

Razvoj kulturnega kapitala romskih učencev – KULKO

RESEARCH REPORT











1. ABOUT THE PROJECT KULKO

The Developing the cultural capital of Roma students project (hereafter KULko) aims to strengthen the teachers' role in raising the cultural capital of Roma learners and thereby reduce inequalities in the field of education between Roma and non-Roma students in primary schools.

All partners have experience in working with the local Roma community. These different experiences have led us all to the same conclusion; that due to growing up in different environments, Roma children have often been disadvantaged in developing the cultural capital of the majority nation. As a result, their academic and later career success is much worse than the majority nation's residents. The project partners, therefore, thoroughly investigated the differences in the cultural capital of Roma students in the first triad and preschool education at partner schools. These findings are the basis for the production of didactic materials and other aids that will help teachers, educators, and other pedagogical workers in raising the cultural capital of Roma students and other vulnerable groups.



2. METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted with elementary teachers in the first triad and kindergarten/preschool teachers in the two countries where the project partners come from, Slovenia and Croatia. We collected the data using the questioning method, through semi-structured interviews. Basic open-ended questions predefined the base for the semi-structured interview. During the interviews, we asked additional questions or sub-questions that arose during the individual interviews. All additional questions and sub-questions were adapted to the course of the interview with each interviewee.

20 educational workers took part in the interviews:

- 8 elementary teachers from the Elementary school of Franceta Prešerna Črenšovci (Slovenia),
- 8 elementary teachers from the Elementary school Orehovica (Croatia),
- 2 kindergarten/preschool teachers from Črenšovci (Slovenia),
- 2 kindergarten/preschool teachers from Orehovica (Croatia).

Profile of the teachers who participated in the research:

Slovenia: 10 Slovenian educational workers participated in the research, of which 8 were teachers and 2 were educators. All pedagogical workers teach the first triad in primary school; three said they also teach in the 4th grade. All educational workers mentioned that they also work in the school's extended program, either in after school care, supplementary lessons, leading various clubs, etc. Among these activities, the following stood out: mentoring Roma helpers, leading activities with Roma content (Roma dance, participation in the preparation of the Roma Day celebration), and leading the drama club. One teacher is also a volunteer and performs activities in a multi-purpose center in a local Roma settlement.

Croatia: 10 educational workers working in children's elementary education participated in the interview. Eight participants work as classroom teachers in a primary school, meaning they work with children from 1st to 4th grade of primary school. The remaining 2 participants work with preschool children, preparing



them for the 1st grade of primary school. All participants carry out educational work and school activities with the children of the Roma national minority and children of the majority nation.

Interviews were conducted by partner organizations for adult education, with all partners participating in preparing interview guidelines. The partner organizations for adult education also provided a theoretical composition on cultural capital, which served teachers and educators in the preparation and interview. Adult partner organizations conducted the interviews during the project's timeline according to individual agreements between the organizations.

With the prior verbal consent of the interviewees, the interviews were audiorecorded with a sound recorder on a mobile device. We transcribed the audio
recordings of the interviews and checked the transcriptions' correctness. Adult
partner organizations processed the collected data according to the principles
of qualitative content analysis. This way, we further marked essential parts of
the text. We placed individual components of the text in predefined subtopics
(possession of cultural capital, reading literacy of Roma students, knowledge of
one's own culture, and the role of the school).



3. THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Both partner primary schools have been cooperating with Roma families for many years. Two hundred eleven students attend the Elementary school of Franceta Prešerna Črenšovci (hereafter ES FP), and 298 students attend the Elementary school Orehovica (hereafter ES Orehovica). ES FP has approximately 20% Roma students, while ES Orehovica has 62% of them. Both schools already have much experience cooperating with the Roma community and expertise in adapting the curriculum and activities to vulnerable groups.

3.1. Possession of cultural capital

The interviewed educational workers from both countries pointed out the areas in which they noticed differences in possession of cultural capital between Roma students and students of the majority population.

The most common deficit among Roma students was observed in the knowledge of the language of the majority population or the national language. Two different problems prevail here. First, some Roma students do not always master the national language (Slovenian or Croatian) as they enter school. In doing so, educational workers highlighted that including Roma children in preschool education positively affects learning the national language among children who are not in contact with Slovenian or Croatian in their home environment. But another dominant problem related to this is their (poor) knowledge of the literary language. Teachers in both countries pointed this out as a pronounced phenomenon with most Roma students. Slovenian and Croatian educational workers have very similar experiences with Roma students, who learn the language of the majority population, but in a nonliterary form or the dominant dialect. According to their experience, such students can communicate with their peers and teachers, but problems arise while learning new school content, doing school assignments, and testing knowledge. In this regard, Slovenian educational workers



particularly pointed out that mixing languages is emerging as a new language barrier resulting from increasingly frequent mixed marriages in the Roma community. Some students speak a mixture of Slovenian, Croatian, Romani, and a local dialect at home, so they have (even more) problems learning the literary language at school. One of the interviewed teachers describes it: "They initially learn Romani, then the local dialect, but when they come to school, they also learn literary Slovenian, and it's no wonder these children are feeling lost after that."

Educational workers of both schools also notice deficits in socialization and establishing relationships with peers. With Roma students, they notice that it is more difficult for them to follow a routine, order, rules, and instructions, they are not used to working in groups, and they want to be the center of the teacher's attention. It is also more difficult for them to get used to the school routine and culture, maintain concentration during lessons, and sit at their desk for the whole class. They didn't learn basic etiquette and culture in terms of greeting, and they won't ask for permission when they want to go to the toilet or get up from the desk during class.

Also, according to the observations of the educational workers, compared to the children of the majority population, the Roma have poorer prior knowledge and general knowledge. The teachers pointed out as examples their lack of knowledge of colors, letters, school supplies, and traditional local food. They also noticed the absence of a sense of responsibility for their school supplies and schoolwork, pointing out that Roma students, for example, more often lose school supplies, school bags, and the keys to the school locker. They don't feel guilty when they don't do an assignment, often destroy notebooks and other school supplies more quickly, don't know how to handle books properly, or even lose them. Teachers reported two extremes when describing Roma students - Roma students who are quiet and shy and those who are loud and unruly on the other.



As a peculiarity of Roma students, some educational workers from Slovenian elementary schools also pointed out that they often bring family problems to school. Usually, due to misunderstandings between different families, children are not allowed to socialize, or they take over these arguments from their parents and continue them at school. According to the interviewees, family grievances also affect cooperation with the Roma assistants, which some parents have rejected in previous years due to personal grudges. Some educational workers also pointed out other family problems, which Roma students talk about more often than non-Roma students. Here, the most common are alcoholism and unemployment, which are still common challenges in the Roma community in both partner countries. Therefore the educational workers warned about the dangers of passing these unhealthy patterns on to children. One of the educators said: "Children tell much more than we want to hear. Fights, police intervention..."

Teachers from both partner schools mentioned a discouraging environment as a common obstacle for Roma students. A common reason is that knowledge, school, and education are (still) not important values of most Roma families with whom educational workers have experience. However, they also emphasized taking into account other factors in Roma families. According to their experience, some parents try very hard for the best possible success for their children. Still, parents do not possess the appropriate knowledge and skills to help and support them, especially when it comes to schoolwork. One of the teachers described it as: "We teachers get the child first, and then we also get his parents. You find them helping their child to the best of their ability, as much as they know." At the same time, even today, many parents still show no interest in cooperating with the school. The main obstacles the teachers mentioned were the unresponsiveness of parents, non-participation in school meetings, taking the teachers responsible for the



child, and having very demanding expectations for both the child and the school.

In connection with the discouraging environment, educational workers highlighted the lack of work habits among Roma students as a challenge at both schools. Compared to the majority nation, Roma students need much more encouragement and support to do homework and other school obligations. They mainly associate work with the school as an institution, so they want to keep it from their home.

The educational workers of both schools emphasized that it is not possible to generalize the challenges in teaching Roma students to the entire Roma community, as they differ from each other more and more. They pointed out that many Roma students already come to school with the same cultural capital as students from the majority population, so this has become more of an individual problem for separate students than for the entire Roma community. They also agree that there are few visible differences between Roma and non-Roma students today. The teachers also pointed out quite a few examples of progress in the field of education of Roma students, from the fact that today it is more accessible to cooperate with Roma parents to examples of good practice of various informal activities in their settlements, multidisciplinary cooperation, reduction of peer violence, etc. One of the teachers said: "Roma children who come to school have recently been very well equipped materially (new, beautiful, modern clothes, they are all clean, tidy, have school supplies and are rarely different from the others). But you can immediately see that these children have no order, not in their purses, not in their pencil cases, not in their notebooks, not in their wardrobe... they are entirely reckless. They don't value things or pay attention to their wallets, keys, crayons..."



3.2. Reading literacy of Roma students

3.2.1. Pre-reading skills of Roma children and their experiences with books

Slovenian and Croatian educational workers estimate that Roma students cross the elementary school or kindergarten threshold with less developed pre-reading skills than children of the majority population. Slovenian teachers assess that Roma students mainly have poorly developed pre-reading skills. They say that Roma children don't know how to handle books; for example, they turn them incorrectly and don't know where to start reading a book. "This is how one of the educational workers describes it: "However, they do not have developed generative literacy, they turn the books around, they don't care what is in front or behind, where the pages go, which side the letters go to. They have no experience."

They also do not know how to determine a word's first and last sounds. Of course, they emphasize that this does not apply to all Roma students and that some already know how to write their names and words, such as mom and dad, when they start school. Meanwhile, they point out that Roma children are interested in books but need to learn their purpose and how to use them. One of the teachers said: "The book is visually interesting to them, but they are not interested in reading books because they equate it with work."

Croatian teachers reported that at least half of Roma students come to school with a certain degree of developed pre-reading skills. However, they mention that further progress often stagnates because students lack incentives outside of school. Of course, they also point out that this does not apply to all Roma children. Class teachers ensure that the students know how to recognize picture books visually and handle the book correctly. Meanwhile, the Croatian teachers also



emphasize that, according to their experience, Roma students come to kindergarten with underdeveloped pre-reading abilities.

Educational workers of both partner elementary schools emphasized that, compared to students of the majority population, Roma students have much more limited experience with books in their home environment and describe their contact with books as only physical contact. They mentioned that Roma students or families most likely only have books at home that they received as gifts from the school, kindergarten, or the majority population. They estimate that Roma families do not have books at home otherwise. They also estimate that very few Roma children talk about their mothers reading books to them. At the same time, two Croatian teachers reported that they have no experience with Roma children whose mothers read books at home. They believe that Roma children most often encounter a book only in kindergarten. In contrast, families with several children often discover books through their brother or sister.

Some educational workers point out that it is also necessary to consider parents' specifics and abilities when reading books to children. "I have one child whose mother can't even read or write. The child says that his mother does not know how to read the instructions or some short book for the reading badge," described one of the teachers, who wanted to draw attention to how quickly teachers or other parents can judge someone who does not read to a child. Another teacher thought similarly: "A parent who has never read a book will certainly not motivate their child to start reading books because it is simply not a value for them. The book has not yet become a habit for them. But there is hope for the new generations; the current children are reading books. When they become parents, they will be able to influence others and the reading literacy among the Roma will increase."



3.2.2. Area of speech and communication

As for the reading literacy of Roma students, the interviewed educational workers highlighted problems with language and communication in general as the most common obstacles for Roma students. They are mostly the reason for further barriers and challenges faced by Roma children in the process of upbringing and education. They are accumulated and transferred to higher classes, where certain teachers notice that Roma students understand the instructions and questions but have problems expressing themselves, so it often seems they do not understand anything. Mixing different languages and dialects also contributes to problems with expression. Hence, Roma students are often worse when dealing with school content texts and answering orally than their peers from the majority nation.

Although the educational workers of both schools said that most Roma children want to communicate with them (teachers) and their peers, expressing themselves presents many problems. They need help forming sentences, need help finding the right words in the national language, mainly using simple or even one-word sentences, and translating words on the fly while speaking. They need help recognizing and naming things and learning everyday concepts, and it's harder for them to follow a conversation.

The impoverished vocabulary of Roma students is a challenge for both partner schools, and the workers of both schools help each other by using the dialect or Romani, examples from everyday life, and many additional activities for Roma students.

Problems with expression are visible, especially in knowledge testing, where they often have to adapt to Roma students. The majority of



educational workers pointed out as a problem the difficulties of Roma students in answering questions and tasks set on higher taxonomic scales. Thus, they are often limited to simple descriptions that do not require comparisons, arguments, explanations, or justifications, which, in turn, do not result in very good grades.

A few teachers pointed out that communication also depends significantly on the situation at home. Children who talk to their parents at home and spend quality time together often show fewer problems with communication and expression, regardless of their nationality. In the case of those where these skills are not developed and strengthened in the home environment, workers naturally notice that they have more communication problems at school. Again, kindergarten was highlighted here as an opportunity for the child to learn communication skills before school, which is even more critical for children who do not have the chance to develop them at home.

Some educational workers pointed out dance and art as vital areas of expression for Roma children.

3.2.3. The field of graphomotorics, fine and gross motor skills

We also thought it was important to shed light on an important area of reading literacy, namely graphomotorics. We were interested in whether there were differences in graphomotorics between Roma students and students of the majority nation.

Educational workers from both schools reported that problems with graphomotor and fine motor skills occur more often among Roma students. Teachers describe them as clumsy and rough; Roma students need more time to master individual exercises or techniques. They most frequently mentioned problems with the pincer grasp, the correct posture,



and using pens, scissors, other school supplies, and even cutlery. Here, teachers and educators emphasized that Roma students often encounter various school supplies only in kindergarten or school and do not have these experiences at home. Educational workers from both schools pointed out that Roma students do not know how to follow instructions (e.g., drawing a shape, writing from line to line), even in higher grades, they draw simple drawings, and they have problems when redrawing from the blackboard and mirroring. Some preschool/kindergarten teachers have noticed that sometimes Roma students do not even distinguish between different types of pens (crayons, pencils, and other pens).

The interviewed educational workers state that Roma students lag behind the children of the majority population in doing different school exercises, which they attributed mainly to the lack of activities at home and generally limited experience with such movements in everyday life. One of the interviewed teachers describes it: "The skills of drawing lines, circles, for the most part, children have problems with limitations, spatial, e.g., from line to line, coloring over the line, these are mostly problems that we will see later. We are in the 4th grade, and we say write on the line, that goes all over the place."

Roma students often have problems with orientation, both on the writing surface and in spatial orientation.

Most educational workers agreed that the gross motor skills of Roma children are well developed, sometimes even more than in children of the majority nation. Teachers highlighted their strong sports, dance, and music/rhythm areas.



3.3. Learning motivation and professional aspirations of Roma students

The educational workers agreed that, regardless of nationality, children are always highly motivated for school and a profession at the beginning of their educational process. They did not notice any significant peculiarities in the case of Roma children, but some pointed out that they mostly choose professions they are familiar with. They meet them in everyday life (e.g., doctor, policeman, teacher, cook, etc.). They also emphasized that the influence of role models is powerful for Roma students, and it depends on whether they are inspired by, say, football players, film actors, etc., or whether their role models are their parents. When the parents of Roma students are employed, these children often boast about where their parents work and how they will strive to get an education and find a job. At the same time, there is a great danger for those Roma children inspired by negative examples. A few teachers mentioned that some Roma students had already told them they would be unemployed, as this lifestyle seemed normal to them. One of them said about it: "I will say that parents are trying to get their children to finish school, but the sample from home in the higher grades when you encourage them, you just hear them say that they won't attend school anymore, because they want to be like their parents, not working, staying at home with social support. In the beginning, they are trying; they are ambitious. They want to become policemen and teachers, but when they can no longer do it in the higher grades, they give up and say they will be like their parents; they will work through public works. Sadly, the surroundings pull them. Only those who move - move away - these are the exceptions."

Croatian educational workers pointed out that even before kindergarten, they see two extremes in their interest in school. On the one hand, some Roma children are highly motivated and interested in school, while others refuse school activities from the beginning and have no professional aspirations. In this regard, the Slovenian children emphasized more that this varies from child to



child and that it is, therefore, difficult to generalize the level of motivation to everyone.

A decline in interest in school is observed in both schools in the upper grades, sometime after the 4th or 5th grade, when teachers notice a significant decrease in motivation among Roma students, an accumulation of learning problems at school, and, as a result, resignation to fate and the search for excuses not to continue schooling or even concluded. "I don't know what happens to them when they get to the 5th grade. Children become apathetic, or perhaps puberty affects them. It is also possible that they start to realize what kind of environment they come from," said one of the teachers about this phenomenon.

To the question of whether Roma children can make up for their failures in school success due to their lack of cultural capital, the educational workers gave a mostly unanimous answer, namely that it is incredibly challenging for the students and the teachers. They emphasized that everything missed represents additional work and that it is almost impossible to expect a student to be able to make up for everything and catch up with peers who do not face such challenges. Otherwise, they think that Roma children mainly strive and make an effort but that their wishes are mostly greater than the realization itself, which is worse.

3.4. Knowledge of their own culture

We were also interested in the observations of teaching staff about the extent to which Roma students know their own culture.

When asked whether all Roma students speak Romani as their mother tongue, Croatian teachers and educators unanimously affirmed that Romani is the mother tongue of all students and kindergarten children. Meanwhile, Slovenian educational workers were not so united, as in recent years, they have noticed that some parents deliberately do not teach their children Romani to make it



easier for them to learn the language of the majority nation. