

INITIATE EDUCATION IN CONTEXT OF MULTICULTURAL APPROACH TOWARDS EDUCATION OF ADULT ROMA FROM MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

^aIVANA PIROHOVÁ, ^bMAREK LUKÁČ, ^cSILVIA LUKÁČOVÁ

University of Presov in Presov, Faculty of Humanities and Natural Sciences, Ul. 17 novembra č. 1, Prešov, Slovakia

email: ^aivana.pirohova@unipo.sk, ^bmarek.lukac@unipo.sk, ^csilvia.lukacova@unipo.sk

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Abstract: The subject of this study is the analysis of the relation among the cultural capital of adult Roma from marginalized communities in Slovakia, their competency to communicate in the Slovak language and adult education. Adult Roma from marginalized communities as a target group of education are characterized as carriers of Roma culture and of the culture of poverty at the same time. In this context the paper brings the identification of the barriers for formal and non-formal education of this part of adult Roma population and the formulation of the aim, intentions and principles of the initiate education of adult Roma with unfinished and finished primary education.

Keywords: Roma, community, marginalization, adult education, cultural capital, language code, initiate education.

1 Introduction

The concept marginalization “implicitly includes the procedural side of pushing to the margins of community” (Lukáč 2010, p. 38) and involves a serious assumption that “a human is pushed to the margins of community without his or her effort, by the super-individual social processes that he or her can hardly influence” (Lukáč 2010, p. 38). Besides that, it also happens on the basis of inherent or gained physical and mental handicaps or of their combination. Marginalization became a part of the concept of social exclusion. Ďzambazovič & Jurásková (2002) define social exclusion as an uneven approach towards education, employment, living, social protection, health care and as a hindered approach to social institutions responsible for the distribution of life chances. Marginalization of the individual Roma in Slovakia is more intense in separated, but mainly in segregated Roma communities (Mušínska et al. 2014). The majority defines Roma community on the basis of anthropological features, cultural reference, way of life – lifestyle and life space. They see Roma subjectively as a different group in positive and negative sense (Jurásková et al. 2004).

We assume that the emphasizing of difference of Roma in education, whether in negative (insufficient readiness for school education, not knowing of the language in which the teaching is realized etc.) or positive sense (approach emphasizing positive features of Roma culture leading to the mystification of Roma cultural identity) leads to the separation of Roma from the system of lifelong education. We do not deny the meaning of knowing of cultural differences, but we want to point to the fact that they are developing and changing in interaction with other cultures and social system. In education, as a tool of social integration of Roma, not only the inclusive child education is relevant, but also adult education, which needs to be explored more intensively. Education of adult Roma should be explored in interaction with cultural and social contexts what enables a multicultural approach of B. Fay towards social sciences.

2 Multicultural approach towards adult Roma education

Fay's dialectical mode of thinking comes from *interactionism*. According to Fay (2012 p. 233) „as a view of human history and culture interactionism conceives of the relation of the self and other dialectically; it denies that ‘at bottom’ the self and the other are essentially distinct and fixed, or that a particular identity means utter difference from that which it is not. Instead it insists that the identity of the self is intimately bound up with identity of the other (and vice versa), that self and other are

constantly in flux, and that they are both similar as well as different.“ Inclusion of adult Roma from marginalized communities into lifelong educational system is necessary for the ones who are segregated in Roma communities. „Members of social groups are not interchangeable units whose behavior merely fulfills certain social functions or roles in a ‘system’, but „human beings appropriate their culture, they don’t reproduce it. They apply old rules to new situations and in the process change the rules“ (Fay 2012, p. 242). We suppose that adult Roma from marginalized communities have a potential to change the old cultural rules, but the presupposition for the change is experience from other situations, the knowing of different social environment and relations than those that they experience in their culturally isolated, segregated social environment, as well as the raise of income in family, ideally through participation in the official labor market (by employing themselves or undertaking). „Culture and society both limit and enable – an sometimes enable by limiting“ (Fay 2012, p. 243). We need to identify the limits of participation of adult Roma in education. In relation to further education in Slovakia, a sociological survey identified the problems of lifelong education, for example financial guarantee of further education and disinterest of adults in further education with primary and unfinished secondary education (*The strategy of lifelong education 2011*). Adult Roma from marginalized communities take most often part in the education realized and financed by the EU funds, respectively as a part of re-qualification education organized by various educational institutions. After the projects are finished, usually the educational activities finish, too; whereby their effectiveness is not sufficiently monitored.

