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# Practical application of Anthropology of Education

A case study of Tiszabercel



## ABSTRACT

Research on the school performance of Roma students draws attention to the fact that, although a positive trend can be observed in terms of the success of Roma students in the last decade, we cannot see any meaningful progress, the gap has not been reduced between Roma and non-Roma students (FEHÉRVÁRI 2015). We examined the phenomenon in Tiszabercel, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county. It is mainly due to the fact that the basic concept of Anthropology of Education is that social mechanisms are situational, so the solution attempt must also be situational (DELAMONT 2012). Based on the approach and cause-effect relationship of our research, we tried to map the peculiarities of the institution and its pedagogical practice from the point of view of the catch-up of Roma students in the elementary school operating in the settlement from the sociological perspective of education. During the empirical data collection, we used a qualitative research method, in addition to the analysis of school documents, we conducted semi-structured interviews with elementary school teachers (N=10).

## KEYWORDS

school, Roma students, teachers

DOI 10.14232/belv.2024.1.9

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2024.1.9>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Tóth, Norbert (2024): Practical application of anthropology of education. A case study of Tiszabercel. *Belvedere Meridionale* vol. 36. no. 1. pp 131–144.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The current paper is based on the basic concept that Roma students have a great amount of difficulties concerning the fulfilment of school requirements. The school performance of Roma students has been studied in many different ways but researches carried out from the perspective of Anthropology of Educations has not gained real ground in the Hungarian scientific discourse.

Our empirical research was carried out in Tiszabercel which is a small village in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County. According to the 2011 census data, the total population of the settlement is 1,759 people. The rate of the Roma population is more than 20%. During the research, we aimed to discover why the school progress of the children of the Roma community is weaker compared to their non-Roma peers, focusing especially on the high rate of dropout of school.

In order to clarify the conceptual framework, it is necessary to point out that the conceptual definition of dropout is possible along several alternatives. Anikó Fehérvári points out that dropping out can mean a status when the individual does not progress further on his school path, and as a consequence of that, the particular student does not obtain a school qualification (FEHÉRVÁRI 2015). At the same time, dropout can also be interpreted as a process, in which case it is possible to identify the behaviour patterns and attitudes that can predict the fact of school failure and dropout (HÖRICH-BACSKAI 2018). From the point of view of our research, we combine the two aspects, so in our case, dropout means the following: repeating a grade, insufficient school performance and student behaviour patterns that can potentially induce school failures.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **General overview of Anthropology of Education**

In the 1950s, an anthropological aspect of educational research appeared in the United States of America, which simultaneously appeared in European pedagogical practice, primarily in Germany, and then in the 1960s in the United Kingdom. Anthropology of Education later appeared in Latin America, Israel, Japan and China, as well. (ANDERSON 2013).

The spectrum of pedagogical anthropology is broad. It deals with the socialization function of the school, the transmission of culture, and the process of enculturation. In addition, it examines the role of ethnocentrism in terms of the reproduction of inequalities. One of its basic

concepts is that a certain ethnocentrism is characteristic of all cultures, and it is largely down to the fact that for most communities their own point of view and mentality is the standard.

As a counterbalance to this, an important element of pedagogical-anthropology is cultural relativism, which calls attention to the unbiased evaluation of different cultures, and also claims that everything is relative from the perspective of different cultures (Moss 1987). Among the characteristics of Anthropology of Education, the most important basic principle from the point of view of our research is that the social mechanisms in individual communities are situational, so the solution attempt must also be situational.

## **Anthropology of Education as a modern anthropological trend**

After the Second World War, within modern sociocultural anthropology, anthropological trends emerged. One of the main characteristics of the newly created fields of science with sub-disciplinary status is that they deal with the basic problem of anthropology. The main example of this is that individual groups of people create different cultures, live in societies with different sets of norms and their beliefs are based on different religious principles (Biczó 2019).

