive Methodology. New Vistas for Qualitative Research. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Apple, M. W. (1982). Education and Power. Ark Paperbacks: London.

Apple, M. W. (1988). The Politics of Teachers and Texts. Routledge: London.

Banks, J. A. (2004). Teaching for Social Justice, Diversity and Citizenship in a Global World. In.: The Educational Forum. 68(1). pp. 289- 298. Retrieved from: http://depts.washington.edu/centerme/Fs04banks.pdf

Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A. M. (2004). Handbook of research on multicultural education. (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Barry, B. (2001). Culture and Equality. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Barry, B. (2005). Why social justice matters? Policy Press: Cambridge.

Benincasa, L. (2011).Teaching lessons in exclusion: researchers' assumptions and the ideology of normality. In.: *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. pp. 1088-1106.

Bereczky, K. & Fejes, J. B. (2010). Pedagógusok nézeteinek és tapasztalatainak vizsgálata egy deszegregációs intézkedéssel összefüggésben. In.: *Magyar Pedagógia*. 110(4). pp. 329-354.

Berenyi, E. & Berkovits, B. & Erőss, G. (2008). Az iskolába rendezett gyerekek. Kiváltság és különbségtétel a közoktatásban. Gondolat Kiadó: Budapest. Retrieved from: http://real.mtak.hu/1676/1/47040_ZJ1.pdf

Bernstein, B. (1990). The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse. (Vol. IV.). Class, codes and control. Routledge: London.

Bodenheimer, E. (1980). Philosophy of responsibility. Fred B Rothman & Co: Littleton.

Bordács, M. (2009). A pedagógusok előítéletességének vizsgálata a roma gyerekeket is tanító pedagógusok körében. In.: *Új Pedagógiai Szemle*. 51(2). pp. 70-90 Retrieved from: http://www.ofi.hu/tudastar/pedagogusok

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language & Symbolic Power. Ed.: Thompson, J. B. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Bourne, J. (2008). Official Pedagogic Discourses and the Construction of Learner's Identities. In.: Encyclopedia of Language and Education. (Vol. 3). Ed.: Hornberger, N. Springer US: San Diego. pp. 41-53.

Brucker, J.L. (2008) Roma Children: A Study Of Barriers To Educational Attainment In The Former Yugoslav Republic Of Macedonia. UNICEF:Genf.

Burrel, G. & Morgan, G. (1979). Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis. Heinemann: London.

Cohen, E. G (1990) Teaching in Multiculturally Heterogeneous Classrooms: findings from a model program. In: *McGill Journal of Education*. 26(1). pp. 7-23.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). Walkign the Road. Race, Diversity and Social Justice in Teacher Education: Teacher College Press: New York.

Collier, A. (2005). Philosophy and Critical Realism. In.: *The Politics of method in the Human Sciences*. Positivism and its epistemological others. (Ed.) G. Steinmetz. Duke University Press: London. pp. 328-345

Chouliaraki, Lilie (2008) Discourse analysis In: The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis. Eds.: Bennett, T. and Frow, J. SAGE Publications: London.

Crotty, M. (1998). The Foundations of Social Research. Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process. Sage Publications Ltd.: London.

Csigó. P. (1997). A gazdasági stabilizációs diskurzus: A konszolidáció diskurzusa. In.: *Szociológia* - (6). Retrieved from: www.mtapti.hu/mszt/19983/csigo.htm

Daróczi, A. Cs. (2013). Women's health in the EU Roma Integration Framework (2011) and the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy (2011): Underlying presumptions and implicit goals. Central European University: Budapest.

Deacon, R. (2006). Michael Foucault on Education: A preliminary theoretical overview. In.: South African Journal of Education. 26(2). pp. 177-187. Retrieved from: http://sajournalofeducation.co.za/index.php/saje/article/viewFile/74/50

Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. I. (2011). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of

Qualitative Research. In.: The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research. Eds.: K..N. Dezin & S. I. Lincoln. SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Dervin, F. & Gajardo, A., Lavanchy, A. (2011) Interculturality at Stake. In.: *Politics of Interculturality*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle. pp. 1-29.

Diaz-Bone, R., Bührmann, A. D., Gutiérrez Rodríguez, E., Schneider, W.; Kendall, G. & Tirado, F. (2007). The Field of Foucaultian Discourse Analysis: Structures, Developments and Perspectives. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 8(2), Art. 30. Last retrieved: http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0702305.

Dilworth, M. E. (1993). *Diversity in Teacher Education: New Expectations.* **In:** *The Journal of Negro Education*. Vol. 62(4) pp. 509-511.

Doyle,W. (1992). Curriculum and Pedagogy. In: Handbook of Research in Curriculum. Ed.: Jackson. P. W., Macmillian Publishing Company: New York pp. 486-517

Dudás, M. (2007). Tanárjelöltek belépő nézeteinek feltárása. PTE BTK: Pécs. Retrieved from: *nevtud.btk.pte.hu/index.php?mid=42&did=467*

Dupcsik, Cs. (2012). Az integráció fogalma a társadalomtudományos és a laikus társadalomképekben az oktatási integráció példáján keresztül. In.: Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon. Eds.: Kovách, I., Dupcsik, Cs., P.Tóth, T. and Takács, J. MTA Argumentum: Budapest. pp. 243-261.

Erőss, G. (2012). Iskolai (dez)integrációs paradoxonok – Expanzió, integráció, szegregáció a magyar közoktatásban a rendszerváltás óta. In.: Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon. Eds.: Kovách, I., Dupcsik, Cs., P.Tóth, T. and Takács, J. MTA Argumentum:Budapest. pp. 262-275.

Erőss, G. & Gárdos, J. (2007). Az előítélet-kutatások bírálatához. In.: *Educatio*. 16(1). pp. 17-37. Retreived from: www.hier.iif.hu/hu/letoltes.php?fid=tartalomsor/411

European Commission. (2 001). European Union support for Roma Communities in Central and Eastern Europe. EU: Brussels.
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/brochure_roma_oct2003_en.pdf

European Commission. (2011). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. An EU Framework for national Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020. EU: Brussels. Retrieved from:
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/discrimination/docs/com_2011_173_en.pdf

European Commission. (2014). Report on discrimination of Roma children in Education. EU: Brussels. Retrived from:
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_childdiscrimination_en.pdf

European Roma Rights Centre (2007). The impact of Legislation and Policies on School Segregation of Roma Children. A study of anti-discrimination law and government measures to eliminate segregation in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. ERRC: Budapest. http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/02/36/m00000236.pdf

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and Social Change. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical Discourse Analysis. The critical study of language. Pearson Education: Harlow.

Fairclough, N. (2003). Analysing Discourse. Textual Analysis for Social Research. Routledge: London.

Fairclough, N. (2012). Critical discourse analysis. In: The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis. (Eds.) M. Hanford, & J. P. Gee. Routledge: New York. pp. 9-21.

Fairclough, N. (2013). Language and power. Routledge: London.

Fehérvári, A. (2003). Pedagógus tovább-képzések az integrációs programokban. pp.53-63. Retrieved from: *epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/.../EPA00035_upsz_200911_053-063.pdf*

Fehérvári, A. & Liskó, I. (2008). Hatásvizsgálat a HEFOP által támogatott integrációs program keretében. Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet: Budapest. Retrieved from: epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/.../EPA00035_upsz_200911_053-063.pdf

Fellegi, B. & Ligeti, Gy. (2003). Hátrányos helyzetűek a közoktatásban: országos kérdőíves és interjúkon alapuló kutatás. Oktatási Jogok Miniszteri Biztosának Hivatala: Budapest.

Forray, R. K. & Hegedűs, T. A. (2001). Oktatáspolitikai változások a cigány gyerekek iskoláztatásában. In.: Romák és oktatás. Ed: Andor Mihály. Iskolakultúra:Pécs. pp. 13-31.

Forray, R. K. & Hegedűs, T. A. (2001). Cigány tanulók az általános iskolákban. Egy empirikus vizsgálat tapasztalatai. In.: Romák és oktatás. Ed: Andor Mihály. Iskolakultúra: Pécs. pp. 74-85.

Forst, R. (2012) "Toleration". The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved from*:* Edward N. Zalta (ed.) Retrieved from: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/toleration/>.

Foucault., M. (1972). The archeology of knowledge. Pantheon: New York.

Fricker., M. (2007). Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Gay, G. (2013). Teaching to and through cultural diversity. In: *Curriculum Inquiry* 43(1). pp. 49-70.

Gee, P. J. (1999). An Introduction to Discouse Analysis. Theory and Method. Routledge: London.