In the education of adult marginalized groups it comes to interaction of various groups and cultures, also in a less desired case when the carrier of other culture or a member of other social group is only the educator or the educators. According to Fay (2012 p. 233) „consequently interactionism focuses on the points of contact between different groups, especially on those bridgeheads which serve as the basis for exchange.“ In the connection with scientific research and practice of adult Roma education from marginalized communities we realize the relevance of the statement that ‘exchange’ should not be understood as always a pleasant and willing sharing; provocations, threats, and resistances are all forms of exchange which involve being forced to evaluate and sometimes to abandon or to alter old ways“(Fay 2012, p. 233). In scientific research and in the practice of adult Roma education from marginalized communities we need to remember that culturally and socially various groups come into interaction and that the carriers of various cultural capitals interact.

2.1 Adult Roma – the carriers of cultural capital

The theoretical basis for the analysis of cultural capital of adult Roma from marginalized communities is the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1987, 1997; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), in which the basis is the relation among cultural capital, social stratification, social reproduction and the theory of cultural mobility (DiMaggio 1982). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) children inherit cultural capital from their parents and alongside with economic and social capital it determines the social position in the community. It becomes a source of social unevenness in the community. Social reproduction in the modern society is reached and legitimized through cultural reproduction, which is a hidden transfer of economic capital. Economic capital (or economic resources) are resources „immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form property rights“(Bourdieu 1997, p. 47). Family and educational system are crucial motive powers in the process of social reproduction.

The level of economic capital, mainly in the families living in segregated Roma communities, is very low. Low incomes in the

family are related to unemployment that involves 3 from 4 people in the age of 15 - 64 years (Gerbery 2013, p. 4-5). An income that is lower than 100 euro per family member endangers children's nutrition. This level of the income increases the probability of repeated situation of a real absence of food for children. The average income below this level had, according to the monitoring, Roma households without a working member (94,63 €), households with five and more members (99,24 €) and households with small children (92 €) (Filadelfiová et al. 2012, p. 10). These data confirm that adult Roma from segregated communities belong in Slovakia to the lower social class, for which a low level of cultural capital is typical. This is especially relevant for us in relation to adult education.

According to Bourdieu (1997) cultural capital presents itself in three forms: an embodied state, an objectified state, and an institutionalized state. In the embodied state, cultural capital refers to what Bourdieu called *habitus*, the dispositions (e.g., attitudes, intentions, expectations, beliefs, etc.) orientating one's practices (Bourdieu, Wacquant 1992). In the objectified state, cultural capital presents itself as cultural goods, such as books, paintings or musical instruments. In the institutionalized state, cultural capital refers to cultural competence that has been officially sanctioned, such as educational qualifications.

The results of the analysis of educational structure of Roma population outside of school system serve as a basis in the relation to institutionalized form of cultural capital in Roma families (sample 1083 Roma households) (Filadelfiová et al. 2012). 18,4% of Roma had unfinished primary school, 59,7% of Roma had finished primary education, 17% of Roma finished secondary education, but only 1,8% of them passed the school leaving exam, 0,3% of Roma had higher education and 4,7% of Roma attended special school (Filadelfiová et al. 2012). The Roma from segregated communities had the lowest level of education, what confirms the low level of institutionalized form of cultural capital.

An embodied cultural capital can be reflected in the attitudes of adults towards education and learning, in their effort to participate in adult education. According to Kumanová and Džambazovič (2002), a traditional extended Roma family is in contrast with the individualized structure of the society. Jakoubek (2004) emphasizes that the unevenness inside and outside of Roma culture related to "the institute of ritual impurity" and its values is in contrast with the values of the majority (Jakoubek 2004, p. 50). This implies that 'the other' than expected attitude of adults towards education comes from the basis of Roma culture. Specific patterns of behavior connected to the orientation to the present and everyday surviving (Payne et al. 2010) are often related to Roma culture. But these behavior patterns are typical for the people suffering from generation poverty. Payne et al. (2010) state that also for example belief in fate, in the identity of a man connected to the role of lover and fighter and the identity of a woman connected to the role of protector and sufferer belong to these patterns. Men are expected to work hard physically and to be lovers and fighters. A 'good' woman is expected to take care of her man/husband and children. In relation to that, adult Roma name and emphasize their own abilities that are in women connected to housework and care for family members and in men to their work activity (Lukáč, Pirohová 2016). The aim of the work is to earn money for living, not to develop a career (Payne et al. 2010). Philosophy and formulation of aims of lifelong education is too abstract for the people who live here and now and future is just an abstract concept for them. Moreover, the majority of them never experienced success in school system, what can markedly influence their disinterest in further education.

Educational system, the second agent of cultural and social reproduction, selectively strengthens the cultural capital gained in the family. According to Bourdieu & Passeron (1990), school reinforces the dominant culture in the society, the culture of the dominant, economic class. It provides the pupils and students from the dominant culture a more convenient position. It reflects in successful student career and in the success at labor market.

Said with other words, cultural capital of the dominant culture is in harmony with the requirements of labor market and cultural capital of adult Roma from marginalized communities is not.

DiMaggio (1982), opposed to Bourdieu, supposed that the influence of cultural capital on educational practice is rather independent from social background. He formulated a hypothesis of cultural mobility. Specifically, an embodied state of cultural capital is not dependent only on the home background. DiMaggio acknowledges the importance of cultural capital determined by the opportunities, but doubts the idea of attribution and reaching of cultural capital by social background. According to him, the decision of adults to participate in education is a result of the individual agenda of personality and of the resource of cultural capital (mainly of the reached education).

Globally, adults with higher education take more part in adult education (e.g. Desjardins, Rubenson, Milana 2006; Saar, Ure, Hoford 2013). Cincinnato, De Wewer & Valcke (2014) confirmed the differences in the amount of participation in adult education among people with lower and higher qualification in connection to the differences in (family) cultural capital.

Cincinnato, De Wewer, H. Van Keer & Valcke (2016) used secondary analysis of data from the research *The Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies* (PIAAC) (OECD 2013a, 2013b, 2014) to explore the relation among participation in formal and non-formal adult education and institutionalized cultural capital, the capital of the family measured by the highest degree of parents' qualification, their own cultural, institutionalized capital and among a disposition towards learning or readiness to learn as an indicator an embodied state of cultural capital. They found out that a strong predictor of adult participation in education was institutionalized form of cultural capital, whereby a direct predictor is their own cultural capital (reached education) and institutionalized capital of parents as a predictor of their own cultural capital (Cincinnato, De Wewer, Van Keer, Valcke 2016).

„Low resource“ of the institutionalized form of cultural capital, closedness of the system of formal adult education in school system (not only due to financial reasons) as well as of further education for adult Roma from marginalized communities do not create conditions to increase their participation in adult education in Slovakia for a long time. The acquired orientation to the present, given from generation to generation, the indicator of the embodied cultural capital and failure in school presuppose their resistance towards adult education, or their indifferent attitude. The meaning of the increase of the education degree and of the level of basic competencies is surely important for the participation of adult Roma in adult education, as well as for their children to whom they give their cultural capital, respectively for the next generations.

Without the acquisition of basic competencies, the effectiveness of their further education is problematic. An important tool of inclusion into the system of formal and non-formal adult education is language, but people communicate with understanding only to such extent to which they use the same system of signals and assign the same or similar meanings to them (Pittenger, Hockett, Danehy 1960 in DeVito 2001, p. 28).