Another striking characteristic of newly emerging anthropological trends, such as Anthropology of Education, is that they also use the theories and methodological apparatus of other disciplines to construct their own scientific concepts. This means that they try to answer the basic anthropological question outlined above with the help of other scientific fields within anthropology. As a consequence of that, besides Anthropology of Education, other 'subdisciplines' are also created such as Cognitive anthropology or Ecological anthropology which also makes important findings from the point of view of our topic.

Ecological anthropology claims that every culture can be characterized by a natural environment, and examines what kind of interference, i.e. mutual influence, develops between the environment and society (DELAMONT 2013). During the examination of local scenes, we also pay attention to the social context of the given settlement, and we interpret our empirical data in relation to this.

From the point of view of our research, it is also necessary to emphasize that Anthropology of Education behaves as an anthropological trend of practical value and practical importance. This characteristic is the point of connection with applied anthropology. In Gábor Biczó's formulation: "...*applied anthropology is simply the recognition of the practical value of the discipline that originally developed as an academic social science and the production of knowledge raised to a separate, specialized level.*" (Biczó 2019. 112.) This realization became evident among American anthropologists after they established, based on scientific results, that anthropological knowledge has practical value.

From the scientific narrative outlined above, we draw the conclusion that Anthropology of Education behaves like an anthropological trend, since it investigates how pedagogy - as an independent field of knowledge - can be applied to the interpretation and treatment of problems that are fundamentally anthropological. Furthermore, under such circumstances, an integration movement must be carried out between groups living at different distances.

The theoretical concept of Anthropology of Education was first implemented in practice during the scientific investigation of North American Indian communities (DEMÉRATH – MATTHEIS

2012). The researchers started from the basic concept that children of the Indian communities are socialized in the reservation environment, in communities with a specific set of values and norms, but at the same time they have to achieve results in educational institutions operating according to the majority social conditions and norms. In this regard, we have to introduce a new concept, cultural difference. Cultural differences are the factors that make it difficult, and in some cases even impossible, for Indian children to prevail in educational institutions operating according to the value system of the majority society. The importance of Anthropology of Education must be emphasized in this situation, because Anthropology of Education recognizes the cultural difference and tries to treat the problems arising from it as a crisis situation. We use this analogue regarding the situation of Roma students in Hungary.

### **The reasons for the Roma student's failure at school**

The difficulties and problems of students of Roma origin in relation to school and the education system have been investigated for decades by specialists in various scientific fields, sometimes using the tools of sociology and pedagogy (RÁKÓ-BOCSI 2020; VARGÁNÉ-MOLNÁR 2021), and sometimes from the perspective of cultural anthropology. approach the problem (Biczó 2014; KOCsis 2022). Regardless of the approach, researchers often look for the failure of Roma children in school due to inadequate family socialization. The reason for this is that there is a cultural and mental discrepancy between the Roma communities in Hungary and the majority society, the consequences of which are manifested in different educational principles (RÁKÓ – LOVAS Kiss 2020).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the secondary socialization arena, i.e. public education and public education institutions, are not able to handle the gaps in primary socialization (RÁKÓ 2016). Regarding this phenomenon, Katalin OPPELT (1996) draws attention to the fact that the peculiar family socialization of Roma students raises two important problems from the point of view of the school. One is different personality development, the other is difficulties resulting from low learning motivation.

Regarding the family socialization and school progress of Roma children, Forray and Hegedűs (1999) emphasize that the unstructured way of life typical of Roma families can also be found behind the unsuccessful academic results. This has the consequence that the experience of time and the concept of time are not developed or only to a very small extent in these families. From a practical point of view, this means that their daily activities are not tied to a time limit, and this kind of flexible time management is difficult to reconcile with the school's traditional time constraints. Our previous empirical research also confirmed that in many cases school absences of students of Roma origin can also be attributed to time constraints (TÓTH 2018).