140

Georgiadis, F. & Zizimos, A. (2012). Teacher training in Roma education in Greece: Intercultural and critical educational necessities. In.: *Issues in Educational Research. 22(1). Special issue in intercultural and critical education. pp. 47-59.*

Gill, R. (1996). Discourse analysis: practical implementation. In: Richardson, J. T. E. (1996). Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences. Blackwell Publishing:Oxford. pp. 141-159.

Gonzalvez, L. (2013). Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Address the Gaps, Exclusions and Oversights in Active Citizenship Education. Electronic Thesises and Dissertations. 4945. Retrieved from: http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5944&context=etd

Gorski, P. C. (2011). Unlearning Deficit Ideology and the Scornful Gaze: Thoughts on Authenticating the Class Discourse in Education. In.: Assault on kids: How hyper-accountability, corporatization, deficit ideologies and Riby Payne are destroying our schools. R. Ahlquist, P. Gorski, & T. Montano. Peter Lang: New York. pp. 177-198.

Hacker, P. M. S. (2005). The linguistic turn in analytic philosophy. Retreived from: http://info.sjc.ox.ac.uk/scr/hacker/docs/TheLinguisticTurn.pdf

Harding, S. (2005). Philosophy and Stanpoint Theory. In.: The Politics of method in the Human Sciences. Positivism and its epistemological others. (Ed.) G. Steinmetz. Duke University Press: London. pp. 328-345.

Havas, G. (2009). Equality of opportunity, desegregation. In.: Green Book for the Renewal of Public Education in Hungary. (Eds.) Fazekas K,. Köllő J. Varga J. ECOSTAT: Budapest. Retrieved from: http://mek.oszk.hu/08200/08221/08221.pdf

Havas, G. & Liskó, I. (2005) Segregation of Roma students in primary schools. Felsőoktatási kutatóintézet: Budapest.

Hekman, S. J. (1986). Hermeneutics and the Sociology of Knowledge. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Henwood, K. L. (1996). Qualitative inquiry: perspectives, methods and psychology. In: Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences. Ed.: Richardson, J. T. E.Blackwell Publishing: Oxford. pp. 25-43.

Hepburn, A. (1997). Teachers and Secondary School Bullying: A Post-Modern Discourse Analysis. In.: Discourse & Society. 27(8). pp. 27-48.

Hill-Jackson, V. & Chance, W. L. (2010). Transforming Teacher Education: What went wrong with teacher training and how w can fix it. Stylus Publications: Sterling.

Hoppers, W. (2013). Informal, personal correspondence.

Hoppers, W. (2015). Informal, personal correspondence.

Humphries, B. & Mertens, M. D. & Truman, C. (2000). Arguments for an 'emancipatory'

research paradigm. In: *Research and Inequality*. Eds.: C., Truman, D. M., Mertens, & B. Humphries. UCL Press: London. pp. 3-23.

Humphries, B. (2000). From critical thought to emancipatory action. In: Research and Inequality. Eds.: C., Truman, D. M., Mertens, & B. Humphries. UCL Press: London. pp. 179-190.

Hunyadi, Gy. (2003). Tanítóképzés a változó felsőoktatásban. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia: Budapest. Retrieved from: mta.hu/fileadmin/news/files/hunyadygyorgyne.doc

Janks, Hilary (2006). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. In.: *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics o Education*. 18(3). pp. 329-342.

Jones, C. P. (2002). Confronting institutionalized racism. In: *Phylon*. 50(1). pp. 7-22. Retrieved from: https://sph.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/Jones-Confronting-Institutionalized-Racism_Phylon%202003.pdf

Jorgensen, M. & Phillips, J. M. (2002). Discourse Analysis as theory and method. Sage Publications:London.

Kádár, A. (2009). Legislative review for the Hungarian Roma Educational Policy. Institute for Educational Development and Research: Budapest. Retrieved from: http://ofi.hu/tudastar/esely-egyuttnevelesre/legislative-review-for

Kállai, E. (2005). Legislation and Government Programs Relating to the Roma Population in Hungary since the Political Changes of 1989-90. In:Roma of Hungary. Ed.: Kemény, I. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. pp. 288-334.

Kárpati, A. (2009). Teacher Training and Professional Development. In.: Green Book for the Renewal of Public Education in Hungary. Eds.: Fazekas K,. Köllő J. Varga J. ECOSTAT: Budapest. Retrieved from: http://mek.oszk.hu/08200/08221/08221.pdf

Kemény, I. & Janky, B. (2005). Roma Population of Hungary 1971-2003. In.: Roma of Hungary. Ed.: I. Kemeny, Columbia University Press: New York.

Kegye, A. (2015). Áldott szegregáció. In: *Fundamentum*. (1). pp. 75-85. Retrieved from: http://www.fundamentum.hu/sites/default/files/15-1-07.pdf

Kende (2001). Kudarcok okai. In: *Romák és az oktatás.* Iskolakultúra: Pécs. pp. 57-62. http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00011/00044/pdf/iskolakultura_EPA00011_2000_12_057-062.pdf

Kertesi, G. & Kézdi, G. (2005). Általános iskolai szegregáció, I. Okok és következmények. In.: *Közgazdasági Szemle*. 52(4). pp. 317-355.

Kertesi, G. & Kézdi, G. (2009). Általános iskolai szegregáció Magyarországon az ezredforduló után. In.: *Közgazdasági szemle*. (56) pp. 959-1000. Retrieved from:

http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00017/00164/pdf/1_kertesi-kezdi.pdf

Kertesi G. & Kézdi (2011). The Roma / non-Roma Test Score Gap in Hungary. In.: *American Economic Review*. 101(3). pp. 519-525.

Kerülő, J. (2009). Az integráció és a szegregáció kérdése egy iskolabezárás kapcsán. Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet: Budapest. Retrieved from: http://ofi.hu/tudastar/kerulo-judit-integracio

Kirk-Goon (1975). Desegregation and the Cultural Deficit Model: An Examination of the Literature. Review of Educational Research. 45(4). pp. 599-611. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1170066

Kocatepe, M. (2005). Troubling essentialised constructions of culture: an analysis of a critical discourse analysis approach to teaching and learning culture. (Phd Dissertation). Retrieved from: http://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/1117/2/02whole.pdf

Kovách, I. & Dupcsik, Cs. (2012). Bevezető megjegyzések. In.: Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon. Eds.: Kovách, I., Dupcsik, Cs., P.Tóth, T. and Takács, J. MTA Argumentum:Budapest. pp. 1-7.

Kubow and Fossum (2003). Comparative Education: Exploring issues in international context. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill/Prentice Hall.

Ladányi, J. & Szelényi, I. (2006). Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe. Columbia University Press, New York.

Lampert, K. (2013). Meritocratic education and social worthlessness. Palgrave MacMillian: New York.

Launder, A. K. (2010). Race encounters in ITE tutor's narratives on race equality. University of London: London.

Liskó, I. (2001). A cigány tanulók és a pedagógusok. In.: Romák és oktatás. Ed.: Andor Mihály. Iskolakultúra:Pécs. pp. 32-47.

Luke, A. (1995-1996). Text and discourse in education. In.: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis. In.: Review of Research in Education. 21. pp. 3-48.

MacLure, M. (2003). Discourse in Educational and Social Research. Open University Press: Philadelphia.

MacNamee, S. J. & Miller, Jr. R. K. (2004). The Meritocracy Myth. In: Sociation Today. 2(1). Retrieved from: http://www.ncsociology.org/sociationtoday/v21/merit.htm

King, M. L. (1963). Letter from Birmingham Jail. Retrieved from: https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/letter-birmingham-jail

Miskovic, M. (2009). Roma education in Europe: in support of the discourse of race. In.: *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*. 17(2). pp. 201-220.

Moses, W. J. & Knutsen, T. L. (2012). Ways of Knowing. Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research. Palgrave MacMillian: New York.

Munice, J. (2006) Discours analysis. In.: The SAGE Dictionary of Social Research Methods. Ed.: V. Jupp. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857020116

Mueller, M. L. (2016). Being Salmon, Being Human. (Phd Dissertation).University of Oslo: Oslo.

Nagy, M. (2001). Felkészítés és gyakorlat a cigány tanulók oktatása/nevelése területén. In.: Iskolakultúra . 11(1). pp. 43-58.

Nagy, M. (2002). Cigány tanulók az iskolában. A pedagógusok beszélnek. In.: Magyar Pedagógia. 102(3). pp. 301–331.

Neményi, M. (2012). A megnevezés dilemmái. In.: Társadalmi integráció a jelenkori Magyarországon. Eds.: Kovách, I., Dupcsik, Cs., P.Tóth, T. and Takács, J. MTA Argumentum:Budapest. pp. 306-317.