2.2 Language code – the barrier in adult Roma education

The key competencies in the Slovak language belong to basic competencies for the inclusion of adult Roma into the system of lifelong education. A mother tongue of Roma from marginalized communities is usually a Roma dialect. In the interaction with members of the neighboring communities they are usually confronted with various Slovak dialects rather than with literary Slovak language. So adult Roma are in uneven starting position compared to the education participants whose mother tongue is Slovak. Insufficient knowing of the Slovak language alongside with the restricted language code are significant features of the social exclusion of the big part of Roma race. This

disadvantaging of adult Roma in education is also accompanied with the low level of the institutionalized form of cultural capital and of basic key competencies that they did not gain, respectively gained insufficiently in school. Bernstein (2000, 2009) is the author of critical theory of symbolic control and cultural production, reproduction and change, which belongs to the important theories of cultural and social reproduction. Similarly as in the theory of cultural capital of Bourdieu, the basic agents of cultural and social reproduction are family and school. His theory of language codes, based on the relation of language, education and social structure is also known. Bernstein summarizes the studies about the relation among language, education and social structures, which are the bases for us, in his book *Class, Codes and Control. Volume 1. Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language* (Bernstein 2005).

According to Bernstein (2005, p. 32) „language is considered one of the most important means of initiating, synthesizing, and reinforcing ways of thinking, feeling and behavior which are functionally related to the social group.“ Bernstein in his studies and research dealt with and confirmed the relation among the language, social class and success in school. The target group were not adults; but he assigns the language and the way of communication to the researched groups (he uses the term class often) in general. He compares the language of middle class with the language of members of non-qualified and half-qualified classes. Lower social-economic groups use different structure of language than higher social groups. The language-use of middle class is rich in personal, individual qualification, and its form implies sets of advanced logical operations; volume and tone and other non-verbal means of expression, although important, take second place. This mode of language-use is called *formal* (Bernstein 2005, p. 21). Various terms used to express intention imply various experience connected to the ordering of social relations, socialization and upbringing in family. Middle classes differ from lower classes:

- an awareness of the importance of the relationship between means and ends and of the relevant cognitive and dispositional attributes,
- a discipline to orient behavior to certain values but with the premium on individual differentiation within them,
- the ability to adopt appropriate measures to implement the attainment of distant ends by a purposeful means/end chain (Bernstein 2005, p. 18).

A child from middle class is from the beginning being prepared for the gradual fulfillment of long-term intentions/aims; his or her future is understood directly in relation towards education and emotional life. Formal education and learning play an important role. The system of education is set for the future in its own philosophy. Adults from middle classes naturally connect their life and development of professional career with education and learning. „Language exists in relation to a desire to express and communicate; consequently, the mode of a language structure – the way in which words and sentences are related – reflects a particular form of the structuring of feeling and so the very means of interaction and response to the environment (Bernstein 2005, p. 19).

Lower social classes, including our target group, use *public language*. “The term public language refers to common linguistic mode which various forms of communication, dialect, etc. share (Bernstein 2005, p. 32), so it is common also for adult Roma communicating in various Roma or Slovak dialects. The characteristics of a *public language* are:

1. Short, grammatically simple, often unfinished sentences, a poor syntactical construction with a verbal form stressing the active mood.
2. Simple and repetitive use of conjunctions (so, then, and, because).
3. Frequent use of short commands and questions.
4. Rigid and limited use of adjectives and adverbs.
5. Infrequent use of impersonal pronoun as subjects (it, one).

6. Statements formulated as implicit questions which set up a sympathetic circularity, e.g. ‘Just fancy? ‘It’s natural, isn’t it?’ ‘I wouldn’t have believe it’.
7. A statement of fact is often used as both a reason and a conclusion, or more accurately, the reason and conclusion are confounded to produce a categorical statement, e.g. ‘Do as I tell you’, ‘Hold on tight’, ‘You’re not going out’ ‘Lay off that’.
8. Individual selection from a group of idiomatic phrases will frequently be found.
9. Symbolism is of a low order of generality.
10. The individual qualification is implicit in the sentence structure therefore it is a language of implicit meaning. It is believed that this fact determines the form of the language (Bernstein 2005, p. 28).

