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Education for All (EFA) is the widely known label of the global development consensus that has been established 15 years ago. Most countries in Europe have achieved EFA goals or are close to doing so and thus have seldom been a matter of concern. Looking beyond national averages, however, shows that certain populations are to a great extent excluded from quality education. A group especially vulnerable in this regard are Roma. Roma have lived in Europe for hundreds of years, are predominantly sedentary (contrary to popular perception) and in most countries a recognised national minority.

International surveys show a high degree of educational inequality when comparing Roma with majority populations. The provision of quality education for Roma has been defined as a key European policy priority since the launching of the Decade of Roma Inclusion in 2005, with similar emphasis apparent in the 2011 EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. Since then, a wide range of approaches at international, national, and local level has emerged to improve the Roma's situation of education. However, at each level there is considerable variation in actors' views about what might work and how education should be organized. The various approaches have met with varying degrees of success in addressing the Roma's disadvantage in the area of education.

Helen O'Nions examines cases of educational segregation that were brought to the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights and found to violate the right to education in combination with the principle of non-discrimination. O'Nions shows that the segregation of Romani children and youth is likely to be discriminatory even if specialised segregated provision is defended as being in the

interests of the pupils and tailored to their needs. Similarly, the justification of segregated education with reference to parental consent does not preclude discriminatory treatment. Looking at subsequent developments in relation to the cases under consideration, O'Nions draws the conclusion that the rulings of the Grand Chamber, while consistent in their rejection of segregation, have failed to secure compliance on the part of governments.

Yaron Matras, Daniele Viktor Leggio and Mirela Steel scrutinise local approaches to the education of Romani migrants from Romania in Manchester. Their case study reveals how NGOs position themselves as education service providers between local authorities and Romani migrants. The authors examine how actors under constant pressure to secure project funding present Roma as a population in need of educational support. To this end, the actors develop educational approaches that – according to observations by Matras et al. – are selectively taken from international discourses on identity, culture and belonging rather than based on local needs.

Tina Gažovičová examines language policies in education in Slovakia. Looking at Romani students, she finds that the existence of language rights has not led to the realization of adequate language support. Gažovičová discusses several institutional barriers that complicate the use of the Romani language in the school context. Moreover, schools in Slovakia are not prepared to effectively teach students for whom Slovak is a second language. In the absence of systemically integrated interdisciplinary language support, learners who are labelled as having an insufficient command of the language of school instruction are channelled into preparatory classes or special schools which ultimately compromise their school success.

Laura Surdu and Furugh Switzer examine an intervention that targets early reading. Focusing on the project “Your Story”, which supported Romani mothers in developing reading skills and in using storybooks as educational tools, Surdu and Switzer analyse the experiences of project beneficiaries in Hungary. In addition to highlighting positive outcomes of the project such as improved attitudes towards learning, kindergarten attendance and post-compulsory education, the authors identify a set of challenges to the endeavour such as the training of facilitators and the inclusion of mothers as well as fathers who have severe difficulties in reading.

The contributions raise important questions and offer links for further research. The judgements of the Grand Chamber examined by O'Nions provide a broad normative framework against which persistent educational segregation could be analysed. Matras et al.'s findings can be taken as a call for a closer look at unintended effects of the ‘economy of Roma education’ that is often characterised by service outsourcing and short-term project funding. Gažovičová's analysis begs the broader question of how policies of long-term, interdisciplinary language support in inclusive settings could be designed and implemented. Finally, Surdu and Switzer point to a need to gain knowledge about how to support the most marginalized segments of a marginalized population, and – we might add – to move from claiming ‘best practice’ to also speaking openly about weaknesses and problems of policy interventions.

An interesting and informative read
Christian Brüggemann & Eben Friedman

Berlin/Skopje, March 2015

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Helen O'Nions

Warehouses and Window-Dressing: A Legal Perspective on Educational Segregation in Europe

Abstract

The right to receive an education free from discrimination is a well-established principle of international human rights law and is protected by the EU Race Equality Directive.

The landmark decision of the European Court of Human Rights in *DH and Others* established that the segregation of Roma pupils violated their right to an education free from discrimination. It might thereafter have been expected that States in which Roma disproportionately attend remedial schools or classes would begin to move towards desegregation. Yet progress has been lamentably slow, with similar judgements handed down to Greece, Croatia and Hungary. Meanwhile Roma pupils continue to receive an unequal, inferior education in many European states. The persistence of segregation threatens social inclusion and demands that the European institutions adopt a much more assertive position.

Keywords: *Discrimination in Education, Educational Segregation, DH v Czech Republic, European Court of Human Rights, Roma*

Zusammenfassung

Das Recht auf Bildung frei von Diskriminierung ist ein etabliertes Prinzip der internationalen Menschenrechtsnormen und geschützt durch die EU-Richtlinie zur Gleichbehandlung ohne Unterschied der Rasse.

In der wegweisenden Entscheidung des Europäischen Gerichtshofs für Menschenrechte im Fall *DH und Andere* gegen die Tschechische Republik entschied das Gericht, dass die schulische Segregation von Roma Schüler/inne/n gegen das Recht auf Bildung frei von Diskriminierung verstößt. Hiernach hätte erwartet werden können, dass Staaten, in denen Roma überproportional in Sonderschulen oder -Klassen beschult werden, Maßnahmen gegen schulische Segregation unternehmen. Schritte in diese Richtung werden jedoch bemerkenswert langsam vollzogen und es gab ähnliche Urteile des Gerichtshofs gegen Griechenland, Kroatien und Ungarn. In vielen europäischen Ländern sind Roma nach wie vor vom Zugang zu gleichen Bildungschancen weit entfernt. Die Persistenz schulischer Segregation gefährdet den sozialen Zusammenhalt und erfordert eine strengere Position der europäischen Institutionen.

Schlüsselworte: *Diskriminierung im Bildungsbereich, Bildungssegregation, DH gegen Tschechische Republik, Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte, Roma*

Introduction

This paper aims to examine the five key judgements of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) beginning with the landmark decision in *DH v Czech Republic*. Since the majority ruling, the Court has reasserted and defined its position, both on the interpretation of indirect discrimination and the specific issue of distinct educational provision. The Court appears to have become increasingly frustrated by benevolent segregation arguments espoused by respondent states who commonly assert that separation will benefit less able pupils by providing a more appropriate, less academically demanding curriculum. Segregation must also be carefully scrutinised where pupils are identified as having particular learning needs which are determined to require a tailored, but separate, learning environment (ECtHR 2010). The legitimacy of such schooling is especially questionable when there is an over-representation of pupils from a particular ethnic group, when the education provided is inferior to that in mainstream schools and where the opportunities for subsequent integration are severely limited.

Once the legal position is clarified it becomes necessary to examine compliance with the judgements in the respondent states. As members of the EU, these states are additionally bound by European Union law. Of particular interest in the present context are the legal obligations under the Equal Treatment Directive and the European Commission's political strategy on Roma integration. For the first time, all EU Member States are required to identify relevant policies which can address Roma integration in four key areas, including education. One of the biggest obstacles to integration must surely be the extent of segregated schooling. It is thus argued that desegregation (in all its forms) should be prioritised by Member States in order to make any progress towards future integration.

The importance of the right to education needs little explanation. It is a precursor to the recognition of other fundamental rights and is recognised in a wealth of international human rights instruments. It is axiomatic that education be free from discrimination. The UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education 1960 defines discrimination to include: any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education (Art 1).

Equality of treatment will be impaired where access to education of any type or at any level is impaired, or where a person is limited to education of an inferior standard. The Convention expressly prohibits separate educational systems or institutions subject to very limited exceptions (UNESCO 1960). This position is reiterated in various instruments of international law (O’Nions 2007, p. 163).

The education of Roma, Gypsy and traveller pupils has been a concern of both the Council of Europe and the European Community for the past thirty years. The Council of Europe has repeatedly emphasised the need to prioritise Roma/Gypsy education in national policies; recommending initiatives to secure access and retention, improve communication with parents and to adopt intercultural teaching strategies (Council of Europe 2000a, 2010). Segregation, both *de facto* and *de jure*, is rejected (Council of Europe 2000, 2009, p. 5).

In 1989 the European Council identified a number of challenges affecting the education of “Gypsy and Traveller pupils”, stressing the need for Member States to work to overcome obstacles acting as a barrier to access and retention (European Council 1989). These initial concerns primarily focussed on the education of nomadic children, many of whom received no formal schooling.

A different problem became apparent following the accession of states from Central and Eastern Europe whose Roma populations, unlike those of the UK and France, are generally larger and predominantly sedentary. Whilst many of the obstacles in the new Member States were common to the experiences of Gypsies and Travellers in Western Europe, an altogether more endemic problem faced these Roma children, threatening the very foundation of their right to an education. A significant number of Roma pupils were experiencing, and continue to experience, an unequal education in a segregated environment.¹

The causes of segregation are multifarious and its eradication is not simply a matter of eliminating discrimination. In some cases the geographical isolation of Roma communities means that segregated schools offer a pragmatic solution, without which many children would not attend any school. In others, psychological tests are used by education professionals to assess that pupils may be better suited to a special education. There may be no intention to discriminate during these assessments but their application to Roma children who disproportionately come from materially deprived backgrounds without access to pre-school education, inevitably leads to ethnically disproportionate results.

The persistence of this practice notwithstanding the ECtHR rulings has further entrenched Roma inequality, making social inclusion a distant dream (EU 2010). Where legislation has been introduced to demonstrate compliance with the judgement it has been criticised as mere ‘window-dressing’ (Amnesty International 2012, Open Society 2012b). It will be argued that this raises serious questions over the commitment of Member States to Roma integration.

Segregated education in Strasbourg

The first case on segregated schooling, *DH v Czech Republic*, was decided by the ECtHR Grand Chamber in 2007 (ECtHR 2007; O’Nions 2010). The case concerned 18 Roma pupils required to attend special schools for students with limited in-

tellectual capacity. In finding that the segregation constituted indirect racial discrimination the Court accepted statistical evidence revealing that Roma pupils in Ostrava were 27 times more likely than a non-Roma child to attend these schools (para. 17). The state was then left to rebut the presumption of discrimination by providing an objective justification for the treatment.

The state argued that the choice of school was made by head-teachers with the consent of parents following psychological aptitude testing (para. 197). The Court rejected these arguments, finding that the tests were conceived for the majority population and took no account of the Roma pupil’s background. Consequently they were culturally biased and could not justify the discriminatory treatment. On the issue of consent the Court considered that a signature on a pre-completed form did not constitute informed consent. Further, as a matter of general principle, the right not to be discriminated against was considered too important to be waived in this way.

The following year, the Court held in *Sampanis v Greece* that the placement of Roma pupils in a building separated from the rest of the school violated their right to an education coupled with the prohibition of discrimination (ECtHR 2008). Following the judgement the pupils were moved from the annexe into a newly established primary school where the practice of segregation continued. Five years later, the new school was subject to another successful challenge by 140 Roma applicants in *Sampani v Greece* (ECtHR 2012). The Chamber in *Sampani* recommended that the Greek authorities address the ongoing wrongs caused to these pupils through measures including adult education and second chance schools.

The Greek cases demonstrate the structural challenges facing advocates of Roma inclusion. Following a critical intervention from the Greek ombudsman, the Ministry of Education was fully aware that separation continued but considered it impractical and too costly to initiate integrated schooling. The new school’s head-teacher expressed reservations over the limited resources and facilities available yet the local education authority were more concerned that inclusion would cause hostility from non-Roma parents. The town’s mayor was particularly vocal in his opposition to integration, stating in a letter to the Ministry that as ‘Gypsies’ chose to “engage in illegal activities” they could not expect “to share the same classrooms as the other pupils” (ECtHR 2012, para. 25).

In the more finely balanced decision of *Oršuš v Croatia* (ECtHR 2010) a narrow majority of the Grand Chamber rejected the state’s ‘benevolent segregation’ argument that separate, remedial primary classes would benefit Roma pupils. These pupils had poor command of the Croatian language and certainly required additional learning support but in the Court’s view this could not justify a position of segregation whereby Roma pupils were subject to ongoing discrimination.

Also in 2010, the case of *Horávrth and Vadász* hinted at the persistence of segregatory practices in Hungary, a country that has attempted to address minority rights through a unique self-government system (Kovats 2000). The applicants had both been assigned to special classes in a mainstream school following negative assessments of their intellectual ability. After obtaining independent psychological evaluation, their lawyer contended that this was unjustified segregation

constituting endangerment of minors. Both pupils experienced a reduced curriculum with a teacher that lacked appropriate professional qualifications. Although declared inadmissible for the failure to exhaust all domestic remedies, the ECtHR handed down a judgement on similar facts three years later. Horváth and Kiss concerned two Romani men who had been sent to schools for mentally impaired children having been diagnosed with mild learning difficulties (ECtHR 2013b). The Court accepted that Roma pupils were disproportionately consigned to these schools and that there no chance being able to sit the standard school examination. The reduced opportunities available in these schools left the men unable to pursue their chosen careers, limiting their life chances. The Court emphasised that, in light of persistent discrimination and the presence of cultural bias in past testing, states had a duty to avoid the perpetuation of discrimination disguised in allegedly neutral tests (para. 116).

The final case to be considered suggests that ECtHR judgements alone may be insufficient to act as a catalyst for change in the presence of entrenched, structural discrimination. In *Lavida v Greece*, the authorities could not pretend to be unaware that educational segregation was *prime facie* unlawful and the Court criticised their persistent refusal to take anti-segregation measures (Council of Europe 2013a). The Greek Helsinki Monitor had twice written to the Ministry of Education raising concerns over primary schools in Sofades. Although the town had four schools, Roma pupils were not attending the nearest but were instead attending a segregated school in a Roma housing estate. The government attempted to deflect criticism by arguing that Roma parents could have requested a transfer to an integrated school. This was rejected by the Court as it shifted the responsibility for preventing discrimination onto the victims.

To summarise, the judgements indicate that segregation is unlawful without an objective justification which is accompanied by proportionate measures and sufficient safeguards to enable integration whenever possible. This will be a question of fact in each case but in the climate of pervasive discrimination the state will be afforded a particularly narrow margin of appreciation. There are a number of common themes emerging from these decisions which deserve further consideration.

Consent to discrimination

Educational authorities do not necessarily act with discriminatory intent. Often they refer to the wishes of Roma parents in support of their position and it is thus helpful to understand why parents may express this preference. Integrated education may be viewed with suspicion for a number of interwoven reasons. Firstly, parents' own education experience may not have been positive. Illiteracy levels among Roma populations are high, particularly in the older generation, and Roma parents may have had limited engagement with the education system. Those that have received formal education may have experienced racist bullying by teachers, pupils and other parents and fear that their children will similarly suffer (European Commission Resolution 1989; Conway 1996). In the Greek cases, the authorities implicitly recognised these challenges when they contended that segregated education helped to protect Roma

pupils from the antagonism of non-Roma parents (ECtHR 2008, 2012). Additionally, Roma parents may have legitimate concerns about the values of the national education model which might appear to challenge aspects of Romani culture and family life (Etxeberria 2002, p. 295; O'Nions 2010). Whilst these are complex considerations they are certainly not insurmountable if an adequately resourced, intercultural model is adopted.

Mindful of these factors, the Court established in *DH* and reiterated in *Oršuš*, that where there is a strong, *prime facie* case of discrimination, parental consent cannot operate so as to waive the right not to be discriminated against. Even in cases where the presumption of discrimination is less clear, parental consent would need to be fully informed. It cannot be waived through inaction or disengagement. This is an important statement of principle as it places an onus on the education authority to ensure that parents are fully aware of the consequences (both immediate and longer-term) of such a decision. Given the fact that confirmed legal precedent provides that segregation is *prime facie* unlawful, it now seems unlikely that any consent would satisfy the requirement of an objective and reasonable justification for inequality.

'Benevolent' segregation

Often educational authorities have attempted to justify segregation on the basis that separate schooling can be better tailored to the Roma pupils' needs (or at least their needs as defined by the dominant culture). Whilst educators may argue that a practical education may be better suited to these pupils; 'benevolent segregation' is inherently inferior to an integrated educational model which could address the needs of Roma pupils through specially trained teachers and teaching assistants, pre-school classes and intercultural mediators (EUMC 2006; Council of Europe 2000, 2009).² The Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for National Minorities has noted that even when segregation is requested by parents it likely to place children at a significant disadvantage (Advisory Committee 2003). Inequality of access is perpetuated by subsequent inequality of opportunity as there is rarely any opportunity for pupils to transfer into integrated schools or to progress into further or higher education (ECtHR 2013b). The question of an intercultural dialogue, understanding and friendship does not arise in this dynamic and suspicion of Roma as different is established and confirmed from a very young age (O'Nions 2007, p. 133). Subsequent employment prospects are similarly limited as Roma applicants are less likely to have gained the formal qualifications required (O'Higgins and Brüeggemann 2014).

The decision in *Oršuš* clarifies that separate 'benevolent' policies will be carefully scrutinised to ensure they are not in fact discriminatory (cf. ECtHR 2010). When such policies are introduced the Court will scrutinise them to ensure that subsequent integration is immediate once the remedial purpose is satisfied (para. 145). It is very clear that separation can be no substitute for supportive measures in an integrated setting (Rostas 2012).

Positive measures

In its Recommendation On the Legal Situation of Roma in Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

recognised that Roma are doubly discriminated against as members of an ethnic minority with a particularly weak socio-economic status (Council of Europe 2002). Positive measures were advocated to ensure genuine equality of treatment. In the education context states are asked to provide opportunities for Roma students to participate in all levels from kindergarten to university; developing positive measures to recruit Roma in schools and eradicating all practices of segregated schooling.

Yet special measures are not without controversy in human rights law as they challenge the prevailing emphasis on formal equality which rejects all differences of treatment that have no objective justification. Initially the ECtHR was cautious, recognising on one hand that states may need to take positive obligations to respect the nomadic lifestyle of British Gypsies who wished to live in caravans on their own land. However, the same judgements on the right to a home life under Article 8 ECtHR also afforded states a wide margin of appreciation when determining whether planning restrictions were 'necessary in a democratic society' (ECtHR 2000, 2004). The decision in *DH* and subsequent case-law reasserts the necessity of special measures in order to ensure equality of opportunity in a substantive rather than procedural sense (ECtHR 2010). Such differences might include additional language instruction or behavioural support and there are plenty of examples of these initiatives across the EU (UNICEF 2010).

Educational discrimination under EU law

The Treaty on the European Union establishes the foundations of the Union as:

“respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail” (EU 2010, Art 2).

The binding Charter of Fundamental Rights complements (and in some cases extends) the rights protected by the Council of Europe. Article 21 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race as well as membership of a national minority. In decisions affecting children, the child's best interests shall be a primary consideration (EU 2000, Art 24). A further dimension in legal protection from discrimination is now offered by the Racial Equality Directive which applies to all Member States (European Council 2000). The Directive specifically covers education and makes exception for the application of positive measures 'with a view to ensuring full equality in practice' (Article 3(1)g, Article 5).

Many of the new Member States have struggled to implement the Directive, having no previous anti-discrimination legislation which could be adapted for the purpose. The EU's Fundamental Rights Agency noted that many states questioned the necessity of legislation because they did not consider discrimination to be a significant problem (Fundamental Rights Agency 2012, 10). Interviews with social partners (such as trade union representatives) echoed this view, particularly when the question of Roma exclusion was raised (Fundamental Rights Agency 2010, 85, 41, 59). Whilst most states have now formally complied with the provisions, enforcement of anti-discrimination laws remains marginal.

Enforcement is a particular problem when indirect discrimination is alleged because, in the absence of directly discriminatory rules and procedures, it is difficult for applicants to demonstrate that an apparently neutral criterion produces a discriminatory effect. Indeed, Farkas argues that the application of the supposedly neutral aptitude tests should more accurately be conceived as direct discrimination because the tests can in no way be regarded as ethnically neutral (Farkas 2007, p. 29). This argument has much to commend it as the direct discrimination approach would prevent states being afforded an opportunity to offer nebulous justifications for discriminatory treatment. Unfortunately the ECtHR's tentative development of the non-discrimination provision in Article 14 suggests that such reconceptualization may be a long way off for the Strasbourg court. It remains to be seen whether the EU's Court of Justice will adopt a broader, purposive approach.

