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Intercultural Communications. Roma-Polish Relationships in School Environment — Early Education Stage

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS. ROMA-POLISH RELATIONSHIPS IN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT — EARLY EDUCATION STAGE

Abstract

The authors of the article were concerned with the intercultural communal communication in a school environment. The aim of the research was to determine the barriers which impede achieving a communal goal — the increase of educational competence among Roma pupils, as well as demonstrating how the communal goals may be attained in within the boundaries of community delimited by the convention and curriculum. Finally, the authors presented the techniques of building favourable relationships at the juncture of cultures, while relying on the norms and communication strategies developed by a given community.

Key words

intercultural communication, education of the Roma, communication community, discourse community, assimilation, integration, multiculturalism

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis assuming that the language of each separate ethnic group, as its product, thinking and communication tool, organizes the manner in which the world is perceived, provided the basis for deliberation on language communities[1]. This definition of language was confirmed by Wilhelm Humboldt and Johann Gottfried Herder, who stated that language determines the boundary of human cognition, thus drawing attention to the linguistic entanglement of the human being[2]. Sociologist Basil Bernstain, drawing on the above hypotheses, formulated the theory of language codes, observing that social divisions are reflected in the manner of speaking. He found it very important that language communities are internally diversified, echoing the aforementioned divisions[3].

The methodological aftermath of isolating a language community was the assumption that language is one of human products, which manifests itself during use. Such understanding of language community presupposed the existence of an ideal speaker and addressee, who possess model linguistic competences. The internal diversification of the communities that Bernstein pointed out has continued to raise doubt; the diversification was studied by many linguists, and in itself it suggested that it is impossible to refer to a uniform and homogenous linguistic competence of the members within a community. Furthermore, there was the issue of bilingualism, diglossia, and the fact that one user of a given language participates in more than one societal community, while still using one language. Challenging the claim that language defines human communities was followed by the formulation of the concept of communicative and interactional competence. This permitted to indicate numerous open communicative communities within the broadly understood language community established by a given system.

The next stage of comprehending community through language was the concept of discourse community[4]. John M. Swales found that the essence of discourse community lies in the social goals adopted by its members. In order to be able to communicate within the given discourse community, one should

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[1] E. Sapir, The status of linguistics as a science, [in:] D. Mandelbaum, Selected writings of Eduard Sapir in language, culture and personality, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1951, p. 160–166.

[2] A. Schaff, Język a poznanie, Warszawa 1967.

[3] B. Bernstein, Socjolingwistyka a społeczne problemy kształcenia, [in:] M. Głowiński, Język i społeczeństwo, Warszawa 1980, p. 83–119.

[4] J. Swales, Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings, Cambridge1990.

have the competences to create and receive texts produced by this community[5]. The concept which defines a community by the texts it produces is exceedingly useful in the description of relationships in institutionalised communities, including a school community. The high degree of conventionalization of interpersonal strategies and texts proves that school interactions may define a discursive rather than communicative community.

The community of discourse presumes varied degrees of initiation, and varied competence in language use. The community also accepts membership in more than one community, which is confirmed in the diversified social identity. An additional yet very important asset of such discourse communities is the assumption that they may be created beyond language communities, regardless of the native language of its members. The notions of nation and ethnicity are replaced with the common objectives, while the relationships are based on convention. The isolation of discourse communities allows one to ignore the opposition between native and foreign language[6].

The increasing tendency for internal diversification in discourse communities enabled the researchers to isolate cultural communities, which are connected by the network of social bonds or cultural systems. Cultural communities thus construed required the notion of culture to be redefined. It was necessary to determine cultures which were oriented towards immediate, specific axiological systems, experiences and notions of the world[7].

The advancing social fragmentation led to a situation where one speaks more and more often about lifestyle communities, neo-tribal structures, affiliation with which is defined from the point of view of attitudes, needs, social standing and expectations. Leon Dyczewski, remarking on the increasing diversification of the types and levels of education, social and residential backgrounds, interest, wealth and the professed systems of values, stated that there appear different interest groups interpreted in the categories of different cultural systems[8].

All those theories might be considered correct and non-contradictory, yet they leave an open question whether school community is a language, com-

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[5]Ibidem.

[6]A. Duszak, Języki, kultury, wspólnoty, [in:] A. Kopczyński, U. Zaliwska-Okrutna, Język rodzimy a język obcy. Komunikacja, przekład, dydaktyka, Warszawa 2002, p. 7–23.

[7]H. Clark, Communities, Commonalities, and Comunication, [in:] J. Gumperz, P. Levinson, Rethinking Linguistic Relativity, Cambridge 1996, p. 324–355.

[8]L. Dyczewski, Kultura polska w okresie przemian, Lublin 1995.

municative, discourse or cultural community. School requires a clear definition of the opposition native language <=> foreign language, with the language of instruction as the dominant one, therefore it meets the requirement of language community. At the same time it is deeply diversified internally, uses numerous varieties of the ethnic language, but it is unified by the common system of values with a specific profile, which constitutes a foundation for all relationships connecting its members. It may be then considered to be a communicative community. Community in the school environment is also strongly conventionalised. It relies on an inventory of texts which illustrate structural relationships of a communicative organisation. The explicitly defined norms of communication, the limited body of texts and the precisely formulated objectives legitimate the thesis that the participants to a school communication are members of discourse community. However, if we assume that the community has clear-cut internal boundaries, we may surmise that within the school discourse community there are numerous cultural communities.

Defining the school community is conditioned by the aim and object of research. If the school language and its internal division are selected as the object of study, assuming that school community is a language community, whose idiom is functionally diversified in accordance with the boundaries found in a given ethnic language, will be the correct alternative. If the study focuses on the texts produced by the members of school community, it will be possible to adopt the thesis that it is a discourse community with a finite inventory of genres and an established communicative norms. If, however, one studies the relationships between the members of school community, including relationships at the junctures of ethnic groups (languages), we may assume that we are dealing with a communicative community. The thesis is also justified by the fact textological and normative limitations stemming from conventions and developed strategies of interaction have a detrimental effect on the interethnic relationships.

Taking the above into consideration, the analyses presented below set out with the premise that persons associated with the teaching environment constitute a separate, internally diversified communicative community. The communication takes place in specific sender-recipient situations, whose participants have their assigned, conventionalised communicative behaviours, which require using a specific code, whereas the element which serves to build favourable internal and external relationships are the texts developed by a given community. It is also important to assume that the members of the school communicative community do not posses equal linguistic and communicative competences;

consequently, they continually have to modify the employed strategies, or to depart from the established conventions and formulate, new, suitable ones. Since the research is concerned with communication in an ethnically diversified school community, which nevertheless has a dominant language, the primary object of analyses whose findings are presented in this paper are techniques of building favourable relationships at the junctures of cultures, within the norms and communication strategies developed by a given community. The aim of the study was to determine the barriers which impede the achievement of a communal goal — to increase the educational competences of the Roma pupils, and to demonstrate how to attain those communal goals within the boundaries of community established by the convention and the curriculum.