Open Society Foundations, Roma Initiatives Office (2003). Governments Endorse "Decade of Roma Inclusion". Press release. Retrieved: 2013. 12. 05. http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/press-releases/governments-endorse-decade-roma-inclusion

Open Society Institute. (2006). Monitoring Education for Roma. A Statistical Baseline for Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe. Retrieved from: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/monitoring_20061218.pdf

Park, Y. (2005). Culture as Deficit: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Concept of Culture in Contemporary Social Work Discourse. In.: Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare. 32(3). pp. 11-33.

Phellas, N. C., (2000). Cultural and sexual identities in in-depth interviewing. In: Research and Inequality. Eds.: C., Truman, D. M., Mertens, & B. Humphries. UCL Press: London. pp. 52-64

Phillips, N., & Hardy, C. (Eds.). (2002). *Discourse Analysis.* SAGE Publications.

Popkewitz, S. & Brennan, M. (1998). Foucault's Challenge: discourse, knowledge and power in education. Teacher Collage Press: New York.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approach. In: Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences. Ed: Richardson, J. T. E. Blackwell Publishing:Oxford. pp. 125-141.

Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1992). Mapping the language of racism. Columbia University Press: New York.

Richardson (2000). A method of inquiry. In.: The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research. (Eds.) K..N. Dezin & S. I. Lincoln. SAGE Publications: Thousand Oaks. pp. 923-949.

Radó, P. (2007). Méltányosság az oktatásban. Két jelentés az oktatás méltányosságáról. Oktatási és Kulturális Minisztérium: Budapest.

Radó, P. (2001). Bevezetés az oktatáspolitikai elemzésbe. Romák és az iskola. In.: *Iskolakultúra*. 11(1). pp. 65-91.

Reisigl, M. (2012). Argumentation Analysis and the Discourse-historical Approach: a methodological framework. In.: Contemporary Critical Studies. Eds.: Hart, C. and Cap, P. Bloomsbury: London. pp. 67-97.

Robinson, K. H. & Ferfolja, T. (2002). A Reflection of Resistance. Discourses of Heterosexism and Homophobia in Teacher Training Classrooms. In. : *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*. 14 :2. pp. 55-64.

Rogers, R. (2004). Setting an agenda for Critical Discourse Analysis in Education. In. : An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis. Eds.: R. Rogers. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers: London. pp. 237-254.

Rogers, R. et. al (2005). Critical Discourse Analysis in Education : A Review of the Literature. In. : *Review of Educational Research*. 75(3). pp. 365-416. Retrieved from : http://rer.sagepub.com/content/75/3/365

Rorty, R. (1992). Methaphilosophical Difficulties of Liguistic Philosophy. In .:The linguistic turn. (Ed.) R. Rorty. The University of Chicago Press : Chicago pp. 3-41.

Sandelowski, M. (1991). Telling stories : narrative approaches in qualitative research. The Journal of Nursing Scholarship. 23(3). pp. 161–166. Retrieved from: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1547-5069.1991.tb00662.x/abstract

Schiffrin, D. (1994). Approaches to discourse : Language as social interaction. Blackwell : Oxford.

Szabó., M. (2003). A diskurzív politikaitudomány alapjai: elméletek és elemzések. L'Harmattan: Budapest.

Szabó, Z. A. & Fehérvári, A. (2013). A közoktatás fenntartói és finanszírozási változásai a jogszabályok tükrében (2010-2013). In :*Új pedagógiai Szemle*. 63(9-10). pp. 51-73.

Szabóné, K. J. (2008). A roma/cigány népesség helyzete. In.: Magyar lelkiállapot. Ed.: Kopp, M. Semmelweis Kiadó:Budapest. pp. 415-427.

Szalai, J. (2012). A cigány gyerekek iskolai (le)értékeléséről. In.: Társadalmi integráció a

jelenkori Magyarországon. Eds.: Kovách, I., Dupcsik, Cs., P.Tóth, T. and Takács, J. MTA Argumentum:Budapest. pp. 275-293.

Truman, C. (2000). New social movements and social research. In: Research and Inequality. Eds.: C., Truman, D. M., Mertens, & B. Humphries. UCL Press: London. pp. 24-36.

UNESCO: *Reaching the marginalized. EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010*, 2010. UNESCO: Paris. pp. 135-213.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. In.: Discourse & Society. 4(2). pp. 249-283.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. In.: The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Eds.: D., Schiffrin, D., Tannen, & H. E., Hamilton. Blackwell Publishing: Malden.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2007). Ideology and Discourse Analysis. In.: Journal of Political Ideologies. 11(2). pp. 115-140.

Varga, J. (2007). Kiből lesz ma tanár? A tanári pálya választásának empirikus elemzése [Who becomes a teacher? An empirical analysis of teaching career choices]. *Közgazdasági Szemle, 54* (7–8), 609–627. Retrieved from: http://www.mktudegy.hu/?q=system/files/VargaJ.pdf

Vidra, F. & Fox, J. (2011). The Embodiment of (in) Tolerance in Discourses and Practices Addressing Cultural Diversity in Schools in Hungary. The case of Roma. Centre for Policy Studies:Budapest.

Webb, J., Schirato, T., & Danaher, G. (2002). Understanding Bourdieu. Sage Publications:London.

Webster, L. and Mertova, P. (2007). Using narrative inquiry as a research method. Routledge: London.

Wetherell, P. & Potter, J. (1992). Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation. Harvester Wheatsheaf: New York.

Wetherell, P., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. J. (2001). Discourse as Data: A guide for Analysis. SAGE Publications Ltd: London.

White, C. M. (2014). Deficit thinking redux: cultural deficit discourse and an urban community and school in Fiji. In.: Social Identities. 20(2-3). pp. 155-170. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2014.978750

Williams, F. (1989). Social Policy. A Critical Introduction. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.:Oxford.

Wodak, R. (1996). Disorders of discourse. Longman Ltd.: New York.

Wodak, R., & Reisigl, M. (2001). Discourse and Racism. In.: The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Eds.: D., Schiffrin, D., Tannen, & H. E., Hamilton. Blackwell Publishing: Malden.

Wodak, R and Meyer, M. (2009). Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. SAGE Publications Ltd.: London.

Wogg, M. (2015). Roma History: Holocaust 5.0. Council of Europe. Project Education of Roma Children in Europe. Information Facts Sheets on Roma History. Retrieved from: http://romafacts.uni-graz.at/index.php/history/general-introduction/general-introduction

Wood, A. K, & Kroger, O. R. (2000). Doing Discourse Analysis. Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text. Sage Publications Inc.: Thousand Oaks.

Woodside-Jiron, H. (2004). Language, power and participation: Using Critical Discourse Analysis to Make Sense of Public Policy. In.: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis. Eds.: R. Rogers. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers: London. pp. 173-209.

Woodward, C. (2000). Hearing voices? Research issues when telling respondent's stories of childhood sexual abuse from a feminist perspective. In: *Research and Inequality*. Eds.: C., Truman, D. M., Mertens, & B. Humphries. UCL Press: London. pp. 37-51.

Young, I., M. (2011). Justice and the politics of difference. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Zachos, D. (2012). Institutional Racism? Roma Children, Local Community and School Practices. In.: Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies . 10 (1). pp. 53-66. Retrieved from: www.jceps.com/wp-content/uploads/PDFs/10-1-04.pdf

Zentai, V. (2014). Education in the European Multicultural Debate and Policies. In.: Migrant, Roma and Post-colonial Youth in Education across Europe. Being 'Visibly Different'. Eds.: J. Szalai & C. Schiff. Palgrave Macmillan: London. pp. 84-103.

Zolnay, J. (2006) Kényszerek és választások. Oktatáspolitika és etnikai szegregáció Miskolc és Nyíregyháza általános iskoláiban. In.: Esély 2006(4). Retrieved from: http://www.esely.org/kiadvanyok/2006_4/ZOLNAY.pdf

Annexes

ANNEX A: INTITIAL CONTACT LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Initial contact letter

> Date and Place
> Dear …………………,

This letter is a request to you for your participation in a one-hour/ (…) long interview, which would be a contribution to my master study focusing on the education of the Roma children in the Hungarian context.

Personal background- On the first place I would like to introduce myself and the background to this research project. My name is Dorottya Deak and I am a second year master student enrolled in the research intensive Master's Programme in Comparative and International Education (CIE) at the University of Oslo (Faculty of Educational Science). A year ago, I graduated from Corvinus University of Budapest, where I studied International Relations between 2008 and 2012.