These characteristics interact cumulatively and strengthen themselves mutually. It is important and essential for the educational processes „that other forms of language-use (e. g. formal language) will not be directly comprehensible but will be mediated through public language (Bernstein 2005, p. 37). That means that the meaning of the coded message for the recipient – for the one being educated from lower social classes, can be incomprehensible, which can result in mutual misunderstanding.

Bernstein (2005 p. 58) on the basis of „interrelationship between social structure, language-use and subsequent behavior“ elaborated two basic language codes: *elaborated* and *restricted*. „They can be defined, on a linguistic level, in terms of the probability of predicting for any speaker which syntactic elements will be used to organize meaning“ (Bernstein 2005, p. 58). In the case of an *elaborated code*, the speaker will select from a relatively extensive range of alternatives and therefore the probability of predicting the pattern of organizing elements is considerably reduced. In the case of a *restricted code* the number of these alternatives is often severely limited and the probability of predicting the pattern is greatly increased. On a psychological level the *restricted code* inhibits the orientation to symbolize intent in a verbally explicit form. The change of meaning is expressed non-verbally; verbal expression is reinforced by expressive features. The speech takes place on the background of local environment, where the closeness is emphasized and an individual identifies with their group and deduce their self-realization from the group (Bernstein 2005). Brief structures of the *restricted code* are acquired in informal learning and their acquisition requires less time than the acquisition of *elaborated language code*.

Bernstein distinguishes *restricted code* from *elaborated code* on the basis of summarization of the sociological conditions as follows:

- (1) *Restricted code* (lexicon prediction): ritualism
 - *restricted code* (high structural prediction) – Model: universalistic; meaning particularistic
 - *restricted code* (high structural prediction) – Model: particularistic; meaning particularistic
- (2) *Elaborated code* (low structural prediction) - Model: particularistic; meaning universalistic (Bernstein 2005, p. 61)

In the communication in *restricted language code*, the poor vocabulary is predictable and takes places according to the structured and cyclic rituals. Lexical prediction is connected to the fact that 1) the status or positional aspect of the social relationship is important; 2) orientation is likely to be towards the extra-verbal channels as new information will pass through these channels; 3) specifically verbal planning is confined to choice of sequence, rather than involving the selection and organization of the sequence, 4) the code restricts the verbal signaling of individual difference. The meaning of words is particularistic; it is connected to local social structure and local tools and aims, the model of speech is universalistic and dependent on the characteristics of the form of social relations. If they change, the speech can take place according to the particularistic model; but the meaning of words is always

particularistic. In the communication in elaborated language code, universalistic meanings are used with regards to summarized general social tools and aims; the model of communication is particularistic, dependent on the environment and situation.

We can say that in communication in the process of adult education of Roma from marginalized communities is problematic not only poor vocabulary in the Slovak language but also particularistic meaning of words reflecting local social structure and specific, rigid ordering of meanings coming from the forms of social relations, socialization, type of education in extended family and in segregated community.

Problematic is the decoding of the meanings about processes, phenomena and situations that they did not experience; understanding of the degree and level of the phenomena, processes, characteristics and the expressing of their own opinions and feelings. Although „a restricted code contains a vast potential of meanings,“ it is a form of speech which symbolizes a communally based culture (Bernstein 2005, p. 117). We deduce from the stated that an effective, active participation of adult Roma from marginalized communities in formal and non-formal education requires the so-called „training“ education for education. We do not use the term compensation education, but initiate education, because the concept of ‘compensatory education’ „distracts attention from the deficiencies in the school itself and focuses upon deficiencies within the community, family and child“(Bernstein 2005, p. 148), in our case an adult. Previous experiences of adults with school education have an influence on their attitudes towards school and learning and significantly influence their approach towards further education.

