

EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
DOCTORAL PROGRAMME IN PSYCHOLOGY
SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL PROCESSES

HEAD OF PROGRAMME: PROF. DR. GYÖRGY HUNYADY MHAS

Ph.D DISSERTATION

EDINA BERTA HÉDER
SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE GYPSY - HUNGARIAN HELPING RELATIONSHIP
THESIS

SUPERVISOR: PROF. DR. GYÖRGY HUNYADY MHAS

2011.

Content

I. Research Objective and Hypothesis	3
II. Theoretical backgrounds	3
III. The description of the research carried out among experts doing social case work in child welfare institutions and family help centres in Csongrád County	4
III.1. Data Recording	4
III. 2. Conceptualization, operationalization	4
III.3. Results	5
III.4. Discussion	8
III.4.1. Peripatetic strategy	8
III.4.2. The omnipotence of stereotypes	8
III. 4. 3. Power as the agent that arranges helping relationships	9
III.4.4. Soft racism	9
IV. The description of the integrative model that I developed	10
IV. 1. The integrative model	11
IV.2. The social and cultural level of oppression	12
IV.3. Cooperation in the frame of the social case work - The possibilities of dissolving the oppressive ideologies in the integrative model	14
V. The features of the research concept and the integrative model that I developed	16

I. Research Objective and Hypothesis

The starting point of the research is my supposition based on personal experience that the content and the form of the connection between the Roma client in welfare institutional care and the expert who supports them along the protocol of social case work with adequate tools is influenced by their different social group membership. My suggestion is that the cooperation between the Roma client and the non-Roma expert trying to help is not only a professional, contract based connection between two individuals. I believe that the psychological field created by the direct personal encounter is affected by the personal and common past, history and self-defining efforts of the two groups and the sore conflicts of their cohabitation.

My research has been based on the supposition that in the practice of direct social work the helping experts offer a different quality of support for the Roma clients. According to my hypothesis the ***non-Roma helpers, because of the known social distance, will make less effort to establish connections that requires more intensive involvement when working with Roma clients.*** In consequence, the social distance and the stereotypes that conserve it will remain fixed and so they can enhance the client's responsible participation to a lesser degree. Because, according to my concept on the procedures of case work, the client's responsible participation can mainly be assured effectively by ***consultative forms of work, I presume that these will be used less when working with Gypsy clients.***

II. Theoretical backgrounds

Professional help has always been arranged around two aims, basically: one is making the suffering of the deprived invisible for the more fortunate members of the society; the other is eliminating the social differences and changing the power structures (cf. Hegyesi, 1998). Cultural otherness is also interpreted in this relation system: On the one hand, it serves the exclusiveness of the norms of the majority group of the society with the ***manifestation of assimilation efforts, e. g. the ideology of colour blindness*** (Proctor – Davis, 1994, p. 316), or on the ideology of ***the equality of oppressions*** (Graham – Schiele, 2010, p. 238). On the other hand, it appears as the theme of the power issue: along the principles of ***anti-racist social work which developed from the civil rights movements*** (Graham – Schiele, 2010 p. 232) and later the ***anti – oppressive practice.*** (Dominelli, 2010).

Thus the literature that reflects cultural diversity discusses either certain special tools on psychosocial basis within the themes of clinical social work, such as the ***competence approach*** which can be connected to the ***theory of multicultural social work***, whose relevant statement in my approach is the ***requirement of cultural sensibility*** (NASW, 2007); or social and political issues arranges along the theme of ***discrimination – oppression.***

In my thesis, I wish to integrate these different approaches. As for the central systematic principle I use the pervasive oppression, but at the same time I analyse interpersonal cooperation as well, in which I, myself find the requirement of cultural sensitivity effective.

III. The description of the research carried out among experts doing social case work in child welfare institutions and family help centres in Csongrád County

III. 1. Data Recording

In my research I wanted to explore the procedures of social case work and methods considering whether there is a difference in the personal help provided to Roma clients and if yes, what constitutes it. The research was aimed at personal help provided in Family Help Centres and Child Welfare Services in seven small regions in the whole territory of Csongrád County. All the institutions that I visited work according to the Law no. 3 of 1993 on social administration and social care and the Law no. 31 of 1997 on child protection and guardianship administration. Their documentation is regulated by the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs decree of 1/2000 (I.7.) and the Government decree of 235/1997 (XII. 17.), and I analysed the data and documentation (hereinafter: case reports) that I gained access to considering these. I visited altogether the above mentioned institutions in 60 towns, and 138 colleagues in 59 towns took part in data collecting. The colleagues made me available 209 case reports for analyses. I used the following methods in data collecting in the period of October 2009 to November 2010:

- 1) Self-completed questionnaire for experts giving personal care;
- 2) Semi-structured interview with experts;
- 3) Analysing data sheets and case reports documenting the steps of personal help, according to preliminary considerations
- 4) Focus group interviews with experts and heads of institutions
- 5) Semi-structured interview with the recipients of care. This latter method was successfully used in only two small regions so I rely on it in my analyses to a lesser degree.