The thesis project - Being a research intensive graduate programme, it is required that student go for a fieldwork lasting for two months in order to gather first hand data for their master thesis. The project I am embarking on is a sociological inquiry which aims (1) to understand and map the existing practices, perspectives and perceptions of teaching Roma children at the national, institutional and individual level and thus explore (2) how teachers are being trained and what do they learn about pedagogy when it comes to working with children with minority background. It is in my intent to see how these realities and perceptions are constructed through the vertical structure of the Hungarian society. This research as a 45 credit master's thesis (80-120 pages), will have its limits in space and time, but it aims to contribute to the existing Hungarian and international literature on the understanding of Roma children's education explored and highlighted within the Hungarian context. The thesis writing process is closely supervised by an appointed professor and expert in educational research, who also safeguards that the student's project is sensitive to ethical guidelines in conducting scientific research as well as holds itself to strong objectivity.

Time schedule of the field research - I will undertake the field work between 16 of September and 16th of November of 2013 and the completion of the master study is envisaged for the end of May 2014. The two months of field research will be followed up by an integrated course in data analysis at the University of Oslo.

Selection of participants - Participants for the interviews have been selected purposively, based on their expertise and position in light of the research purpose, covering the main participants in planning and carrying out teaching activities. Particular consideration was given to professionals with expertise on education of the Roma child and work with social inclusion.

Interviews and focus group discussions - Interviews and focus group discussion will be informal and conversational guided by focused subjects on teacher education and the education(national policy level) Interview from the Hungarian Ministry of Human Resources

which includes the State Secretariat of Education (~MoE) and State Secretary for Social Inclusion. 1-1 policy makers will be invited for an interview of student from minority background with main attention given to the education of Roma children within the Hungarian context. The interviews intend to question participants' perceptions, opinions, lived experiences on the topic but interviewees can withhold answering a particular question or suspend their participation in the interview process at any time.

Yet your participation in this study would be very much valued and respected, and will contribute to the understanding of teaching practices and perception within the selected teacher education programs when it comes to educating Roma children in Hungary. In case of you participation, I will create and mail you an interim report on the process about how the project is developing and what are the preliminary findings. To this letter you will find enclosed a consent form to participate in the study, if you agree to be interviewed, I will call you to schedule the time of the interview in convenience to you and also take a printed version of the consent form with me. In case you were unable to participate, I would really appreciate you recommending a colleague who I may contact.

Please, if you need more information regarding the project or have any questions, contact me via email or phone, which I will enclose at the bottom of this email.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Yours sincerely,
    Dorottya Deak

Contact information: dorottya.deak@gmail.com
                     dorottyd@student.uv.uio.no
Phone number: 06704526932

Informed Consent Letter for Participation in Research

Title: Educated for Education (Nevelesre oktatni) – Perceptions and practices of Educating Roma children within and around Teacher Training

Researcher: Dorottya Deak
Department of Education
University of Oslo

The above introduced study, as a method of data collection will use interviews and focus group discussions, with the hope to collect information which would help to understand better the perceptions and practices of educating Roma children within the scope of teacher training. The interview will take approximately one hour to complete, and will be conducted privately in a time and location which is convenient for you. The focus group discussions due to the number of participants (4-6) will take up to an hour and a half and will be conducted in a separate room based on the convenience of the participants.

Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. It is up to you if you would like to take part, there is no compensation for the time you devote for contributing to this research. If you decide to part take, you will be asked to sign this consent form. Even in this case, you are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. You are also free to decide whether you would like to answer a particular question or not, which will not impair the research process.

The risk of this study is minimal; it is related to sharing personal opinions and dispositions which may be controversial and debatable. To emphasize, you may decide to decline to answer a question in this case.
The study will have no direct benefits, however you participation will help the understanding of the current state of teacher training and the social environment in which it is located with regards to educating children from minority background.

Confidentiality

As for the purpose of this research, the comments are not hold anonymous, unless you ask for it. However there will be every effort taken to preserve you confidentiality, including:

- The notes, transcriptions and audio records will be coded/and pseudonyms will be used from the beginning or the institutions with which you are affiliated will not be named, or will be given pseudonyms. Their directly identifiable characteristics will not be included in the thesis.
- The codes ordered to subjects and institutions will be kept at a separate location as the transcribed data and field notes. The computer holding the information will be secured by personal password and prevent abuse of data.
- The data collected including the transcripts, audio records, will be destroyed when the project is completed, in case of the intention to withholding them, you will be contacted and asked for authorization. You are entitled to refuse the inquiry and then the data will be immediately erased.

The research project is previously reviewed and authorized by the Norwegian Data Protection Authority as well as by the Department of Education at the University of Oslo.
If concerns arise, please contact Fengshu Liu, Associate Professor at the Department of Education (fengshu.liu@ped.uio.no).

Consent

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form and that I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Signiture…………………………………………………..

Date (Place) …………………………………………….

ANNEX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
TRANSLATED FROM HUNGARIAN & EXTRACTED FROM THE TRANSCRIPTS

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:
DEFINITIONAL STRUGGLES: FELZÁRKÓZÁS, FELZÁRKÓZTATÁS, INTEGRATION, SEGREGATION

1. So, in the civil-policy debate there is no agreement about that we use, the 'felzárkózás', 'felzárkóztatás' or integration expressions, and if these have any substantive meaning or pedagogical implications?
2. These buzzwords which appeared at the helm of educational governance, such as 'felzárkózás', 'felzárkóztatás', 'integration', what pedagogical implications these have?
3. There is a pretty big debate about what is segregation. (…) what is your opinion about the 'to-from' categorization of segregation?
4. So, I also wanted to ask, that if now, at the level of definition- we speak about 'felzárkóztatás' (convergence) or integration, does that have different pedagogical and methodological implications?
5. Can we talk about then a comprehensive convergence politics?
6. So, what do you think, why is this 'convergence' political aspiration is so hard, what are the biggest challenges and what are those which can, let's say, reproduce this inequality of opportunities?
7. So, this 'felzárkózás', 'felzárkóztatás' - so there was also an exchange of name in this manner, indicating to shift away from passive participation towards active participation and that according to you what can be those steps perceived as expected or necessary from the target group, from the disadvantaged and/or Roma persons, which are required for 'felzárkózás'?
8. I go back to the start, I talked with others too about segregation and about its 'from-to' limits, right, what can we call segregation from this perspective, or separation too, and from this point of view, these special education groups sometimes walk on slippery terrains. What do you think about it?
9. In your opinion the logic of 'felzárkóztatás' and integration, how do they relate to one another?

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:
DISCRIMINATION, INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION, RACISM

1. Do you think we can speak about institutional racism in Hungary?
2. In your opinion, can we talk about social discrimination and institutionalized discrimination?
3. Can we speak about social or institutional discrimination in Hungary?
4. Now that we have talked about the school and the role of the school, then, Bourdieu had a sentence that the school often carries within a sort of hidden discrimination,

because it requires a certain form of literacy brought from home, (…) and can we talk about such sort of hidden discrimination or institutional discrimination in Hungary?

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:
IF THERE EXIST A DISCOURSE ON ROMA IN HUNGARY AND THEIR PRESENT EDUCATIONAL REALITY AND IF YES, HOW IS IT

1. Can we talk about that there are discourses in relation to the education of Roma, Gypsy children's education? Can we say that; is there something like this or was there?
2. During our own school years and later getting out from there everyone gets experiences regarding the Roma students' general social and educational situation and I am curious that how do you see their situation in today's Hungary and that how do these relations reflect here among institutional frames, on classes or in student-teacher relations.
3. (…) but didn't the focus on teacher and nursery school teacher education get marginalized within the discourse of the education of Roma childen?
4. From this point of view it is certainly really complex and that how the ((a!!)) 'roma problem' appears in social consciousness, how it gets problematized and who problematize it…
5. In your opinion what narratives characterize the social, civil and political debate about the education of Roma children in today' Hungary?
6. How did the discourses regarding the education of Roma children develop, how it is, what it had breached over?
7. In your opinion do Roma/Gypsy children have to be educated differently or the same kind of education, pedagogical competences are needed?