In relation to family socialization, the next essential element is that one of the cardinal educational principles of Roma parents is that they strive to fulfil their children's wishes unconditionally. According to Forray and HEGEDŰS (1999), this has the consequence that the ability to delay and self-control is not developed in children or only to a very small extent, and without these abilities, successful school performance is difficult.

In addition to all these factors, more recent research results show that in the last decade a positive trend can be observed in terms of the education indicators of the Roma population, but the gap between the education of Roma people in Hungary and the majority society has not decreased (FORRAY-HÍVES 2013). Tamás Híves draws attention to the data of the 2011 census in this regard. Quantitative data show that 22.3% of the Roma did not graduate from primary school, but this proportion is only 4.5% in relation to the majority society (HÍVES 2015). We want to map the causes of this phenomenon in a micro-community.

## METHODOLOGY

The research is based on a qualitative methodology, in addition to the analysis of school documents, we conducted semi-structured interviews with the teachers of the Tiszabercel elementary school (N=10). During the research, we sought answers to the following main research questions:<sup>1</sup>

- a) How would teachers describe the school progress of Roma students?
- b) What kind of cultural characteristics do teachers believe make it difficult for Roma students to succeed at school?
- c) What perception do the teachers have of the family socialization scene of Roma students and how do they characterize the behaviour patterns of the parents related to school and learning?

The interview questions tried to cover all important segments of pedagogical practice. We considered as key information the length of time the given teacher has been teaching at the school, because in light of this, we tried to find out how the situation of the institution developed during the period spent at the school, in the sense of what were the strengths and weaknesses of the school and the teacher's institutional career at the beginning, and how the circumstances changed at the time the interview was recorded.

We considered it important to find out what differences students think they discover. Regarding progress at school, is the fact that the student is from a minority considered an authoritative factor, or does the social situation of the student's family play a much greater role in the development of success at school? From an academic point of view, why are Roma students often not successful even when the family has a satisfactory financial background?

During the interview, we attached particular importance to the knowledge the teachers have about Roma in Hungary, for example, are they aware of which Roma groups live in Hungary and what proportion of them attend the given school. In this context, we tried to map the teachers' perception of the Roma culture and, based on their previous pedagogical practice, whether they can mention any cultural factors that directly or indirectly hinder the school progress of students of Roma origin. In this respect, we paid special attention to the situation of female and male students.

The other content elements of the interview were articulated along the following questions, among others: How do you see the parenting style of Roma parents? What do parents expect

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<sup>1</sup> The whole research consists of two main parts: qualitative research at the local primary school and qualitative research in the local Roma community. In the current paper we publish only the empirical data concerning the school.

from the school, and how involved are they in school programs? What do you see as the solution to Roma students falling behind in school? What does the school do to reduce disadvantages?

## **RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH**

### **Geographical and social background of Tiszabercel**

Tiszabercel is located in the county of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, in Közép-Nyírség, 32 kilometres from Nyíregyháza. It is one of the eight settlements belonging to the Ibrányi district, bordering Györgytarló and Tiszakarád to the north, Paszab to the east, Buj to the south, and Gávavencsellő to the west. Tiszabercel is located on the left bank of the Tisza, but its border is cut almost exactly in two by the river, so part of the municipality's administrative area is located on the other side of the Tisza, and in order to fulfil logistical tasks, the city administration operates a ferry.

The mayor considers the agricultural character of the settlement to be one of the main strengths of the village, based on which future food industry investments and facilities are expected to improve local economic conditions. The other important strength is the opportunities related to tourism. Tiszabercel is a settlement directly on the banks of the Tisza, the closest to the Tisza from the county seat, Nyíregyháza, and taking advantage of this geographical feature, the settlement has concrete plans and submitted tenders for the development of water tourism, water sports and fishing infrastructure.

The main weakness of the settlement is that it is exposed to macro-economic processes in an amplified way. This means that unemployment due to stopped construction investments and food industry developments as a result of a possible economic downturn could induce hopeless conditions in the settlement, primarily due to the low level of education of the Roma population, and thus the limitations of their placement in the labour market.