So altogether I obtained for the analyses 138 assessable questionnaires filled in by experts; 46 semi-structured interviews with experts; 209 case reports; 4 focus groups with the staff of five small regions; and 22 semi-structured interview with the clients.

III. 2. Conceptualization, operationalization

I considered one of the difficulties or rather challenges of the research that in Hungary there is no consensus in the examined activities that is the direct practice of social case work. Thus, so that I could arrive at my research objective I needed to differentiate each single activity and procedure the most meticulously possible, which were used by the experts in social case work process.

To facilitate later data recording and analyses, I prepared a relatively long list: based on my own experiences in practice and the literature (mainly Szabó, 2003; Lüssi, 1998; Morse, 1997): I differentiated altogether 36 activities which later changed into 34¹. I divided the activities into six groups: consultation, crisis intervention, assertive, case management, group of activities focusing on natural support system, and the group of activities focusing on the helpers.² During the analyses, the assertive element and the group of activities focusing on natural support system were fused with case management activities, so I separated four greater procedure types. I recorded the definition written by the helper in case of the procedures and also the way I interpreted the activity. I marked the procedures as items in each document so the frequency was easy to calculate.

¹ Kozma and his colleagues differentiated in the service repertoire 7 activities, which include those required by the law. While they understood the content of personal help in a broad sense, I differentiated each activity step by step: the personal meeting with the client, or the consultations with expert colleagues, based on their content. I used this systematic data collection that seems a bit rigid so that my subjective opinion could be excluded as much as possible.

² In the chapter that describes social work procedures (IV.2), I separated the so called auxiliary activities as well.

During the **interviews** and in the **questionnaires** I asked the colleagues to provide not only the general informative questions (age, gender, qualifications, number of years in the profession) but also to recall a difficult, complicated, remarkable case. I had two presumptions connected to this: on the one hand I expected that the buzzword “difficult client” will make the colleagues think of cases with Roma people. My other expectation was that the so called difficult cases made the expert use a greater variety of methods.

I analysed the **case reports** that were made available to me with single criteria. I placed the analysis criteria into two greater groups: the groups of the so-called formal and the content issues of case work. The formal issues included the socioeconomic situation of the client, the length of time of the association, the type of the given problem defined by the helper. I examined the client’s likely ethnic background as part of the socioeconomic features. I observed the used procedures and activities in the circle of content issues.

In the **focus groups** I asked for reflections on the success of the procedures and here I included my questions on the specificity of the work with the Roma, putting them into the category of the client groups that require special knowledge.

In the **interviews with the recipients** of the service I asked them to identify the main stages of their cooperation with the service.

III. 3. Results

The majority of the experts in the survey were women (88.4%), almost half of them were between the age of 26-35 and usually they had been working in the social sector for at least six years. Their highest qualification is college (BA) but 10% of them had a university degree (MA).

I managed to complete one of the main objectives of the survey, namely the systematic exploration of the procedures employed in the direct practice of social case work. The table below contains the activities documented in the case reports, according to the organization that I developed.

Table 1: **Procedures employed in the process of the casework as documented in the case reports**

Types of procedures	All occurrences (no.)
Consultation procedures	3837
Case management type of procedures	2996
Procedures of crisis intervention	92
Procedures aimed at the professional	90
All procedures in the case work documented in the 209 case reports	7015

During the analyses I examined the nature of each procedure group. I found that the activities in the consultation group often have aims and purposes that exclude each other. For example, the family visit or the living conditions report in this group is often used as a tool of inspection and control³, and the non – directive consultation is used by the colleagues to explore the client’s inner capacity and to support them.

It has also become clear during the analyses that the activities put in the group of *case management* should be *divided at least into two subgroups*: the activities of *minimal involvement, so-called bureaucratic social work* (cf. Dunér – Nordström, 2006 p. 427);⁴ and the *activities that help to carry on with the daily routine* (cf. Szabó, 2003 p. 116) or the *educative, supportive activities*.

The following table shows the connections among some procedures in case management.