It will be recalled that in *DH* the Grand Chamber endorsed the use of statistics to establish a presumption of discrimination. However, statistical evidence is not required under the Racial Equality Directive and is not collected in many Member States due to concerns over compatibility with data protection laws (Fundamental Rights Agency 2012, 13). The absence of reliable statistics on ethnic differentiation provides educators with an opportunity to deflect criticism of segregation by pointing to the absence of reliable evidence (Farkas 2007, p. 10). The Fundamental Rights Agency's research demonstrates the limited empowering effect of the Directive, finding that on average 82 % of those who had experienced discrimination in the EU in the past year did not report it to a competent authority (19).

The Directive simply does not go far enough in making a real difference to the prevention of discrimination in Europe. Its cautious approach to special measures is insufficient when discrimination is not perceived to be a significant problem by state representatives. Furthermore, the structural discrimination that characterises the experiences of many Roma is not sufficiently addressed. For example, employers will often justify a decision to favour a particular candidate by reference to superior qualifications rather than by racial preference. Structural discrimination includes segregation as well as institutional discrimination and the discriminatory impact of organisational procedures, including schools and local education bodies (Farkas 2007, p. 7). The multi-faceted nature of Roma identity and the prevalence and diversity of discriminatory practices demands that the Race Equality Directive be significantly adapted if it is to offer much hope in securing educational equality.

The persistence of segregation

Notwithstanding the judgements of the ECtHR and criticism from human rights agencies, educational segregation remains common in the countries surveyed. This cannot simply be attributed to a lack of resources as EU structural funds have been available to assist with Roma integration for some time (European Commission 2007). Funds have been available for a variety of educational initiatives including training of teachers and pre-school classes in line with a long term strategy of abolishing separate schools and classes (European Commission 2007, p. 8).

Even when improvements appear to have been made, there is little substantive change on the ground. This can be seen in the Czech Republic where the Education Act abolished special schools but included a right to be accommodated by special educational arrangements. This has enabled a two-tier, discriminatory education system to remain in the formal appearance of so-called 'practical schools' that offer a reduced curriculum (Amnesty International 2012). The Czech Ombudsperson investigated 67 'practical schools' and found that typically more than one-third of pupils were Roma (Czech Ombudsperson 2012). Other schools in Roma neighbourhoods usually have exclusively Roma pupils and teach a reduced, practical curriculum. Research suggests that many parents do not even know what type of education their child is receiving under the new law (Amnesty International 2012, p. 9). In 2011 the former Education minister, Josef Dobeš, announced that his ministry had no intention of abolishing special schools or practical classes, leading 50 experts to resign from an inclusive education working group.

The Czech Supreme Court recently dismissed a challenge by a Roma applicant educated in a special school as the applicant could not show a *prima facie* case of discrimination (Romea.cz 2013). The court construed Oršuš to require that a presumption of discrimination would only be established when the school had a majority of Roma pupils (the number at the applicant's school was around 40 %). This marks an incomplete reading of the ECtHR's reasoning whereby DH was distinguished precisely because segregation was so widespread in the Czech Republic that there was a clear basis on which to presume a policy of indirect discrimination. Furthermore, the Court reasoned that indirect discrimination could also be presumed where particular admissions criteria or testing was applied selectively (ECtHR 2010, para. 153). It is thus unfortunate that the Supreme Court did not apply the more relevant case to the facts.

Despite some small-scale programmes, Roma education in Greece has yet to be seriously addressed (Georgiadis/Zisimos 2012). The European Commission funds the 'Programme for the Education of Roma Children' which covers 100 schools but there are still enormous obstacles. Research suggests that special initiatives aimed at improving student engagement and retention for vulnerable groups have had little impact on the drop-out rates of Roma pupils (Ziomas/Bouzas/Spyropoulou 2011). Much of the educational exclusion is the consequence of residential segregation and almost total isolation of Roma from Greek society, it is therefore unlikely to be addressed until structural problems of inequality are targeted centrally (something that will be particularly difficult given the Greek economic and political situation).

The influence of a more conservative style of government in many European states may have hampered the efforts to improve Roma inclusion. Efforts to desegregate schools in Hungary ran into trouble when the current right-wing government was elected in 2011. Many segregated schools have since re-opened. A Hungarian Court, following Strasbourg case-law, has recently ruled that segregated schools are unlawful and ordered the closure of one primary school located in a Roma neighbourhood (BBC 2014). However, it is difficult to be optimistic as anti-Roma rhetoric is commonplace in Hungarian politics. The government has reportedly expressed reservations over the

European Commission's plans for Roma integration and their own action plan fails to identify desegregation as a key objective (European Commission 2012).

In Croatia there have been anecdotal signs of desegregation initiatives being actively pursued by some schools since the decision in Oršuš (Bowers 2013). However, the recent civil society report on Croatia reveals that the number of classes attended solely by Roma pupils has increased since the judgement (Roma Decade 21014, p. 10). Again the absence of ethnically differentiated statistics makes it difficult to assess the degree to which Roma pupils are directed to special schools nationally but the report evidences hugely disproportionate attendance of Roma in special education in Medimurje county. The report also finds that Roma pupils are far less likely than their non-Roma counterparts to complete secondary education and to secure important qualifications which will enable them to participate in the labour market (10).

As in many states there appears to be a lack of commitment to Roma integration at the local level where such measures need to be implemented. Yet it is difficult to envisage how this can be addressed when the Croatian government's submission to the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities accepts no responsibility, instead blaming the Roma lifestyle: "The education of Roma is a serious problem caused by their way of life and their attitude towards the system, law, rights and obligations of citizens and requires particular efforts and solutions" (ECtHR 2010, p. 69).

The persistence of segregation is all the more surprising in the light of recent EU initiatives to promote social inclusion. The Europe 2020 agenda includes social inclusion and education as two of the five principles necessary for growth over the next decade (European Commission 2010). Further, the Commission's Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies established in 2011, calls on states to develop a comprehensive approach to Roma integration, focussing on four common goals: health, employment, housing and education. In theory such strategies should have been adopted under the auspices of the OSCE but monitors have reported instead that social exclusion has deepened, with rising incidents of hate crime across the 41 states (OSCE, 2013). These findings are echoed by the views of former Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, Thomas Hammarberg, who notes a discernible shift away from traditional prejudice towards outright racism which is largely unchallenged by the majority (Commissioner for Human Rights 2012).

Whilst the link between social inclusion, discrimination and economic development is to be welcomed, analysis by civil society actors reflects the concerns over the Racial Equality Directive, indicating that there are significant deficiencies in the protection from discrimination. Many strategies do not make any link between anti-Roma prejudice and anti-discrimination norms and where planned measures are proposed they appear inadequate (European Roma Policy Coalition 2012, Open Society 2012a). It is suggested that in much of Europe, anti-Roma prejudice is not perceived as racial discrimination as Roma are regarded as a socio-economic group, responsible for their own social exclusion. This allows for racist statements to go unchallenged.³

The European Commission has acknowledged that states are dragging their heels, noting negligible improvement in their review of action plans and asking states to prioritise the interests and needs of Roma children and young people (European Commission 2013). Of particular concern in the present context is the absence of a time-scale for the desegregation of education which suggests a lack of commitment to the Framework and wider Europe 2020 agenda at the highest level. The Commission's concerns have now been elevated to a Council Recommendation which recommends equal access to education: either by means of mainstream measures or by means of targeted measures, including specific measures to prevent or compensate for disadvantages, or by a combination of both, paying special attention to the gender dimension (European Council 2013, 1.1).

The danger here is that states continue to view segregation as the best means of achieving a targeted approach. However, the Council recommends 'effective measures to ensure equal treatment and full access for Roma boys and girls to quality and mainstream education' including the elimination of any school segregation and inappropriate placement in special needs schools (European Council 2013 1.3a, b). Importantly, the ECtHR judgements are cited as authority on the implementation of non-discrimination in administrative practices and desegregation is recommended as a means to securing non-discrimination.

Conclusion

The EU Framework is an important starting point in the eradication of school segregation. But whilst regular monitoring will help measure progress it may need to be complimented with enforcement proceedings, particularly where ECtHR judgements have failed to secure compliance over a number of years. Enforcement action may seem unduly punitive given the economic climate but it is worth reflecting on the reasons why segregation of Roma pupils has persisted in the face of international condemnation. The availability of EU funds means that resources are rarely the main obstacle. At times there is insufficient national commitment and often municipal authorities reject local desegregation initiatives. Here again we see a need to strengthen non-discrimination norms as the Roma are typically blamed for their situation.

There is much that educators can do to address the concerns of the European Court. Economic and social disadvantage can be addressed in the classroom through specialised Roma mediators and additional support, both academic and practical. Intercultural and mother tongue teaching can help to ensure increased educational engagement and attainment for Roma pupils (Kyuchukov 2007). Indeed there are many small-scale examples of good practice across the EU that can be developed to this end. The afternoon school program in Hungary is one such example where pupils, both Roma and non-Roma, from disadvantaged backgrounds are offered additional support to help ensure their integration and engagement with mainstream schooling (Roma Source 2012). The Decade of Roma Inclusion and the work of the Roma Education Fund have enabled representatives from Central and Eastern Europe to share best practices with an emphasis on desegregation. But the question remains as to why these initiatives are not ade-

quately promoted and resourced by national education departments. Too often it would seem that Roma inclusion is conceptualised as a peripheral or minority interest.

Thus Roma inclusion needs to be reconceptualised in the eyes of the majority as a matter of equality. This equality needs to be substantive in order to address years of entrenched structural prejudice. The Race Equality Directive may seem like the appropriate vehicle from which to pursue enforcement action but special measures are entirely at the state's discretion. In terms of social inclusion the EU has very limited competence in key areas that are instrumental to ensuring its objectives (including education, employment, health and housing) and therefore it has proceeded with caution, providing a 'framework' rather than clear targets for states. At present there is no clear authority by which the Commission can pursue action against Member States, consequently there is a real risk that desegregation will continue to remain empty rhetoric.⁴

Notes

- 1 The cases before the European Court involve the Czech Republic, Hungary, Greece and Croatia but segregation is also widely reported in other East European states, notably Bulgaria, Poland, Slovakia and Romania.
- 2 It should be noted that there are a few models of separate education that are actively sort by Roma parents, such as the Gandhi High School in Pecs, Hungary which was founded by Romani organisations in 1994. The school aims to provide an academically rigorous but culturally-tailored education to its pupils with a particular emphasis on practical skills. Although it has an open admission policy its pupils are predominately Roma, thus it is unable to offer a truly intercultural experience and may be accused of undermining wider goals of social inclusion.
- 3 A good example is the public statement by Hungarian journalist Zsolt Bayer who wrote in Magyar Hirlap a national daily newspaper: "a significant part of the Roma are unfit for coexistence. They are not fit to live among people. These Roma are animals, and they behave like animals... These animals shouldn't be allowed to exist" (Verseck 2011). Bayer is reportedly a close friend of the Prime Minister and one of the founding members of the ruling Fidesz party.
- 4 In 2014 the European Commission announced they would commence infringement action against the Czech Republic for its failure to comply with Article 21 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights coupled with the Race Equality directive. The decision made explicit reference to the persistent failure to address the failings exposed by the ECtHR in *DH and others v. Czech Republic*.

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‘Roma Education’ as a Lucrative Niche: Ideologies and Representations¹

Abstract

The paper addresses the motivation of local actors to engage with Roma migrants, the methods and content of engagement, and the discourse of expertise that emerges to justify them. We analyse a case study based on engagement with Roma in the education sector in Manchester, UK. We explore how support for Roma offers a niche operation for actors who seek a role in the local authority's outsourcing of public services, and how an ideology is forged to help conquer that niche.

Keywords: *Roma Education, Cultural Essentialism, Manchester, Romania, Outsourcing Educational Services*

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit der Motivation lokaler Träger in der Arbeit mit Roma-Migranten, mit den Methoden und Inhalten der Arbeit, sowie mit dem Diskurs über Expertise, der diese Arbeit rechtfertigt. Anhand einer Fallstudie in Manchester analysieren wir das Engagement für Roma im Bildungssektor. Wir erörtern, wie die Unterstützung von Roma-Migranten eine Nische für Träger eröffnet, die sich um Mittel für öffentliche Leistungen bemühen und welche Rolle Ideologie bei der Besetzung dieser Nische spielt.

Schlüsselworte: *Roma und Bildung, Kulturalisierung, Manchester, Rumänien, Outsourcing von Bildung*

Introduction

Education as a key to social inclusion figures prominently in policy measures on Roma; examples are the Roma Education Fund, sponsored by the World Bank, governments and charitable foundations, and the place of education in the EU's National Roma Integration Strategies. But research has also offered a critical perspective on education policy as a measure used to contain and control the Roma minority. Krause (1989) for instance talks about a century-old tradition of “persecution through education”. Taylor (2014, p. 147) discusses education policies toward Roma as part of a “wider package of tools aimed at repressing their distinctive culture”. Trubeta (2013, p. 20) argues that while earlier policies focused on the Roma's supposed failure to adopt the norms of society, modern emphasis has been shifting to a view of Roma's inherent poverty, vulne-

rability and social deprivation, to be overcome through education. This allows institutions to justify the use of education to subjugate the Roma into conformity. Education has thus become a means of both assisting and ‘civilising’ Roma, of both care and control (see also Clark 2008; New/Merry 2012).

Education measures also run the risk of constructing Roma as a problem population. Levinson (2013) describes how reports on Gypsy, Roma and Travellers in UK schools tend to focus on poor attainment and underachievement. O’Nions (2007, p. 146–155) reviews the practice of addressing the obstacles that Roma face in access to education – parents’ illiteracy and inability to provide learning support at home, economic instability leading to poor social skills, difficulties adapting to schooling in the dominant language, as well as daily discrimination at school by pupils, parents, and teachers – as inherent learning disadvantages. These have been used to refer Roma to various special needs programmes, which risks perpetuating educational inequality. Teasley (2013) regards segregation within the education system as a containment strategy, while Hemelsoet (2013) shows how education policy often mirrors overall social constructs of Roma as a problem of criminality, lack of acculturation, and poverty.

Informed by these critical approaches to Roma education, our aim is to explore how educational support for Roma provides a niche opportunity for specialist careers and the prestige and authority of unique expertise. Trehan (2001, p. 138–144) mentions how careers emerged in the non-profit sector for those wanting to specialise in promoting Roma integration. She asks whether that sector has become a space of co-option and social control of Roma. Timmer (2010) discusses how NGOs construct Roma as ‘needy subjects’ in a way that risks perpetuating their dependency on aid. She argues that despite their commitment to humanitarian goals, NGOs’ reliance on external entities puts them under pressure to show that their work is needed. To this end, they adapt to the discourses of government and other funding agencies and continue to construct the Roma as a problem population. Van Baar (2013) similarly describes how NGOs gradually depart from a movement of participating democracy and become service deliverers who contribute to, rather than challenge mainstream discourses and prevailing notions on Roma. He adds that in such a position, NGOs often try to develop a parallel system of expertise on Roma that mimics social scientific methods.

In the following we discuss a case study of local engagement with Roma migrants from Romania. The Actors first identify Roma as a group that requires particular support especially in the education sector. They offer to deliver an intervention package consisting of a narrative of 'Roma culture', which purports to promote awareness, and of protocols to accompany and monitor and so arguably to contain Roma within the school environment. They then try to codify and systemise their work in the interest of securing their role as experts. They enlist consultants to certify the intervention and they consolidate the construct of Roma (in general, and of Roma youth and Roma girls in particular) as subjects who are at risk and beyond the reach of conventional support procedures and so only accessible to the Actors themselves. Drawing on Boudon's (1989) theory of ideologies we describe this process as consisting of two dimensions: the situational effects, consisting of the Actors' position as officers of the local education authority and their dispositions (what they know or think they know about Roma), and the communication effects through which the Actors try to lend their knowledge a semblance of authority.

Our discussion is based on a five-year period of observation (summer 2009–summer 2014), during which we took part in various events, meetings, and briefings organised by the Actors, interacted with a range of professionals in the local authority and schools who came into contact with the Actors, and worked with young people in the Roma community who were under the Actors' influence. We also analyse documents that were produced directly by the Actors – education materials that they have published, applications for grants, and reports on their funded interventions which they authored or commissioned – as well as statements that are attributed to the Actors in a number of memos and minutes from local schools and city council committees, and we contextualise these in connection with a broader documentation that is available to us on the city council's engagement strategy with Roma migrants since 2008 (council committee minutes, circulars, and press reports). Finally, we have interviewed a number of individuals who were employed and line-managed by the Actors as part of their engagement in the education sector.

Roma migrants in Manchester

Romanian Roma migrants began arriving in Manchester with the accession of Romania to the EU in 2007. By 2009, a community of up to four hundred individuals, some two thirds of them children, had settled in the districts of Gorton South and adjoining neighbourhoods (Matras et al. 2009). Self-employment as street vendors, scrap metal collectors and more offered the migrants an opportunity to settle and, in principle, to obtain access to state health care and school education and to assistance such as child support, tax allowance, and housing benefits. Many local primary schools discouraged Roma parents from registering their children and denied them school places. A key aspect of the local education authority's policy on Roma at that stage appears to have been a deliberate strategy to refer Roma children to one particular primary school (P1), which was prepared to welcome them with open arms. According to a report submitted by a local Education Trust in June 2013 to the Department for Education, the International New Arrivals department "helped Roma parents apply and ap-

peal for places at the Trust Schools [...] rather than allocate them via the IYFA protocol" (p. 5). As a result, primary school P1 (part of the Trust) quickly acquired a large number of Roma pupils, who at one point made up around a fifth of the total school population.

By the summer of 2009, the local authority flagged the presence of Romanian Roma migrants in the area as a 'crisis'. Several factors contributed to this development. First, a local opposition councillor forwarded a petition in May 2009 protesting against the Roma. The Labour-led Council reacted by setting up a 'Roma Strategy Group' that brought together senior officers from various departments and by holding regular public meetings at which residents were invited to air their complaints against Roma. In June 2009, a firebomb attack against Romanian Roma migrants in Belfast triggered concerns among authorities in Manchester that anti-Roma protests might escalate into violence. Finally, London Metropolitan Police launched 'Operation Golf' targeting allegations of child trafficking by Romanian Roma. In August 2009, media briefings suggested that the investigation was to be extended to Manchester, contributing further to tensions (though we are unaware of any charges brought against members of the Roma community in Manchester).

The local authority reacted by commissioning the Romani Project at the University of Manchester to write a report on the Romanian Roma community (Matras et al. 2009). It then welcomed the report's recommendation to allocate resources to capacity building and outreach work in the community. In line with its overall policy not to expand the municipal payroll, however, it outsourced the outreach work to a local non-profit organisation, the Black Health Agency for Equality (BHA). The BHA had originally been set up to support HIV prevention and other health work among the African-Caribbean community. Its main sources of funding were and still are the National Health Service (NHS) as well as Leeds and Manchester city councils. In 2010 it was commissioned to coordinate advice services for eastern European migrants as part of the government's Migrant Impact Fund, with a grant of around £500,000. It drew on close working relations and partial personnel overlap with the local authority's International New Arrivals, Travellers, and Supplementary Schools Team (INA/T/SS) – a group of around five-six persons catering for the educational needs of immigrants, English Gypsy and Irish Traveller minorities, and community-run supplementary schools. A group of between four and six collaborators emerged who reported either to BHA or to the INA/T/SS or alternately to both; these are the Actors in the intervention that we describe below.