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:
ACCESS TO DISCURSIVE SPACES: SCIENCE, SOCIAL POWER AND AUTHORITY

1. Who and what access (s)he has to shape this whole discursive space in which this debate has started about what sort of solution should be found to this question and how should it be approached.
2. I was wondering that currently, to what extent, can the results of the sciences reach politics and the other way around, because there is this anti-segregation round table which they have started to do, right--
3. So, where could be those entry points where a bigger change could be started regarding the education of Roma children, so to say from the point of view of discourses?
4. In your opinion, what weight teacher training gets in the educational politics and civil debate, as right, now the anti-segregation roundtable is happening, which is composed of many civil representatives, the representatives of the ministry of human resources and state secretary, and the Kuno Klebersberg Insitution Mantenance Centre (abb. KLIK in Hun)

QUESTIONS CONCERNING

RESPONSIBILITY: ACCESS, IDENTITY & PREJUDICES

1. I was also curious that how big space and how big responsibility training institutions have in the formation of the predispositions and prejudices of students, even brought from home, if the individual has something like that?
2. Is there a demand or could the educational governance do anything in this (…) that the training institutions move in this direction?
3. In your opinion what space a teacher has, or an institution, say a teacher training institution or a program, what space it would have, if there are prejudicial students - then in the shaping of their prejudices and predispositions and is this a task of an institution?
4. What is the responsibility of teacher training institutions'; let's say methodically in shaping prejudices?
5. The institutions, to what extent are they responsible; do they have a space to even shape the different prejudices or predispositions?
6. In your opinion to what extent teacher trainers (institutions) have the space and responsibility in let say, if a student arrives with prejudices to transform these prejudices?
7. With regards to teacher training do you think that the elements and aspirations of convergence politics appear?
8. How do you see teachers and teacher training institutes in your experience, what could they do that such teachers would get out, who deem this integration-case important and they would step up against segregative measures?
9. I was curious, what do you think, to what extent it is the responsibility of a teacher and pre-school teacher institute, that well, let's say, if there, to form or deal with the supposedly brought prejudices or predispositions?
10. So, you have covered that responsibility sharing is an important thing and that both the majority and the..

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:
TEACHERS, PEDAGOGY, CURRICULUM AND CLASSROOMS

1. Is there an inclination for this, the intercultural and multicultural methods? Or when they talk about differentiated education do they connect it with these sorts of things?
2. How do you see the programs targeting integration and social convergence 'support' and how do you feel the educational political decisions are representing your values?
3. Teachers who teach there to what extent do they feel themselves competent or how teacher trainees, pre-school teacher trainees get to these schools?
4. So you have mentioned, that students learn from each other and that we actually talked about inclusion, integration and that the logic of this, as you have mentioned, the logic of these methods to what extent is it different or similar to the logic of 'felzárkózás' and its pedagogical…

5. What role classroom interactions, teachers have in the overcoming societal disadvantages, to prevent the reproduction of failure?
6. (…) have you experienced that the students have completely oppositional idea about the pedagogical methods concerning the education of Roma/Gypsy children. (…)
7. You have mentioned in one of your replies that the convergence-politics can give such instruments and knowledge and in your opinion, how this convergence aspiration would need to be realized on the level of pedagogy; what is the criteria to which a teacher would need to help to converge?

QUESTIONS CONCERNING:

ROMA IDENTITY

1. To what extent the majority is capable to shape the identity of the minority and the way the minority looks at itself?
2. In your opinion what role the majority has in the identity formation of Roma children?
3. To what extent the majority shapes the own minority identity of Roma children, and that in relation to this, how will (s)he grow up and go through the system and how will be his/her relation to him/herself and the educational institutions?

Some questions presented here are very similar. They largely overlap or are being phrased only slightly differently. Many of these questions have appeared in each interview sessions. Others were only used when it was relevant to that particular person's functional location and experience. Many questions and probing statements were called forth by the conversations and were not planned at all. Often, what was on the interview guide was answered indirectly, connected to another aspect, therefore these questions, outlined in the initial guide, were not asked in the end. Most of the interviews ended up being rather conversational than turn-taking in style. Therefore, when somebody mentioned something relevant for a question coming up later, I have decided to merge the thoughts with a deepening question or a statement, or asked the participant to further elaborate on it. For this reason, I have decided to include not the original interview guides, which had initially four separate versions based on the functional levels (national, institutional, individual), but to take the questions from the translated extracts and present them here thematically.

THREE DISCOURSES IN THE SEGREGATION/INTEGRATION POLICY DEBATE	DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUE OF THE CULTURAL ACCOMODATION OF ROMA IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM (3 types of problem formulation)
The firm advocacy discourse: a clear case of tolerance. Goal: acceptance of the 'other'	**Social-integrationist** perceives Roma cultural difference but it ascribed the difference to the culture of poverty (HRs and cooperation)
Discourse of unintentional segregation Learning to accept each other requires early socialization, segregation seen as natural, irreversible. The meaning of tolerance is blurred.	**Multi-culturalist**: cultural distinctiveness but it starts from a constructivist understanding of culture ('real respect')
The discourse of justified segregation //'reserve respect'// In the name of cultural diversity proponents endorse separate education for Roma. Identity and language preservation.	**Essentialist-culturalist** cultural difference seen in essential terms. "well intended"? seen as not integral part of society but a group apart. (distance)
RQ: What discourses are prevalent in the desegregation/integration policy debate?	**RQ:** How the cultural accommodation of Roma in the school system is understood by different discourses?
What Roma culture is? 5 discourses identified (1) biological racist (2) cultural racist (3) romantic essentialist (4) culture of poverty (5) social-historical roots	

Table I. Created as a summary of the study: *The embodiment of (in)tolerance in discourses and practices addressing cultural diversity in schools in Hungary. The case of the Roma by Vidra and Fow (2011)*

APPENDIX D: SAMPLING STRUCTURE
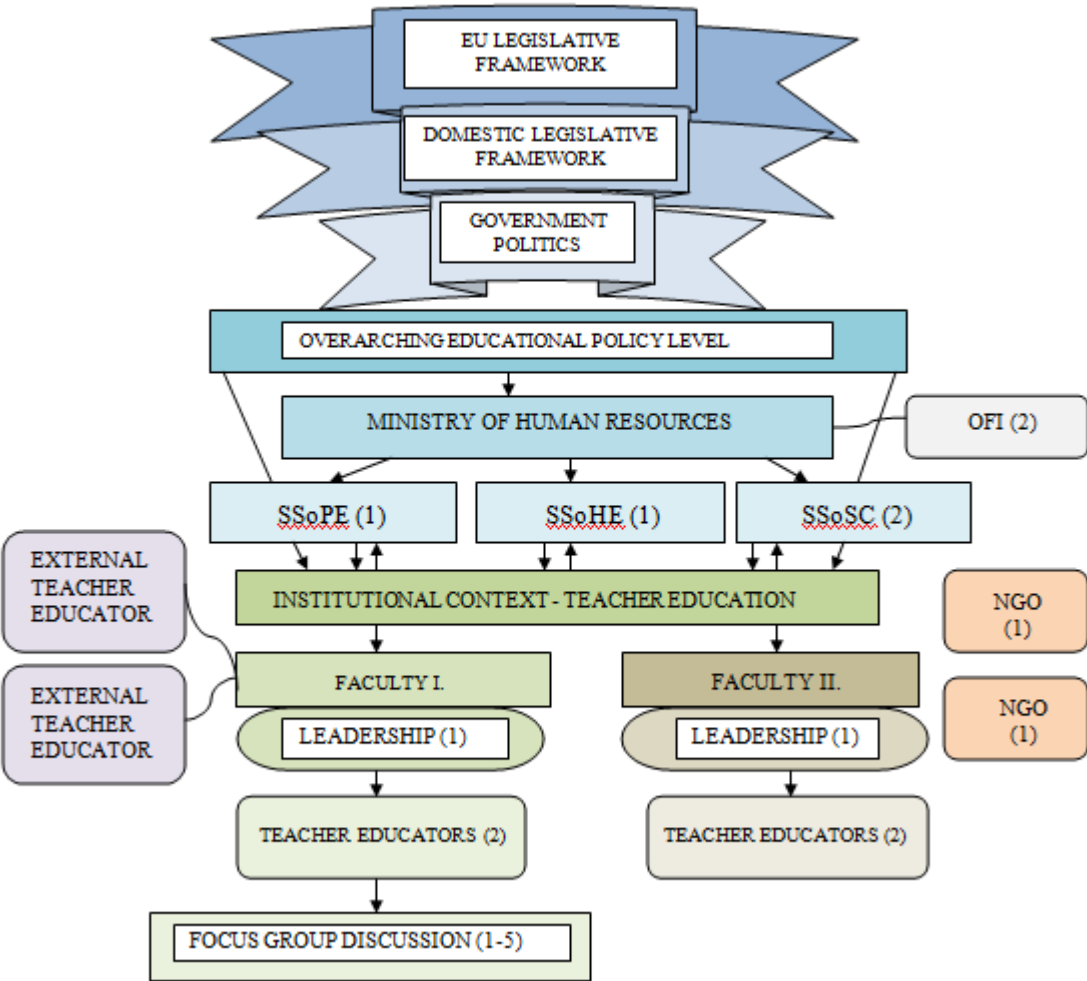
ABBREVIATION

SSoPE – State Secretary of Public Education

SSoHE- State Secretary of Higher Education

SSoSC- State Secretary of Social Convergence

OFI- Institution for Educational Development and Research

APPENDIX E: FIGURE 1 (FULL SIZE)

APPENDIX F: SELECTION OF NOTES, IMPRESSION AND REFLECTIONS FROM THE FIELDWORK

THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF THE RESEARCHER (DIARY)

Why am I sharing this collection of reflections and impressions?