Regarding the socio-cultural situation of the Roma population in Tiszabercel, it is important to emphasize that the Roma population in Tiszabercel originally lived in segregated conditions. However, thanks to the micro-social processes and state subsidies that have taken place in the past decade and a half, many Roma families managed to move "inside" the village, and thus the Roma families are scattered in the settlement. It does not mean that the segregated area has completely disappeared, in fact, a distinction can be observed between the Roma living in the segregated area and the Roma who have settled there. The segregated population is poorly educated, and since daily survival is the life strategy, most of them have no perspective regarding the future. However, those who move out of the segregated can be characterized as striving, ambitious and hardworking, who can provide their families with practically the same quality of life as those belonging to the majority society.

### **Characteristics of the elementary school in Tiszabercel**

At the elementary school of Tiszabercel, we can observe a type of ethnic segregation appearing at the educational level, which is not an unusual case in Hungary, and has become an increasingly

common problem in recent years due to demographic, geographic, and labour market reasons (The ratio of Roma students at the elementary school of Tiszabercel is 98%). Parents who are higher on the social ladder and have better socio-cultural conditions take their children from local schools and enrol them in those kinds of primary schools where the quality of the education and circumstances are much better. The consequence of this process is that, due to spontaneous segregation, basic educational institutions are created that are recruited from children of low status, mainly from Roma families. Based on our research experience, we take the position that the process is irreversible in schools that have undergone such a “transformation”. We consider our statement to be fully relevant for the Tiszabercel elementary school as well.

In the case of institutions operating under segregated conditions, students suffer predictable disadvantages from several points of view. In this regard, we consider the professional position of Gábor Kertesi and Gábor Kézdi (2009) to be authoritative, which came to the conclusion during their research that the segregated school atmosphere exerts its negative effects mainly along two main factors. On the one hand, a long-term, social consequence can be observed, as segregation has an impact on individual interaction and intergroup relations. This factor is important primarily because children from disadvantaged and/or Roma origins do not interact with their peers of other social statuses, so there is no possibility for the children to mutually acquire information about each other through school interactions. This is not only important because of the lack of benefits expected from an integrated student environment, but it also has a negative effect on the future Hungarian-Roma coexistence. The primary reason for this is that those adults, who during their school years do not come into personal contact with their peers belonging to other social groups or ethnicities, are more likely to have mistrust, prejudices and stereotypes towards people from other social status or other ethnicities (NEMÉNYI 2012).

On the other hand, it is natural that the segregated school milieu has an impact on the student’s school performance. In this regard, the researchers draw attention to the fact that education in segregated conditions also means low-quality education. The seriousness of the situation stems from the fact that quality education would be greatly needed for disadvantaged students because schools would have to function as an institution which is capable of compensating students’ disadvantageous situations. If school cannot fulfil this duty, students’ deprived social status is reproduced.

Furthermore, Attila Z. PAPP (2021) clarifies the issue of Roma’s low level of school performance by introducing an additional aspect. According to his point of view, the underachievement of Roma students in school may also depend on the location of the given school and the economic situation of the region. The sociologist draws attention to the ghettoized elementary schools, where the situation of Gypsy students is the worst and most hopeless, and their segregation continues to strengthen

In light of all of this, we were curious about the specific strengths and weaknesses of the examined educational institution, i.e. “what it is capable of”, what kind of education it can provide for the children attending the school. During the empirical data collection, the teachers were therefore asked to formulate, taking into account the years spent in the institution, what were the weaknesses and strengths of the school when they started their pedagogical work in the institution, and how it can be described the current situation from this point of view. Most of the teachers participating in the research have been working at the Bessenyei György Primary

School of Tiszabercel for decades, so we had the opportunity to examine the “development history” of the school from a more long-term perspective.