The Actors' involvement with Roma began as part of routine classroom support provided to immigrant children. Run by INA/T/SS but contracted to BHA, the group employed classroom assistants of Romanian background already in 2008–2009 to support Roma pupils from Romania. After the release of the University of Manchester report (Matras et al. 2009) the group visited the place of origin of the majority of Manchester's newly settled Roma, Țândărei in southeastern Romania. It then produced a brochure (Davies and Murphy 2010) that was showcased at an event in a local secondary school in June 2010. An education toolkit on Roma culture called 'Long Roads'

followed (BHA 2011). As local authority resources diminished, the group applied for funding for a one-year project from the EU's Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP). The principal applicant was BHA in partnership with INA/T/SS and two European organisations – the Fundación Secretariado Gitano in Spain and Pharos in the Netherlands.² A key element of the project was to engage young Roma as 'mentors' to carry out events on Roma culture in local schools. The consortium received a grant of €123,380 for these activities, which included the production of a manual for work with Roma migrants in schools (Murphy 2013). A total of £7,750 was used to commission two academics based at the University of Salford to write an assessment of the project (Scullion and Brown 2013).³ In time for the completion of the LLP project in March 2013, the BHA applied to Manchester City Council's Equalities Funding Programme for a grant of around £114,000 for a three-year project aimed at 'safeguarding' Roma girls considered to be 'at risk'. That project began in March 2013 and is in its second year as this article is being written. The BHA is currently also partner in another LLP-funded project, 'Romasmile'.⁴

Essentialising Roma culture

The rationale constructed by the Actors to justify targeted support for Roma was this: As immigrants with a history of social deprivation and discrimination (as well as repeated migrations and evictions, resulting in disrupted school attendance), Roma pupils face difficulties adjusting to the school environment and receive little parental support. At the same time, schools are largely unaware of Roma culture and lack the tools to liaise effectively with parents. The purpose of a school-based intervention was therefore to introduce aspects of Roma culture into classroom activities and to produce materials for teachers that are otherwise scarcely available. We will show that the Actors approached this task in a manner that 'essentialises' Roma culture. We follow Sayer (1997, p. 454) in identifying as "cultural essentialism" discourses that offer a fixed image of groups of people, "not merely stereotyping but either pathologising or wrongly idealising them", and Herzfeld (1996, p. 288) in understanding as "essentialising" forms of discourse that implicitly deny individuals included in a group control of their own lives.

The Actors' position as local authority education officers shapes their perspective on Roma children. This perspective draws on existing dispositions, which, we propose, incorporate two strands: On the one hand, they continue the narrative of the UK's Traveller Education Services. This equates 'Roma' with 'Gypsies' and therefore with 'nomads' and Travellers. On the other hand, recognising the Roma as recent migrants, the Actors try to emulate the mode of delivery used for the nation-state cultures of pupils of other migrant backgrounds. To this end, they draw on Roma political activists' portrayal of a 'standardised' or 'official' Roma culture that devises symbols of nationhood, best represented by the work of Hancock (2002), whom the Actors consulted personally in preparation of some of their materials. While the first strand presents a romantic image of 'Gypsies', the second yields a politically correct narrative of Roma culture. Neither, we argue, is realistic in connection with the target population of Romanian Roma migrants, whose communities are neither nomadic

nor involved in or even exposed to the political mobilisation efforts of a rather small international circle of Roma activists.

One of the learning resources produced by the Actors for primary schools is the 'Roma Box' (Murphy 2013, p. 40). It includes stories that focus on travel, journeys, caravans, Appleby Fair, and horses, and an exercise called "We are riding on a caravan", described as an opportunity for children to "write their own travelling stories" (ibid., p. 84). Caravan and travel were also the main themes of the 'Culture days' organised by the Actors for schools as part of the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History Month. As described in Murphy (2013, p. 30–31), a 'vardo' (the English Gypsy term for a caravan) was parked near the school, to make schools "more positive about Roma and Traveller children and ways of life". The documentation includes a letter from a head teacher who writes that the children enjoyed "listening to a traditional GRT story while sitting inside the Vargo [sic.]", "making their own Bow Top Wagon models" and "designing GRT traditional patterns". It is evident that the intervention created an image in the minds of the teachers (and pupils) of a coherent ethnic-cultural entity called 'GRT' (Gypsy/Roma/Travellers), which conflates groups that rarely if at all think of themselves as a single population. The Long Roads toolkit (BHA 2011) describes Gypsies as a musical, magical people. The section on "Traditions" pictures a violin on the cover. It is claimed that Romani children receive a name that is "whispered by the mother, which remains secret and is used to confuse supernatural spirits", that Roma values are "related to a higher spiritual power (Rromanipen, Rromipa or Rromanija)" – lending a mystical interpretation to what is simply an everyday Romani term for 'being Roma' or 'Romani-ness' – and that these values "are known as Karma in India and it is here where the Romani spirituality reflects the Indian origin of the Romani people most."

Long Roads also presents a narrative that strongly adopts the 'victim discourse'. It is claimed that the "fragmentation" of the Romani people is a result of "oppression and persecution". The compilation includes sections on Slavery and the Holocaust. For the latter, the authors use Hancock's term "baro porajmos", a word that most Roma associate with a sexual act and not with any historical event, while on the other hand there is no mention of the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria, an experience that most of the families in this particular community are well aware of. The toolkit also features a theme on the Romani Flag and Anthem, both of which were previously unknown to most members of the local Roma community. Symbolism and the 'victim discourse' are found already in the Actors' first publication on Roma (Davies and Murphy 2010). The cover of this report carries the design of the Romani flag, and Roma migrants are described as victims of dreadful conditions in Romania. The section on "Life before Manchester" features images of poverty in rural Romania and informs the reader that "all families have come to Manchester following extreme financial hardship" (ibid., p. 6).

From our own observations in the community we are aware that as a result of these depictions, young Roma are ashamed to admit to outsiders, in particular to teachers, that their families maintain close contacts with the origin communities and that many have invested their savings earned in Britain to build spacious houses for their families back in Romania. Mo-

bile phone pictures of these houses are routinely exchanged among young members of the community, but they make every effort to conceal them so as not to be caught dismissing the image that has been constructed supposedly on their behalf. Nacu (2011) argues that constructions of Roma identity are central both to the way in which Roma migrations are managed by national and local actors, and to the way in which Roma respond to and perform these constructions in order to take control over their lives. On at least two occasions, the Actors facilitated the participation of a group of young Romanian Roma in the annual Manchester Parade. The girls appeared in Indian garments, which the Actors defined as “traditional Gypsy dress”, and the boys were instructed to lead a ‘vardo’, which, as one of the participants explained to us, was “what our ancestors travelled in”. Another young Rom from the community was cited in a BHA publication describing how his grandfather survived the Auschwitz concentration camp (there is no evidence that any Romanian Roma were deported to Auschwitz).⁵ In this way, the Actors used their influence on young members of the community to get them to perform a particular identity, one that derives not from their actual experiences (nor indeed from those of their ancestors) but from the dispositions entrenched in or adopted through the Actors’ own situational perspective.

Roma in need of support

“Safeguarding” and “children missing education” were part of the Terms of Reference of Manchester City Council’s Roma Strategy Group when it was first constituted in 2009. But by early 2010, these issues no longer appear as frequently on the Group’s agenda. A minute from one of its later meetings, in July 2010, reads: “Children in Education- Discussed and agreed was not the focus, but addressed by default.”⁶ But as the policy focus shifted away from these issues, the Actors’ involvement in them increased. During 2010–2011, INA/T/SS used its resources to contract part-time staff via BHA to provide classroom support for Roma. Their principal engagement partner was a particular secondary school (S1). Led by BHA contracted staff, Roma pupils were often removed from regular classes and referred to a designated “Pathway”. The practice was criticised in an external audit of English as Additional Language (EAL) provisions carried out at the school in January 2011, which concluded:

“The EAL Pathway is focused upon a Roma cohort [...] This Pathway could be interpreted as a withdrawal mechanism in itself. Pupils are then withdrawn from English, Mathematics and Science for small group work. The teachers of this Pathway provision have had no formal training or induction in terms of EAL knowledge, cultural awareness and how Step Descriptors inform the differentiation of lesson planning and target setting.”

Despite the fact that Roma-specific educational problems were practically declared a ‘non-issue’ by the local authority, when Council funding for classroom support was withdrawn the Actors applied for an LLP-grant for their ‘What’s Working’ project (2012–2013) with the declared aim of helping “improve school attendance through working both with Romani communities and with schools”.⁷ The project’s flagship publication (Murphy 2013) presents it as a “network” of six

Manchester primary schools where strategies and resources were piloted. The use of Roma mentors is flagged as a key to successful integration of Roma pupils. But the numbers of Roma pupils provided in the report for the individual partner schools are relatively low, ranging from 5 to 19, while primary school P1, with around 60 Roma pupils, was not included in the project. It is noteworthy that by 2013 the local authority had not only ceased to focus on issues of education, but that it even declared in its “Roma Strategy 2011–2014” document from March 2013 that “attendance rates of Roma children are now outstripping the attendance rates of non-Roma children” (Mills and Wilson 2013, p. 5). Yet the Actors’ narrative construction of Roma education as a problem continued. As part of their work at secondary school S1, the INA/T/SS team informed school staff that “[Roma] male and female students are not used to being together” and that therefore “Roma students can be very promiscuous and are very accepting of inappropriate sexualised behaviour from male students”.⁸ They shared their concerns about “safeguarding” and reported that the INA/T/SS team were “starting a pilot scheme to engage Roma girls.” The background for the scheme was described as a concern that female Roma pupils leave school at the age of thirteen to “get married back in Romania”, that they are caught “begging in Manchester City Centre”, and that weddings of female Roma “from the age of eleven” take place at a local park.

The reference to a “pilot scheme” relates to the BHA’s request from January 2013 for a grant from Manchester City Council’s Equalities Funding Programme. In its application BHA claims that statistics indicate a rise in teenage pregnancy in the Gorton South area coinciding with the arrival of Roma. It also claims that twelve percent of teenage mothers who engaged with a local advice centre were from the Roma community, though no actual numbers are provided. In a subsequent report the number was identified as merely four, though the time frame remains unknown.⁹ The application goes on to say: “The main factors attributing to disengagement of young [Roma] girls from education are early marriage and teenage pregnancy”. The BHA asks for funding for “assertive outreach” in the Roma community. It also promises to “develop protocols [...] which will identify and track hard to reach girls” and allow to “share information regarding ‘at risk’ young people in relation to criminal activity, school drop-out”.¹⁰ The authors make repeated references to the “trusting relations with the community” which they have established with Roma and with teenage girls in particular. Most of the project’s budget of upwards of £36,000 per year over a three-year period was foreseen for salaries for the core staff, with only £1,500 set aside for “interpreters” – some of whom, though not all, are Roma. Clearly, the aim of the project was to fill the funding gap that emerged after the gradual withdrawal of local authority resources in 2012 and the end of the LLP-funded intervention in March 2013.

The Actors continued their efforts to portray the intervention as necessary and urgent. In the minutes of Manchester City Council’s Communities Scrutiny Committee meeting in November 2013, the leader of BHA’s Roma engagement work is quoted as saying that “the outreach process was very intensive and could take up to 4 times longer with members of the Roma community”, and that “there were still too few females from the Roma community attending high school and teenage

pregnancy was thought to be an issue”.¹¹ At the end of the first project year, the BHA submitted an interim report to its sponsor, the Council’s Equalities Team.¹² Explaining the rationale for the intervention, the authors state: “Roma girls are at risk of being kept at home, moved to other areas of the UK or sent back to their country of origin.” They relate this to “cultural expectations”, claiming: “Early marriage is a rite of passage that individuals from within the Roma community are required to partake in”. The report concludes by stating that “Roma in the UK and on continental Europe have developed a deep-rooted mistrust of outsiders, limiting forms of interaction and engagement with social care providers” and recommending that the BHA’s remit and funding for the intervention should be extended in order to draw on the expertise and “trusting relationships” that the BHA team has established in its own work with the Roma. The message is thus that Roma culture poses a threat to the most vulnerable members of its own community, i.e. young girls; that the community is not accessible to others and that BHA therefore requires an exclusive franchise to intervene; and that it is the city’s responsibility to mandate such an intervention or risk failing in its statutory duty of care and protection. The Actors’ focus had shifted from developing a narrative of Roma culture to utilising that narrative to convince local institutions of the need to continue to support the Actors’ interventions within the Roma community.

Certifying the intervention

The Actors’ engagement with Roma intensified at a time that saw local authority budgets hit by severe cuts or ‘austerity’ measures and increasing pressure to outsource services to third sector agencies. The availability of EU funding for Roma inclusion and the success that the Actors had in receiving a European grant supported a business case by which the local authority might be persuaded to continue to fund the intervention in the hope that its investment would serve as a seed corn toward securing external funds. In an interview that we carried out in April 2014 with a member of staff contracted by INA/T/SS between 2009–2013 to provide classroom support, the interviewee commented on the team’s focus on Roma during that period:

“This is in order to attract funding in a time when the team’s activity with Travellers was limited and the work with new arrivals was finishing. The work with refugees on the Gateway Project finished and bilingual support moved to One Education. While I was there, many members of the team lost their jobs in the restructure and cuts. I was told that the team only existed due to the Roma. The focus was short-term though because they did not foresee the settlement pattern of the Roma community. This was probably influenced by their previous experience with Travellers.”

In order to make a case for funding, the Actors had to demonstrate a need for the intervention, show that it was valued by others, and convince funding bodies that they had the expertise to carry it out. Consequently, they emphasise partnerships and networking in their reports. Davies and Murphy (2010, p. 4) describe how “many agencies, both statutory and voluntary, have been working together ... sharing good practice, tracking mobility and working in partnership to understand and better meet the needs of the community.” BHA’s

report to the Equalities Team from June 2014 refers to collaboration with a “wide range of people from within BHA and also the International New Arrivals, Travellers and Supplementary Schools Team”, while in fact the latter three agencies constituted a single unit of some 5–6 individuals under one line management since 2009.

One method of certification was to enlist the support of academic consultants. In 2012 a free-lance consultant was commissioned by BHA to author a report on support for Roma children in education (Lever 2012). The report is framed as a comparison between four northern English cities, though its main emphasis is Manchester, which the author flags as being “chosen because of its emerging good practice in the field” (*ibid.*, p. 6). The author reports that the aim of Manchester’s engagement with Roma was “to investigate claims of criminal activity whilst maintaining social cohesion” (*ibid.*, p. 14). He describes INA/T/SS involvement as “crucial” to this end as it involved investigating concerns over child safety, claims of child trafficking, and alleged links to the school attendance of girls. He goes on to assert that Roma have a “strong cultural aversion to integration” (*ibid.* p. 14), which the INA/T/SS Team sought to overcome by working closely with the police. The author repeats the jargon that BHA employs in its own reports, using terms like “holistic approach”, “assertive outreach”, “inward looking philosophy of self help”, and “multi agency approach”, and he incorporates long quotes from the practitioners, who are not named but are evidently members of the BHA and INA/T/SS team, i.e. those who had commissioned his research in the first place. He concludes by expressing concern over the likelihood that government and local authority funding that enabled the intervention might be discontinued. His list of recommendations (*ibid.*, p. 27) pertains exclusively to the need to provide funding and to guarantee the involvement of “third sector agencies” in the process.

The Actors’ LLP-funded project “What’s Working” commissioned two academics from Salford University to author a report (Scullion and Brown 2013). The choice directly mirrors the Actors’ dispositions on Roma identity: The consultants’ background is in housing policy and in that connection they examined stopping sites for Travellers. Their only involvement with Roma had been marginal, as junior partners in a small-scale survey on attitudes toward Roma sponsored by Migration Yorkshire, a consortium of voluntary sector agencies, as part of its EU-funded project ‘Roma Source’ (Brown et al. 2012). Yet being local (Salford is located within Greater Manchester) and having a link to the over-arching category ‘Gypsies’ was presentable to the funding body. Much of the report consists of long quotes from practitioners in the three participating countries. The respondents are not named but the description indicates that they are mostly members of the project staff. In effect, the report, much like its predecessor, the Lever report, is thus a self-presentation of the funding beneficiaries themselves. The respondents were asked to identify work priorities and asked to estimate the numbers of migrant Roma based on their daily work rather than on any formal statistics. A key statement in the report pertains to the connection between numbers of Roma and funding (*ibid.*, p. 42):

“The key impact of the lack of data on Roma communities related to how data is often used by authorities to allocate

resources. Respondents in the UK and the Netherlands, for example, suggested that it was difficult to argue for additional financial resources to provide support to communities when they were unable to accurately state the size of the population they were required to support.”

Once again, as in Lever’s (2012) report, the main conclusion is that the Actors require more funding. The Salford report suggests that in order to make the case for funding, the scale of the ‘problem’ should be amplified by emphasising the large number of potential clients. In October 2013 the authors took this strategy one step further and published a highly controversial estimate of the number of Roma migrants in the UK, similarly based on selective responses from practitioners (Brown et al. 2013). This received considerable media attention in the UK, not least thanks to an aggressive publicity campaign by the authors and their sponsors in Migration Yorkshire’s EU-funded ‘Roma Matrix’ consortium (see separate commentary in this issue). Acting on commission to certify the Actors’ expertise thus provided the consultants with a point of entry to present themselves as national authorities on Roma migrants. For the Actors, in turn, enlisting the support of academics is a key to lending authority to their own communication effects.

Constructing an ideology

Boudon (1989, p. 73) argues that social actors build their knowledge of the world around them from a particular position and based on a series of dispositions. That is, what we see is conditioned by where we are looking from (position) and by what we already know (dispositions). These situation effects, as Boudon calls them, “often give rise [...] to misinterpretations that are difficult to shift” (ibid., p. 80). Communication effects, primarily the principle of authority, are crucial for ideas to spread. Boudon thus suggests that for ideas to become diffused knowledge, they need to be presented by those who are regarded by other social actors as having authority in a particular field (ibid., p. 84). We interpret the Actors’ interventions as conditioned by their situational perspective as agents of the municipality and affiliated third sector organisations. They navigate multifaceted effects that arise through their interaction with a variety of other agencies. To this end, they negotiate a variety of existing dispositions. The content of their communication is strategically crafted to lend their narrative authority in the eyes of the institutions whose recognition and support they require in order to continue to function.

The Actors’ role within the education sector makes them the principal point of contact with Roma migrants in the initial stage. This puts them in a strategic position to advise other agencies, in the absence of any alternative or transparent structures of representation or leadership within the Roma community itself. Through that same position they are also affected by the drive to outsource local authority services to the private sector, and from 2010 by the pressure of austerity measures triggering large-scale budget cuts and the downsizing of personnel. This creates a drive to secure independent funding, which amplifies the need to demonstrate authority and expertise. The launch of EU National Roma Integration Strategies in 2011 opens up an opportunity to secure support for interventions on Roma and so it adds further positional effects and another contingent of social actors among whom the Actors

wish to be regarded as an authority. The Actors now hope to secure funding from schools that require support, from European institutions that wish to promote Roma inclusion, from national government, which needs to tackle challenges brought about by migration, and from the local authority, which is required to meet its statutory duty of care for vulnerable groups and children in particular.

This complexity of positions provides a blend of dispositional effects. They include both popular romantic stereotypes of Gypsies and real experiences with Travellers. They also include a view of Gypsies as a threat, which instigates criminalisation and fears of an uncontrollable influx of Roma migrants, as well as a view of Gypsies as a primordial culture that poses a threat to its own vulnerable members. At the same time we see the adoption of a European discourse on Roma that flags victimhood and in part replicates the activist narrative on Roma nationhood. In an attempt to forge an effective strategy that would secure maximum recognition of their authority, the Actors thus integrate and internalise diverse and often contradictory notions. The result is an ideology that combines imagery of romanticism as well as nationhood, of criminality as well as victimhood, and of compassion as well as paternalism, and which purports to nurture young people but at the same time pathologises their culture and their community.

Notes

- 1 The research leading to the present publication results from MIGROM, “The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe: Causes, effects and future engagement strategies”, a project funded by the European Union’s 7th Framework Programme under the call on “Dealing with diversity and cohesion: the case of the Roma in the European Union” (GA319901).
- 2 See Lifelong Learning Programme Key Activity 1 Compendium 2011, p. 4–5: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results_projects/documents/roma_compendium_en.pdf
- 3 Salford University grant code ELRA61, July 2012 to March 2013; see <http://www.seek.salford.ac.uk/data/projects/viewDetails.do?pid=7270&verson=1>
- 4 <http://www.romasmile.com/>
- 5 Helen Clifton, ‘The Route to Integration’, *Health Equalities* 1, April 2012, p. 14–17.
- 6 Roma Operational Meeting: Records of Issues/Actions, 06.07.2010.
- 7 Lifelong Learning Programme Key Activity 1 Compendium 2011, p. 4–5: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results_projects/documents/roma_compendium_en.pdf
- 8 S1 draft report on “Education issues relating to Roma pupils 2007 to present”, spring 2013.
- 9 BHA Final Report authored by Jennifer Davies and Julie Davies; received from Manchester City Council Equalities Team on 27.06.2014. The document is available here: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/BHA%20FINAL%20REPORT%20Jun%202014.pdf>
- 10 The BHA application to Manchester City Council is available here: http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/BHA_equalities_applications%20Jan%202013.pdf
- 11 Minutes of Manchester City Council Communities Scrutiny Committee, 13 November 2013, p. 2–4. http://www.manchester.gov.uk/meetings/committee/81/communities_scrutiny_committee
- 12 BHA Final Report; see above.