I decided to do it on the first place because I was hesitating for a good while about infusing my research with a more phenomenological stance, the perception from within. I was thinking about it because discourse analysis is not a methodological and theoretical stance that support sharing impressions and small perceptual details of personal observations. In this unstructured manner these are rather blueprints of feelings and thoughts emerging from the interactions and situations through very personal filters. So, I decided that I would not build these into the research due to their highly subjective and reflective tone. However, I thought though that it may be an interesting additional reading to see how I, the researcher, experienced and perceived the research process and the interactions generated by it. Thus, this collection of reflections or research-diary could provide an internal road-map about how I struggled through the challenges, be them conceptual, theoretical, personal or interpersonal. It may be capable to somewhat demonstrate how much I am bound by my own social position, the boundaries of my present-day knowledge, by the power structures and all the dilemmas resulting from these. I reckon, it may show traces of how my thinking lead me to access conversations, gestures or notice some things and leave others unnoticed. When I came into this research, I was already done with ticking the box for NSD's ethical guideline questionnaire: 'sensitive issue'. The thought of the topic being sensitive had also made part of my initial argument when I was making the case (proposal) for this research and its perspective: studying the construction of the educational reality of Roma children by the linguistic and conceptual constructs of those, who make the rules of the game. So I ask now: did it have to be marked as sensitive and why so? Why is it a 'sensitive issue' for those who are privileged? Of course, I am aware of research ethics, the protection of respondent's identity, anonymity, honest dealing with data etc., I am aware of that part and its importance. But that is universally applicable. This seemed to me not universal and that was what made me ponder. Is it sensitive because we are flexing the boundaries of power structures, the boundaries of the comfort of those who are in position to influence and shape the social world, who do not interrogate themselves? Why do I need to feel discomfort to dare to make questions about this, injustices pertaining to Roma and them feel comfort for me being sensitive? (And of course this does not regard the generally applying sensitive data handling and the promise taken for anonymity and protection.) I felt, this requirement had put on me a mental fore-fear and made me insecure to make these questions. It made me feel that it is not alright to ask important people about prejudice, discrimination, racism or our share in it. Was this feeling the result of my personal weakness? Or is this something more structural, something pervading our thinking, about what is appropriate and what is not? When are silence and waiting preferred? 'Things will come by on their own'. –can go the argument. I still feel, I fear talking about the topic I research and I am still unsure how to phrase certain aspects of it. Language is a tough game. So, then why did I decide to study language and

discourses if I am suggesting that I am not in complete control over my own language? It is exactly for this reason. To get deep down to see how I (we) speak, what impact I (we) make with it, and to make myself (ourselves) conscious about this impact and the way I (we) can possibly correct them. It is particularly because I am not better than others; I am fallible and changing. It is also because I am curious to understand how we build stories about the world and people, including the ones we create about our own lives and capabilities. Thus,I needed to see if we are able to overcome these stories, reconstruct them if they are badly written, if we are willing to critically reflect on them, to strive for improvement, and understanding fiercely and harshly with ourselves but without shame. It is only with riding the potential of everyone's discomfort, daring to ask questions, and not only from others but from ourselves, that we can start giving different answers.

<div align="center">2013.09.10 'A'</div>

I arrived to Budapest finally today. My grandmother lives in an outer, less wealthy district of the capital. It is very much of a working class type neighborhood, with tall socialist style blocks of flats lined up like birds on wires. I was taking my first trip to the city in the early afternoon. The dirty, overcrowded busses were filled up after the second stop, leaving hardly any space for moving. Two young Roma couple squeezed in with two prams, accompanied with one young pregnant Roma woman, who only had space left on the stairs. The babies were cute, one of them was drumming on a random girl's handbag, who was sitting facing one of the pram owner babies. He was sometimes kicking her leg with his baby shoes in his agony of having to travel on an overcrowded, noisy bus, tied to the pram. The mom apologized for this inconvenience as well as asked the one year old boy not to do this, because it is not sort of nice. The conversations were quite and partial. After reaching the edge of the city center the group has left and the back of the bus turned spacious again.

By that time I have learned that the two girls, the one being baby-kicked and her friend standing by, clinging on the rod, were university students, and had very strong opinions about their terrible experience, which they have just had to endure. The choir was supplemented by one more boy and a girl, who I assumed was not really belonging to them but were taut to agree. 'Finally they got off.' 'I don't understand why these need kids'. 'Well, that's their job.' said the other. 'This is where the money comes from', added the third. 'He was kicking my knee all over and beating my bag…I guess that is in their blood.' 'They should not be allowed to have kids. This one was having one that is not older than one and a half and the next is already coming.' They seemed to be satisfied with the mutual conclusion they have drawn, and spelled out loud as people spell out things about weather on buses, with that striking ease. And I was sitting there uneasy, pondering if I should speak up in the next two minutes until reaching the final stop. I remained quiet, radiating a look of disagreement if they would look for a blink of acknowledgment on my face. Welcome to Hungary I thought, and welcome to my own trap and challenge. Speaking up! Speaking up! Speaking up! Silence is support.

<div align="center">2013.09.11 'B'</div>

Since I am back in town, I have been feeling like a semi-alien, deposited silent observer of social life. This feeling of alien-ness in my home country derives less from the fact of having lived abroad several times during the past few years. It rather comes from my exposure to critical literature and the encouraging environment arousing critical thinking in general. This have resulted in me questioning the most basic things is my life. Starting from the reevaluation what I put in my body under the label and practice of eating and drinking, through what I put on my body, to what and how I express with it. As now I am about to attempt to break down social realities as they are produced by language day by day, I fear my own way of using language. Having the empowering opportunity and the constraining burden of being a deliberate user of two languages, the feeling is that of walking on tip-toes to look taller. The city has showed an ever morky face this afternoon and I am wondering if it is only my impression that there is more police presence on the streets than before or it is just something I want to see and interpret this way. On my way to school today, I was waiting for my tram under Petőfi Bridge, which is always saturated with the smell of human urine. At the entrance of the stairs leading into the underpass area of Boráros tér a Roma family was standing, waiting for something and eating bakery. The young mom, father and their five-year old daughter was approached by two cruising police man asking for their documents. They left five minutes later, but I stayed with the thought whether they would have ever checked me if I were standing there with my daughter and life partner eating bakery on the corner of the staircase in a sunny afternoon?

2013.10.01 'C'

It has been almost a month that I came back. After piles of emails, several phone calls, revised and edited contact letters, I had my very first tangible meeting, which gave me some sparks of hope that the data collection may take off. Though not wildly and rock and roll like, but the off-paper journey could be on its way. I met with the Dean of Institute I. who left me with conflicting impressions about his/her intentions of receiving me and granting access. As I am about to analyze language as it occurs within the boundaries of a particular social settings and in between people with different social positions, I found his/her words stunning and scary in turns. (S)he wanted to inundate me with information, relevant persons and stories of people unrelated to the department while we were waiting for her/his colleague, who is a teacher educator and has done much research on prejudice also in relation to teacher training with regards to Roma children, and whom I have also approached in parallel. (S)he came and was very suspicious about my research and the things I looked for. I received clenched hands from her/his side, and never ending speech about the education of Roma from the Dean which I the least expected. As I was not there for an interview, I did not record anything and I did not dare to take notes when the Dean used special expressions which I have found disturbing. But one thing has burned into my mind, which is still flashing in front of my eyes. (S)he said, 'there, it is life-threatening to hit a gypsy child'. Saying this in the context of a caritative program set up by nurses in a so called 'gypsy getto' of a rural town, in order to provide education for the most marginalized. (S)he was narrating the story of someone else, a student who wrote his/her thesis in this topic under his/her supervision, and (s)he used this sentence when (s)he described the conditions within which social workers do their jobs. My problem

160

was not with the first part of the sentence which is obviously conditional and obviously wrong; but you first have to hit a kid to get killed. Horrible all together as it sounds, well I am stuck with the second part. Why would you use corporal punishment in an educational whatever situation? If I'd be a mother and someone would try to hit or slap my kid, I probably would use all of my compiled education and self-restraint to take the issue to legal stage, but I would be not thrilled and mostly not supportive, oh yeah, hit the kid, this is the way they learn the lessons. It has been long known in pedagogy and in psychology as well, that punishment be it corporal or psychic is not the golden road to motivation and education. Well, this was just an abstract, fictional scenario. The Dean didn't hit anyone. The Dean granted me access to do the research. However, the way (s)he spoke instilled some sense of a more covert line of thinking hiding behind his/her ideas about education and disciplining. I am still dependent on the two of them to suggest me the interviewee professors, but I got a promise that I could carry out my research there. It is still just the first tiny step. My recorder is yet to be filled.