It is an interesting fact that the interviewed teachers were almost unable to mention a factor that can currently be considered strength of the school. Only one teacher mentioned a positive characteristic, but also in a resigned, disillusioned, negative connotation:

*“The strength of the school is that the teachers have a lot of professional knowledge, they work very conscientiously. However, I do not equate conscientiousness with conscientious work, precise work and teaching from the soul. I must admit that I have lost my motivation.”(Teacher 5)*

Regarding the weaknesses of the school, the answers received from the teachers can be divided into two groups. Primarily to the difficulties arising from the composition of the students as a result of the segregated school atmosphere and the turnover of the teachers:

*“It is terribly difficult to teach in this environment. We are talking about children who are slightly more retarded than average. It’s very, very difficult to teach on an intellectual level and in all kinds of fields here in this environment. This drop in standards began when the wealthier parents took their children to the surrounding schools, Nyíregyháza, Ibrány and Gávavencsellő.”(Teacher 2)*

*“There are still good teachers now, but I think there are only one or two dedicated teachers like in the past. One of them just left not long ago, who left the field after 27 years and said he didn’t want to teach anymore. (...) If we go into the teacher room, it is filled with emptiness; there are many statuses that are unfilled.” (Teacher 7)*

## Students’ sociocultural features

We were curious about how the teachers describe the students’ sociocultural characteristics. The empirical data show that the Roma population of Tiszabercel cannot be considered a homogeneous community. Although the community is basically characterized by deprived living conditions, according to the teachers’ perception, there are more and more Roma families living in the village whose living conditions can be said to be satisfactory. One of our informants summarized the situation vividly:

*“There are already Roma families here who live at a socially accepted, normal standard of living, so housing, clothing, equipment, and food is all taken care of. I still remember that this was a problem in the past. At the same time, there are people, really, who live in the segregated area, so to speak, and live very, very below the standard. (...) The overall standard of living has increased, but the problem is that it is not necessarily means that students can perform better at school.” (Teacher 1)*

The interview excerpt above draws attention to an important point: learning, education, and obtaining a marketable qualification are not prioritized not only among Roma families living in a low standard of living, but also among those living in stable financial conditions. In this way, we tried to find out from the teachers what could be the reason why the school performance of Roma children living in good financial conditions is also critical. The teachers saw the roots of the problem in the value system mediated by the family. It means that children in the family environment do not receive impulses from their parents that would convey the value and



importance of learning. All this leads to the consequence that Roma students are completely unmotivated and do not show even the slightest interest in learning. The problem was formulated precisely by the teacher who has been in the field for nearly thirty years:

*“Our dropout rate is very high, 36%. Our competence measurements are also always below the level, and you know the reason for this is that we often only want the child to learn better. Actually, the child doesn’t want it, the parent doesn’t want it, and then a vacuum is created somewhere here, so they are unmotivated, so there is no motivation to learn, to achieve more.”* (Teacher 6)

## Roma cultural patterns and school motivation

Starting from the pedagogical anthropological aspect of our research, we were interested in what role the cultural patterns of the local Roma minority play in motivation concerning learning. We therefore asked the teachers what knowledge and information they have about the culture of the Roma community in Tiszabercel. We did this because we also wanted to map the extent to which the pedagogical practices used by teachers reflect the cultural characteristics of Roma students. The most relevant interview excerpts are presented below:

*“I don’t see them sticking to their culture anymore. However, I noticed that they don’t even speak the language, so they don’t speak the Romani language.”* (Teacher 9)

*“Roma people in Tiszabercel do not follow the traditional culture. When I was a child, I remember that there were still Roma artisans here, they wove baskets but today there is no such thing.”*

*“I think that on some level it’s just related to their culture that they love to have fun endlessly and don’t really care about any consequences at all. This also has an impact on the children’s school performance, because the children also participate in the parties that last until dawn, and no one is concerned with how they will come to school the next day.”* (Teacher 10)

The interview excerpts above testify that the Roma community in Tiszabercel basically no longer follows the traditional Roma traditions, but at the same time, the teachers believe that they have discovered elements in the behaviour patterns of the Roma families and their children, which are the cultural imprint of the way of life and life organization of the minority community. In the following, we quote two teachers to illustrate the problem more precisely:

*“When I started to teach again, I enthusiastically started planning lessons but during the first lesson I had to realize right away that it is absolutely impossible to carry out a scheduled lesson plan at this school.”* (Teacher 8)

*“It is not really possible to develop an action plan here. It is impossible to calculate here what happens in the next moment. Maybe it can happen that some parents show up and start fighting. As a result of it, it is not possible to plan what I do.”* (Teacher 4)

The interview excerpts report on a hopeless situation where, by using the traditional teacher’s toolbox, only very minimal efficiency can be achieved in the progress of students’ school performance. Necessarily, the question arises as to how much teachers can rely on the help of parents in the heroic work carried out within the walls of the school. Empirical research has repeatedly reported that there is a correlation between children’s academic performance and

the relationship between school and parents (Forray-Hegedűs 1998). The cooperative and harmonious relationship between the institution and the parents is especially important when we examine those types of schools such as in Tiszabercel which educates a large number of Roma students.

## School and parents relationship

Regarding the topic, Ilona LISKÓ (1996) draws attention to the fact that historically the relationship between the school and the Roma parents was peculiar, since the school, which conveys a different set of values, was seen by the parents, even in the second half of the 20th century, as a formal to an institution that stands “above” them. This relationship also had a positive outcome, because in the small settlements - where everyone knew everyone - the teachers had a high prestige, so they even enjoyed the support of all Roma parents in the case of possible school problems. Unfortunately, this situation has changed in the last two or three decades, which can be traced back to two main reasons. On the one hand, the social recognition of teachers has decreased, and on the other hand, as a result of educational policy decisions, Roma students were under the obligation to attend school.

The current situation is not made easier by the fact that in recent years we have witnessed that fewer and fewer men work in public education, several studies report on the “feminization” of the teaching profession. From the point of view of our topic, this is an important factor, because during field research in the Roma community of Tiszabercel, we found that the majority of Roma children are socialized in an environment organized according to a patriarchal value system, so the “leading” position of female teachers is less accepted at school.

Research on the relationship between the school and Roma parents primarily emphasizes that Roma parents are not involved in school programs and do not participate in parent meetings, so no relationship develops between them (EUGENIO 2008). Regarding Tiszabercel, the situation is more fortunate, which is mainly due to the nature of the village as a small settlement. This means that although parents do not attend parent-teacher meetings, they usually do not appear at school events either, but in the event of a problem, teachers are able to reach parents during everyday informal interactions (public service, doctor’s office, post office etc.). The teacher who has been working at the institution for nearly three decades summarized the relationship between the Roma parents and the school as follows:

*“Since Tiszabercel is a small village, almost everyone knows everyone, so we can say that building relationships is very easy for us. They don’t take part in the classic school events but if there is a problem, we can reach the parents, because then we stop them at the store. But recently we can also communicate with them on Facebook.” (Teacher 5)*

The quoted interview excerpt would allow us to conclude that the reasons for the failed performance of Roma students in school are not basically to be found in the parents’ attitude towards school. However, the empirical data shown below support the opposite:

*“The problem is that parents don’t tell children to study. In addition, Roma parents wouldn’t be able to help their children to learn because they don’t have sufficient knowledge and abilities.” (Teacher 10)*

*„There is only one thing Roma parents want from school: it is childcare. They don't expect real education.” (Teacher 2)*

*“Parents leave everything up to the child and are not consistent in anything, for example, they buy what the child asks for; there is no such thing as giving the child a task and then it has to be done.” (Teacher 9)*

In the perception of the Roma parents, the school does not appear as a potential alternative that can lay the foundation for moving up the social ladder. The parents do not have any meaningful expectations of the school - and thus of their children - with the exception of avoiding repeating a grade. Putting all this in contrast, we wanted to map how teachers relate to the reductive expectations experienced by parents, and what can be considered success in their perception.