For this purpose the following should be done:

— present the communication rules functioning in Polish school community, i.e. to present the structure of the community and the relationships between its members,

— describe the known social attitudes towards ethnic minorities and determine the impact they have on the school community relationships,

— indicate communication barriers engendered by cultural differences,

— suggest modifications to the message conveyed as part of teaching and outside it, with allowances for the ethnic diversification of the studied community.

For practical and substantial reasons, the proposed solution will apply only to the teaching process in classes I–III. The results of studies pertaining to the subsequent stages of education will be presented in the upcoming publications.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNICATIVE COMMUNITY

Adopting school communicative community as the object of research requires a precise assessment of the range of communication within the community, i.e. establishing who its participants are, description of the diversification of the communal code and presentation of the hierarchy of school relationships.

The research demonstrates that finding the participants of the communal communication presented the greatest difficulty for the members of the discussed community. Most frequently, the affiliation with a community was de-

fined by way of the opposition school <=> pupil. This was manifested in such formulations as: 'the school has the obligation towards the pupil to…'; 'the school informs that…"; "the school was not in error…"[9] In many cases, the use of the lexeme "school" did not mean the institution but specific members of the community: teachers, class tutors, the director. The use of the word reduced personal responsibility of the teachers, enhanced their authority — identifying person with the institution, increased the distance, thus neutralising emotional content. Unfortunately, it weakened the relationships, described the pupils and the teachers in the categories of them and us, generated communication barriers.

Another problem was that many teachers failed to notice that legal guardians of the pupils also belong to the school community. When completing questionnaires concerning school communication, the teachers very frequently omitted the relationship teacher <=> parent (guardian), as a form of the community communication. As the pupil's age increased, the percentage of teachers who noticed the existence of parents decreased. Furthermore, many teachers limited the participation of caretakers to specific situation; they were accepted as community members chiefly when their charge had disturbed relationships within the community, i.e. was a challenging or problematic student.

If teachers included the caretakers in the community, they found it difficult to define those relationships and consequently to arrange them in any kind of hierarchy. The statements of the teachers: "they complain all the time", "they don't understand the problem", "take up a lot of time", the expressions used at conferences: "your children", the use of opposed pronouns "we" — teachers, "you" — parents, children (pupils), moulded relationships based on strife, founded on mutual negative perception. This resulted in the disturbed hierarchy of relationships. The communication in the community is aligned vertically and horizontally. The pupils and the teachers are equal partners; in the vertical arrangement the school's heads occupy the highest position, then there are teachers, administrative and technical staff, and finally pupils. It is difficult to indicate the place of the parents/caretakers due to the aforementioned disruptions. When observing the communicative behaviours of parents and teachers, and the expectations the pupils have of their parents, it may be inferred that in the school hierarchy the parents are slightly higher than the pupils, yet not

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[9]Conventionalised formulas, which function in external and internal communications, as well as official statements from the teachers.

much. Moreover, the teachers allow parents to situate themselves next to pupils, and in opposition to themselves. In ethnically diversified classes the teachers should make more intensified efforts to develop their relationships with the caretakers/parents, and assume that not only the pupils but also their parents are the subjective recipients of their actions. However, if parents were to support the teachers, they have to be situated on teacher's level in the community hierarchy.

The study has shown that the internal division of the communal code is a separate problem. It is functionally diversified, while different varieties serve various communicative situations. At school, the clearest boundary is traced between teaching situation and situations unrelated to teaching. The pupils frequently illustrate the difference by pointing to the communication space "in the classroom", "in the corridor". The expression "in the classroom" means during the class, and thus as part of the teaching-related communication, while "in the corridor" denotes non-teaching-communication. In teaching communication, all members of the community accept usage of scientific or quasi-scientific idiom, where the degree of advancement depends on the competence of the participants. In a non-teaching situation the pupils resort to colloquial language with a diverse degree of official forms, as indicated by the communicative situation. The pupils and caretakers do not accept the scientific and quasi-scientific manner in non-teaching exchange; these are introduced by the teachers when they wish to reinforce their authority, whereas the addressees interpret it as a manifestation of lack of respect, condescension and arrogance. The dichotomous division of communicative situations is important in intercultural relationships. Multilingual pupils during classes — "in the classroom" — use the dominant language, while during breaks — "in the corridor" — they switch to their own. This is not a favourable solution, as it restricts communicative and linguistic competence of the pupils who belong to a linguistic, ethnic or national minority. From this perspective it is important that the teachers monitor the non-teaching communication. The members of the community who belong to an ethnic minority cannot situate the dominant language only in the teaching or scientific context.

Bearing in mind that the dominant language in Polish schools is Polish, it should be remembered that teaching the language does not begin and does not end in Polish classes. Each teaching transmission is subordinated to that purpose. The non-teaching communication is equally important, especially for those pupils whose closest surroundings do not use Polish and the pupil has no contact with its normative presentation outside school.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES ADOPTED WITH
REGARD TO ETHNIC MINORITIES

The basic object of study conducted by the authors was teaching Polish to Roma pupils as a foreign language[10]; however, one of the problems that the researchers became interested in was communication in Polish-Roma school communities. It is a specific communicative situation, since the blatant cultural differences emphasize the strangeness of the Roma community members, overshadowing the fact that the Roma are Polish citizens on equal rights, who have lived on the territory of Poland for several hundred years. Poles also forget that they are the dominant group which is responsible for initiating and supporting unification processes. In a community which so far has had a powerful notion of their monoculturality, the question still remains whether unification solutions should be oriented towards assimilation, integration, or whether we should strive for a multicultural society.

In assimilation processes, ethnic minorities, in becoming similar to the dominant population, adopt their axiological system, customs, language and thus become fully-fledged citizens of a given country. Assimilation policy presupposes minimalisation of differences between ethnic minorities and the dominant society. According to the authors of the theory, this should prevent ethnically motivated conflicts. As a rule, the process entails unilateral adaptation and absorption. A profound, complementary assimilation presupposes absorption of individual or a group by the dominant group. In the case of ethnic minorities this means adopting the features of the dominant national group. Assimilation encompasses the entirety of psychological and social processes to which persons separating themselves from the group and adapting to life in a culturally different group are subjected.

Assimilation thus understood is not a process of mutual permeating and merging, following which individuals or groups become acquainted with memories, feelings and attitudes of other people and groups, thus creating a shared cultural experience, but a process of replacing social and cultural memory of the weaker group with identity features of the stronger one. When teaching Roma children, many teachers forget about their different cultural

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[10]"Education fro Integration" — programme of increasing the level of education for Roma children and adolescents — project co-financed by the European Union from the European Social Fund (PO KL 01.03.01-00-179/09).

identity, do not modify the curriculum, fail to notice the problems which stem from a different perception of the world, interpreting them as limited cognitive capacities, which is why until recently so many Roma pupils were placed in special schools. This behaviour is in accordance with the assimilatory approach.

The views regarding assimilation processes have evolved. It has begun to be perceived as a "process in which people of different races and representing different cultural legacy, inhabiting one territory, attain cultural solidarity, which is at least sufficient to sustain the existence of nation"[11]. The course and the rate of assimilation depend on the numbers of the minority group, its spatial concentration or dispersion, the scale of cultural differences, the economic status of the minority group and the axiological difference.

In many countries, the need for assimilation served to justify the policy of depriving various ethnic groups of their national identity by force.

The consolidation model is slightly different, in that it proposes to replace the monodirectional assimilation with bilateral integration, which many politicians consider to be a mitigated form of assimilation. In the broad sociological sense, integration draws on the principles which govern the functioning of social communities and the relationships between their members. It is defined as a method of organising various elements which constitute a society. This order draws on the cultural convention and axiological system, and concerns the links between individuals and social groups. An integrated social system is one where goals set by a "given culture" are fully accepted by individuals and achieved by socially acknowledged means; however, when the term "given culture" refers to the dominant culture, it means that we are dealing with a completed assimilation process. In the case of integration, the relationships between the dominant society and the ethnic minority should result from a process of incorporating culturally different elements into the existing social systems in such a way that the harmonious and effective functioning of those systems is not affected and elements of identity are not eliminated. As a process, integration is complex, bi-directional, long-lasting, multi-layered and very difficult. The fundamental premises of integration include:

— acquisition of basic rights by the members of ethnic minorities and their gaining access to a complementary social range;

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[11] http://mighealth.net/pl/images/3/36/Promocja_zatrudnienia.pdf, http://dialog2008.pl/index.php?page=art&artid=265 (last access: 21.08.2012).

— bilateral cultural exchange;

— creation of personal social relationships developed by members of ethnic minorities and the dominant society as well as membership in the formal and informal, ethnically mixed social groups;

— development of a sense of belonging and identification with the dominant society without the loss of one's own cultural identity.

The signals denoting successful integration of ethnically different groups include:

— achieving adequate linguistic competence by its members,

— employment in the professions which match the qualifications of the members of ethnically different community,

— attainment of appropriate economic status,

— their participation in political life,

— lack of conflicts with the law.

Having adopted integration model, most countries retained assimilation in education and social policy.

Nevertheless, communication in an ethnically diversified school community should also embrace integration premises. Teaching of the dominant language and broadening the knowledge of the history and tradition of the dominant culture have an assimilatory dimension. A reversal of activities, i.e. shift from one-sided to bilateral communication, in order to provide the dominant group with the knowledge about the minority group will allow members of the community to adopt an integrative approach.

The British have observed that despite intensification of integration processes, ethnic minorities still build their own communities — ghettos, where they use one language and reproduce the existential model of their ancestors; they have also noticed that ethnic origin determines economic and social status of the minority[12].

Those observations led to a conclusion that instead of assimilation and integration multiculturalism is the most efficient social-political solution with regard to national and ethnic minorities. Multiculturalism developed the models for the management of interethnic relationships. The latter are based on respect for all differences in culture, origin, religion or customs. The

[12]http://mighealth.net/pl/images/3/36/Promocja_zatrudnienia.pdf, http://dialog2008.pl/index.php?page=art&artid=265 (last access: 21.08.2012).

policy of multiculturalism offers equal rights for everyone without renouncing their cultural identity[13].

At present, multiculturalism is the most widely accepted social-political solution employed in countries inhabited by ethnically different populations. The concept of multicultural society has evolved with the intensifying migration, the influx of representatives of different cultures, religions and their permanent residence in highly developed countries, such as Germany, France or Great Britain. The adherents of multiculturalism hold the view that the members of minority groups should retain their different language, culture and social behaviours, since it does not threaten anyone's national identity. The identity of the cultural difference bolsters tolerance of different lifestyles. The policy of multiculturalism not only grants equal rights to members of minorities without the requirement to renounce other cultural affiliations, but also gives them particular, ethnicity-dependent rights.

The theory that only through assimilation can members of ethnic minorities become fully-fledged citizens of a given country has proved false. The process, due to its monodirectional nature — the members of ethnic minorities adopt the language, norms and behaviours of the dominant society, without analogous adjustment on the part of that society — violated the principle of equality before the law for all citizens of a given state.

Integration policy, which in contrast to assimilation presupposes that the process of mutual adjustment of ethnic minority and the dominant society is bilateral — both groups not only accept the common culture but also make their own contribution to it — although socially fair, deepens the interference processes and erases cultural differences, leading potentially to a loss of cultural identity among the members of ethnic minorities and the dominant society alike.

The concept of multiculturality in not ideal either. The assumption that people originating from various ethnic groups learn about the different cultures from one another, simultaneously preserving the sense of cultural diversity and the awareness of their own cultural legacy, is not a state-building assumption, and has a negative impact on the ethnic minorities as it results in a limited access to economic, social and educational goods generated by the state.

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[13]http://mighealth.net/pl/images/3/36/Promocja_zatrudnienia.pdf, http://dialog2008.pl/index.php?page=art&artid=265 (last access: 21.08.2012).

The authors are of the opinion that it is necessary to adopt a combined system. Assimilation processes should apply to an indispensable minimum, which will make the functioning of ethnically different groups in a dominant society more efficient. Integration processes should assist in mutual education with regard to cultural differences, will allow to develop communication techniques at the boundaries of cultures and eliminate the category us/them, understood as the opposition friend/enemy. They will also include minority groups in culture-making processes in an ethnically mixed society. In turn, multiculturality is necessary in consolidating cultural differences of the groups which constitute multicultural societies. As part of intercultural communication, it will restrict the excessively dynamic interference processes which may engender a sense of threat and provoke disintegrative actions.

Multiculturality cannot be understood as a mixture of ethnically diversified signs without the ability to identify their identity, therefore multicultural societies should see their ethnic differences, know their origin and be able to interpret the signs which describe it.

Thus comprehended, multiculturality is an added value, which may be augmented by assimilation-integration activities encompassing the legal and educational sphere, with the provision that they should take the multicultural factor into account.

The legal solutions applying to Roma minority provide an example here: as part of assimilation, they have identical rights as the members of the dominant ethnic group, as part of integration they were granted particular rights applying to ethnic minorities, and as part of the multicultural paradigm they establish their own associations and live in their own ethnic communities.

Such notion of coexistence of ethnically diversified groups has an impact on the relationships in Polish-Roma communicative communities at school. They may assume a modular form, with the assimilation model encompassing the curriculum and increase of linguistic competence in Polish, the integration model should encourage two-directional flow of information on the cultures of all members of the community, while the multicultural model stands for relationships which preserve the cultural differences among all members of the community.

However, such method of communication requires that both sides be able to diagnose the barriers in the ethnically diversified cultural communication.

BARRIERS IMPEDING POLISH-ROMA COMMUNICATION

The first significant impediment in the intercultural communication is the oral nature of the Roma culture. Romani[14] is an Indo-Aryan language which is highly diversified geographically/regionally in terms of syntax, morphology, phonology and lexis. Nevertheless, it amounts to one common language system[15]. Romani is divided into two groups: Southern Romani (Central Europe) and Northern Romani dialects (Western and Southern Europe). The division is based on ethnic-cultural differences, which are reflected in the community code. At present, the Roma are multilingual, speaking Romani and the languages of the dominant national groups with which they are in permanent or temporary relationships. Linguistic interference between varieties of Romani, as well as between the local/dominant languages and Romani are visible chiefly in the lexicon[16]. Romani is the only modern ethnic language which does not have its written from, which unfortunately favours its transformation. The stabilising factor is the language taboo, which restricts the range of its functioning and clearly defines its users. The Roma see the language as a sacred entity and a fundamental factor of cultural identification. The Roma use a variety of cultural texts. These include verbal tradition: fairytales and poems, lyrics of songs, proverbs and riddles. Unfortunately, all of those, due to the oral nature of the culture, function solely in oral form, they are passed from generation to generation as an element of ethnic memory.

Lack of Roma writings has its merits and is culturally justified. Recording the language in writing would render the taboo unsustainable, Romani would become popular property; in consequence the group of users would expand and interference processes intensify. Also, the rank of the language would diminish, it would cease to function as a carrier of ethnic tradition, because it would serve to describe culturally different worlds. Written texts would accelerate assimilation processes and threaten the permanence and difference of the Roma culture, or Roma ethnic identity.

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[14] http://babin.bn.org.pl/?p=441, (last access: 21.08.2012).

[15] T. Pobożniak, Grammar of the Lovari Dialect, Kraków 1964; G.P. Demeter, N.G. Demeter, N. Bessonov, V. Kutenkov, Istoria cygan: novyj vzgľad, Voronež 2000; A.M. Fraser, Dzieje Cyganów, Warszawa 2001; I. Hancock, Ame sam e rromane džene / We Are the Romani People, New York 2001.

[16] Y. Matras, Romani: A Linguistic Introduction, Cambridge 2002.

Still, orality has its negative consequences. Lack of written from prevents the most important cultural texts from being recorded, hinders their understanding, especially in intercultural contacts. The language is the trove of the value system, beliefs and the communal point of view. The secrecy of the language results in facts being unknown among interlocutors, which constitutes a major communication barrier. It is also difficult to build a communal historical awareness, as the lack of writing leads to shortage of one's own records of events. The history of the Roma may be learned from external records. Lack of one's own historical records results in a different perception of time and history by the Roma people: "history is the past, which is what the oldest remember"[17].

The lack of the written form also results in the fact that the Roma do not have the normative awareness of the language, the users of spoken language do not feel the need of formal normativisation, also in the case of using a foreign language. The basic informative function presupposes that the message has to be clear and sufficient. Pragmatism not only restricts the artistic function but also simplifies and limits communication techniques of the Roma.

Lack of written communication considerably restricts the freedom of the Roma community in the legal, educational and professional space.

These limitations are reflected in the communication within school community. The community members with Roma background do not comprehend the need to use orthography, do not feel the need of formal codification of language, because they learn it intuitively in the course of social interaction. The have a difficulty in composing texts because they do not perceive any difference between written and spoken version, they are also incapable of differentiating between registers or formulating syntactically elaborate utterances. This limits the use of linking expressions and reduces the competence in using prepositions and punctuation marks.

The Roma cannot use language as a tool of social influence in a covert manner, i.e. socially accepted. The confine themselves to the simplest methods, which others perceive as unmannerly, annoying or even aggressive behaviours.

The consequence of oral culture is tabooisation of language. The Roma, possessing no ethnolinguistic knowledge, intuitively recognised that placing the language under a specific taboo — a prohibition of use — would protect their cultural identity. They understood that a limitation on the external

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[17] Definition of history as provided by a Roma primary school pupil.

transfer concerning their culture would not suffice; one also should designate those who are allowed to use the community code, i.e. the carrier of knowledge about their own culture.

Romani is an exclusive property of the Roma, it is also the only code utilised in community communication, while the language of the dominant group serves for intercultural communication.

The taboo of this kind not only threatens the permanence of the Romani language, but also impedes learning about the Roma culture, since explanation of many aspects of social life requires using terms and notions under taboo. It is also impossible to learn the standardised forms of linguistic behaviour, which not only inform about the communicative convention but also render structure to the Roma community. Without that knowledge, it is easy to offend the participants of communication, or even provoke an open conflict. In protecting their language as one of the elements of culture, the Roma imposed a similar taboo on their customs and family tradition, therefore popular knowledge about that ethnic group is virtually nil; it is not based on factual information, contains numerous superstitions, untrue information, and relies on stereotypes. Its verification is very difficult.

The limitations arising from the linguistic taboo have an influence on the intercultural communication in school environment. It is difficult to teach a foreign language without references to the pupil's own native tongue, while understanding one another in the dominant language becomes difficult as well. It is necessary to abandon the comparative method based on semantic and pragmatic equivalency. Without the knowledge of the valid communicative conventions of a given culture, it is difficult to develop appropriate intercultural relationships.

The fact that the language and consequently many aspects of everyday life are under taboo reinforces stereotypes, engenders untrue myths concerning the identity of the ethnic minority. The limited knowledge results in fear which fosters aggressive attitudes among the members of the dominant group.

Taboo necessitates monodirectional communication, which is typical for assimilation rather than integration processes; nor does it favour developing modern multicultural relationships.

The obscure nature of the cultural distinctenss of the Roma does not facilitate communication on the boundary of cultures. The Roma taboo, as observed above, involves not only communicative prohibitions but also cultural dictates, which regulate social relationships outside state law. One thing to be taken into consideration in school community communication is the existence of the

romanipen. This is a form of common law, whose infringement, even as part of intercultural communication, may lead to the severing of the relationships. It is a fundamental collection of laws and duties of the Roma. Its violation, if committed by a Roma, may be punished with an expulsion from the Roma community.

Romanipen is observed in a varying degree by individual tribes and groups of the Roma; some of its prohibitions have expired, but in traditional families they may be treated with full seriousness. There are also many obligations and prohibitions which constitute the foundation of ethnic identity and are inviolable.

Considered in its entirety, *romanipen* yields values of particular importance for the members of this community:
— family,
— Buci, the rule of well performed work,
— group solidarity,
— modesty/physical and spiritual purity,
— respect for the elderly.

Apart from *romanipen,* there are several other cultural aspects which have an impact on the shaping of relationships in the discussed communicative community. One of them is the specific religiousness of the Roman ethnic minority. The Roma do not profess their own religion, but depending on the place in which they have settled they adopt the dominant religious tradition of that area. The Roma of Central Europe and a part of Western Europe are Catholics. In protestant countries they are protestants. In Romania, Bulgaria and in the states of the former Soviet Union they are Orthodox. The Roma from Albania, Bosnia, the Middle East and Northern Africa are followers of Islam[18].

Religion of the Roma is also influenced by the remnants of Indian beliefs; their culture the preserves legends about Hindu deities: Brahma, Indra, Vishnu, Agni, Lakhsmi, Prithvi. The primitive Roma also believed in the existence of the highest being called Deweł and the evil being Beng. The Roma religion is characteristic for its syncretism, in that they combine Catholic, Protestant or Islamic traditions with elements of primitive belief, Hinduism and their own sacred

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[18]http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,1441,http://stowarzyszenie.romowie.net/index.php/czytnik-artykulow/items/99.html, http://www.romowie.com/modulep.php?name=News&file=article&sid=883 (last access: 21.08.2012).

tradition. This is particularly manifested in their rituals; some Roma groups celebrate both Catholic and Orthodox or Orthodox and Muslim holidays.

The traditional faith in magic and supernatural forces is of considerable significance. The Roma believe in the power of spells, amulets and talismans, curses and healing rituals. The belief in demons and evil spirits is still alive; among other things, the Roma believe that a dead person may by incarnated as another person, animal or evil spirit.

The patroness saint of the Roma is the Black Sara — Kali Sara, also called Black Madonna — every year, thousands of Roma from across Europe pilgrimage to Les Saintes Maries de la Mer in France to participate in the adoration of the "Holy Sara"[19].

The Roma see religious assimilation as the condition of survival and being spared religious persecution[20].

Another barrier for communication is the specific structure of the Roma communities, resulting from the *romanipen*. The most important person in the group is the eldest male, although in many families women are those who take care of the family's existence, organise family life, ensure healthy relationships within the family. The man takes the most important decisions affecting the entire family, he is also the final authority as far as children are concerned. Next to the community, family represents the highest of values for the Roma.

The eldest in the community also enjoy tremendous respect. One may observe that among the children and the young the attitude is natural, not enforced in the course of bringing up but a consequence of social interaction. The respect is manifested not only on the verbal plane in language etiquette, but also in non-verbal communicative behaviours, the solicitude they show and the unquestioning compliance with the decisions of the older persons, even in the case of young couples who have their own children.

This exceptional respect for the elderly is found in every oral culture; a given community knows as much about itself as it is told by the older members. They are the link between generations, the condition for the continuity of culture, a fundament of tradition. In written culture, their memory was replaced with scientific studies, records which preserve cultural continuance.

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[19] http://www.katolikwchicago.com/katonline/2011/05/9.aspx (last access: 21.08.2012).

[20] http://stowarzyszenie.romowie.net/index.php/czytnik-artykulow/items/99.html (last access: 21.08.2012).

Their authority and individual notion of justice, developed through tradition, was exchanged for objective, impersonal statutory law.

The specific family-based structuring of the Roma community is linked to their strong sense of identity, it is a manifestation of the group solidarity. Whenever asked who they are, they invariably emphasize that they are Roma by nationality, and Polish by citizenship. For the Roma, citizenship is solely a legal, not a cultural issue, they have Polish ID documents and permanent residence in Poland.

TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE YOUNGEST FORMS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL

Education in classes I–III is integrated, therefore it would be difficult to suggest framework lesson scenarios which implement individual consolidation modules and to separate the teaching and non-teaching activities. It would be more preferable to make the teachers aware of the barriers which hamper gaining command of Polish and highlighting which competences should be paid attention to and to what an extent in the process of building relationships within the community.

The subsequent remarks regarding curriculum do not involve introduction of new lesson units or educational tasks, but merely modify the contents to be conveyed according to the curriculum and expand the teaching-tutoring work of the teacher by improving relations with the pupils and their caretakers, who represent ethnically diversified backgrounds.

It should be borne in mind that the fundamental objective in early school teaching in Polish-Roma classes is improving competences in Polish as the dominant language. At this age, however, teaching Polish should not be restricted to classes devoted to the subject. As part of early school education, when partaking in mathematics or biology classes, pupils learn to use different registers of general language. In art classes, they learn to describe emotions, aesthetic experience, enrich their vocabulary. Ethical and pro-social education, reflected later in the language is also very important. Language performs a social function, therefore without adequate language competence, ethnic minorities will not be equal participants in the life of the dominant society, will create cultural and national ghettos, which does not benefit any of the groups.

On the other hand, when teaching the language of the dominant group, the teachers provide the minority group with information about the culture of the users of Polish, since history, tradition, perception of the world, axiological system and categorisation are preserved in this language[21].

Being unable to take action in the other direction, i.e. use Romani for communication purposes because it has been placed under taboo by its users, the teachers should attempt comparative teaching, juxtaposing cultural information on both groups while relying on verified information at their disposal.

Teaching in ethnically diversified groups should follow the curriculum approved by the teaching staff, extended by a module of integration classes and classes addressed to the children from ethnic minorities, which will broaden their knowledge about their own culture and tradition[22].

The selected curriculum should focus on independent discovery of the world, teach openness[23]. By this means, the teachers will be able to improve pupil's knowledge and give them the tools motivating to cognitive activities, enabling them to search for the truth on their own.

It is particularly important to focus teaching on individuality, openness, acceptance of difference, which will help to develop relations between pupils representing diverse cultures.

It is also necessary to employ educational activities for the benefit of pupil's self-cognition and self-esteem. This will allow the pupils belonging to the minority group to build equal relationships with the pupils from the dominant group.

The selected curriculum, even the best one, enables the teacher to carry out the assimilation module only, when it is adopted in its basic, unchanged form.

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[21]Zob. podstawy teoretyczne JOS, J. Bartmiński, Językowe podstawy obrazu świata, Lublin, 2006.

[22]This is in accordance with the Act modifying the act on educational system of March 2009. The act obviates the need for a curriculum do be approved for use by the minister competent in the matters of education. The curricula selected by the teachers are approved for use by the principal of a given school, having first consulted the teaching staff. Hence the approval number from the Ministry of National Education.

[23]One of the curricula meeting the requirements of openness and demands of the present day is "Kolorowa Klasa", drawing on the theory of Celestyn Freinet and Jean Piaget. The authors of the curriculum were also inspired by Maria Montessori, who puts emphasis on the creativity and independence of the child. The proposed syllabus contains solutions and suggestions which depart from the pattern of convey => consolidate => assess. The authors, following those who inspired them, stress autonomous attainment of knowledge, integrative discovery of the world, arousing interest in one's surroundings, perceiving a problem and solving it.

Modification of its contents will allow the pupils to broaden the knowledge of their cultural roots, gain command of the necessary skills as well as to socialize. The integrative activities are not aimed at the Roma pupil only, being bidirectional in nature; the activities mould the attitudes of the pupils from the dominant group. Bearing in mind the community communication, the activities should be expanded to include legal guardians of both groups of pupils.

During classes which, as per curriculum, develop the knowledge and skills in using native language, listening texts should take into account the ethnic diversification of the class; texts by Polish authors and Roma tales should be used[24].

Roma children do use Polish at home, so terms and standardised expressions are introduced only during lessons. Therefore the process requires much attention, also as part of non-teaching communication, i.e. at breaks, before the lessons or during compensatory classes. The linguistic etiquette skills will allow them to develop equal relations[25]. Independent formulation of views on the part of Roma children is not a problem, their standing in the Roma community makes them willingly express their own opinions. This, however, happens without the use of appropriate standardised politeness forms; this aspect of utterance should be given particular attention. Still, too frequent correction may curb their openness, therefore critical feedback should be mitigated by positive motivation.

Both Polish and Roma pupils have a difficulty in differentiating between registers; however the rank of age in Roma culture may help in distinguishing utterances in formal and informal situations.

Roma pupils will experience much more difficulty in gaining command of writing and reading. It is very important that these lessons be preceded by a conversation concerning the differences between written and oral culture[26]. It might be helpful to quote and interesting Greek or Celtic myth, or refer to a fantasy film based on Scandinavian mythology. Reminding the pupils that these texts, which were first passed in speech from generation to generation and provided a fundament of cultural identity, then recorded and rewritten thus surviving subsequent centuries as common good, will help them to accept the orality of the Roma culture. Finally, one may quote Polish fables, as a proof for

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[24] P. Stankiewicz, Paramisi romane — Baśnie romskie, Białystok 2008.

[25] M. Marcjanik, Grzeczność w komunikacji językowej, Warszawa 2007.

[26] http://www.e-kultura.net.pl/strona/194/kultura-oralna.html (last access: 21.08.2012).

the high rank of oral culture. It is very important that children comprehend the importance of writing, yet without discrediting their own due to their orality. Such a lesson will make them realise what the purpose of language norm is, and why appropriate grammatical forms are important for successful communication. Roma children require powerful motivation in the learning of writing and reading, and increasing their self-esteem will bolster it. At the same time, it will underline the standing of that culture among the students who belong to the dominant group.

In ethnically diversified classes teachers should avoid the notion of "język ojczysty [native/mother language, with adjective derived from 'homeland']", unless it refers to the pupil from the dominant group. Studies have demonstrated that Roma pupils protest vehemently when the teacher underlines that Polish is their native tongue. They do not understand the notion of 'homeland', explicitly claiming that they represent Roma nation, that Romani is their language, while their citizenship is Polish. They live in accordance with Polish law and acknowledge school obligation, knowing also that they should have command of the language of the country where they live.

At this stage of education, electronic communication might come in handy. Representatives of both ethnic groups are skilled in using the internet, therefore integration lesson may take place in the computer lab. There are numerous websites devoted to Roma culture[27]; seeking out corresponding websites devoted to Polish culture, and teaching to read, the teacher implements the process of accepting difference. At the outset, it would be worthwhile to find iconographic contents with short commentaries. It would be more interesting for the pupils if they were confronted with multimedia presentations prepared by the teacher, adapted to the pupil's competence level and containing richly illustrated, attractive and functionally diversified texts. Such a teaching aid would be invaluable in view of the independent work to be done by the pupil. Most Roma children have computers, but they do not possess dictionaries or books; an electronic textbook would not only solve the problem of texts, but also reduce the cost of teaching and would serve to neutralise the differences, while its attractive form would provide additional motivation to work on the reading and writing.

The current curricula draw attention to encouraging the pupil to read children's magazines and texts. The educational system and the press market fail to

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[27] http://stowarzyszenie.romowie.net/index.php/kultura.37.html http://www.romowie.com/romano_atmo/ra_10.pdf, [PPT] (last access: 21.08.2012).

keep up with pupil development, badly chosen reading material may discourage, therefore it would be worthwhile to suggest that pupils choose texts on their own, with due regard for the requirements of the *romanipen*.

The teacher should pay attention to the pitch and volume of pupil's utterances, their dynamic and body language, since these are important signals denoting cultural difference of the sender; lack of cohesion in the verbal and non-verbal message as well as contextual incompatibility which stems from the failure to adapt the above message parameters may provoke aggression in the recipients[28].

The module devoted to the development of creative skill and sensitivity to the beauty of works of art should also be modified with respect to integration.

During those lessons, it would be worthwhile to resort to electronic tools. As far as creative writing is concerned, one may prepare and e-publication for the class's webpage, featuring the best texts of the pupils: poems, stories, fairytales, riddles, memories. The possibility of their presentation will additionally motivate to creative effort.

During the lesson devoted to artistic work, when analysing renown paintings, the teachers should draw attention to the works of Polish and Roma artists[29] and discuss them in a broader cultural context. When demonstrating the architecture of a Polish house, the teachers may show the most attractive and the most interesting specimens of Roma wagons[30], and when explaining the nature of Nomadic culture, one may refer to the images of decorative Arabic tents or Mongolian yurts. One may also draw attention to the beauty of functional objects found in culturally diverse ethnic groups.

As regards lessons of music, pupils should not only be acquainted with Polish and Roma music as part of the multicultural module, but also Roma and Polish musicians may be invited[31]. It would be worthwhile to draw attention of the pupils to the exceptional role of music in the building of cultural identity, not only in these two ethnic groups.

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[28]M. Argyle, Psychologia stosunków międzyludzkich, Warszawa 1999.

[29]http://jezwegierski.blox.pl/2006/11/wystawa-wspolczesnej-sztuki-romskiej-na-moim-blogu.html (last access: 21.08.2012).

[30] http://www.muzeum.tarnow.pl/artykul.php?typ=6 (last access: 21.08.2012).

[31] http://www.cacivorba.pl/content/folk/romowie1.html, http://www.bahtale-roma.pl/ (last access: 21.08.2012).

Theatrical education, especially in choreography, allows one to highlight the presence of Roma culture in theatre. The pupils may compare theatrical attire of the Roma, found for instance in operettas[32], with their actual appearance; one may also interpret the choreography in the performances of Roma bands, which draws on the symbolic of journey[33]. A suitable summing up for classes of this kind would be a show prepared by the pupils, presenting that which they consider to be typical for their culture. Here the most significant feature would be justification of the choices made and preparation of the performance in every aspect: concept, message, context (choreography). Including caretakers of the pupils in the activities would be an added value.

Making pupils acquainted with ethical values and pro-social attitudes plays a particular role in early school education. Teachers should remember that cultural distinctiveness entails a different value system, that axiology defines given communicative community and that there is no universal system of values.

Before the pupils begin ethical education, the teacher should become acquainted with the rules of the *romanipen*[34]. This will enable them to avoid violating cultural taboo. The knowledge of *romanipen* may also help in introducing certain values, since some of the behaviours of the young Roma may constitute an ethical model to follow. Such values as family, age, nation/community or language rank the highest among the values of Roma culture, which is confirmed in the Roma code as well as in the behaviour of the Roma, as observed during the study. Certain values, such as homeland, Poland or nation may present a difficulty, because they will be variedly perceived by the pupils with Polish and Roma background. However, it would be beneficial to emphasize that difference and an important lesson in accepting axiological dissimilarity.

In the case of culturally diversified classes, much attention during lessons in ethics should be devoted to the following notion: acceptance and tolerance, national identity, ethnic identity nation, society, naturally within the cognitive competence of the pupils. Drafting an ethical code which meets the expectations of the pupils will accelerate the process of accepting axiological differences. It would be worthwhile to guide the pupils in such way that they formulate principles describing their functioning on the boundary of cultures. An item

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[32] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_jraB6J-L70 (last access: 21.08.2012).

[33] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FoVEo74poRE&noredirect=1,http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwNqSrcpOxk&feature=related (last access: 21.08.2012).

[34] L. Mróz, Geneza Cyganów i ich kultury, Warszawa 1992.

possibly to be deleted from the inventory of curriculum-specified values is modesty, which in teaching frequently boils down to "children should be seen not heard", which exposes not only child's development but also its safety at risk. Instead, one may introduce the value of politeness, explaining at the same time the importance of language etiquette and its significance in successful communication[35].

Pro-social attitudes are shaped by the very participation in an integrative educational process. However, in the course of patriotic education, when discussing Polish anthem and national symbols, it would be worthwhile to draw attention to the Roma symbols (flag) and the Roma anthem[36]. When interpreting Polish anthem, the teacher should also interpret the anthem of the Roma.

When discussing customs, pupils should be made aware that holidays are celebrated differently in different cultures. The pupils may for instance tell how their families celebrate All Saints' Day. The interest and respect from the teacher, as well as drawing attention to the fact that just as Roma today, Poles celebrated "Dziady" in the past, will make it easier for the pupils to accept the distinct features of their cultures.

In social education, one may point out the anthropological differences between Roma and Poles, as well as demonstrate other nations who differ in appearance, showing subsequently that even Roma children are not all alike, and Polish ones are not identical. This will allow the pupils to accept anthropological differences and prevent judgemental perception of oneself and fellow pupils. In addition, pupils will realise the relativity of appearance.

During lessons concerned with family life, it would be worthwhile to draw attention to the different perception of family. As stated in the curriculum, children and their caretakers may prepare genealogical tree of the family. The trees of the Roma pupils will be more elaborate, and the memory about the ancestors more comprehensive. This will raise the self-esteem of the minority pupils and have an impact on how other children perceive family.

The education in understanding and respect for nature should include the presence of the Roma ethnic group in the school community. As an itinerant tribe, Roma have an exceptional approach to nature. The pupils may interview their family members and collect information about the properties of wild

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[35] M. Marcjanik, op. cit.

[36] http://www.pk.org.pl/artykul.php?id=20, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCiUOSwcqME (last access: 21.08.2012).

plants and their use in everyday life (dyes, medicines, food). The pupils living in a city, in two-generation families, may have some difficulty, but even they know camomile, horseradish and salvia. Roma pupils may also experience some difficulty, since using plants is considered an element of magic and may be cultural taboo. Making the pupils aware of the rank of ecology and natural medicine beforehand may be helpful. Thus, they will learn respect for nature, will get to know its possibilities and see its beauty. During those lessons the pupils may also learn ecological behaviour. As part of the multicultural module, an elder Roma may be invited to the class to talk about how Roma travelled in the past, how they marked their area and how they protected their environment, places and campsites they visited, conscious of the fact that they must serve future travellers.

A difficulty which may arise here is the Roma purity precept, which defines how to use vessels, what and how to wash, how to dress. It also forbids to clean toilets, touch human and animal refuse and dirt. The teacher has to take it into account when teaching segregation of waste, the rules of dressing or hygiene. The Roma taboo applies also to human intimate functions, the teacher should therefore remember that communication on that topic is restricted to the family community.

The studies have not shown different predisposition of the Roma pupils in terms of mathematical logic. Most respondents defined mathematics as a subject they liked. The formulation of the instructions was the only problem. Lower competence in reading and understanding text in Polish caused the teacher to mistake linguistic misunderstanding for lack of mathematical competence. The contents of the problem to be solved should be explained with particular care. With progressing language skills, the pupils will cope better with the interpretation of instructions, which do not belong to the language of everyday communication.

In the course of the study, no problems with media communication have been observed. Despite substantial figure of illiterate respondents, also adults, the knowledge of the world displayed by the Roma was equivalent to the knowledge or literate societies. The source of the knowledge were electronic media: television and radio for the illiterate, and internet for those who read and write, including those whose command of these skills is very limited. It follows from the interviews with children that the internet is a substitute for travel, facilitates contact with the travelling members of the family. It allows Roma to access culture (games, films, music) in their own homes, since in public places they are afraid of humiliation and manifestations of intolerance, even aggression.

A problem which was not culturally relativised was excessive, mindless use of electronic media.

The communicative solutions for teaching presented above and the suggested modifications to the curriculum do not increase the number of obligatory hours at school. However, teachers should consider introducing compensatory classes for the pupils who require assistance of this kind. These lessons should take place in small, ethnically diversified groups, because not only Roma have difficulty in acquiring certain skills, while creation of ethnically homogenous groups would set off stigmatization process. Small groups would enable individual work with a pupil who, under supervision of the teacher should do tasks planned specially for that pupil, according to their needs. The teacher, supervising completion of those tasks, helps only when it becomes necessary. Compensatory classes should be a substitute for the work that other pupils do at home under supervision of parents.

In order for the community communication to have complementary character, the relations associated with teaching, adapted to the ethnic diversification of the participants in the communication, should be accompanied by the process of developing non-teaching relations.

Monitoring pupils during breaks is indispensable. The teacher has the duty to ensure that in that different communicative context relationships on the boundary of cultures become stronger. Appropriate organisation of the pupils' free time may provide an incentive, if they are suggested joint fun and games. In this time, one should also prevent culture-based conflicts and alienation of students belonging to ethnic minority.

The relation teacher <=> parent/caretaker should also be culturally relativised. The teacher engaging in a communication with the caretakers of Roma children, should have due consideration for the Roma family structure and the rules of *romanipen*, as well as strive to hold conferences with parents as well as older family members who enjoy authority. Their approval for the actions of the teacher will have tremendous significance in the strengthening of those relations, while the efficacy of community communication will increase.

The conventionalised communication may be complemented by joint activities of all members of the community, caretakers included, aiming to become acquainted with respective cultures (integration) and to protect their distinctness (multiculturality). Such activities may include joint task outside classroom, "get-to-know" meetings or presentations of traditions of either side.

CONCLUSIONS

Adopting the thesis that in a school environment there exists a separate communicative community permitted the observation that education, as a specific form of communication, is continuous in nature and takes place in various communicative situations. Furthermore, it does not apply exclusively to the relation pupil <=> teacher; the circle of participants of this communication is much broader and encompassed pupils' families as well. The internal diversification of communication has an impact on the diversity of the community code. In the situation where communicative community is ethnically diversified, separate communicative solutions should be triggered, both related to teaching as well as outside it. In such a singular communicative situation, one should employ a modular system of communication, which develops various consolidation attitudes: assimilatory, integrative and multicultural.

The fundamental educational task at early school age is increasing competence in Polish as the dominant language as well mutual presentation of cultural dissimilarities in order to know and protect them.

From the above analyses it follows that communication in ethnically diversified school environment will be effective and successful as long as the teacher remembers that:

— the manner in which educational content is presented should take the most fundamental requirements of the *romanipen* into account,

— for the Roma pupils, Polish is a foreign language,

— for those pupils, writing is not a standard medium

— school is the basic and the only environment providing education concerned with Polish language

— the knowledge Poles have about the Roma is far from correct,

— stereotypes hinder communication, which is why they should be eliminated by getting to know those communication participants who represent a different culture,

— in addition to speaking a different language, the pupils function in a different cultural space,

— the aim of school education is not assimilation but integration, aiming towards multiculturality, which is characterised by respect for dissimilarity.

Appropriately developed community relationships will not only serve to increase communicative competence of the Roma pupils, but will make it easier for all pupils to communicate in the culturally diversified, global world.

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KOMUNIKACJA MIĘDZYKULTUROWA. RELACJE POLSKO-ROMSKIE W ŚRODOWISKU SZKOLNYM— ETAP WCZESNOSZKOLNY

Streszczenie

Autorki tekstu na wstępie przyjęły tezę, że w środowisku szkolnym funkcjonuje odrębna wspólnota komunikacyjna. Pozwoliło to dostrzec, że kształcenie jako specyficzna forma komunikacji ma charakter ciągły i odbywa się w różnych sytuacjach komunikacyjnych. Tak rozumiana komunikacja wspólnotowa nie dotyczy wyłącznie relacji uczeń — nauczyciel. Krąg jej uczestników jest szerszy i obejmuje także rodziny uczniów. Odrębne rozwiązania komunikacyjne zarówno dydaktyczne, jak i pozadydaktyczne powinny być według autorek uruchamiane w sytuacji, gdy szkolna wspólnota komunikacyjna jest zróżnicowana etnicznie.

W takim przypadku powinno się uwzględnić wszystkie postawy konsolidacyjne: asymilacyjną, integracyjną oraz multikulturową. Pozwolą one zrealizować podstawowe zadania edukacyjne dla wieku wczesnoszkolnego, czyli podnieść kompetencje w zakresie języka polskiego jako dominującego oraz zaprezentować odmienności kulturowe w celu ich poznania i ochrony.

Z przedstawionych analiz wynika, że komunikacja w środowisku szkolnym, zróżnicowanym etnicznie, będzie efektywna, jeśli członkowie omawianej wspólnoty, szczególnie nauczyciele, będą pamiętali, że;

— sposób prezentacji treści edukacyjnych musi uwzględniać najbardziej podstawowe wymogi *romanipen*, czyli nie może naruszać niezapisanych tradycyjnych romskich zasad postępowania i budowania relacji międzyludzkich,

— język polski jest dla uczniów romskich językiem obcym,

— pismo jest dla nich nietypową formą przekazu,

— szkoła jest podstawowym lub jedynym środowiskiem edukacyjnym w zakresie języka polskiego,

— wiedza Polaków na temat Romów jest daleka od prawdy,

— stereotypy utrudniają komunikację, dlatego należy je eliminować przez poznawanie odmiennych kulturowo uczestników komunikacji,

— uczniowie nie tylko posługują się różnymi językami, lecz także funkcjonują w odmiennych przestrzeniach kulturowych,

— celem dydaktyki szkolnej nie jest asymilacja, a integracja zmierzająca do multikulturowości, charakteryzującej się poszanowaniem odmienności.

Poprawnie kształtowane relacje wspólnotowe umożliwią podniesienie kompetencji komunikacyjnej uczniów romskich oraz ułatwią wszystkim uczniom komunikację w zróżnicowanym kulturowo globalnym świecie.