2013.10.18 'E'

Today I had the opportunity to visit an important policy adviser for public education at the State Secretary for Public Education within the Ministry of Human Resources. The adviser was a story-teller kind of person, who talked vividly about things. Personal narratives have also come up. Two stories were told. One was a story about a future teacher who he/she met upon a presentation hold at one teacher training institute. The girl had very disturbing, prejudicial questions and she approached the adviser later. The most disturbing was that she was about to start teaching in a school with a high rate of Roma students. The adviser offered materials and books for her to read, and when years later they accidentally met on a school visit, she was completely changed and seemingly the students all admired her. Then, there was the other story about a headmaster in a disadvantaged, less developed part of the country, where the number of multiply disadvantaged students, among them many Roma children was enrolled in the school. The headmaster handpicked the teachers, choosing those who had open, loving attitudes to work with a diversity of children. The success rate was high. However this raises the question, why is it such a hard task to find teachers suitable to work in environments like this? Why does it take so much work of a passionate headmaster to hunt down suitable professionals? Why is it an exceptional story to hear that there are loving, caring, and well-trained teachers in dilapidating rural areas teaching kids who face a range of social challenges? This may point forward to the likely lack of future teachers who are competent in working or lacking the will to work in school districts which are considered 'problematic'. It may also point to the lack of proper resources and distribution mechanisms to schools and teachers in disadvantaged areas and broader underlying social problems. However, it can still be asked, to what extent does the education of teachers as an opportunity of deconstructing the embedded discourses and prejudices on the education of the Roma children is used as a potential? Why teacher education and teacher roles are not emphasized more in public discussion, or at the educational policy documents? Why the KKKs (Training Outcome Requirements) on teacher training has nothing to say on issues of discrimination, prejudice, social justice or on the learning outcome or supposed competences of teachers in

terms of educating children with different learning needs, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds? Or would at all this be a political task, the task of KKK? Wouldn't it be something institutions could implement and reinforced in their autonomy in designing curricular content if that matches the KKK's requirements? What are the visions of the leadership, because at this point it seems that educators can pick their quests but they will not come up with long-term solutions if there is no backing from the part of the leadership and faculty members?

<p style="text-align:center">2013.10.21 'F'</p>

The Headquarters of the NGO I have visited today is located in a beautifully renovated, imposing building in the city center. I was lead to sit in a negotiating room while waiting for the representative to arrive. This was my third interview and there are just small remnants of the original schedule I have planned in Oslo. The almost complete failure I have produced during the first meeting, with my inflexible questions was an indication that I have to be prepared in general, to work and ask questions even without a paper to help me out. I have to be prepared to be tested, questioned back, asked for clarification, being given a completely irrelevant answer, left in a dying conversation. I still cannot say that I have gained enough experience; conducting interviews without them being bumpy, full with unconnected answer-question sequences which are born out of inflexible structures, are something needing loads of practice.

Today it was an interesting interview, but my interviewee was really tough as a person. It felt like, he/she wanted to turn around the interviewer and interviewee relations, and kept asking back sometimes in an attacking way, like "you did not know that?" *What is seen today as the main purpose of the Roma's/Gypsies integration/catching up, realized through education? -* sounded my first question. (S)he warned me not to use catching up and integration in the same sentence, and insinuated if I was not taught about the difference in my program. I told him/her, it is not about what I know or what I was taught about. It is about his/her opinion, and I asked how is the way an endeavor is chosen to be worded influences the selected and implemented approach in the forms of educational provision experience by Roma children? Thus, I was curious to access with this question whether (s)he thinks that the expressions we chose to use, effects the modus operandi. I also asked him/her about whether there is perceivable institutional racism, in Hungary, but I did not receive a reply which would have implied the notion of racism as built into the societal structure, working throughout its institutions. There was only reference to individual cases and other CSOs working with the human right approach who encounter instances like this. This was the second interview attempt, an interesting experience of the power-play happening in the room, and feeling I was not really taken seriously for longer than a handshake. Aren't we on the same page fundamentally?

Terrible building, said the researcher, stepping out of the door after an one hour long interview with him and another researcher from The Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development. The never stopping paternoster, running through the building of the Ministry for Human Resources, can barely fit two people and it is a matter of careful consideration who steps in and who steps out first, to avoid missing your destination. When I asked how long he/she has been working at the Research Institute, he/she said that over ten years now. She/he must be one of those cogs in the system who manages to survive the shifts of the political winds, and he/she looked like that too. She/he seemed to be someone who have spent lots of time in this lightless, old building, working on projects and research projects ordered to be done, then withdrawn, being pushed back and forth as they were desired to be given more or less in terms of access to influence. S/he said s/he have worked on several things, on special national level programs which slowly turned into dust and now s/he was involved in continuing teacher education primarily. The room was noisy, the windows wide open to the busy traffic marking the end of the weekday work-hours. I am not sure what will be the quality of the audio record, with two persons talking over each other and over the shouts of the engines of buses and tired cars.

I had the thought one of these days that preconceptions are like wearing socks in winter. You can hardly avoid them, or if you do, that mostly happens unconsciously and due to forgetfulness, or an occupied mind otherwise. The question is how you use them. I was preparing myself for the fight with two middle-aged (wo)men in more powerful positions working for a research institute closely aligned with the Ministry of Human Resources. Though they could have been prepared, this is their profession, they asked me to send them the questions beforehand. So I did. Before the meeting I was sitting in the sunshine floded park, nervous, and I re-imagined the flow of questions and the possible ways the conversation could run, and the possible ways they can interact with me. It somehow seems as if people would be awaiting me with fear in their bodies and hearts. I can see it on their body postures, their hands clinched when I arrive, their handshakes are strong and nervous. So, they wear socks as well. Just like me. They have a fight to fight with me who wants to come and look into the corners of their thoughts, their bread-winning, position-granting works and the potential mistakes they make and wrong things they say or think. But then they get eased, they start speaking about many things, sharing anecdotes and become helpful and curious, just as curious as I am. So it occurred to me, what if I am just rather having the wrong questions? If they expect me that I am going to blow the intellectual wigs off their heads and then they will be standing there bold and naked with what they are and what they stand for. But then I don't do anything like that. I am just asking and listening carefully, very sensitively as required, and making some lightweight interruptions, nothing serious. Could I do it better?

2013.11.11 'H'

The very important person from the State Secretary for Social Inclusion met me for the second time today. S/he is canny, and his/her words are rolling and flaking out of his/her mouth with ease and comfort which gossip about his experience and knowledge of the necessary rhetorics of social inclusion (convergence) matters and of the educational policy environment in this regards. But not only is this what makes him/her extraordinarily off-handed, but also the fact that s/he knows my questions before I say them. S/he is one step ahead of me and never reconsiders or rephrases what has been said. There was a testimonial epistemic gap between us. The legitimacy of my knowledge and social experience was weak in terms of my capacity to convey it and in her/his intentions to receive it. Even though it was not my task to speak my mind - as I came to listen, to understand someone else's way of meaning construction- I felt powerless when s/he pointed out what critique I was after. S/he knows that critique, s/he said, and added that I had this intention built into my ways of making my questions. Of course, S/he was right in this regard. My theoretical framework doesn't require me to be value-neutral; it is in fact a politically interlaced form of inquiry.

It became evident that her/his all-time companions are these questions which s/he experiences as ideological attacks and which he was sure I craved to hear, just like so many others opposing many of the political constructions s/he represents openly. The thought of people willing her/him to fail and dismantle her/his arguments follows her/his practice day by day, so s/he had his answers better than I had my questions and this compact presentation. This sweeping fast easiness left me 15 minutes with an unconvincing ending. This time did not make me agree. I knew my disagreement or at least its existence, but I could not translate it into witty questions. The first time when I met her/him, we got four minutes. When I asked her/him about the role which the majority can play in the identity formation of the minority, s/he said that it was always the group at issue which formed its own identity, thus in case of the minority, the minority is responsible for its identity. And it is them, the group who needs to take responsibility for its actions. How voluntaristic is it?

How voluntaristic was my performance today? Was it lacking preparation only? Was it hierarchy and power imbalance what made my brain numb? What made me smile confessing and admitting when he accused the probably dark source and purpose of my question? What disarmed my ideas, leaving the impression of a bare torso of a forced opinion? Was it a believed capacity and competency and I failed in the reflection on it? From his/her part, is it an unconscious practice, a strong, maybe false belief engraved into a subjectively spoken good intention, or is there behind a more hidden social organizing principle, an agenda? Can this discourse of social self-reliance become a self-sustaining function of some sort of social power which lets these narrative flow? Can I believe they all do it to do no harm? That they do it for better social inclusion, for better social cohesion, they just get it differently and according to me wrongly? Can I believe in goodwill or are these the manifestation of a work which push people into despair because they don't deserve better, because they are not

164

socially useful? So, I posed the question to myself after many conversations: where responsibility for ingnorance or unintentionality (unconscious doing) starts?