3 Initiate education of adult Roma from marginalized communities

We do not connect the meaning of the term initiate education to the initiate rituals of entering the world of a student or with the initial introducing and reasoning of the meaning of a subject by a teacher to a student. The aim of the *initiate education* is to bring adult Roma from marginalized communities without and with primary education to for them ‘abstract world’ of education. This type of education does not replace second chance education; its aim is the readiness of adult Roma to learn and educate through:

- Understanding of the benefit of education and educating,
- Widening of the vocabulary in the Slovak language,
- Understanding and interpretation of the meaning of words and collocations in the context.

The first reasoning of the meaning of initiate education is connected to the fact that it is important for active, voluntary participation of adults in education that adult Roma consider education important for their life in family, community, in relation towards their application at labor market. Educational activities of adult Roma are so far a part of targeted using of the EU tools to increase social inclusion of Roma race. Complementary type of education is requalification education realized through the Central Office of Labor, Social Affairs and Family through the scheme RE-PAS. From the long-term point of view, the contribution of educational courses realized within various projects is minimal. Many Roma consider the contribution of these activities problematic, they do not see any real influence on their life situation and they are often sure that passing of the courses and gaining of the certificates will not help them to find their place at labor market (Hurrle 2012).

Adult Roma can be identified as a target group of education on the basis of the deficit of education and of low level of key competencies in the relation towards their application at labor market, but they do not have to see themselves as target group of adult education. The first source of their presupposed indifferent attitude towards adult education is connected to their orientation to the present and to the fact that their consider work to be the source of their living and they do not connect it to the need of

further education. It is also connected to the understanding of the role of a man (ensures family through physical work) and the role of a woman (cares for the children and husband). The man does not need to educate for a long time to be able to work physically and a woman does not need to educate, she learns from her mother and later mother-in-law to care for her children and husband. She works when a man is unable to bring enough money. A man feels successful when he can ensure his family materially and can protect the members of his extended family. A woman feels successful when she can cook tasty meals and care for her children and husband. The second source of their presupposed indifferent attitude towards adult education is their own failure in school.

At the same time we realize that the indifferent attitude towards lifelong education of children of adult Roma from marginalized communities can gradually change for the people who worked abroad, returned, increased the level of economic capital of the family and so they increased the chance for higher education of their children, the presuppositions for the change of their attitude towards education and education at adult age. We consider it important to empirically verify whether this specific group of people changed their relation towards their education and education of their children, what kind of changes these are and what their cause is.

The second reasoning of the initiate education's meaning is related to the need of widening of vocabulary in the Slovak language and of increasing the ability to understand and interpret the meaning of words and collocations in the actual context. We are convinced that without this preparation a chance of adult Roma to gain primary or secondary education in second chance education and to develop key competencies in further education decreases. We also realize that although the Slovak legislation enables adults to finish primary or gain secondary education, this possibility is neither being used nor supported by the state authorities. Adult Roma, but also adults from the majority with unfinished or finished primary education have a bigger chance to increase their education degree during being imprisoned, because the second chance education has a long-term tradition and legislative and organizational conditions in the system of penitentiary care.

The way of education in initiate education, concerning the identified specifics of the target group, aim and intentions should be built on the principles ‘*respect and engagement*’, ‘*dialogue*’, ‘*practice*’ and ‘*needs*’. We identified the principles of education in interaction with the analysis of the basic andragogic theories of adult education (humanistic, critical theories) in the discourse of multicultural approach of B. Fay (Pirohová, Lukáč, Lukáčová 2016). Taylor (1998) characterizes Freire's educational concept as a social emancipatory approach to transformative learning. „Scholars who approach transformative learning from the social emancipatory perspective refer to transformative outcomes that involve the development of critical consciousness whereby people perceive themselves as active subjects in the world rather than passive objects to be acted on by unfair social practices, norms, and institutions“ (Hoggan 2016 p. 62). This is also the mission of adults' alphabetization, even if the aim of the education is the ability of adults to read and write. Alphabetization is understood as an act of knowing (Freire 2000).