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Tina Gažovičová

Romani pupils in Slovakia: Trapped between Romani and Slovak languages

Abstract

According to estimates, Roma make up to 19 % of pupils in primary and lower secondary education in Slovakia and about two thirds of them speak Romani language at home. Despite this fact, the vast majority of schools do not include Romani in their curriculum. Drawing on theories about the symbolic power of language the paper focuses on the use of the Romani language in the school context as well as on approaches aimed at teaching Slovak as a second language. Its main goal is to examine the application of language policy and minority rights in practice.

The paper concludes that as far as the Roma minority is concerned, the de jure existence of minority language rights is not a sufficient condition to ensure the exercise of these rights. The research further revealed that despite the declared emphasis on minority pupils' adequate command of the Slovak language, the practical measures aimed at improving their fluency in Slovak are unsatisfactory. As a result, many Romani pupils risk failing to master any language on the level that would allow them to succeed in school.

Keywords: *language policies in education, minority rights, Romani language, Slovakia, Slovak as second language*

Zusammenfassung

Schätzungen zufolge gehören bis zu 19 % der Schüler/-innen in der Slowakei zur Roma-Minderheit, ca. zwei Drittel von ihnen sprechen Romanes. Jedoch ist – von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen – Romanes nicht Teil des schulischen Curriculums. Ausgehend von Theorien über die symbolische Macht von Sprache analysiert der Beitrag einerseits die Verwendung von Romanes in der Schule und andererseits die Ansätze des Unterrichts von Slowakisch als Zweitsprache. Ziel ist es zu prüfen, inwiefern proklamierte Sprachenpolitik und Minderheitenrechte praktisch umgesetzt werden.

Der Beitrag kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die reine Existenz von Minderheitenrechten keine hinreichende Bedingung für die Umsetzung dieser Rechte ist. Darüber hinaus sind bisherige Maßnahmen zur Förderung der Slowakisch-Kenntnisse von Roma-Schüler/innen als unbefriedigend einzuschätzen. Dies hat zur Folge, dass viele Schüler/-innen keine der beiden Sprachen ausreichend beherrschen.

Schlüsselworte: *Sprachenpolitik, Minderheitenrechte, Romanes, Slowakei, Slowakisch als Zweitsprache*

Analytical and methodological framework

Although the geopolitical arrangement of the modern world is dominated by national states, the concept of monolingual and mono-national states is rather recent in human history. It evolved after the French revolution and rose hand in hand with European nationalism (see, for example, May 2006; Anderson 1983). Even though most democratic nation states have undergone a process of nationalisation and homogenisation it is extremely difficult if not impossible to find a monolingual state. In other words, inhabitants of most existing states speak multiple native languages. A question thus arises: what should be the attitude of government policies toward minority languages and members of language minorities?

Any attempt to answer this question should bear in mind that language is not merely a communication tool. The symbolic status people attribute to language contributes to the emergence of social disparities between them (Bourdieu 1991; Spolsky 2004). "In the process of state formation [...] the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. [...] this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 45). The tools to influence and to govern the "linguistic market" are called language policies (Ricento 2006).

The so-called western democracies seem to agree that concepts such as equality and individual freedom are at the heart of any democratic society. The question of how to fulfil them in practice, however, remains controversial on the academic as well as the political level. The rights of ethno-cultural minorities have become an important part of political philosophy in the past decades (see, for example, Laden/Owen 2007; Kymlicka/Patten 2003). Diversity within a state's population, including language diversity, therefore constitutes a practical challenge to actualizing these concepts. Education is one of the principal concerns in this respect. Equitable education in particular is indispensable to supporting equality and social mobility of individuals.

Experts argue passionately over these issues. Some emphasize the aspect of linguistic human rights, arguing that everyone should have the right to education in his/her own first language (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). This line of argument is corroborated by psychological research, which shows it is the easiest for a child to learn in his/her first language (Tucker

2003). Other scholars believe that the best way to achieve equality is education in the majority language. According to Pogge (2003) who focused on language acquisition of Hispanics in the US, it is only possible to promote social mobility with sufficient knowledge of the English language and it is therefore important for Hispanic students to attend English-medium schools.

This paper introduces a new way of assessing equality with respect to language policies in education (LPE), focusing on the question of whether existing language policies actively support functional bilingualism of minority pupils. Pupils who speak a different language at home than in school always become bilingual. Functional bilingualism means that the person is able to use both languages as circumstances require. Baker mentions various language targets (e.g. family, neighbours, teachers, etc.) as well as various language contexts (domains) (e.g. shopping, work, printed media, etc.) (Baker 2011, p. 5). It is understood as the opposite of “failed bilingualism”, which is also called “semilingualism”.

The term “semilingualism” was first used in the debate on the education of children of immigrants in Scandinavian countries. It is used to describe the failure to master any language on the level that would allow them to succeed in school. “Such a person is considered to possess a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinks about language production, is tilted and uncreative with both languages, and finds it difficult to think and express emotions in either language” (Baker/Jones 1998, p. 14). In academic research, the term is regarded as highly controversial (see, for example, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, Martin-Jones/Romaine 1986). Danish professor Tove Skutnabb-Kangas argued it was impossible to regard semilingualism as either a scientific or a linguistic concept, although she admits it does describe a real phenomenon (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, p. 249). While agreeing with criticism on the scientific value of the concept as it is impossible to objectively measure semilingualism, in my opinion the term does reflect an important social phenomenon and should be taken into account by academics as well as policy makers.

This paper builds on the author’s dissertation thesis (Gažovičová 2014) as well as on a research project conducted by the Centre for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture (Gallová-Kríglerová/Gažovičová 2012). In addition to available academic literature and legal documents, it draws from in-depth interviews collected at eleven elementary schools in different regions of Slovakia, including one school where the Romani language is being taught. The paper focuses on LPE in Slovakia in relation to two languages: the official state language (Slovak) and a minority language (Romani). It poses two principal research questions: (1) What are the practical possibilities of Romani pupils to receive institutional support in Romani language acquisition? (2) To what degree is the right of the Roma to learn the state language fulfilled? Based on the answers to both questions a conclusion can be made on whether Slovak language policies in education do in practice support the functional bilingualism of Romani pupils.

The Romani minority in Slovakia

The Romani minority enjoys the status of a national minority in Slovakia. In the most recent official census of 2011, only two

percent of Slovak inhabitants declared themselves as Roma nationals¹ (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic 2011); however, expert estimates are much higher. According to the most recent nationwide research conducted in 2013, there are 402,000 Roma living in the country, constituting about seven point five percent of the Slovakia’s total population. Of those who live concentrated, about 40 % do not have access to public water mains, about 70 % do not use public sewage and about two percent do not use electricity in their homes (Atlas of Romani communities 2013).

The Roma population seems to have a different age structure than the majority. This is due to a higher average fertility rate and a lower average life expectancy compared to the Slovak majority. Based on UNDP research carried out in 2011 in areas with above-average Roma populations, about 23 % of Slovak Roma are aged seven to 15 years and therefore eligible for compulsory education² (Brüggemann 2012, p. 101). If these numbers would apply to the whole Roma population, over 90,000 Slovak Roma should be enrolled in the country’s compulsory education system, thus constituting around 19 % of all pupils in primary and lower secondary education.³ These estimates are much higher than usually recognized in official documents. A strategic document from the Ministry of Education on the education of Romani pupils published in 2008 stated the share of Romani pupils in elementary schools around eight percent (Ministry of Education 2008, p. 4). The share of Romani pupils is the highest in special schools. Based on a research conducted in 2008, approximately 60 % of children in special primary schools are Roma (Friedman et al. 2009).

Like in other European countries, the average Rom in Slovakia lives in much poorer conditions than the average Slovak. About half of the Romani minority live scattered among the majority. The other half live concentrated in city ghettos or segregated settlements. Of those who live concentrated, about 40 % do not have access to public water mains, over 50 % do not use public sewage and nearly ten percent do not use electricity in their homes (Atlas of Romani communities 2013).

Compared to the majority but also to other national minorities, the Roma have significantly lower educational outcomes. In 2011, about 60 % of Roma surveyed by the UNDP research project indicated lower secondary education to be their highest education level. About 18 % did not complete lower secondary education (compared to about two percent non-Roma living in close proximity) and only about 20 % of the respondents indicated having completed upper-secondary and thus post-compulsory secondary education (compared to about 82 % non-Roma living in close proximity) (Brüggemann 2012, p. 104).

About 80 % of Slovak Roma are believed to speak the Romani language as first or second home language (Bakker/Rooker 2001, p. 10). According to UNDP data about two thirds of Slovak Roma speak Romani as first home language, 18 % speak Slovak and 14 % speak Hungarian as first home language. More than 90 % of Roma live in households that frequently use more than one language at home (Brüggemann 2012, p. 53–54).

Given such frequent occurrence of bilingualism in Romani households, it is important to pay attention to the level at which Romani children learn the each language. In case they

have difficulties in learning both languages, this might lead to the phenomenon described above as semilingualism. Failed bilingualism of Romani children is relevant as well in regard of the high special schooling rate of Romani children. Research has shown that in special schools for mentally disabled children, there is a significantly higher rate of Romani pupils speaking Romani at home than those speaking at home Slovak or Hungarian (Friedman et al. 2009; Brüggemann/Škobla 2012).

Currently, there are numerous dialects of the Romani language around the world. Matras (2005) describes a division of four main branches: (a) vlx; (b) central; (c) Balkan and (d) northern branch. Based on this division, the dialects spoken by the Roma in Slovakia belong to the central branch. Cina (2002) distinguishes three main dialects used in Slovakia. The most common one, which is spoken by about 85 % of Roma in Slovakia, is called "Slovak dialect" of Romani. It is further divided into an East Slovak dialect, Central Slovak dialect and West Slovak dialect. About five to ten percent speak the Vlx dialect and Roma living in southern Slovakia speak a dialect which incorporated many Hungarian words (Cina 2002).

Romani was not codified until a few decades ago and was only used as a spoken language. The fact that the Roma continue to be an ethnic group without a patron state makes it very difficult to standardise the language. There are no central institutions that would be internationally responsible for the codification of a single literary version of Romani. Consequently, different countries have codified different versions of Romani. In Slovakia, there is a standardized version used since the 1970s when an important Romani grammar book was written by Milena Hübschmannová (Cina 2002). For codification, the East Slovak dialect of Romani has been used, as it is the most commonly spoken dialect of Romani in Slovakia. The process of codification of the Romani language in Slovakia was officially completed in 2008.

Language policies in education with respect to the Romani minority

Legal framework for Slovakia's language policies in education (LPE)

In Slovakia, LPE focus on two principal areas: first, protecting the right to use minority languages; second, promoting the state Slovak language. The protection of minority languages is guaranteed by the Slovak constitution as well as by the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Slovak constitution declares: "Citizens belonging to national minorities or ethnic groups in the Slovak Republic shall be guaranteed their universal development, particularly the rights to promote their culture together with other members of the minority or group, to disseminate and receive information in their mother tongues, to associate in national minority associations, to establish and maintain educational and cultural institutions" (Constitution of the Slovak Republic, Chapter two, Article four, Paragraph 34, (1)). Based on this article, individual minorities have the right to establish schools with education in their respective languages. However, it is not government's obligation to provide all children with education in their first language. In other words, it is the minority's freedom to establish public schools. Such schools have the same rights and obligations as Slovak schools and cannot be discriminated against.

In contrast, migrants, who lack the status of traditional national minorities, can establish schools in their own language only as private schools.⁴

There are two ways of incorporating a minority language into a school's curriculum in Slovakia. One way is for the minority language to be used as the language of instruction for all subjects. In such schools, Slovak language is taught only as one compulsory subject. This possibility is used mainly by the Hungarian minority. About ten percent of public primary schools have Hungarian as their language of instruction. A second option is for the minority language to be taught only as an additional subject. This possibility is mainly used by small national minorities such as the Ruthenians.⁵

Slovak legislation also places a great emphasis on the Slovak language. According to the constitution, Slovak is the only official state language. The Schooling Act states that every child who lives in Slovakia has the right to learn the state language (Law No. 245/2008, §12, (3)). In practice, this right translates into the obligation to attend Slovak language classes throughout one's compulsory school education.

Based on said laws it seems that the Slovak legislation has outlined the goal to support bilingualism of national minorities' members. Such principle is as well promoted by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The remainder of this paper strives to answer the question whether this aim is practically fulfilled with respect to the Romani minority.

Romani language within Slovakia's education system

The communist regime pursued strong assimilation policies toward the Roma. These policies have seen significant changes since 1989. The Roma were granted the status of official national minority and Romani was officially recognized as a minority language. Since then, several educational institutions and media have been established to promote Romani culture and language. Already in the years 1992–1994, the Ministry of Education developed and approved curricula of the Romani language and literature for primary and secondary education. This project enabled the teaching of Romani at schools. However it has not been put into practice as teachers and study materials were lacking. In 2003–2009, the Ministry of Education prepared the project of Experimental verification of the effectiveness of the curriculum of Roma language and literature at primary school and secondary school level. As a part of this project several study materials for teaching Romani have been written. The most important has been the new spelling rules, as this has been a precondition for the official codification of the Romani language in Slovakia in 2008 (Hero 2012, p. 43).

For the time being, Romani language is not used as the language of instruction at any school in Slovakia. Romani has been incorporated into schools' curricula only as the subject called "Romani language and literature". Currently there are only two primary and five secondary schools which offer this subject. All of these schools are privately owned and have been founded by non-governmental organisations.⁶

Meanwhile, the marginalisation of the Romani language continues due to a long list of mutually interlinked reasons that can be roughly divided into two main categories. One has to do with institutional reasons and unfavourable conditions for teach-

ing Romani while the other is related to the low symbolic status the Romani language and identity enjoy within Slovak society.

Institutional barriers to teaching Romani

The written form of Romani is relatively young as Romani existed for centuries only as an oral language (Hübschmannova 1979). As a result, most Roma in Slovakia speak various local dialects of Romani, as opposed to its codified form. While most languages around the world have a number of dialects, the learning of a literary form results from institutionalization in the form of state-administered education and media. This is not the case of the Romani language. As a result, many Romani children do not sufficiently understand codified Romani. Some experts are therefore sceptical about teaching Romani in schools. They argue that the official form of Romani is another foreign language to Romani children (e.g. Šikrová 2004).

Another problem is the development of Romani language and the creation of new vocabulary. Currently there is no institution that would act as the ultimate linguistic authority with respect to Romani (see e.g. Cina 2012). Besides, there is a shortage of Romani teachers. For the time being, no university in Slovakia offers a Romani language study program. Due to the low numbers of Romani university students in Slovakia, it seems difficult to find a sufficient number of candidates. In 2010, the Institute of Romani Studies at the University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra received accreditation to open an independent degree programme in Romani language and culture, but the programme was never launched. After two consecutive years in which there were not enough applications from potential students in Slovakia to open a class, the Institute decided not to renew the accreditation for this study program from the 2013–2014 academic year (Samko 2012, p. 17). Currently, a number of universities teach Romani as a subject.⁷

Low symbolic status of the Romani language

The Slovak society does not value the knowledge of the Romani language much. Most teachers in our research stressed the importance of knowing Slovak, but only few appreciated also the first language of the Romani children. This belief shapes school policies and teachers' behaviour. Although there is no regulation that would ban using Romani in schools, several teachers and teacher assistants have reported a fear to communicate in Romani with children. As one Romani teacher assistant has stated: "I never openly speak Romani in class. Because it is not a language that should be used in class."

Even when a school does not officially teach Romani, it is helpful for children if at least some of their teachers speak their first language. As our research has revealed, at some schools the knowledge of Romani becomes a source of conflict between Roma and non-Roma teachers. One teacher mentioned: "I had a [Roma] assistant and I was not satisfied. [...] They spoke Romani and I couldn't understand. She often had an advantage over me. And I really had a problem with it." This shows that the knowledge of Romani is often not seen as valuable, but rather as undesirable competition. In this particular school, which is attended solely by Romani pupils, the Romani teacher's assistant had been replaced by a non-Roma.

The poverty in which many Roma live is often wrongly identi-

fied with Romani culture. Drál (2009) pointed out that laziness was perceived as a congenital characteristic of the Roma and this belief was intertwined into government's social policy. Similarly, speaking Romani instead of Slovak is perceived as a sign of the Romani community's backwardness. "Overcoming" the Romani language is thus viewed as a precondition of individuals' social mobility (Gažovičová 2012).

Slovak as second language for Romani pupils

As there are no schools in Slovakia that use Romani as the language of instruction, all Romani children are educated in a different language, which is usually Slovak and occasionally Hungarian. Many Romani pupils enter school without sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction. As has been pointed out, Slovak law places emphasis on the right of all pupils to master the Slovak language. In this respect, two basic systemic flaws can be identified: one relates to the shortcomings in methodology and teacher training; the other concerns the scope of teaching and support to pupils.

The didactics of teaching Slovak as a second language are not sufficiently developed. There is no comprehensive methodological support for pupils who attend schools with Slovak as the language of instruction but struggle with language barriers. This means they learn from the same textbooks, using the same didactics as children who use Slovak as their first language. Moreover students of pedagogy do not learn how to teach Slovak as a foreign language. As a result, children whose first language is different from the language of instruction have no support in overcoming the language barrier. This problem concerns not only Romani pupils, but also members of other national minorities or immigrant communities (Gažovičová 2011).

Besides, Slovak legislation fails to distinguish pupils' nationality or first language as relevant categories in policy making. As a result, there are very few measures in the field of language support. In the past years, several educational policy measures have been adopted to support children from marginalised Romani communities. These measures target pupils based on families' social situation leading many Romani pupils to be categorized as "children from a socially disadvantaged environment" (Article 2 of Schooling Act). The country's education system is currently enforcing two measures that officially target these children and the language barrier is one of the problems to be addressed.

Firstly, there are preparatory classes ("zero grades") for children who have reached the age of compulsory schooling but according to psychological tests are not mature enough to handle the first grade curriculum. The main target group of preparatory classes in Slovakia are children from marginalized Romani communities. Our findings reveal that the language barrier appears to be one of the most frequently cited reasons for placing Romani children in preparatory classes (see also Klein et al. 2012). As one teacher from eastern Slovakia has stated in our research: „I have the impression I am slowing down some children instead of helping them. Because the only reason why they are not in the first grade is that they do not know the language. Otherwise, they are very clever. If they knew the language, they would have the best grades. This applies to about half of my pupils." There is no centrally prescri-

bed curriculum for preparatory classes. According to regulations, the curriculum as well as the methods of education should be adapted to the needs of the children. This formulation allows teachers to place emphasis on teaching Slovak as a foreign language, but there are no state-issued textbooks or other methodical support such as teacher training for this purpose.

Secondly, Slovakia's educational system has introduced the position of teacher assistants. The program began as an experimental project of Romani teacher assistants designed to help Romani pupils. In 2002, the position of teacher assistants was legally enacted. Unfortunately, the emphasis on Romani teacher assistants got lost along the way as Slovak laws are not allowed to favour particular ethnic groups. Although there are currently no data available on Romani teacher assistants, several research projects report that only a small proportion of teacher assistants who are supposed to help Romani children are of Romani origin and/or speak Romani⁸ (e.g. Gallová-Kríglerová/Gažovičová 2012; Huttová et al. 2012; Petrasová et al. 2012).

Since neither preparatory classes nor teacher assistants defined overcoming the language barrier as their main objective, they have produced rather limited results in this regard. Consequently, children with insufficient knowledge of Slovak are forced to learn the language simultaneously with other subjects. Children's ability to cope with such a difficult situation depends on many factors including age, contact with the language outside of school and individual capabilities. Most children find this task too difficult and gradually fall behind in other compulsory subjects while struggling with Slovak.

Conclusion – the risk of semilingualism

This paper has presented the view that language policies in education (LPE) should support children from linguistic minorities to develop high level of language skills in both languages. Focusing on the case of Romani pupils in the Slovak Republic, the paper has examined the question of whether the principle of supporting equality in language policies has been fulfilled in practice.