Table 2: Independent occurrences of bureaucratic social work in social case work practice

	Factor	
	1	2
Administration	-,015	,872
Information	,111	,628
Indirect representation	,056	,628
Negotiating between client and institution in case of discrimination	,999	,000
Helping informative support system with the tools of case management	,706	-,032

The three procedures in the second column having a relatively higher factor require greater attention in the view of my further analyses: administration (this equals with filling out request forms for benefits), information (brief time spent with providing information) and indirect representation (usually a letter written to utility companies). The reason for the appearance of these activities in one factor is the short period of time needed, and both the client’s and the expert’s slight involvement. On this basis, I consider these activities *the manifestation of bureaucratic social work*. I believe, the procedures explored in this study systematically and the factors shown above serve as an evidence for the fact that bureaucratic social work is an existing phenomenon in the practice of case work.

Following the analysis of the procedures, I also examined what might convey the decisions made by the experts in the view of the used procedures. I believed that not only the perceived social problem but also the experts’ opinion about the recipients might have an effect: whether the experts judge them as deserving for the active participation in – as they called it – “a higher level” procedure.

³ I have found slight correlation between the client’s Gypsy origin and the frequency of using living conditions report.

⁴ Szabó writes about the technician’s level (Szabó, 2003 p. 115)

Among the social problems recorded in the case reports by the experts, there were an extremely high number of problems⁵ with the Roma clients which would have required, on the basis of professional consideration, activities of the consultation group, namely proper consultation and helping discussion.

However, the correlation analysis of the client's ethnic background and the applied procedures showed a positive connection only in the case of activities classified as case management. In my record, I marked the probably Roma recipient with a number 1 and a non-Roma client with number 2. I indicated the procedures consistently with the whole quantity applied in the process of the given case work.

Table 3: The correlation between the factor of the bureaucratic social work and the client's ethnic background

	Gypsy	Administration	Information	Indirect representation
Gypsy Pearson Correlation	1	-,143 [*]	-,138 [*]	-,143 [*]
Sig. (2-tailed)		,040	,048	,039
N	209	208	207	209
Administration Pearson Correlation	-,143 [*]	1	,546 ^{**}	,548 ^{**}
Sig. (2-tailed)	,040		,000	,000
N	208	208	206	208
Information Pearson Correlation	-,138 [*]	,546 ^{**}	1	,397 ^{**}
Sig. (2-tailed)	,048	,000		,000
N	207	206	207	207
Indirect representation Pearson Correlation	-,143 [*]	,548 ^{**}	,397 ^{**}	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	,039	,000	,000	
N	209	208	207	209

My hypothesis has been confirmed. In the examined types of services, in the area of Csongrád County, a qualitatively *different support is provided on the basis of the clients' / recipients' ethnic background* in the frame of social case work: the non-Roma clients received support that required significant methodological preparedness, the experts believed, in a greater frequency, while *the Roma clients received services with reduced content and shorter time.*

⁵ „Problems with the child's education” and „Violence in the family” should be mentioned here. Their frequency was recorded as 47.4% and 26.6% respectively among the Roma families surveyed by the experts who dealt with the cases. (The occurrence of these types of problems among the non-Roma was 36.2% and 16.4% respectively.)

III. 4. Discussion

In the past decade there have been several attempts to explore systematically the possibilities of the social care system in the reduction of disaffiliation or, as another research group formulated it, in helping the destitute families.⁶ These surveys usually aim at small regions with multiple disadvantages (see e. g. Baráth et al., 2004; or Kozma et al., 2004; 2010). Sometimes we can see the listing of the used activities (e. g. the description of the Service repertoire, Kozma et al., 2010 pp. 90-99),⁷ while others (Baráth et al., 2004, pp. 63-64) differentiate approaches⁸ and philosophies. Our survey covered all the areas within a definite administrative boundary and all the towns that belong to them. However, I examined neither the allowances in kind nor cash allowances, although those who are recipients at a family support agency will naturally receive some kind of cash allowance. I focused on the procedures of social case work in the scope of personal care, and I tried to collect and methodize them. I made an effort to give the possibly most comprehensive picture of the practise of the practice of social case work.

On the basis of the correlation explored here, the helping experts tend to provide help in a short time frame and with reduced content when dealing with Roma clients, even in case of the perceived interpersonal social problems. I raise four issues as possible explanations.

III. 4. 1. Peripatetic strategy

The peripatetic strategy that appears in the Roma culture does not favour helping relationships that require more intensive involvement. I presume the Roma families view the welfare services provided by the non-Roma society as a potential environmental resource. Had they involved the Gadje (non-Roma) environment in their intimate family conflicts, they would harm their Roma identity and community rules.