All of the interviewed teachers based their narrative on the fact that the school, and taking into account its student composition, cannot set such expectations and requirements for the students that a school with a middle-class student recruitment base can set for their students. This actually means that the school performance that teachers expect from students can be characterized by an explicit performance reduction. This is supported by the interview excerpts below, during which the teachers formulated what they consider success in their pedagogical work:

*„For me it is a big success if my Roma students can finish the primary school, but it is also a big success if I could teach them to write.” (Teacher 7)*

*“For me, it's already a big success if students come to class having completed homework, it is okay if it is full of mistakes, because at least they have learned that they have duties that need to be done.” (Teacher 10)*

Empirical research also proves that school-level expectations set by teachers have a great impact on the quality of teacher work. Regarding this phenomenon, we should mention Rosenthal and Jacobson's *terminus technicus*, the Pygmalion effect (SZABÓ 2014). The essence of this is that the expectations set by the teachers towards the students function as a self-fulfilling prophecy, i.e. those to whom the teachers set higher standards actually produce better school results, while those students whose cognitive abilities are judged by the teachers to be less favourable perform even worse at school, due to the lower system of requirements.

Starting from the theoretical framework of the Pygmalion effect, the interview excerpts indicated above would lead us to take the position that one of the reasons for the unsuccessful school performance of Tiszabercel elementary school children is the performance reduction implied by the teachers. However, we intend to reject this possible conclusion, due to the fact that during the fieldwork at the school and in the Roma community, we were confronted with the experience that the problem of the school failure of Roma students is a more complex issue, the roots of which are rooted in the primary socialization arena, and the related problems culminate in the field of institutional socialization. Because of this – taking local conditions into account – teachers have limited “room for maneuver” and tools. To ensure the survival and basic functioning of the school, the system of requirements reduced to a minimum can be considered an important factor.

After getting acquainted with the conditions of the school, we asked the teachers to formulate, apart from the acute, everyday goals, what long-term strategy they envision for promoting the school performance of the Roma students in Tiszabercel in a positive direction. The answers

received from the teachers can be divided into two groups. Most of them see the solution in the parents' change of attitude towards school and learning:

„We should work on changing parents' attitude towards school and learning. I used to say that everything starts from the family, because if the parent doesn't tell the child to study and doesn't encourage the child, then the child won't try to do well on his own.” (Teacher 6)

On the other hand, the pedagogues mentioned in several aspects that it would be a great help if there were people in the Roma community who could show direction and to whom the members of the community would listen. From this point of view, the fact that there has been no Roma ethnic self-government for years, which would facilitate this process, is considered to be an additional hardship.

## V. Conclusion

The empirical data collected on the local scene provide a comprehensive picture of the problem that most village schools are struggling with, that is the spontaneous segregation mechanism, for which there is currently no alternative.

Our research revealed that in order to normalize local conditions, the school is in a forced situation, that is, the teachers have to prepare an action plan, with the help of which they can meaningfully help the secondary socialization of the Roma students and their school progress. The first step of this complex process is to positively influence parents' school-related behaviour patterns.

The practical importance of pedagogical anthropology is an important factor from this point of view. The international examples show that one of the most important practical significance of pedagogical anthropological research conducted in local communities is that it sheds light on the problem of the given community from the aspect of situationality. As a result, it offers researchers and practitioners solutions that address the root of the problem directly.

In addition to all of this, another important practical significance of pedagogical anthropology is that it interprets the successful school socialization of children in a minority situation as not a one-sided problem. This means that the school and the teachers must take into account the individual abilities and sociocultural background of the children, and the pedagogical practice must be designed and implemented in light of this.

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