So, for the second scene, I went one floor higher and one bureaucratic level lower. The interview was within the same ministry and same state secretary, where I was welcomed just 20 minutes before. She/he was a young Roma civil servant, responsible for the development coordination within the scope of creating equal chance for children. It was a very different conversation in its dynamic than when I talked to the head of one of the NGO's working for the rights of disadvantaged children, mostly from Roma origin. Should ethnicity be politicized, at least apparent? Is a color-blind policy approach adequate to tackling the Hungarian anti-gypsy atmosphere? These were some of the questions taken up during the conversation. There already seemed to be a big divergence from the official narrative as s/he mostly talked about 'felzárkózás' as a synonym for social integration, not something leading up to that. S/he raised some half-way struck concerns which tumbled on the threshold of being a civil servant working for the government at a level where politics still leaks in among the lines. While the important policy-maker said there isn't any general discrimination in society as such towards Roma, only isolated cases, she/he thought there is. To what extent then politics and ideology can and should exist as a frame of reference when tackling these questions? What is real ignorance? Is it ignorance operating the '*felzárkózási*' narrative? Is it ignorance working within these boundaries, doing what one can, plugging holes where it is possible and changing shapes wherever it may be unavoidable or is it all rather damage mitigation from within the system? The loud confident talk there on the other floor, turned into something lot more contemplative and quieter, slowly undulating between the shores of public administration on the one hand and politics on the other.

2013.11.25 'J'

My last interview at the national policy and governance level took place this Monday, when I met a policy adviser and department leader at the state secretary for higher education. He/she was accompanied by his/her colleague or assistant, I am unsure of his/her position, but was definitely new to the field. He/she spoke less, only towards the end. The office was packed with paper, in the form of those tower-like paper bastions, behind which one could easily hide. During our talk I felt as if I were making him/her walking on eggshells with my topic, with my questions. He/she was always going around, carefully gripping them from the point of view of a technocrat, expert, and speaking so fast, that I could hardly follow the operational and legislative speech, flowing out of him/her with comfort and experience. For me their implicit message was the same, only coming in very different packaging. This message was in the paper towers, it was behind the careful navigation and the less careful explicit ignorance of the younger assistant. Both of these were rather about ignorance than ill will or evil intentions. If I would be honest, and I should be honest about my impressions, I nowhere have spotted intentional evils hiding, even though I confess, I was looking for it.

165

I saw mostly badly built arguments and controversies. There were chicken-egg dilemmas or regular dilemmas. I met people worn out by the system and people not being capable of wearing out the system and encountered people not understanding the system or lacking capacity. I have talked with people who were good-will kind of ignorant and others ostrich ignorant, with people surfing on stereotypes without knowing it, people using stereotypes thinking what they say is not bad, people afraid, people having few perspectives, people patronizing, or categorizing and fighting for support. What I have seen is more a problem with collective will than individual one. The problem is more with fear and comfort, lack of knowledge, care or capacity to act. The problem is also very much embedded into the social and class struggles, which seem to be like a wild herd of horses. What I see is the lack of alternative points of views, restricted capacity of creative thinking and argumentation, the societal fear which supports a zero sum game, public demand driving policy making, but public demand is driven by ignorance and fear. It appears to me that policy-making is driven by the humanist discourse of individualism and thus the articulation of the problem is more like symptom articulation than problem articulation. During my conversations what I have seen is that people define the problem and its sources differently. As if we would say that the problem is with the flower, when it is dying out or growing low and others were saying that the problem is with the seed, the packager, the shade, and the water, the strength of the sun or the lack of it. Do we think about the soil? How fertile or alienating is it?

I often received as a response to my questions about responsibilities and majority-minority relations that we social science researchers, or the left, we always target the majority. The majority influences the identity of the minority-they say we say. They also say there's never a word about the responsibilities of minorities, what they have to do, how we give and give and they take and take. No. There are words about minorities and particularly about the Roma minority, probably too many useless and unhelpful words and rarely the kind ones. These words are just exactly these. The words about the takers, the sometimes good, and the stories about the accidentally and exceptionally well happened and behaved lives toward which are fingers pointing, saying, if they can do it why cannot the others? Well, if we take that words habitually construct who we are, and indeed they habit our consciousness, a person can be upgraded or degraded by his or her own thoughts, as well as by the recognition or judgment of others. But how can we upgrade if we continuously encounter other's thoughts about us being destructive and dehumanizing? I am sure people not purposively opt for suffering, hardships, even those who may seem like that on the surface. They are regarded as passive in politics, as aid-queuing agents of voluntaristic will, who opt out of the work of labor. But they do not chose to be born in hard conditions, to be stigmatized or condemned already at the first instance of existence. One should believe in before-lives and having a choice there in order to use this argumentation. But in this culture we don't believe in such things but we act and expect as if we were.

2013.11.28 'J'

Yesterday was my first, and I am unsure if last focus group discussion. I would really like to be able to do this at the other institute which I am looking at in my inquiry. The

conversation highlighted the dilemmas and suspicions which I had in mind since the first few interviews. During those interactions things were well hidden behind (most of the time) the very accurately composed speech, behind the practice of public speaking about the topic, which required the knowing of the politically correct formulas, the knowing of what I wanted to hear. I think, this last one is the most important. What someone, - doing an inquiry digging into socio-political and educational topics, may want to see in these times- could be suspected. So, as I had an apriori calculation, they, the grown-ups, or rather grown-ins, people already entrenched into the system, they also had preliminary expectations and calculations about what I was looking for. I could call this entire research an improvisational dance. You can think about the ideal sequence in which you will use your limbs, your body, head, face, fingers, the pauses. You can think about the dynamism. But these are only hopes of the now, expectations. If you haven't internalized these things to the level of naturality, even some ways retain a sort of naivety, you will have to spend more energy on controlling and adjusting yourself than using your attention for mapping your environment; to really see and hear what the other is expressing in terms of needs. For that, the knowledge has to be sitting naturally and comfortably in your head as a calm bay of reference shielded from external disturbance.

But in this case, the students who came to volunteer to the focus group, they all came because they attributed importance to the topic, they felt the need to do it, they felt that there is injustice, that there is mistreatment, that there are problems. They were not cornered by my presence like those in power positions, so they came to reflect on their experiences and also on themselves, as a recognition of complexity. They had there their very honestly erupting struggles about their and other's grievances, experiences, had their opinion on the lack of platforms to talk about this topic, a platform which would work for resilience. They felt that it is a taboo, the big Hungarian pink elephant, and only those feel comfortable to speak, who stand at one of the ends of the ideological extremes. The ideologues of the hate side and the champions of the human rights and integration quest, the sociologist or NGO advocates. They felt the lack of proper linguistic tools to express themselves, and the fear of the risk of being judged if they judge or express opinion in a certain way. They pondered if they were not strong enough, or lacked the capabilities to protect those needing protection, or even themselves. Silence is a safe shore, many of us moor there.

They said there isn't any space for deliberation, neither at the closest unit of families, neither in the in-between friends environment, as the extreme thinkers would dominate over the conversation, restricting it. And because they lack the argumentative tools to disagree, or in some cases the power to be considered in a debate, they rather don't go into it. So can silence be sort of a discourse? What is the impact of not being able to speak up or to dare to speak up? What is the implication of staying in this status? Though, I have to say, they also had their strong prejudices, biases, generalizations, the classic rhetorical pitfalls, sub-categorizing, or bad arguments used in the context of willing to say something empowering. I was wondering, how much we do not have the culture to speak about the so titled 'Roma problem' and the people who are being constructed as the ones responsible for this 'problem'. Our discursive alternatives seem to run out in extremist talk or in the media communication

which is also stereotypical within the mainstream. They seem to encompass a very week layer of civil society and human rights initiatives, which is the cake of those who already sit in the same grandstands. Or the populist discourse led by the government, backed by the current policy making, which is planted in the soil of the fears and ignorance of public demand. I also felt, that our knowledge in our Hungarian society is mostly built on sand made up of the grains of politicized existential fear. To me this becomes evident in the restructuring of the educational system in general, which pushes the threshold of schooling down in order to not to create aware and critical citizens, who one day start questioning their own oppression behind their oppression of others. Here in our school system, most often fields of knowledge do not cross-bread, but also live their segregated lives under the headings of subjects, where there isn't any connection made between emerging thoughts and where there is not much dialogue between things held to be different based on long held norms.