III. 4. 2. The omnipotence of stereotypes

The contents of the well established, legitimated myths that pervade every field of our social life will influence the judgement of the professionals just like anybody else in the society. The content of the easily recallable schematic descriptions of the Roma has a lot of association with the content of the well-integrated scheme also known in the helping professions, namely the picture of the “client with lifestyle difficulties”. The judgement that develops this way empowers the helper to neglect the client’s competency, so that the professional with their expertise can gain an exclusive right to decide in the issues of the client’s life. This cognitive structure that develops in this dual stereotyping process will become stronger and stronger because of the cumulative failures. Based on the research results, it can be stated about the most frequently used activities with the Roma clients that they hardly include those possibilities that would create a professional relationship between the expert and the client which would result in time and motivation to get to know each other and to override the stereotypes.⁹

⁶ I would not refer to the several surveys on the role of cash allowances here. In general, the research of the system of aid could also be mentioned, (just a few examples: Ferge, 1995; 1996; Szalai, 2007), and analysis of the effects of the so-called complex programs has also been published already (e. g. on the “Sure Start” program for the correction of social disadvantages deriving from child poverty; see Surányi, 2010). My research focuses on the content of the personal support given in the frame of case work, and regulated by the law.

⁷ Kozma and his colleagues write about helping philosophies but they rather link these to an area. Work cited pp. 99-100

⁸ An international comparative survey may be mentioned in the range of philosophies – among others – a research on child protection, in which Williams and his colleagues assessed the attitudes towards clients (Williams et al., 2002).

⁹ About the role of time and motivation, see Fiske et al. 2006

III. 4. 3. Power as the agent that arranges helping relationships

The compulsory cooperation that characterises most cases¹⁰ ensures the control over the outcome of the relationship for the expert who provides service. Possessing control might satisfy the expert's need to feel safe. "However, helpfulness is to an extent related to the individual differences in dominance, self-effectiveness, confidence and competency. The motive for giving help in these cases is connected to the social basic motive of control and not to altruism and trust." (Fiske, 2006, p. 449). The results explored by the survey suggest that the expert's comfort and their pursuit to be safe are served by the asymmetric interpersonal situations but these situations do not provide opportunities for the client to work out long term solutions for their social problems.

III. 4. 4. Soft racism

The experts' choices of values are defined by two basically antagonistic cultures: the oppressive culture of the majority and the social workers' idea of the pursuit of social equality. In order to solve the cognitive dissonance that arises here, some helpers seem to choose soft racism.

Here, on the level of personal helping relationship, mutually reinforcing processes appear: *the experts giving in to the schematic stereotyped judgements are afraid of using practices that make it possible to get to know each other personally, and the distanced, relatively impersonal forms of cooperation and the controlled outcomes, when lacking individual experiences, reinforce the oppressive ideologies*. The procedures explored here "enhance" the maintenance of the power position; probably strengthen the mutually negative stereotypes and exclude the realization of the aims of social work when the client is deprived of personal attention.

¹⁰ The two thirds of both Roma and non-Roma clients are connected to the examined institutions on the basis of legal obligation.

IV. The description of the integrative model that I developed

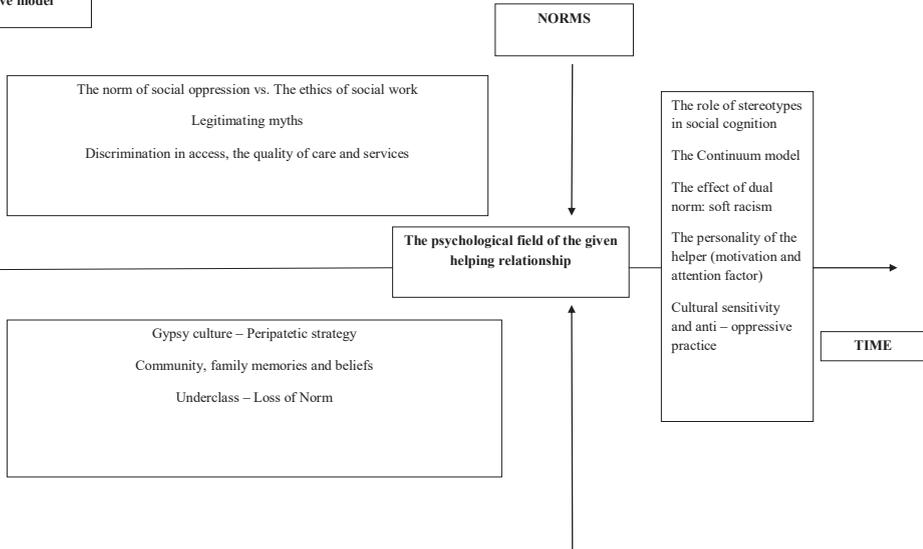
The theoretical-practical model depicts in a graphic way the psychological field in which the Gypsy client and the Hungarian professional meet and which is influenced by many social-historical factors. The psychological field is situated in the intersection of two axes: the vertical axis represents culture, norms and expectations; the horizontal axis represents time. The method of the graphic depiction conveys a basic philosophy: the majority-minority interests that conflict along the vertical axis demonstrate the collision of the group interests having opposite directions. (Hunyady,2005. p.7).

The model wishes to emphasize cooperation even with the integration of opposite approaches but I believe the recognition and understanding of the existing, severe social problems are very important. The negative-charged movement of the two diverging cultures and the two conflicting groups represent the oppressive force of the majority and the Gypsy's wish to separate. (Cf. Piasere, 1997; Prónai, 1995; Stewart, 1993; Törzsök, 2002). The vertical axis is the axis of the socially accepted culture. Regarding from the horizontal axis, the upper region correspond to the expectations and norms of the majority culture, while the lower region symbolize the minority culture. My conviction appears in this graphic design, namely that the culture of the Hungarian Gypsy is not an recognized culture (Szalai, 2005; Zsigó 2005), the attitude towards it is defined basically by a uni-linear, civilizing approach. (Dupcsik, 2005) In this model, the relation of the majority-minority is defined by the oppressive will of the majority and the associated arbitrary group forming. Social oppression is realized on several levels: social, institutional, and interpersonal (Dominelli, 2010) and by several agents. The situation of the oppressed groups is defined by the continuously regenerating legitimating myths, the institutional restriction of access to equal opportunities, or some social interplays, for example the "welfare lockup". (Szalai,2005).

On the one hand, I accept and use the systematic approach (Jost, 2003), I know the self-debilitating behaviour of the oppressed groups (Ferge, 2005; Jost, 2003; Kozma et al., 2010; Ladányi – Szelényi, 2009; Sidanius – Pratto, 2005), still, I wish to emphasize the responsibility of those who have the power. And I accept that there is a definite political - moral conviction behind it.

The movement on the horizontal axis projects the possibility of change. But change – opposite to the progress of time – is not inevitable. The model, as it progresses unavoidably on the time axis, shows the expert's possibilities to build relationships and to intervene; relying heavily on the rules of cognitive processes, which is known from the literature of social cognition. (Bargh, 2006; Brewer, 1999; Devine, 1999; Fiske, S. - Neuberg, 1999; 2006; Hamilton – Gifford, 1999.). I describe that the process becomes predictable along which factors, in which the diverging, socially and culturally embedded, often recalled stereotypes and conflicting schemes might break. The model relying on the double model of impression-formation process (Fiske – Neuberg, 1999) emphasizes the factors of time and motivation. In both aspects, it raises expectations of the helper, which is adequate to concerning thesis of social work and psychotherapy. I believe, with due time spent on it, with motivation to effective help and professional results, adequate professional cooperation can be reached even in social environment that is laden with severe conflicts.

IV.1. The integrative model



IV. 2. The social and cultural level of oppression

The non-Roma helper has to know and I believe acknowledge the mechanism of the discrimination and oppression against the Roma communities and individuals that they receive on social, institutional and interpersonal levels. The oppression on the social level is conveyed by the following agents:

Labor-market: If the Roma may have the chance to share the goods offered by the world of work, they can usually do it only temporarily,¹¹ in blue collar jobs (see: Babusik, 2008 p. 69), or only by getting into the secondary labor market, making their vulnerability from the ruling social group increase.

Education: We must mention, besides the classic threefold segregation (regional, town and in the education system), the simplest form of institutional segregation: removing them from the institution, which can trigger quite different rules. The natural consequence of this act is negating the norms of the school system. The systematic oppression in the education system is supported by the interpersonal discrimination. The negative attitude from the teachers, which has been proven¹² several times, is so massive (Havas, 2009 p. 4) that it makes the students' successful school career impossible from the beginning.

Housing: "While the social groups of high status can practically be concentrated in any way and in any parts of the city they wish, the groups of low status get segregated in a way and to a place where it is allowed to them." (Ladányi – Szelényi, 209, p. 66)

Health care: Several surveys verified the negative attitude towards the Gypsy population, who have a significantly worse health status¹³ than the majority population (Statement of the Ministry of Health 2001, quoted by Szabóné, 2008 p. 423; Babusik, 2004 p. 68; Gyukits 2000 p. 477; Neményi 2005 p. 166).

Justice: The disproportion of imprisonment is characteristic of several cultures and countries... the oppressed groups are extremely overrepresented in the criminal system."¹⁴ (Sidanius – Pratto, 2005 p. 305). The Hungarian literature¹⁴ which deals with it mainly mentions offending behavior and negligence committed by the police.

Politics: The political power before 1990 tried to make the life of Gypsy cultural organizations¹⁵ impossible in different forms, and today we can note the systematic attacks against the politically competent initiatives. Zsigó (2005 p. 15, 18) or Romano Rác (2008 pp. 96-97; 109) mention several examples of making the life of civilian Gypsy organizations impossible or of the divisive activity of the power. It seems the social majority is not interested in the acknowledgement of competent Gypsy elite.

¹¹ Kertesi (2005, p.67) also emphasizes the temporality of employment.

¹² See e.g. Radó 1997 1998; ECRI, 2000. p. 13; Szabó – Horváth, 2002. p.95; p.96; vagy Forray – Hegedűs, 1998 p. 119.

¹³ E. g. Fónai et al. 2006 p. 100, p. 133

¹⁴ See e. g. Loss 1998, pp. 117-118

¹⁵ See e. g.: „... the question of the Gypsy folklore is very complicated; its use can only bring positive results after a careful assessment and criticism.” (Mezey, 1986 p. 290) Further: “We cannot support the efforts of some Gypsy intellectuals and experts to establish a Gypsy Association, to start a Gypsy newspaper, or to open a Gypsy theatre in Budapest (same place p.261). The Cultural Association of the Gypsy was quickly dissolved, according to the official justification because they did not find it suitable to “take a significant part in the reeducation of the Gypsy population” (Decision of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Social Workers Party, 20 June 1961 in: Mezey 1986 p 204). The real cause of the dissolution might have been that they published data on the discrimination against the Gypsy (Stewart, 1993 p.6). Oral information from Ágnes Daróczi revealed that Roma were not allowed to join the later established association.

Oppression is reinforced at the **cultural level**, too, in the content of the social conscience – justifying the decisions of the economic – political elite and the oppressive mechanisms.

The attitudes towards the Roma seem to show no complexity at all, that is the associated contents of consciousness are linked to each other intensively and in multiple ways. In Hungary, the stereotyped contents concerning the Gypsy are deeply embedded and less complex and it is likely that they are connected in several dimensions to the stereotypes towards the unemployed, those living from benefits, and the recipients of the welfare system.

The so-called legitimating myths may involve the following themes:

The **myth of dirtiness** plays a central part in the social constructions that describe the Roma and usually convey only negative contents. I presume this idea might be situated in the center of the attitude towards the Roma – defining every motion of the attitudes towards them.

The issue of morality is closely connected to cleanliness. The presumption of moral laxity can be marked in the areas of stealing, **“Gypsy crime”**, the moral laxity of women, and cheating (cf. Stewart 1993 p. 57). Bernáth – Messing reported negative, one-dimensional appearance of the Gypsy in the electronic and printed media, according to their research summary the biased programs of the commercial channels are not accidental (same authors, 2000 p. 25). The Green Book that describes how the Roma appear in the media emphasizes the motive of stigmatization, too, that the Roma are associated to crime, that they appear in conflicts or that they are presented as passive sufferers of an event. (Green Book, 2007 p. 35)

Similar to the issue of dirtiness/cleanliness, the **issue of laziness** vs. diligence has a central place. However, cleanliness (=honesty) seems to be universal, or at least it is used to describe the differences between groups in several cultures, the attitude to work certainly shows significant differences.¹⁶ In this dimension, two closely connected themes appear: “the Gypsies don’t work, they are lazy people”¹⁷; “the Gypsy live on benefits” and “the state supports them” and also “the Gypsy give birth to children so that they can live on them”.

Political competence, impotence: Several themes can comprise in this dimension. I believe the following can be included here: political impotence, the picture of lacking a common culture, the lack of literacy, and as an explanation to all this: the myth of special state benefits.¹⁸ We know it from Fiske (Fiske et al. b 2006) that the presumption of political competence is closely connected to whether the ruling elite considers an oppressed group competitive. In fact, it seems that if we examined it, we could find positive stereotypes only here: because the presumed political impotence is favorable for the leaders of the existing order because incompetent people cannot threaten their position.

The role of system justification in the reproduction of oppression

The culture of the Gypsy raises the appearance of system justification by itself or its tactile lack. As it is known, the motive of system justification in the case of the oppressed groups was demonstrated by Jost. He defines the attempt or need to system justification as a collaborative ideological and psychological process *“where the existing structures of inequality is accepted, justified and*

¹⁶ It is worth mentioning Csoba’s paper, in which he states – referring to European communication – that (sometimes obligatory) access to social benefits during which the unemployed has to prove continuously that they are willing to work and their inability to find a job is the manifestation of new paternalism (2009 p.9) and mainly serves the interest of the political elite rather than the equal access to work (p. 16).

¹⁷ The vision of lazy Gypsy children can be mentioned here. The legitimating myth “the Gypsies are not interested in schools” is disproved by - among others – Kende, based on the literature (Kende 2001 p. 69)

¹⁸ I add that the “special state benefits” and the “strategic child” are connected to each other in a multiple way. Just like in the cluster of the myths I described here, the system can only be suspected because no research supports it. But one thing is sure: unanimous rejection.

rationalized by almost all the members of the society, even those who are affected in the least favorable way.” (Jost,2003 p.419).

In this issue, the conveyer may not be only the known low social status which is generally true for most of the Roma but also **the peripatetic feature** that defines the relation of the Roma to the outside world. This feature demonstrates not only the strength of the minority group identity (cf. Jost - Burgess 2003 p. 142) but also the isolation behavior connected to this strategy itself may be determinative. And in this, the nature of the dynamically changing adaptive reactions will become dominant. (Cf. Pálos 2010).

IV. 3. Cooperation in the frame of the social case work - The possibilities of dissolving the oppressive ideologies in the integrative model

I explain my suggestions on the changing of social case work in the mirror of the problem solving model created by Compton – Galaway. The model¹⁹ describes social work as a series of three overlapping phases built on each other spirally. Each phase has its special “duty”, the completion of which is the prerequisite of stepping on the next phase. In my integrative model here, I explain the duties described by Compton – Galaway and then I associate procedures to each phase marking the special aspects in connection with the Roma clients. On the basis of the values of anti-oppression practice, I reflect on the political messages of each activity.

Among the three phases of the cooperation – establishing relationship, making contract, and phase of action - I believe the **first phase** has an outstanding significance. In this phase after establishing the relationship, our further task is the preliminary definition of the problem, the preliminary definition of the aim and the assessment.

The completion of all these tasks depends greatly on the deviance that made the procedure necessary, especially in the case of obligatory clients.

The **deviance-oriented description** made by the authority defines fundamentally the opinion of the actors of the process of each other. Obeying the principle of first impression (cf. Hamilton – Sherman, 1999 p. 103), the expert will base their judgment on the picture of a person who breaks the norms of a community, while the clients will look at them as representative of a person having control and authority over them.

The **category-based perception** (cf. Fiske – Neuberg 1999 p. 169) is reinforced by belonging to the Gypsy group, making it completely impossible to build up attention to the individual features of the client, that is, to understand the problem and the aim as unique. According to Fiske – Neuberg, the process of judgment will be influenced by the attention towards the individual, the interpretation, and the motivation that is created in the frame of the dependency relationship. All these are “defined basically by relevance of the target person” (Fiske et al. 2006b p. 185): the observer when developing an opinion on and attitude towards a person important for them will rather attempt to use individual features than putting them into categories. However we cannot presume that a cooperation that is obligatory for the expert as well would serve as a good basis for the helpers’ motivation to understand the client.

As for the **norms**, the helper faces a dual expectation: the expectation of the institutional setting of the majority and the local community and the professional norms. If the expert does not adapt to the norms of the community and supports the “idle” Roma who “live on the benefits” for example in a local conflict, they can easily lose their job. (Cf. Fiske et al. 2006b p. 208 on the local norms)

However, on the other hand, the helpers’ identity is defined to a certain extent by their professional socialization. During their theoretical training, they learn about social responsibility, understanding the underprivileged, which appears as valuable behavior worth following. In this frame, rejection or using negative stereotyping is not desirable. The professional who would like to be a good expert may turn

¹⁹ See the description in Compton – Galway, 1984 pp. 323-324 or in Hegyesi Talyigás 1995, pp. 154-155

to the use of the tools of soft racism (Fiske 2006), driven by the **motive of self-exaggeration**, thus they refrain from open stereotyping but their behavior is still defined by social categories and the associated contents based on consensus.

So the category-based judgment is supported by several factors of disposition as well, besides the given helpers' characteristic qualities.

Essential procedures in the process of casework

Non – directive consultation: In my analyses, the non-direct tool is used so that the social and cultural oppression does not regenerate in our starting interpersonal relationship. Handing over the control over the conversation expresses my conviction that we definitely acknowledge the client's competence in their life, which is one of the most unambiguous tools of empowerment.²⁰ In this sense, the helping conversation does not correspond with the definition by Rogers. Because our aim is not to develop the clients' self-knowledge but it is more important that the client having relatively more control can feel safe in the relationship with us. So our major aim is to provide the Gypsy families an experience that makes them possible to feel that their interaction with a representative of the majority group of the society is based on cooperative partnership and not on the oppressive will of the majority. Discussing the concrete social problem and putting aside temporarily the deviance focused themes defined by the authority makes it possible that the client appears with their stories as a member of the society with full rights. So not only the traditional aim but also the content of the helping conversation changes. In the first meetings, the Roma client will probably or rather surely not deal with their intrapsychological events, and the conversation could not be turned to this direction in a direct way either. "The important thing is that we could be together and we are connected when they feel it is necessary." (Piasere, 1998 p. 38) This way, the helping expert enters the life of the Roma in their very important scene of togetherness, which is a feature of their lives as Gypsies that survives everything.

Family visit is also a possibility to negate the legitimating myths on an interpersonal level: as polite guests (cf. Berg 1995 p. 26) we have the opportunity to express that we do not share for example the myth of dirtiness.

Purchase can also play a significant role in the cooperation with the Roma families. *However we have to differentiate between two attitudes: giving out clothes and food packets in a routine way keeping the Roma families in a relief dependent state, or supporting them with items necessary to survive.* In my experience, these needs need to be answered in the first phase of the relationship, often when meeting for the first time, but at the same time the helper cannot reduce their helping activities to these procedures. *I believe, the relationship that is restricted to the asymmetric content of purchase serves as a reinforcement of the existing power relations.* Keeping the Roma in a one-sided recipient role is a function of the system but it is sharply opposite to the aims of social work. Those families that connect to the family welfare service of the town only in this way contribute wittingly or unwittingly to proving the negative stereotypes against them and legitimizing the myths that keep them in an inferior state.

²⁰ About the significance of empowerment with obliged clients see e. g. Pataki et al. 2009 p. 255

V. The features of the research concept and the integrative model that I developed

My research would need some additions and development at some points. Although I developed five methods of data collection, in fact I used the data gained with three methods when proving the hypothesis.

At the same time I believe **my research is innovative** in some methods and in exploring some connections. The purpose of my research was to explore the content of direct case work in the identified institutions. Rather than using the traditional ways of collecting data, e. g. making interviews with the helping experts, I mainly relied on the records found in the case reports compiled by the experts. I considered it an important aspect that I should not assess and judge the activities that really happen but rather I should explore the “objective” reality as well as it can be understood. *The explored procedures, the proportion they are used, the connections among them have, by themselves, brought new aspects into the examination of the practice of the profession.* It has become obvious that significant proportions of the clients who cooperate with family care centers are connected to the institution as a legal obligation. The procedures under case management have taken definite shape, and it has become apparent that bureaucratic social work is present in the practice of case work. It has been revealed that *the social experts usually help the Roma clients within bureaucratic limits.*

A **further possible research topic** may be the more exact exploration of the nature of consultation type procedures. Another field to examine, I consider, is the definition of the so-called care type of activities within the group of case management type of activities. It has become visible that these activities are not limited to meeting physical needs but a kind of emotional support is associated with it to a great extent. Also, within the great group of case management type of activities, the nature of coordinating procedures would be worth examining more closely.

In order to understand the obstacles of the cooperation with Roma clients, it would be necessary to explore the above described soft racism and the motivations associated to the helping profession. Although a lot of research results are known about the content of the stereotypes concerning the Roma (see: Fábíán – Sik 1996; Bernát 2010; about professionals: Babusik 2004), further research would be needed to assess its content among active social workers with special regard to the issue of attribution of responsibility.

I believe **the integrative model that I developed** has the main novelty in the practicability of professional values. By focusing on the intensive and reflective attention to the clients, you distance yourself from the deviance-oriented approach traditionally associated with the obligatory status and the Roma people, and human dignity and the respect to uniqueness will be emphasized.

The process of impression formation appears in my model as a frame of interpretation, making it possible for the helpers to attempt to override the embedded stereotypes and to establish an efficient cooperation.