The educator, who plays an important role in the concept of Freire's education, concentrates on how to turn passive learners into active participants. „The culture of the learners increasingly becomes the basis of the learning process“(Mayo 1999, p. 63). According to Torres (1990), Freire knew that adult educators could bring into educational situation cultural capital, which is in contrast to the cultural capital of learners and this can represent the full strength of the power of domestication. Freire (2000) states that these differences must be softened in the relations between educator and learners, that is why the role of educator is to learn culture and community, which is partly created by the localization of a learner. Fay states (2012, p. 238) that „learning about others and oneself can also produce tension and fear as

much as openness and willingness to explore alternatives as a way to growth.“ Not everything related to the cultural practice of Roma from marginalized communities must be acceptable for educator. Not to agree with different opinion or with understanding of a situation does not mean not to respect others. „Respect means the willingness to listen, openness to the possibility of learning from, responsiveness, criticizing when necessary. Respect means to engage with intelligence, sensitivity, and open-mindedness“ (Fay 2012, p. 239). The principle of ‘*respect and engagement*’ formulated by us is related to the ethic dimension of education and is a condition for authentic dialogue in education.

The codified existential situation of learners is the methodological tool (Freire 1978). In practice it involves the search for words – keys (in alphabetical phase) and topics – keys (in post-alphabetical phase). These words and topics must represent real problems of learners. Learners should propose topics on their own and should be the ‘subject of their own thoughts’.

This educational process serves the aim that learners create a distance from their life problems and are able to critically think about them. It leads towards the actual and theoretical connections and back to the actual, thanks to which they can think and try for the new forms of ‘*practice*’. Applying of the principle ‘*practice*’ is important also for the initiate education of adult Roma from marginalized communities. In the educational process this means a search for and choice of words and topics related to the practice of Roma; words that they use and topic that are important for them. Visualization of the words and consequential assigning of words in the literary Slovak language, Roma, Slovak or other dialect that learners and teachers use to denote the visualized thing, person and process enables to widen learners’ vocabulary in the literary Slovak language and teacher’s vocabulary in Roma or other dialect. Visualization of the situations, to which the used words are connected, creates presuppositions of the meaning’s understanding of words and collocations in relation to the context. We took over the principle of ‘*need*’ from the concept of self-directed learning introduced by Knowless, Holton & Swanson (2005). In the Knowless’ model of education this is the first step in the process of education: adults need to know why they must educate. The aim of the initiate education of adult Roma is the awareness of the need to educate. This involves identification of the problems of adult Roma in *dialogues* and reasoning using actual, again visualized situations, which will contribute to the awareness why, while solving such situations, an actual knowledge, abilities or competencies are needed.

4 Conclusions

Roma race is culturally and socially heterogeneous. Adult Roma men and women from marginalized communities, unemployed and poor are the carriers of cultural capital, which puts them to the margin of the society. The segregation and isolation of Roma communities in Slovakia conserves the generational transfer of cultural capital and social reproduction in the society in a reciprocal way. Emphasizing of the difference of Roma culture, whether in positive or in negative sense, leads to their involuntary assimilation or segregation, to the exclusion from the system of lifelong learning. We do not deny the cultural differences or the meaning of codification of Roma language, but the generational behavior patterns of adult Roma from marginalized communities assigned to the Roma race in general are more in accordance with the behavior patterns of generational poverty. Education of adult Roma women and men (low level of education) cannot be effective unless the barriers (handicaps, unevenness) in adult education are gradually eliminated in the long-term and inter-subjective process of education. They involve mainly low level of education and restricted language code. Initiate education of adult Roma women and men cannot replace formal education (second chance education). Its mission is to prepare educators and learners for social interaction in the process of education determined by the differences between cultural capital of educator and learners and

of learners and majority of population. Based on the analysis of cultural capital of adult Roma from marginalized communities and used language code we formulated the aims and intentions of the initiate education of adult Roma and principles of the initiate education such as *respect, engagement, dialogue, practice* and *needs*. In the initiate adult education we also emphasize inevitable changes in the competencies of adult educator towards strengthening of multicultural and consultative (facilitating) competencies into educational processes. We state that the application of transformation of the teaching process of adult Roma in the sense of Bernstein’s concept of framing (from teaching practices based on strong framing towards teaching practices based on weak framing) is also necessary.

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