From the viewpoint of legislation, LPE in Slovakia should support functional bilingualism of Romani pupils. The Romani minority has the right to be educated in its first language. Besides, the state language Slovak is a compulsory part of schools' curriculum. Based on our research, however, the conclusion can be made that both principles are not being successfully put into practice. There are no schools with Romani as the language of instruction. There are very few schools where Romani is part of the official curriculum. Therefore the vast majority of Romani children do not have any formal contact with their first language in school.

Moreover, although the valid Slovak law emphasises the right of all pupils to master Slovak, the system of teaching the language to students for whom Slovak is not the first language is still experiencing teething troubles. One of the main reasons is that the valid school legislation fails to define the category 'pupils with inadequate command of the state language' as the target group for policy. Besides, even though the Slovak language is a compulsory subject for all pupils, the actual methodology of teaching it is unsatisfactory.

Based on the research implications for educational policies and practice can be formulated. Slovakia should regard pupils with insufficient knowledge of the Slovak language as a specific target group and instruments to speed up their language acquisition should be put into practice. Such instruments could include some form of tutoring Slovak as a second language. Moreover, teacher preparation programs that focus on teaching Slovak as a second language are necessary. Such programs should be part of curricula at university studies for future Slovak language teachers. Also programs for practicing teachers are needed and could be offered by state institutions as well as by non-governmental initiatives. In addition text books for pupils to learn Slovak as a second language should be available.⁹

Regarding the Romani language, more schools should incorporate Romani as a subject. This would help the pupils to master their first language at a higher level. Besides teachers and teachers' assistants who speak Romani would help to create a bridge between Slovak and Romani languages as well as Slovak and Romani communities.

The result of successful educational policies should be a knowledge of both languages that enables their effective use in different language contexts. For Slovak, this includes the ability to communicate with majority populations effectively, to allow for friendships and business relations without experiencing language barriers, to be able to succeed in school, even though instruction is in Slovak as well as not being at risk of tracking into special schools due to a limited command of Slovak. For Romani, it would be useful to have such knowledge of the Romani language to be able to understand, speak and write codified Romani and to translate between Romani and Slovak.

All pupils regardless of their ethnic origin are affected by the schooling system and suffer from its deficiencies. However, Romani pupils find it particularly difficult to compensate for these deficiencies, mostly due to their poor socio-economic situation and the high level of segregation. For many Romani children, insufficient mastery of Slovak as the language of instruction is a barrier they are not able to overcome. This has long-lasting consequences such as their employment prospects as well as relations with non-Roma Slovak citizens.

The paper's practical findings justify the conclusion that currently pursued LPE are failing to support minority pupils' functional bilingualism; on the contrary, many of these pupils are threatened by semilingualism. This applies particularly to children from marginalized Romani communities. Given their poor socio-economic situation and their parents' low education status, mastering a regular school curriculum is an insurmountable task for many of them. As long as they remain trapped in between two languages, it will stay this way. Without adequate support the language barrier becomes one of the factors that currently constitute the vicious circle of poverty for most Roma living in Slovakia.

Notes

- 1 The census question does not enable multiple national identities as an answer.
- 2 Compulsory education starts at the beginning of the school year following the date on which the child reaches six years of age and is considered as mature for school education. Compulsory education lasts ten years and not more than the end of the school year in which the child reaches 16 years of age. (Schooling Act, § 19).

- 3 In 2011 around 478 000 pupils have been enrolled in Slovak primary and lower secondary education (this number includes elementary schools (primary and lower secondary education), special elementary schools and relevant classes of some gymnasium and conservatory schools). (The Institute of Information and Prognoses of Education 2011).
- 4 This is according to the Schooling Act (Law No. 245/2008), § 146 (7). Currently, there are no private schools for migrant communities established upon this law.
- 5 Ruthenians constitute about 0,6 % of the population of Slovakia (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic 2011).
- 6 These schools are: the private elementary school and the private gymnasium of Zefyrín Jiménez Malla in Kremnica established by the non-governmental organization eMKLUB Kremnica; the private elementary school and the private gymnasium on Galaktická street in Košice established by the non-governmental foundation Nadácia „dobrá rómska víla Kesaj“, the private pedagogic and social academy in Košice and the private conservatory of music and drama in Košice, both established by the non-governmental cultural organization of Roma citizens in the Košice region („Kultúrne združenie občanov rómskej národnosti Košického kraja, n.o.) and the private secondary vocational school in Kežmarok established by the non-governmental Carpe diem (The Government Council of the Slovak Republic for Human Rights... 2013, p. 81).
- 7 These universities are: the Department of Romani Studies at the University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra; the Department of Romani Studies at the St. Elizabeth University of Health and Social Sciences in Bratislava and its regional school in Banská Bystrica and the Department of Romani Studies at the Prešov University in Prešov (The Government Council of the Slovak Republic for Human Rights... 2013, p. 81).
- 8 There are very few Romani speaking non-Roma.
- 9 Currently such textbooks are available only for pupils at schools with Hungarian as language of instruction.

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Laura Surdu/Furugh Switzer

Reading Tales – an Informal Educational Practice for Social Change

“The limits of my language mean the limits of my world.”
– Ludwig Wittgenstein

Abstract

School is an institution that translates socio-economic differences into distinct educational outcomes. In the case of Roma children, schools perform a negative selection, often by tracking Roma into segregated classes and schools and directing many of them into special education. Negative selection is often justified by reference to poor reading skills and limited vocabulary in the language of school instruction. Since schools fail to be inclusive institutions and attempts to improve educational outcomes of Roma students have been of limited effect, interventions at the family level appear as relevant alternative to decrease educational inequality. The “Your Story” (Meséd) project, through which mothers develop a routine of reading stories to their children, is proving an effective step for developing mothers’ parenting abilities and involvement in their children’s education, as well as in improving children’s reading skills and school achievement, increasing their vocabulary and supporting them in developing a positive attitude towards reading and overall education.

Keywords: *Early childhood education, parental involvement, reading tales, Roma children, educational policy*

Zusammenfassung

Die Schule ist eine Institution, die sozioökonomische Ungleichheit in ungleiche Bildungsergebnisse transformiert. Im Fall von Roma-Kindern findet eine Negativauslese statt; sie werden häufig in ethnisch segregierte Klassen und Schulen oder sogar in Sonderschulen überwiesen. Diese negative Selektion wird in der Regel durch Referenz auf schwache Lesekompetenzen und geringe Vokabelkenntnisse gerechtfertigt. Vor dem Hintergrund, dass Schulen im Bezug auf Inklusion bisher versagt haben und Versuche, die Bildungsergebnisse von Roma-Kindern und -Jugendlichen zu verbessern, bislang nur mäßigen Erfolg hatten, erscheinen Interventionen auf der Ebene der Familie als mögliche Alternative zur Verringerung von Bildungsungleichheit. Das Projekt „Deine Geschichte“ (Meséd) stärkt die Erziehungskompetenz und die Beteiligung von Müttern sowie die Lesekompetenz und Lesemotivation von Kindern durch das Erlernen von Routinen des gemeinsamen Vorlesens.

Schlüsselworte: *Frühkindliche Bildung, Zusammenarbeit mit Eltern, Vorlesen, Roma-Kinder, Bildungspolitik*

The reproduction of social inequality within the educational system

The increase in the number of students who reach tertiary education in Central and Eastern European countries suggests democratization in the domain of education: education is for all. But even if they achieve similar levels of education, individuals from social different strata will likely find themselves at different levels on the social hierarchy stemming from their inherited socio-economic status rather than on their achieved educational status (see, for example, Jencks et al. 1972; Boudon 1974; Bowles/Gents 1976; Breen/Goldthorpe 2001).

School plays an important role in creating and maintaining social inequalities because it arbitrarily imposes and values the habitus characteristics of the dominant classes and assigns an inferior status to, and devaluates the habitus of, the dominated classes (Bourdieu/Passeron 1977). By the largely exclusive recognition of the dominant class’s culture as having a unique and universal value, pupils from the lower class are put by the school into a disadvantaged situation. In Bourdieu’s view, the educational system has as a main function the reproduction of a cultural status quo which reflects the domination of the upper class.

An insidious criterion used by schools which serves in negative selection among pupils coming from different socio-economic backgrounds is language acquisition. In his revised theory of language and pedagogical codes, Bernstein (2000) asserts that schools encourage and reward an elaborated linguistic code while sanctioning the usage of restricted or limited vocabulary. The restricted language code (including a limited academic vocabulary) is thus responsible for the inferior school achievements of children coming from poor and working class families.

School exclusion appears at an early age in the form of evaluation tests that rely on vocabulary acquisitions in family socialization. To be prepared for this filtering process, children coming from poor families need to be directed towards an elaborated linguistic code from the earliest possible stages in order to pass this initial hurdle encountered in the school system. Acquiring and enriching vocabulary and language use is crucial

because it first decreases the probability of negative selection into special education at the initial school stage and, secondly, contributes to educational success in the long run.

Roma children's school career

Research focusing on the general low educational achievements of Roma¹ populations has taken off in the last two decades since the revival of the conceptualization of Roma ethnicity by politicians, scholars and Roma activists. "Gypsies"² were studied in some communist regimes (Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) and not even mentioned in others (Bulgaria and Romania), but after communism's fall in Europe in the 1990s, the Roma population became a salient object of study.

Most of the studies focusing on Roma education have concluded that a consistent segment of Roma pupils has lower levels of educational attainment than their counterparts from the majority population. Policy studies indicate that a significant proportion of Roma children are not enrolled or drop out early from the educational system (Save the Children 2001; UNDP 2002; Ringold/Orenstein/Wilkens 2005; EUMC 2006; UNICEF 2007; OSCE/ODIHR 2010; FRA/UNDP 2012; Bennet 2012; Brüggemann 2012). From the body of policy research addressing Roma education, it could be seen as a conclusion that Roma are bounded into an essentialism with two mutually supportive and reinforcing strands: the Roma do not like school and schools do not like the Roma.

Until recently, basic research assumptions implied that Roma children's low rate of school participation is partially a result of parental disinterest in formal education, low parental involvement in school life, lack of resources for sustaining children in school, low educational aspirations and a general mistrust of the school system. What has been less explored is a possible reluctance of some Roma parents to interact with school staff and with other parents due to a mix of ethnic stigma and lack of self-confidence resulting from their often poor economic and educational status (Surdu 2010).

Teachers usually hold low expectations for Roma children and the acquisition of basic skills such as literacy and numeracy is sometimes considered an achievement or an objective to be reached rather than a common developmental outcome as for other students. The same low expectations of Roma children can even be found in the EU policy papers. Although Roma's completion of primary education is considered an EU Roma integration priority and "ambitious" goal ("Ensure that all Roma children complete at least primary school", EC 2011, 5), this objective seems rather a weak one in light of the fact that the completion of primary education is insufficient to improve Roma's employment prospects (Friedman 2013). Low objectives promote low achievements.

When it is not simply an arbitrary act of discrimination or a hidden administrative practice, the segregation of Roma children into separate classes and schools is often justified in terms of their vocabulary gap and lack of proficiency in the official language of instruction, which in turn requires their early separation in order to administer language-related corrective interventions. In light of the widespread educational segregation of Roma in the school systems of Central and Eastern Europe, early childhood education (both in the family and in the formal environment) has come to be seen as a practice of utmost im-

portance in preventing segregation in general and avoiding placement in special education in particular.

Educationalists have started to consider the involvement of parents in school life and their level of aspiration for children's educational achievements as very important for the pupils' school careers (Epstein/Salinas 2004; Fan/Chen 2001; Sheldon/Epstein 2004). From this perspective, it appears to be most important to work early with families and children coming from disadvantaged homes and to set cognitive foundations for children to start their educational paths on a more equal footing with children from more privileged families.

In this article, we try to dispel the narrative of educationally hopeless Roma children by showing how small actions at early educational stages can help them to better find their way in the school environment and to perform tasks on par with their non-Roma peers. A hopeful example of how this might be achieved through addressing early socialization at home will be described in the fourth part of the article. Roma children's poor educational background could be countervailed not by an emphasis on measurement and diagnosis, but rather through less costly investment in early childhood education.

Benefits and effects of reading stories to children

Reading stories to children is a social and socializing practice well developed in middle-class families (Phillips/McNaughton 1990; Mol/Bus/de Jong 2009). Numerous early childhood studies (Sénéchal/LeFevre 2002; Sénéchal 2006b; Arama/Fine/Zivc 2013) demonstrate that parents reading to their children and a shared reading context have an overall positive impact on children's literacy or their reading achievement, as well as on children's vocabulary. Reading stories can be also seen as a universal meta-language between parents and child with beneficial effects on both of them. Mothers have the potential for creating the instructional "scaffolding", a form of tutoring (Wood/Bruner/Ross 1976) which is similar to the zone of proximal development as conceptualized by Vygotski (1997).

Reading stories as a tutorial practice initiated by parents is a promising way to establish an effective educational platform because of the generally greater level of attachment and intimacy between parent and child as compared to that of teacher and child. Because closeness to family and especially to the mother is perceived by the child as more secure than any other relationship, it provides a sound basis for "dialogical" learning (in Freire's [1996] terms). The particular liaison with the mother ensures an informal learning which is not only natural par excellence, but also extraordinarily fruitful.

Parents are the best mediators between the informal, oral language and the instructional, written language inculcated at a later stage through formal education. As an extension of the everyday use of the oral language, reading books appears as a major step forward literacy acquisition and language development. Children who have been read to before attending school are better prepared for the transition to compulsory education, face more easily the tasks and problem solving requested by teachers, and have a higher rate of success in educational settings than children not exposed to early reading (Raikes et al. 2006, Bus/van Ijzendoorn/Pellegrini 1995; Burgess/Hecht/Lonigan 2002).

The main contribution of reading books to children's success in school is the development of vocabulary, which constitutes an important step in learning to read and to express the self (Bus/van IJzendoorn 1988, Sénéchal/LeFevre 2002). In a recent meta-analysis gathering data from six intervention studies on 408 subjects, Dunst/Simkus/Hamby (2012, 3) concluded that "shared reading interventions were effective in promoting the infants' and toddlers' expressive and receptive language and that the benefits were more positive the earlier the interventions were started and the longer they were implemented. Results also showed the interventions had longer term benefits."

In sum, reading stories is an indirect and – when it includes discussing the stories with the child – interactive process of learning through which the child is exposed to knowledge in an informal and affectionate way. This process is beneficial not only for the children but also for their parents, a fact less documented by existing studies. The project presented in the next section emphasizes that reading stories for children is a pleasurable and recreational activity for parents, too, which also has an important role in stress reduction and increasing self-confidence and self-esteem.

A critical educational praxis: the "Your Story" project in Hungary

This section focuses on reading stories to children as a key activity implemented in six locations in Hungary in the framework of the multi-country project "A Good Start".³ The project was implemented during 2010–2012 by the Roma Education Fund and partners and ran in 16 localities of four countries of Europe (Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovakia).

Project context

Illiteracy and functional illiteracy are common among young Roma mothers with low socio-economic status at the six project sites. The great majority of these women dropped out of the school system at an early stage and met with little or no success or encouragement in their few years of schooling. They therefore lacked basic skills in reading and the confidence to read aloud. Moreover, prior to this project there was not much interest shown on the part of the Roma mothers targeted by the project to attend any kind of remedial courses which require them to attend conventional classes, listen to lectures, and write examinations.

Motherhood sometimes starts very early among the Roma from traditional communities. Being burdened with the responsibilities of caring for a baby, many young Roma women from this project consider the learning period in their life to have ended and see neither reason nor hope for furthering their learning after becoming mothers, such that the desire and skill to learn become buried. Additionally, the mothers' own negative experiences with formal education leave them poorly prepared to set a course for the growth of their children. Finally, there are often few books available in their home.

Project goals

The "Your Story" project aims to gently break the cycle of exclusion and felt inferiority, starting with women as agents of change. To this end, the project seeks to create in mothers an ability and yearning to read and learn which will be naturally transferred to

their children, who become direct beneficiaries of the project by being read to at home. At a basic level, the project improves the mothers' relationship with books and learning by creating a positive association which will be passed on to their children. Through participatory methods of reading and discussing children's stories, the mothers gain skills that can be put to practice immediately with their children at home. Participation in the project activities also helps the mothers to develop self-knowledge, self-confidence, creativity and collaboration in the context of a community of mothers. By organizing weekly sessions to teach skills in reading simple children's stories and assigning the reading of the same story to their children every evening during the week, the "Your Story" project attempts to improve children's skills and to build parenting confidence at a fundamental level.

Project description

The "Your Story" project uses alternative methods of learning to promote education and a culture of learning and development among participants in the project. "Your Story" utilizes a participatory, skill-oriented approach which is readily applicable and has a visible, positive effect on the children of the participants as well as on the mothers whom it targets directly.

With the support of local authorities at each project site, groups were formed each consisting of between eight and 15 Roma mothers each. The mothers selected were aged between 17 and 45 years and had one to four children in the age range of zero to seven years. The selected persons, most of whom had not completed more than lower secondary education (ISCED 2), take part in joint sessions of reading stories aloud. The sessions are led by a facilitator, in most of the cases a Roma woman from the local community, with the training provided to the facilitators focused on adult learning methods and on developing abilities to serve as supportive, friendly and non-judgmental tutors.

The role of the facilitator is to engage mothers in the reading exercise, acting as a tutor to strengthen their reading ability and encouraging them to develop their skills to express themselves, while fostering a sense of community and openness through interactions and sharing of experiences among the mothers. The tutoring role is supposed to be transferred afterwards from the mothers to their children. Having Roma women as facilitators also provided the Roma participants with a gainfully employed role model engaged in meaningful work.

The Roma mothers' groups meet weekly for a two-hour session over two phases of three months each. In the first part of each session, Roma mothers receive a new story book for their children. Story books are chosen based on their content so as to transmit moral values through the feelings and behaviors of the characters. The mothers explore the stories together with the facilitators, who guide the reading by initiating discussion starting from the elements of the stories (words, pictures and their meanings). Where as the first phase concentrated on developing mothers' reading skills and re-establishing mothers' confidence in reading, in the second phase the element of writing was added and the use of arts including drawing and painting encouraged. With greater proficiency in reading and writing, some mothers engaged in writing stories of their own. Additionally, role plays were used to develop skills in handling challenging situations in daily life such as communicating with kindergarten teachers, doctors, and authorities.

Research evaluation of “Your Story”

The evaluation⁴ of “Your Story” in Hungary was carried out in two localities and encompassed 105 women that took part in reading group sessions. Qualitative evaluation was based on observation and on individual and group discussions. Quantitative findings consisted in preliminary analysis of data from the household survey conducted in early 2011 with all families engaged in AGS activities. In all localities of the 2011 “Your Story” projects (implemented in the framework of AGS) in Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and Macedonia, all Roma mothers of children aged 0–6 filled out baseline questionnaires. Participants in the project were chosen randomly from this population, with the control group consisting of those mothers who were not drawn to participate. Of the women who participated in the evaluation, 19 % of mothers had not completed lower secondary education while 67 % had completed no more than that level. Only 9 women had completed upper secondary education and just one woman higher education.

One of the major achievements of the participants in the reading group sessions was an improvement in attitudes towards learning in general. Three quarters of the treatment group (76 %) report that they believe children do better at school if they attended kindergarten or other educational programmes before starting primary school. Only 54 % of the control group shared this attitude. This finding could in turn be interpreted as a benefit for young children in the household, as supported by the additional finding that 4-year old children in the treatment group outperformed children from the control group in several skills. Additionally, enrolment in the kindergarten of 3–6 years old children improved during the project among all children in general, but significantly more in the treatment group.

Concerning the mothers participating in the project, SGI researchers reported that, at the end of the project, parents in the treatment group value more pre-school education and have higher expectations for their children attending higher levels of education than parents in the control group. A higher number of treatment group parents claimed they could read anything without difficulty at the end of the project than did parents in the control group, while at the baseline the two groups did not differ in this regard. In addition, in a reading exercise at the survey’s conclusion, the treatment group mothers had a higher share of A-readers (ability to read anything without any problems) than did mothers in the control group. The researchers also reported that, while there was no difference between the two groups in terms of motivation to find employment, the treatment group mothers were more motivated to attend some forms of education. Additionally, the treatment group mothers reported that “most often their relationship to their children improved (84 %), they could relax and have fun, found new friends and community and became more self-confident as a parent (75 %). Furthermore, 59 % of parents feel they have changed: they are more self-confident, more responsible, understand their children better and are spending more time with them.”

Challenges

Beyond the need for further research, several questions need to be addressed. While the approach taken in “Your Story” shows considerable promise in helping pave the way towards a more

educationally inclined and prepared disadvantaged Roma women, there are challenges regarding the scope of applicability of this project. It is clear that “Your Story” works well with Roma parents who have a certain level of literacy and are motivated to participate. In order to make it accessible to those layers of Roma society that are virtually illiterate, however, there is a need for added elements at the level of methodology. In many cases, this more deprived group of Roma lives in hopeless poverty and is in need of basic assistance in the form of food and clothing. Providing some of this assistance in the context of this project could be a motivating factor to get these deeply discouraged and untrusting mothers involved.

Another challenge in this project is to sustain the regular participation of mothers. In order to keep the sessions attractive, the selection of Roma facilitators and the quality of their training are of paramount importance. Mentoring and accompaniment of these facilitators have proven important in keeping their enthusiasm high and in continuously developing the skills needed in each particular situation. Although this is a costly process, it has proven to be essential.

Another challenge sometimes faced implementing “Your Story” is resistance from local authorities. Examples of such resistance include mayors not providing a suitable venue or schools and kindergartens not allowing Roma mothers to lead story reading sessions with the pupils. This latter part of “Your Story”, when not impeded, has added much to changing the image of Roma mothers within the majority and in developing the mothers’ self-confidence.

It may be that gains made through the successful “Your Story” participants will have a significant effect on the Roma community as a whole and the way it is viewed by the society at large. Initial successes show the way for others who at first may be reluctant to sign up. There are currently plans to tailor “Your Story” sessions to groups of fathers. This will compliment the progress of mothers’ groups and reinforce the impact on the children. There has already been one “Your Story” group in Macedonia that included fathers as well as mothers, pointing to hopeful prospects for more such groups.

Conclusions

Due to its creative and informal character, the “Your Story” project has proved attractive for Roma mothers with at least basic literacy skills who had previously interrupted their school career. The project strengthened mothers’ parenting skills, improved their attitudes towards learning and education and helped them to develop vocabulary and language acquisitions in their children. Reading tales contribute to children’s cognitive development increasing their chances of being enrolled in mainstream schools and of following longer educational paths. The reading tales as an informal learning activity is usually accompanied by improvements on children’s vocabulary and language acquisitions, on memory and process of thinking and concept formation. Moreover, the dialogue between children and mothers, and the general supportive and flexible context of the reading tales activity have a positive impact for the social and emotional development of children. Although the project first addressed mothers, it could be considered a family-level intervention and a possible option to prompt further educational success of Roma students from disadvantaged background as far

as the school system proves to be exclusive and elitist. Reading tales can be seen as an informal educational practice which, scaled up, could become a tool for social and educational change, thus overcoming the drawbacks of the conservative approach of the educational systems of Central and Eastern Europe, which often results in a negative selection with regard to Roma children from poor families.

Notes

- 1 We use the word 'Roma' in this article in the sense given by the policy makers and by much of the academic research: a comprehensive umbrella uniting a broad range of people and groups with diverse cultural, linguistic, occupational, religious patterns and modalities of self-ascription. Although we use the word 'Roma' in order to signal its relevance for policies, the project analyzed as a case study does not pretend relevance for all groups and people subsumed under the label as some of these people are not in need of external interventions with educational projects. Moreover, some non-Roma may benefit from interventions of the type that we describe in this article.
- 2 The denomination 'Gypsies' has been transformed over time into the label 'Roma', with important moments of negotiations among politicians, activists and Roma leaders taking place in the 1930s, 1970s and after 1990s.
- 3 "A Good Start" was supported by the European Union, the Lego Foundation, and the Bernard van Leer foundation.
- 4 The evaluation of the "Your Story" project in the framework of the AGS program was carried out by the Slovak Governance Institute (SGI), which kindly granted the authors with permission to make use of the data presented here.

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Use and misuse of data on Roma: A comment on the Salford study on Roma migrants

It is generally agreed that census data under-report Roma ethnicity. Several large-scale household surveys have examined social deprivation among Roma (e.g. FRA & UNDP 2012), but accurate data on the number of Roma in individual countries are still missing. The Council of Europe routinely cites a speculative range of 10–12 million Roma in Europe (see for example Council of Europe 2012), but targeted data collection on Roma often evokes associations of surveillance (cf. MG-S-ROM 2000): On the one hand, data might be necessary to monitor policies or to prove discrimination. On the other hand, there is a risk that open discussion of data (and migrant population estimates especially) might trigger expressions of fear, hostility and xenophobia.

The rationale of recent work by a team based at the Sustainable Housing & Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU) at the University of Salford (UK) is that data on Roma migrants are useful in order to underline the need for resources to support them. Having previously examined planning issues in Traveller sites in Britain, the team was invited by Migration Yorkshire, a consortium of local authority and voluntary sector agencies, to partake in a small-scale survey of attitudes toward Roma (cf. Brown et al. 2012). They were then commissioned by the Black Health Agency, a Manchester-based charity, to assess an EU-funded project on Roma migrants by interviewing those who commissioned the assessment, i.e. the funding beneficiaries themselves. The key finding was that “it was difficult to argue for additional financial resources to provide support to communities when they were unable to accurately state the size of the population they were required to support” (Scullion/Brown 2013, p. 42). So in October 2013 the team released a report with the aim of providing “hard data about the number of migrant Roma” (Brown et al. 2013, p. 6).

The team sent questionnaires to 406 local authorities across the UK and asked them to estimate the number of Roma migrants in their localities. They received a total of 151 responses, of which only 51 (ca. 12 % of those targeted) provided a number. The identity of the respondents is not disclosed in the report “to ensure anonymity” (ibid., p. 14). The report also refrains from specifying which services the respondents represented, which kind of data on ethnicity was available to the respondents, how frequently and in what capacity respondents had contact with Roma, or indeed which criteria the respondents employed to identify Roma. The latter is important given the confusion in terminology in the UK, where institutions often use the wholesale label ‘Gypsy/Roma/Travellers’. Practitioners also routinely confuse ‘Roma’ with ‘Romanian’ and

many are unaware of particular identifiers of Roma such as language. No information is provided as to which local authorities responded (except for a breakdown by region and type of authority) and it is reported that many based their responses on information obtained from others (cf. ibid., p. 25–27), limiting comparability even further. The authors even withhold the actual estimates that they received from the respondents.

Several layers of opacity thus render the data inaccessible and unverifiable. Instead, the authors deliver their own estimate of the total number of Roma migrants in the UK: First, they take the figures provided by the respondents at face value. Second, they report that, using a statistical method to profile the respondents’ communities on the basis of “a series of demographic indicators” listed in an appendix, they “scaled up” the data by predicting the “potential location and size of Roma communities elsewhere” (ibid., p. 29). On this basis, the authors estimate “at least 197,705 migrant Roma” in the UK (ibid., p. 7). Predictably, they conclude that there is “a strong demand from local authorities for help in working with migrant Roma communities.” (ibid., p. 45).

The team took some rather unusual steps to give their message publicity: Lead author Phillip Brown gave an “exclusive” interview on national television on 30 October 2013, and a group of parliamentarians was lobbied to table a motion in which they described the study as “pioneering research”. As if flagging the estimate as “conservative” wasn’t enough, the authors added that “it is likely that this population will continue to increase” as a result of the relaxation of employment restrictions on citizens of Romania and Bulgaria, due to take effect in January 2014, within two months of publication (ibid., p. 7). Unsurprisingly, for several weeks immediately following the release of the report, UK media and politicians used the study to warn of a danger of an uncontrolled ‘influx’ of immigrants. Some targeted Roma directly, accusing them of ‘intimidating behaviour’ and insisting that their presence in UK cities triggered insurmountable problems.

We now know that there was no major influx in January 2014. But there are several lessons to be learned from the Salford study. First, it shows the risks of abstract projections. The Salford team did not speak to Roma and they had no tools with which to predict their settlement patterns and so no real instrument with which to fill the gaps left by a low rate of unreliable responses. ‘Big Data’ analyses offer statistical correlations as a substitute for qualitative interpretation of causal relations (cf. Mayer-Schönberger/Cukler 2013), but they require transparency, which the Salford study lacks. Finally, the study was

apparently intended to assist an interest group of voluntary sector practitioners to lobby for resources, and for this reason it was 'marketed' rather aggressively. But the strategy backfired, for the Roma became the scapegoats. The authors' later reference to 'media hysteria' notwithstanding (cf. Brown et al. 2014, p. 30), the Salford study clearly illustrates the risks of producing and marketing estimates in this way.

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Yaron Matras, University of Manchester

Bildung in Lateinamerika ist ein Thema, das sowohl in der deutschsprachigen Bildungs- als auch Lateinamerikaforschung bisher nur wenig Beachtung gefunden hat. Der vorliegende Sammelband möchte dazu beitragen, diese Lücke zu schließen, und die hierzulande weniger bekannten Bildungsentwicklungen in Lateinamerika in deutscher Sprache vorstellen. Das Buch umfasst Beiträge zu 13 Ländern und bietet sowohl einen Überblick über die Bildungssysteme und Bildungsentwicklungen als auch einen Einblick in bestimmte Bereiche oder Probleme der Bildung der einzelnen Länder, je nach Arbeits- bzw. Forschungsschwerpunkt der Autorinnen und Autoren.



Verónica Oelsner,
Claudia Richter (Hrsg.)
Bildung in Lateinamerika
Strukturen, Entwicklungen,
Herausforderungen

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WAXMANN

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft /
Kommission Vergleichende und Internationale Erziehungswissenschaft

Neues aus der Kommission Vergleichende und Internationale Erziehungswissenschaft

Am 26. und 27. März 2015 fand im Schloss der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster unter dem Titel „Normativität, Positionierung, Reflexivität: (Selbst)kritische Perspektiven“ die Tagung der Sektion Interkulturelle und International Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft (SIIVE) der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft (DGfE) statt.

Die Tagung bot rund 120 Wissenschaftler/innen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum für die Diskussion normativer Grundannahmen, sozialer Konstruktionen und Kategorisierungen sowie symbolischer Ordnungen in Forschung und pädagogischen Konzepten. Ferner, thematisiert wurden Auseinandersetzungen über die Bedeutung normativer Bezüge für erziehungswissenschaftliche Forschung und Praxis sowie zum Verhältnis von Forschung und Politik sowie die Beschäftigung mit methodologischen und methodischen Problemen der Reflexion von Parteilichkeit und Perspektivität in Zusammenhängen der Grundlagen- und Auftragsforschung.

In drei parallelen Sessions tauschten sich profilierte Forscherinnen und Forscher sowie der wissenschaftliche Nachwuchs sowohl zu aktuellen Forschungsvorhaben und -projekte in vielfältigen Themenbereichen des Feldes, als auch zu theoretischen, methodologischen und normativen Fragen auszumachenden Implikationen einer internationalen, interkulturellen und komparativen Perspektive für Wissenschaft, Politik und Praxis aus.

Die Teilnehmenden wurden zu Beginn der beiden Tage mit Plenarvorträgen auf die Sessions eingestimmt. Prof. Dr. Astrid Messerschmidt von der Technischen Universität Darmstadt

wies in ihrem Vortrag „Kritik als Gegenwert – Unterbrechungen in den Kontinuitäten hegemonialer Bildung“ auf die Notwendigkeit eines „sprachfähig Werdens für eine kapitalismuskritische Reflexion von privilegierten und partiell privilegierte Perspektiven und Positionierungen“ hin. Der Beitrag von Prof. Dr. Franz Rauch von der Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt zum Thema „Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung als Prozess zwischen Normen und Reflexion? Betrachtungen an der Schnittstelle von Forschung und Praxis“ fokussierte zentrale Elemente eines innovativen bundesweiten Schulprojekts zur Bildung für Nachhaltigkeit in Österreich.

In den Mitgliederversammlungen der drei Kommissionen und der gesamten Sektion wurden in Münster wichtige Schwerpunktsetzungen für die Weiterentwicklung des Forschungsfeldes und der Sektion thematisiert und festgelegt. Zum Abschluss der Tagung waren sich die Teilnehmenden einig, dass die Vielfalt der Beiträge und die gezielte Beteiligung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchts als gewinnbringend und bereichernd einzuschätzen sind, diese wichtige Impulse liefern konnten und eine weitergehende Vertiefung der angestoßenen Ausrichtung der Sektion zu begrüßen ist.

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Denn sie tun nicht, was sie wissen ... Generationsübergreifender Workshop des Weltfriedensdienstes 21.–23.11.2014

In der Bahnhofsbuchhandlung entdeckte ich eine Postkarte. Zwei Frauen stehen sich gegenüber, die eine sagt: „Ich versuche, mir keine Schuhe zu kaufen. Kommst du mit?“

Völlig absurd und gleichzeitig so realistisch. Paradoxa, die wir alle irgendwie kennen. Wir wissen so viel, kaufen fairen Kaffee, legen unser Geld verantwortungsvoll an, kaufen regio-

nale Produkte auf dem Markt und hier und da – ach, was soll's – da „sündigen“ wir eben, einmal nach Mallorca wird ja wohl erlaubt sein, einmal ein Billighühnchen, einmal ein Schnäppchen made in China für die Kinder. Was leitet unser Handeln, was sind unsere Triebfedern, wo wollen wir Verantwortung übernehmen und wo eben auch nicht?

Die Workshops des Weltfriedensdienstes werden meist von denen besucht, die schon engagiert sind. Wenn wir alle das tun würden, was wir wissen, dann sähe die Welt doch schon anders aus. Ich selbst zum Beispiel: Ich schreibe einen Text über den Verbrauch von virtuellem Wasser, dabei wird mein Kaffee kalt. Ich schützte ihn nachher achtlos in die Spüle. Und ich weiß: 140 Liter Wasser/Tasse wird andernorts verbraucht. Ich weiß es doch. Und ich handele anders.

Nicht nur mir geht es so: Für drei Tage Ende November 2014 treffen 12 Leute in Wolterdsorf im Südosten Berlins zusammen; eine bunte Gruppe, von der Ausbildung her, auch vom Alter. Sie sind zwischen 21 und 75 Jahre alt, mehr Frauen als Männer, manche kommen von weit her, die meisten aus Berlin. Almut Stephansson (learnstep.de) und ich, Katrin Miketta (Weltfriedensdienst), haben eingeladen. In unserer Unterkunft, im christlichen Bildungs- und Begegnungsheim will man die Schöpfung bewahren und ist Sparzwängen unterworfen. Wo kann man gut sparen? Am Essen! Ökologisch und fair ist zu teuer, das geht nicht. Und wieder: Denn sie tun nicht, was sie wissen.

Im biblischen Ursprungstext sagt Jesus: Vater vergib ihnen, denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun (Lukas, 23,34). Aber um Vergebung geht es uns nicht! Wir wollen ja eigentlich etwas ändern! Oder vielleicht doch??

Wir fragen, wie der Titel am besten lauten sollte, wenn die Teilnehmer damit am Ende zufrieden wären: Ich tue, was ich wirklich will. Oder: Ich weiß, warum ich das nicht tue. Oder: Ich tue, was ich weiß. Oder: Ich weiß, was ich tue. Oder: Ich muss einfach viel mehr wissen. Daran liegt's.

Alle Teilnehmenden setzen ihren eigenen Fokus. Das ist herausfordernd und vielversprechend: Wir wollen Offenheit, viele Freiheiten, prozessorientiert arbeiten und ohne das eine konkrete Ergebnis. Wir haben einen Koffer voller Methoden, mal sehen, was passt. Die Teilnehmenden bestimmen den Weg, den wir gehen. Dafür ist ein Klima notwendig, in dem sich die Menschen angstfrei bewegen können, in dem eine wertschätzende Atmosphäre herrscht. Nur das bewegt zu freien Gedanken. Bewertung und Verurteilung von anderen und auch des eigenen Verhaltens sollen außen vor bleiben. Jede und jeder ist Experte/Expertin für das eigene Leben, biographische Erfahrungen, Bedürfnisse und Möglichkeiten. Und für die eigenen Paradoxa. Ein Paradoxon ist eine Aussage, die scheinbar (!) oder tatsächlich einen unauflösbaren Widerspruch enthält. Sie gilt es zu erkennen, zu benennen, zu beleuchten, um dann zu entscheiden, wie jeder einzelne damit umgehen möchte. Um in die Tiefe zu gehen, ziehen wir die Theory U nach Otto Scharmer heran.

Wir haben folglich keinen detaillierten Seminarplan, sondern ein Kurve in Form eines U vorgezeichnet, der wir folgen wollen. Sie beginnt mit den eigenen Zielen/Wünschen/

Fragen in Bezug zum eigenen Konsumverhalten. Dafür ziehen wir viele Beispiele heran. Ernährung, Mobilität, Kleidung, Möbel, Reisen etc. Dann geht in die individuelle biographische Erfahrung. Wo hapert es denn bei mir? Wie stehe ich dazu? Wo finde ich Bezüge in meiner Biographie? Kommt das woanders auch vor? Was bewegt mich dazu, so zu handeln? Welche Werte, welche Haltungen stehen dahinter? Ein Thema ist mir wichtig, aber ich tue es nicht, weil – ehrlich gesagt – etwas anderes noch wichtiger ist.

Nach dem Tauchgang in die Biographie, gilt es, wieder aufzutauchen, um eine gemeinsame Vision zu schaffen. Wie wäre es den, wenn alle täten, was sie wüssten? Wer will, kann zuletzt konkrete nächste Schritte für sich formulieren.

Abends sahen wir verschiedene Filme: Und wir merken – das zieht sich durch den Workshop – so richtige „Schocker“ wirken Wunder! Sieht man, wie Industriebühnen produziert werden, bleiben am nächsten Tag die blassen Hähnchenbrüste am Buffet liegen oder auch im Halse stecken. Es schmeckt nicht mehr, veritables Wissen verdirbt den Appetit. Oder der Besuch einer Teilnehmerin auf einer konventionell arbeitenden Kaffeeplantage, auf der Kinder ohne Schutz Pestizide versprühen, das sitzt; Fair Trade Kaffee ist dann keine Frage mehr. Letztlich gab es eine lange Liste an Inspirationen, wo wir ansetzen können. Und zwar mit Spaß und Begeisterung und Potenzial zur Ansteckung!

Die einen waren voller Elan bei der Vision dabei, viele wissen, was eigentlich gut ist. Andere sagen, wir wissen es doch noch gar nicht. Wenn ich das so oder so mache, schade ich nicht einem anderem damit? Einfach geradeaus (oder rückwärts) das kann es noch nicht sein. Die Hirne dampfen.

Die Welt retten können wir nicht, aber jeder kann für sich passende Entscheidungen treffen, wo er ansetzen möchte und was er hinten anstellt. Bei der Biographiearbeit kamen Argumente zu Tage, denen man innerlich widersprechen möchte, aber sie sind da und nehmen Platz ein. „Das habe ich mir einfach verdient. Was ich früher entbehrt habe, das kann sich keiner vorstellen“ oder: „Ich bin in Lumpen rumgelaufen. Und Kleider machen Leute!“ Oder: „Ich habe keine Lust mehr auf schlechtes Gewissen, das macht die Welt nicht besser! Wenn ich geduckt durchs Leben gehe – wer hat etwas davon?“ Dazu gehört die durchweg positive Rückmeldung: „Ihr arbeitet ohne Moralkeule. Das tut so gut!“

Der Herbergsvater verabschiedete uns mit den Worten: Ich habe Sie gehört. Wenn Sie wiederkommen, gibt es garantiert fair gehandelten Kaffee und qualitativ höherwertiges Essen. Es sind eben die vielen kleinen Schritte. Damit sie nachhaltig wirken, müssen sie authentisch sein.

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Rezensionen

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Zahlen lügen nicht, aber man kann mit Zahlen lügen. Wie das geht, haben Gerd Bosbach und Jens Jürgen Kraft anschaulich und lehrreich beschrieben (Lügen mit Zahlen, München 2011²). Wie ein kleiner Irrtum in Zahlen verheerende Wirkung haben kann, wissen Menschen, die jahrzehntlang mit Spinat traktiert wurden. 100 Gr. Spinat enthalten nicht 35 mg, sondern 3,5 mg. Eisen. Da der Schweizer Wissenschaftler 1890 versehentlich das Komma um eine Stelle versetzt hatte, mussten Generationen von Kindern leiden (Bosbach in der SZ vom 29.12.2014). Dennoch sind Forscher und Wissenschaftler, Politiker und Unternehmer ohne Zahlen handlungsunfähig. Gleichwohl können Zahlen, wie alle Dinge im täglichen Leben, sowohl ge- als auch missbraucht werden. Zudem ist der Gebrauchswert der Zahlen vom spezifischen Interesse abhängig. In der ZEP 1/2014 haben wir Maurizio Ferraris These zitiert: es gibt nicht Zahlen, sondern nur Interpretationen. Aus diesem Grund gibt es viele und unterschiedliche Jahrbücher.

Bevor wir mit der Besprechung beginnen, seien, wie immer, drei Vorbemerkungen/Warnungen vorausgeschickt:

- Unabhängig von der Auflistung der Jahrbücher gehen wir thematisch vor.
- Nicht alle Bücher werden jedes Mal besprochen, manche nicht, weil wir darüber mehrmals ausführlich berichtet haben. Davon unberührt bleibt deren Wichtigkeit.
- Da nicht alle Staaten ein eigenes Statistisches Amt haben, sind häufig Zahlen aus diesen Ländern Schätzungen. Ausgehend von der letzten Volkszählung (Zensusbericht), die alle 10 Jahre weltweit nach Bestimmung der UNO stattfindet, werden Zahlen extrapoliert. Wenn sich die Zuwachsraten ändern, stimmen die Zahlen nicht. Dies kann man nur bei der nächsten Volkszählung feststellen.

2015 ist ein besonderes Jahr für uns: Das Zieljahr für die Millenniumsziele (MDGs), die von der UN-Vollversammlung und die Ziele für Bildung für alle (EFA), die ebenfalls von UN-Organisationen in Dakar im Jahre 2000 verabschiedet wurden, sollten bis zu diesem Jahr verwirklicht werden. Wie anders nicht zu erwarten war, sind die Ziele nicht erreicht worden. Gleichwohl gibt es in manchen Bereichen eine beachtliche Entwicklung, in anderen weniger. Die nächsten MDGs, die bis 2030 zu erreichen sind, sollen in diesem Jahr von der UN-Generalversammlung im September verabschiedet werden. Diese werden nicht mehr MDGs genannt, sondern SDGs = Sustainable Development Goals. Manche Organisationen sind deshalb in Verzug geraten, weil sie eine Bilanz der letzten 15 Jahre vorlegen wollen. So z.B. erscheint der EFA-Monitoring Report diesmal später.

Zwei unentbehrliche Jahrbücher: wir haben wiederholt über den Fischer (neuen) Weltalmanach und das OECD-Factbook geschrieben. Wenn man die neuesten Zahlen aller Staaten sucht, kann man auf den Weltalmanach nicht verzichten, gleiches gilt für das Factbook, wenn es um Zahlen der 34 OECD-Staaten geht. Sonderthemen des Almanachs sind diesmal: Minderheiten, Bevölkerung, Todesstrafe, Korruption, Naturkatastrophen und Raumfahrt. Das OECD Factbook hat den Vorzug, dass Zusammenhänge mit Grafiken illustriert werden. Die behandelten Themen sind: Bevölkerung und Migration, Produktion und Produktivität, Haushaltseinkommen und Vermögen, Globalisierung, Preise, Energie und Transport, Arbeit, Wissenschaft und Technologie, Umwelt, Bildung, Regierung und Gesundheit.

Die große Überraschung sind diesmal die Studie der Weltbank (WB) zur Armutsbekämpfung und der Jahresbericht. Seit der US-Amerikaner mit koreanischen Wurzeln Jim Young Kim die Präsidentschaft der WB übernommen hat, gibt es offenbar einen Paradigmenwechsel. Kim ist übrigens der erste WB-Präsident, der nicht Ökonom, sondern ein gelernter Mediziner mit Erfahrung in NGO-Arbeit ist. Plötzlich sind nicht mehr Durchschnittseinkommen und wirtschaftliche Wachstumsrate die Ziele, sondern die Armutsbekämpfung und Teilhabe der unteren 40 % der Bevölkerung am Volksvermögen eines jeden Landes. Die Studie zur Armutsbekämpfung wird von Kaushik Basu, dem Senior Vizepräsident und Chefökonom der WB herausgegeben und nennt als Ziel bis 2030 den Anteil der absoluten Armen nicht nur weltweit, sondern in jedem Staat auf weniger als 3 % zu senken und Teilhabe der unteren Bevölkerung 40 % am Volksvermögen (shared prosperity) zu ermöglichen. Die Studie stellt alle bisherigen Ziele in Frage: Wirtschaftswachstum, Steigerung des BSPs und des Durchschnittseinkommens eines jeden Staates. Stattdessen werden nunmehr die zwei o.e. Ziele als oberste Priorität verfolgt. Die Lage der Armen wird wie bisher nach Regionen untersucht: Ostasien und Pazifik, Europa und Zentralasien, Lateinamerika und Karibik, Südasien und Afrika südlich der Sahara. Es werden an Beispielen von Ländern die Entwicklungen detailliert dargestellt und Prognosen für 2030 erstellt. Obgleich die Studie noch immer Einkommensgruppen in absolut Arme (< 1,25 US\$ pro Tag Person/Tag), gemäßigt Armen (1,25–4,00US\$ pro P/T), unsichere/vulnerable Einkommensgruppen (4,00–10 US\$ pro P/T) und > 10 US\$ pro P/T als Mittelschicht und Reich einstuft, stellt sie diese Einstufung insofern in Frage, dass sie die Bemessungsgrundlage PPP (Kaufkraftparität) in Frage stellt. Dass es unter den absolut Armen wie absolut Reichen große Unterschiede gibt, möchte die WB in Zukunft bei der Armutsbekämpfung die Unterschiede innerhalb einer Gruppe mehr berücksichtigen. Die WB prognostiziert, dass das Ziel in den meisten Ländern und Regionen erreichbar ist – mit Ausnahme einiger Länder in Afrika südlich der Sahara. Die andere Prognose der Studie ist allerdings weniger gut: Der Anteil der Staaten mit schwachen Regierungen und mit Konflikten wird von 18 % auf 40 % steigen. Auch aus methodologischer Sicht ist diese eine interessante und lehrreiche Studie.

Folglich möchte der Jahresbericht der WB, WDR 2015, Forschern und Praktikern helfen, einen neuen Ansatz für die Entwicklungsarbeit zu finden; der vermehrt psycholo-

gische und soziale Einflüsse berücksichtigt. Die Botschaft ist: Die Armen denken und entscheiden anders als man – sprich Forscher und Praktiker – es annehmen. Armut ist nicht nur ein Mangel an materiellen Ressourcen, sondern die Einstellung und Umgang der betroffenen Personen mit diesem Mangel. Es gibt drei Arten von Denken, meint der Bericht, das automatische, das soziale und das Denken nach Modell (nach früheren Erfahrungen). Der WDR ist gewissermaßen eine empirische Studie über das Denken der Armen, über die Bildung des Selbstbewusstseins bei Kindern unterschiedlicher Schichten und über den Erfolg von Interventionen bei Problemkindern. Empirische Untersuchungen zeigen, dass Entwicklungshelfer oft dazu neigen, das Gefühl der Hilflosigkeit bei den Armen zu überschätzen. Der WDR 2015 zielt darauf ab, Vorurteilen von Forschern und Praktikern entgegen zu wirken. Offenbar gibt es einen neuen Ansatz bei der WB, sich mit der Armut ganz anders als bisher auseinanderzusetzen. Ein wenig Unbehagen bleibt dennoch wegen der Spaltung Subjekt (Forscher, Helfer) und Objekt (die Armen).

Das Thema des UNDP-Jahrbuches ist diesmal: Vulnerabilität (Anfälligkeit). In den letzten zwei Dekaden konnten die meisten Menschen in den meisten Ländern ihre menschliche Entwicklung erheblich steigern, stellt das UNDP fest. Besonders anfällig sind Menschen, die in gemäßigter Armut leben, mit 1,25–2,50 US\$ pro P/T. Allein in Südasien sind 44, vier Prozent der Bevölkerung, rund 730 Mio. Menschen davon betroffen. Nicht nur Kinder, Frauen, Migranten und alte Menschen sind anfällig, sondern auch Arbeitskräfte im informellen Bereich. Die Zahl der Erwerbssarmen hat 2011 um 50 Mio. zugenommen. Armut und soziale Ausgrenzung stellen für alternde Menschen z.B. deshalb Probleme dar, weil 80 % der älteren Menschen auf der Welt keine Rente bekommen. Bis 2050 wird sich der Anteil der Menschen 60+ an der Weltbevölkerung auf 15,5 % verdoppeln.

Eine Messung von Anfälligkeit ist schwierig, es gibt viele Berichte über Teilbereiche, woraus die Anfälligkeit eines Staates, einer Region herausgelesen werden kann – z.B. World Risk Report, Macroeconomic Vulnerability Assessment Report, Global Food Security Index, Global Peace Report und Environmental Vulnerability Index.

Entwicklung bedeutet nicht nur das Recht auf Bildung, Gesundheit und einen angemessenen Lebensstandard, sondern das Erreichte auch sichern zu können, gegen Anfälligkeit widerstandsfähig (resilient) zu sein.

Nationale Regierungen sollen für soziale Sicherungen und Vollbeschäftigung sorgen, Bürgernähe und rechenschaftspflichtige Politik betreiben. Die Globalisierung hat zwar viele Vorteile gebracht, aber auch den Spielraum für Entscheidungen staatlicher Institutionen eingeschränkt. Deshalb schlägt das UNDP Jahrbuch auch ein Bündel von globalen Maßnahmen vor, die universelle soziale Grundversorgung sicherstellen: Also good global governance. Wie immer bilden die neuesten Zahlen fast ein Drittel des Jahrbuches: Mehrdimensionale Armut, Index der geschlechtsspezifische Entwicklung, Bildung, Gesundheit. Verfügung und Aufteilung von Ressourcen, soziale Kompetenz und persönliche Unsicherheit.

Während das UNDP sich über die Anfälligkeit der alten Menschen sorgen, sieht das UNFPA junge Menschen (10–24 Jahre) als Potenzial für die Gestaltung der Zukunft. Neun von

zehn Menschen in diesem Alter leben in weniger entwickelten Ländern. Sie werden ihr Potenzial nur dann entfalten können, wenn Hindernisse beseitigt werden. Diese sind z.B.:

- 57 Mio. Kinder besuchen keine Schule,
- 73,4 % Jugendliche im Alter zwischen 15 und 24 sind arbeitslos.

Entsprechend empfiehlt der Bericht Interventionen, u.a. Kinderreihen unterbinden, Geschlechterparität in der Bildung fördern und Beschäftigungs- und Einkommensmöglichkeiten verbessern. Mit Beispielen aus Ländern wie Bolivien, Kenia, Sao Tomé und Príncipe zeigt der Bericht, wie solche Interventionen möglich sind. Der Bericht plädiert dafür, jungen Menschen ins Zentrum der Entwicklung zu stellen, um die nachhaltigen Entwicklungsziele bis zum Jahre 2030 zu erreichen.

Der UNICEF-Bericht beschäftigt sich diesmal mit Kinderrechten: Jedes Kind hat Rechte. Obwohl die letzte Kinderkonvention schon 1989 verabschiedet wurde, sind wir weit davon entfernt, weltweit einige elementare Rechte – wie auf Bildung, Gesundheit, Schutz vor Gewalt, auf Überleben und Entwicklung, das Recht auf Beteiligung von Kindern und Jugendlichen an Entscheidungen über eigene Entwicklung – durchzusetzen. Im einzelnen Kapiteln wird darüber sowie über UNICEF-Projekte berichtet. Umfangreiche Statistiken über Bildung, Ernährung, HIV/Aids, Kindersterblichkeit, -schutz u.a. bilden wie immer fast die Hälfte des Berichts.

Obgleich die Zahl der Menschen in den Entwicklungsländern, die hungern oder unterernährt sind, von 1990 (850 Mio.) bis zum Jahre 2014 (842 Mio.) fast konstant geblieben ist, hat der Anteil erheblich abgenommen – von 20,6 % im Jahre 1990 auf 12,5 % in 2014 – stellt der WHI Bericht 2014 fest. Die Ernährungslage hat sich nicht in allen Regionen gleichmäßig verbessert. Immer noch prekär ist die Situation in Südasien und in Afrika südlich der Sahara. Fast jeder fünfte Mensch (18,1 % bzw. 18,2 %) ist in diesen Regionen von Hunger oder Unterernährung betroffen. Der WHI gibt Empfehlungen für politische Handlungen, wie man z.B. den verborgenen Hunger bekämpfen kann: Monitoring, Forschung und Datenlage verbessern und Rechenschaftspflicht der Regierungen stärken.

Am 22. April jeden Jahres findet der Tag der Erde (Earth Day) statt. An diesem Tag veröffentlichte das Worldwatch Institute Washington, (WWI) die weltweit führende NGO für nachhaltige Entwicklung, seinen 30. Jahresbericht zur Lage der Welt: *Governing for Sustainability*. Das WWI existiert seit 1970. Enttäuschende internationale Klimakonferenzen, die seither stattfanden, und die Unfähigkeit der US-Regierungen, Maßnahmen für nachhaltige Entwicklung gesetzlich zu regulieren, nimmt das Institut zum Anlass, mit diesem Jahrbuch neue Impulse sowohl für Regierungen als auch für zivile Organisationen zu geben. In 22 Kapiteln, geteilt in *Political and Economic Governance*, zeigen Autoren minutiös, wie eine nachhaltige Entwicklung gestaltet werden kann. Michael Renner und Tom Prugh listen die Verfehlungen der Regierungen auf, D. Conor Seyle und Matthew Wilburn King schreiben, was unter Regierungen zu verstehen ist. Alle Artikel sind auch aus der Perspektive, wie man komplizierte Sachverhalte verständlich schreiben kann, lesenswert. Besonders hervorzuheben sind: Monty Hempels *Ecoliteracy*, Cormac Cullinans *Governing People as Mem-*

bers of the Earth Community, Monika Zimmermanns *How local Governments Have Become a Factor in Global Sustainability* oder Thomas I. Pilleys *Making Finance Serve the Real Economy*.

Auch das zweite Buch des WWI *Vital Signs* für den Unterricht im tertiären Bereich ist sehr hilfreich. In sieben Abschnitten werden Entwicklungstendenzen aufgezeigt in Text und Bild: Energie, Umwelt und Klima, Transport, Ernährung und Landwirtschaft, Ressourcen und globale Ökonomie, Frieden und Konflikte, Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft.

Der WWF, der jährlich den *World Planet Index (WPI)* veröffentlicht, hat die Messmethode nach 2012 geändert, jetzt werden Spezies gewichtet. Danach sieht das Ergebnis, meint der WWF, noch besorgniserregender aus. Von 1970 bis 2010 hat sich der WPI um 52 % verschlechtert. Wenn die Menschheit so lebt wie bisher, bräuchte man rein rechnerisch 1,5 Erden zum Überleben. In vier Kapiteln – *The State of the Planet, Developing the Picture, Why should We Care, One Planet Solutions* – legt der Bericht dar, warum und wie wir anders wirtschaften müssen.

Seit der Gründung der OECD 1961, die aus der OEEC hervorgegangen ist, veröffentlicht die Organisation alljährlich Studien in Bereichen wie Ökonomie, Ökologie, Bildung, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und besserer Lebensindex. Diese sind für Politiker, Planer und Praktiker deshalb eine große Hilfe, weil sie wissenschaftlich fundiert und mit Handlungsempfehlungen/-anleitungen versehen sind. Mittlerweile ist es undenkbar, dass Bildungsplaner wie -praktiker ohne die Hilfe von Bildung auf einen Blick oder PISA-Studien auskommen. Die OECD-Studien und Papiere sind deshalb gerade für die wissenschaftliche Arbeit nützlich und unentbehrlich, weil die Veröffentlichungen nicht Rücksicht auf die 34 Mitgliedstaaten der OECD nehmen. Es wäre ungerecht, hier nicht auf jede o.e. einzelne Studie ausführlich einzugehen. Andererseits ist der Platz begrenzt. Deshalb schließen wir mit einigen Anmerkungen ab:

In dem Bericht über die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit wird in vier Kapiteln aufgezeigt, wie in Zukunft finanzielle Ressourcen für nachhaltige Entwicklung gesteigert und besser genutzt werden können.

Wenn man wissen möchte, wie es um den Bildungsstand der Erwachsenen (25–64 Jahre) in den OECD-Mitgliedstaaten bestellt ist, z.B. welcher Anteil der Bevölkerung tertiäre Bildung genossen hat u.ä., muss man Bildung auf einen Blick in die Hand nehmen. Es gibt eine Langfassung (734 S.) und eine Kurzfassung (92 S.). Einige überraschende Ergebnisse sind z.B.

- Studierende an den Universitäten in Chile zahlen die höchste jährliche Gebühr 6000,00 US\$.
- Über 50 Jahre alte Lehrende in den Sekundarschulen sind 2012 im OECD Durchschnitt 36 %, in Deutschland, knapp 50 %, in Italien gut 60 %.
- Nach PISA-Kategorie gute Lesefähigkeit (high level literacy) erreichen junge Erwachsene (25–34 Jahre) im OECD Durchschnitt 18 %, Deutschland 16 %, Finnland 38 %, die entsprechende Zahlen für ältere Erwachsene (55–64 Jahre) sind fünf, drei und sechs Prozent.

Ende 2014 hat die OECD ein Papier veröffentlicht. Dem Papier zufolge hatte wachsende Einkommensungleichheit einen

negativen Einfluss auf die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung. In den letzten 30 Jahren ist die Kluft zwischen den Reichsten zehn Prozent zu den Ärmsten zehn Prozent von 7:1 auf 9,5:1 gewachsen.

Vielleicht ist die Kluft noch zu milde. Kurz vor Beginn des Weltwirtschaftsforums in Davos im Januar 2015 hat Oxfam eine Studie veröffentlicht. Demnach soll knapp ein Prozent der Reichsten dieser Welt im Jahre 2016 mehr Vermögen haben als die restlichen 99 % der Weltbevölkerung.

So viel über Zahlen. Wie erwähnt, Zahlen lügen nicht. Es gibt auch nicht Zahlen, sondern nur Interpretationen.

Asit Datta

Miskovic, Maja (Hg.) (2013): Roma Education in Europe: Practices, politics and politics, New York: Routledge. 210 S., 145\$.

The challenges facing Roma in education systems are well documented, although possible solutions to the multiple forms of exclusion they face still seem beyond reach. This book edited by Maja Miskovic adds to the ongoing debates by bringing together contributions from academics and activists from a diverse range of disciplines including political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and educationalists. The main strength of the book is how it addresses questions of Romani exclusion using the widest possible lens. The problems facing Romani pupils and their families are multifaceted and complex as direct and indirect forms of racial discrimination are interwoven with deep poverty and generations of exclusion. Therefore, interdisciplinary approaches are required in order to find new ways to understand why policy initiatives have thus far seen so little success.

The book is divided into three sections. Chapters in the first section utilise a range of approaches to theorise Romani education and locate it in broader political contexts. The authors in this section consider what is really intended by educating Roma. Is it all about assimilation and control? Are terms like inclusion used in a meaningful way or does the whole nature of the education system as currently designed, mean that this is little more than an empty promise? In their essays both Sevasti Trubeta and Cathryn Teasley argue that it is important to probe deeper to understand why current policy initiatives are failing. Without taking the broader social mechanisms of exclusion and containment into account, there is a real danger that Roma will be deemed deficient and incorrigible, rather than recognising that the current structures serve to maintain the status quo – privileging some and oppressing others. In their contributions to this section Alexandra Fidyk and Elias Hemelsoet take the view that we must also understand how images and stereotypes of Roma come into being. They can tell us more about the majority society than about the Roma themselves. Elias Hemelsoet goes further arguing that one explanation for the failure of policy is that it is targeting a stereotype rather than specific Roma communities and perhaps the solution is to move away from Roma policy altogether and instead focus on reforming education systems to be inclusive of all citizens.

The second section provides case study analysis of the experiences of Romani children and their teachers in schools in the UK (Martin Levinson), Hungary (chapters by Annabel Tremlett and Katalin Forray) and Bulgaria (Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov). A chapter by Ian Hancock is also included in this section which focuses on the experiences of Roma in America. While it may be surprising to find this essay included in a book focused on education in Europe, it prompts questions about how some experiences of Roma and Gypsies are explained by specific local historical, political or social conditions whereas others seem to cross all geographical boundaries.

The final section takes a broader perspective considering the impact of state policies on Romani education ranging from international legal challenges to segregation in schools (William New), financial support programmes for university students (Eben Friedman and Stela Garaz) to the management of linguistic diversity in small communities (Biljana Sikimič and Annetta Sorescu-Marinkovic). This section concludes with a chapter by Huub Van Baar which seems slightly out of place in the book overall. It addresses the long-standing debate about the relative merits of grassroots and elite international activists and makes a case for looking past binary oppositions to see how young Romani activists are finding new ways to engage horizontally and vertically to share knowledge and inform debates. While this is a very interesting contribution to debates on Romani representation, many readers may not expect to find it in a book ostensibly focusing on education. Therefore, it is worth flagging its presence to readers interested in the politics of Romani activism more generally.

As can be seen from this sketch of the content of the book, the contributions to this volume cover a great deal of ground. Across the contributions some themes recur frequently. The question of exactly which “Roma” are the targets of policy is raised by almost every author (particularly, Annabel Tremlett, Elias Hemelsoet, Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov). The problem of evaluating policies in order to avoid repetition of failure or to learn from success is another common theme. Some authors raise the problem of insufficient data (Eben Friedman and Stela Garaz), others (Svetlana Curcic and Shayna Plaut) argue that measurements are quantified too narrowly and more qualitative analysis is required. This is where the case studies of section two demonstrate their real worth. Readers who are already interested in questions of Roma education will find a wealth of useful data which may aid further comparative analysis. Readers interested in issues of equality in education generally will learn a lot about the specificities of the Roma Gypsy experience.

As noted in the introduction, the breadth of the volume can be considered a strength and certainly each individual chapter merits careful reading. However, a general weakness of this book is that contributions are relatively short and often there is a sense that the author could have achieved greater depth of analysis had they been permitted more space. Almost every chapter includes in the conclusion some very interesting and thought provoking questions, prompted by the data outlined but the reader is left wishing for more. Readers unfamiliar with the other publications of these contributors will certainly be seeking them out to see how they resolve these questions in other arenas.

Laura Cashman

Studiengesellschaft für Friedensforschung e.V. München (Hg.) (2014): *Denkanstöße zum Thema „China – die neue Weltmacht“*. München. Bezug unter: www.studiengesellschaft-friedensforschung.de zu 4 €/Stück plus Versandkosten. A4-Format, 64 S.

Die Studiengesellschaft für Friedensforschung möchte in der vorliegenden Publikation aus der Reihe DENKANSTÖSSE über die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in China informieren.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung ermöglicht es, sich ein eigenes kritisches Urteil über die Entwicklung in China zu bilden. Dazu stellt die Studiengesellschaft die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in ihren Uneindeutigkeiten und gegenläufigen Aspekten explizit dar.

Das Heft ist in 20 Artikeln untergliedert, die in mehrperspektivischen Sichtweisen Zugänge zur Betrachtung der Entwicklung Chinas schaffen, so dass politische (z.B. „Die Macht der Kommunistischen Partei“), historische (z.B. „Das konfuzianische Vermächtnis“), wirtschaftliche (z.B. „Wirtschaftsmacht China“), geopolitische (z.B. „Wasser in Tibet“), militärische (z.B. „Die Volksbefreiungsarmee“), gesellschaftliche (z.B. „Der Zusammenhalt der Nation“), ökologische (z.B. „Chinas Wasserkrise“) als auch globale Dimensionen (z.B. „Beziehungen Deutschland/EU/China“) den Leserinnen und Lesern dargeboten werden. Der Aufbau der Publikation ermöglicht es, die Unterkapitel getrennt und in beliebiger Reihenfolge zu lesen. Wünschenswert wäre zur besseren Orientierung am Anfang oder am Ende des Heftes ein Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Die Broschüre ist wissenschaftlich aufbereitet, d.h. i.d.R. werden Belege für Informationen bzw. Zitate angeführt. Zur Illustration wurden insgesamt 19 Karten und 23 Abbildungen jeweils farbig in das Heft eingearbeitet. Die Darstellungen dienen der Veranschaulichung des Inhalts aus dem umgebenden Text; teilweise geben sie auch weiterführende Informationen. Wünschenswert wäre es an dieser Stelle, wenn die gewählten Illustrationen in höherer Qualität abgedruckt wären.

Der Verein möchte interessierte Bürgerinnen und Bürger, ebenso wie Lehrkräfte, Führungskräfte und Multiplikatoren in der außerschulischen Jugendarbeit, der Erwachsenenbildung sowie der Universität ansprechen. Das Material ist mit entsprechender didaktischer Begleitung für den pädagogischen Einsatz geeignet. Die Publikation stellt eine umfangreiche Sammlung an Ideen bereit, die jedoch im jeweiligen Anwendungsfall vom Lehrenden vertieft aufgearbeitet werden müssen. Die DENKANSTÖSSE können erste Impulse geben, um die angesprochene Vielseitigkeit an Betrachtungsperspektiven für den Aufbau eines globalen Verständnisses anzuregen.

Simone Beck

Weiser, Ewald (Hg.) (2013): *DDR-Bildungshilfe in Äthiopien. Interaktive Erkenntnisse, Erfahrungen und Eindrücke*. LIT. Berlin. 424 S., 59,90€.

Im Bereich der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiete der Bildung hatte die DDR innerhalb der Ostblockstaaten eine führende Rolle inne. Bisher gibt es jedoch kaum histo-

risch-systematische Arbeiten zu dieser Thematik. Das Engagement der DDR in den „national befreiten Staaten“ Afrikas, wie Mosambik, Angola und eben Äthiopien, wurde beispielsweise weitgehend unter dem Thema des Kalten Krieges, also, der Systemkonkurrenz im globalen Kontext abgehandelt. Die Differenzierung der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit nach Bereichen, deren Verankerung im staatlich-administrativen System der DDR, die ideologische Grundierung und die Akteure auf verschiedenen Ebenen sind nahezu unbekannt bzw. in Hinblick auf eine wissenschaftliche Aufbereitung und Diskussion noch ganz am Anfang. Im deutschen Wissenschaftsraum gibt es schlicht eine Monographie dazu (vgl. Büschel 2014).

Von daher ist die vorliegende Publikation ein wichtiger Schritt in die Richtung, diesen Teil der DDR-Geschichte dem Vergessen zu entreißen und einer kritischen Aufarbeitung zuzuführen. Nicht nur für die ostdeutsche Geschichtsschreibung ist sie von Bedeutung, sondern auch in Hinblick darauf, dass die DDR, gerade im Bildungsbereich, offensichtlich ein kleiner, doch sehr umtriebiger und von daher vermutlich eher auch nachhaltig wirksamer global player war. Die Bildungszusammenarbeit mit Ländern in Afrika, Süd- und Südostasien, dem Nahen und Mittleren Osten und Lateinamerika, die zum Teil auch schon in der Phase der antikolonialistischen Befreiungskämpfe begann, hatte verschiedene Formen und Ausprägungen. Menschen aus diesen Ländern konnten einerseits in der DDR eine Ausbildung erhalten (Hoch- und Fachschulausbildungen, berufliche Aus- und Fortbildung). Andererseits entsandte die DDR Bildungsexperten¹, die vor Ort als Berater, Ausbilder, Lehrer, Hochschullehrer, Konzept- und Materialentwickler etc. tätig waren. Diesen DDR-Deutschen Erfahrungen widmet sich der vorliegende Band, der eine Sammlung von verschriftlichten Erfahrungen und deren Reflektion der in Äthiopien tätigen „Auslandskader“ auf dem Gebiete der Bildung darstellt.

Der Herausgeber Ewald Weiser, promovierter Pädagoge, verantwortet selbst drei Beiträge, die allesamt Übersichtscharakter tragen. Zum einen umreißt er in den Vorbemerkungen das Themengebiet der Bildungshilfe der DDR allgemein und für Äthiopien im Speziellen. Dabei werden der Anlass der Publikation sowie auch Ziele und Themen deutlich. Zum einen geht es um die Frage der Nachhaltigkeit einer solchen Tätigkeit, die nicht selten mit großem Engagement ausgeübt wurde und ggfs. größere persönliche Opfer erforderte, wenn beispielsweise die Kinder über längere Zeiträume in Internaten der DDR zurückgelassen werden mussten. Zum anderen wird jedoch ebenso das Bildungssystem der DDR und dessen Bewertung, wenn auch eher implizit, thematisiert. Über allem schweben immer wieder die Fragen des Miteinanders von „Nord“ und „Süd“ und des Umgangs mit der ungleichen Verteilung von Macht, Ressourcen und globalem Einfluss. Ein weiterer Beitrag Weisers bietet eine Übersicht über die Bildungszusammenarbeit von DDR und Äthiopien, zum Teil auf Archivmaterialien gestützt, jedoch in der Hauptsache durch die systematische Darstellung des eigenen Wissens samt der reflektierten Erfahrungen. Weiser beschließt den Band mit einem Beitrag, in dem er ein Resümee des Forschungsstandes zu diesem Themengebiet gibt. Anschließend finden wir zwei umfangreichere Anlagen: zum einen eine Auswahlliste in der DDR

publizierter Beiträge aus dem Bereich der sogenannten Auslandspädagogik und zum anderen die Titel thematisch relevanter DDR-Dissertationsschriften.

Neben einem Beitrag des ehemaligen Botschafters der DDR in Äthiopien, Günter Mauersberger, zu den bilateralen Beziehungen beider Länder in der Zeit der Machtausübung von Haile Selassies, finden wir 13 Beiträge von ehemaligen DDR-Bildungsexperten, die in den 1980er Jahren in Äthiopien tätig waren. Allesamt waren Lehrer bzw. eine Lehrerin, die vom Ministerium für Volksbildung für diese Tätigkeiten ausgewählt und entsandt wurden. Die Aufsätze stützen sich auf Erinnerungen, zum Teil auf zeitgenössisch verschriftlichte Aufzeichnungen bzw. noch erhaltene zeitgenössische Dokumente. In allen Beiträgen spiegeln sich in unterschiedlicher Gewichtung die Fragen und Themen wider, die Weiser in seiner Einführung in den Band benannte. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt gleichwohl in vielen Beiträgen auf inhaltlich-fachlichen Fragen des Curriculums, der Didaktik und der Lehrerausbildung vor dem Hintergrund der jeweiligen lokalen Kontexte und des Zusammenarbeitens unter den Voraussetzungen von unterschiedlichen Herkunft, Kulturen, Wissensbeständen und Erfahrungen, zum Teil mit anschaulichen Beispielen aus äthiopischen Lehrbüchern und Stundentafeln illustriert.

Wer einen ersten Einblick in die Anlage, der strukturellen Einbindung, den theoretischen und praktischen Herausforderungen von Kooperationen auf dem Gebiet der Bildung von DDR und dem Äthiopien der 1980er Jahre erhalten möchte, ist mit diesem Band sehr gut bedient. Abgesehen von den stark unterrepräsentierten weiblichen und gar nicht vorhandenen äthiopischen Perspektiven, bietet er eine Vielfalt von unterschiedlichen (weißen) Erfahrungen in Bezug auf die Region, die Aufgaben, die Unterrichtsfächer, die zwischenmenschlichen Begegnungen und nicht zuletzt auch ganz persönliche selbstreflexive Überlegungen zu den kritischen Fragen von globaler Entwicklungszusammenarbeit.

Anmerkung

- 1 Die sehr deutliche Überzahl männlicher Akteure in diesem Bereich rechtfertigt im Folgenden die vorwiegende Verwendung des maskulinen Genus. Frauen waren zumeist mitreisende, aber nicht eingesetzte Ehepartnerinnen.

Literatur

Büschel, H. (2014): Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe: Deutsche Entwicklungsarbeit in Afrika 1960–1975. Frankfurt/Main 2014.

Jane Schuch

Gregor Lang-Wojtasik (Hg.) (2014): Vertrautheit und Fremdheit als Rahmen der Teilhabe. Differenzsensible Professionalität als Perspektive. Ulm. Klemm + Oelschläger. 168 S., 19,80€.

Aufgrund der fortschreitenden Ausdifferenzierung unserer Gesellschaft ebenso wie ihrer zunehmenden Entgrenzung lässt sich die Frage, was als vertraut und was als fremd gilt, nicht mehr so einfach beantworten. Für die Pädagogik resultiert daraus die Notwendigkeit, sich sowohl selbst um einen angemessenen Umgang mit der Differenz von Vertrautheit und Fremdheit zu bemühen als auch reflektiert in den Umgang mit dieser Differenz einzuüben. Gregor Lang-Wojtasik hat mit seinem neuen Sammelband eine Publikation vorlegt, die wertvolle Anregungen dafür bieten kann, sich mit dieser Notwendigkeit mehrperspektivisch auseinanderzusetzen.

Im Fokus des Sammelbandes steht die Differenz von Vertrautheit und Fremdheit als pädagogische Herausforderung für gesellschaftliche Teilhabe. In insgesamt 14 Beiträgen werden die Themen Alterität, Integration und Teilhabe interdisziplinär bearbeitet. Dabei wechseln sich erziehungswissenschaftliche Perspektiven mit theologisch-religionspädagogischen (hier v.a. alevitischen, katholischen, protestantischen und sunnitischen) Perspektiven ab, so dass mit den Beiträgen sowohl Diskurslinien aus dem Bereich der interkulturellen als auch der interreligiösen Pädagogik und Didaktik aufgegriffen werden.

Die einzelnen Beiträge beschäftigen sich unter anderem mit Vertrautheit und Fremdheit als anthropologischer Grunderfahrung, mit Unsicherheit und Risiko als Rahmen gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe, mit Erfahrungen von Vertrautheit, Fremdheit und Teilhabe im Umgang mit Religion, mit Kommunikationserfordernissen zur Ermöglichung einer gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe des Fremden, mit Ermöglichungsräumen und Grenzen interkulturellen und interreligiösen Dialogs sowie mit (schultheoretischen) Überlegungen zu einer reflexiven Differenzdidaktik.

Der Sammelband ist aus einer Ringvorlesung zum Thema „Pädagogische und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe im Spannungsfeld von Vertrautheit und Fremdheit“ sowie einem Workshop zum Thema „Alterität“ an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Weingarten hervorgegangen. Dies spiegelt das Engagement des Herausgebers wider, die hier vermittelten Überlegungen über die Zuhörerschaft in Weingarten hinaus auch einem weiteren Publikum zugänglich zu machen. Ein vielschichtiges, lesenswertes Potpourri!

Claudia Bergmüller

Medien

(red.) Firmencheck: Die Kampagne für Saubere Kleidung hat 50 führende europäische Marken und Bekleidungsfirmen dahin gehend befragt und untersucht, was diese Unternehmen tun, um existenzsichernde Löhne in Kleider-, Schuh-, und Textilfabriken sicherzustellen. Die Resultate sind in einer Broschüre zusammengefasst bzw. können auf der Internetseite und über die App „Fair Fashion?“ ausführlich nachgelesen werden. In der App finden sich über 140 Unternehmen. Weitere Infos und die kostenlosen Downloads der Studie unter: www.lohnzumleben.de/firmencheck_2014.

(red.) Eine Welt im Unterricht: Das Welthaus Bielefeld und andere haben gefördert von Engagement Global die Broschüre „Eine Welt im Unterricht“ herausgegeben. Die Broschüre soll Lehrer/-innen der Sekundarstufen darüber informieren, welche Eine-Welt-Themen in Unterricht eingebracht werden können und welche Portale, Datenbanken etc. ihnen als Material- und Ideenquellen zur Verfügung stehen. Weitere Infos und Bezug unter www.welthaus.de/publikationen-shop.

(red.) Leichte Sprache: Das Bremer Informationszentrum für Menschenrechte und Entwicklung (biz) hat die 30 Artikel der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte in Leichte Sprache übersetzt. In Kooperation mit dem Büro für Leichte Sprache der Lebenshilfe Bremen, Schüler/innen des Gymnasiums Horn und dem ehemaligen Förderzentrum Schule am Rhododendronpark entstand so eine anschauliche Broschüre. Weitere Informationen, sowie der kostenlose Download unter: www.bizme.de/Publikationen.html.

(red.) Filmdokumentation: Die Schweizer Stiftung éducation21 hat eine Filmsammlung herausgegeben, die Bildungsweg und Alltag von Kindern weltweit dokumentiert. „Kinder auf dem Weg“ beinhaltet sieben Kurzdokumentationsfilme, die zusammen mit weiterem Begleitmaterial in der Schule, von Grundschule bis Sekundarstufe II eingesetzt werden können. Der Schwerpunkt liegt bei Aufklärung zu Gleichberechtigung zwischen Mädchen und Jungen und Kinderrechten. Weitere Infos und Bezug der DVD unter: www.filmeineinewelt.ch/deutsch/pagesnav/HO.htm.

Veranstaltungen

(red.) Konferenz: Der Rat für Nachhaltige Entwicklung veranstaltet am 3. Juni 2015 seine 15. Jahreskonferenz im Berlin Congress Center. Kurz vor dem G7-Gipfel wird auf der Konferenz, u.a. auch mit der Bundeskanzlerin über die nationale und internationale Nachhaltigkeitspolitik diskutiert. Die Teilnahme ist kostenfrei und steht allen Interessierten offen. Weitere Infos, das Programm der Konferenz, sowie die Anmeldung finden Sie unter: www.nachhaltigkeitsrat.de/termine/veranstaltungen-des-rates/15-jahres-konferenz.

(Heidi Grobbauer): Global Citizenship Education 2015–2018: Angesichts von Globalität, Heterogenität, Konflikthaftigkeit internationaler Beziehungen, Tendenzen zu Radikalisierung und destruktiven Ideologien ist Bildung herausgefordert, einen Beitrag zur Sicherung demokratischer Werte in einer Weltgesellschaft zu leisten. Das Bildungskonzept Global Citizenship Education ist seit 2012 eine wichtige Leitlinie der UNESCO und wird auch in den Sustainable Development Goals eine Rolle spielen. Das Masterprogramm (90 ECTS) bietet eine Kombination von Politischer Bildung, Globalem Lernen, Interkultureller Bildung und Friedenspädagogik. Nähere Informationen: <http://www.uni-klu.ac.at/frieden/inhalt/453.htm>

Sonstiges

(red.) Ausstellung: Das Bremer Informationszentrum für Menschenrechte und Entwicklung (biz) hat in Kooperation mit dem Bremer entwicklungspolitischen Netzwerk (BeN) eine Wanderausstellung für Schulen und außerschulische Bildungsinstitutionen entwickelt. Die Ausstellung „FAIR DENKEN & KREATIV HANDELN – Konsum mit Köpfchen“ thematisiert den Fairen Handel und den Nachhaltigen Konsum. Sie stellt Beispiele von fair gehandelten Produkten sowie Fair-Handels-Akteuren vor und informiert über die Themen Recycling, Upcycling, Tauschen, Teilen und Reparieren. Die Wanderausstellung ist für Erwachsene aller Altersgruppen und Schüler/-innen ab Jahrgangsstufe 9 konzipiert. Weitere Infos unter: ausstellung.bizme.de.

(red.) Europäisches Jahr für Entwicklung: 2015 wurde von der Europäischen Union zum Europäischen Jahr für Entwicklung ernannt. Unter dem Motto „Unsere Welt, unsere Würde, unsere Zukunft“ soll hierzu über die Entwicklungspolitik der EU und ihrer Mitgliedsstaaten aufgeklärt werden. Jeden Monat wird ein anderes Thema behandelt, im Juli z.B. steht das Thema „Kinder und Jugend“ an. In diesem Rahmen werden auch Projekte von der EU und vom Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung gefördert. Weitere Infos unter: www.europa.eu/eyd2015/de und der deutschen Seite: <http://www.engagement-global.de/europaeisches-jahr-fuer-entwicklung-2015.html>.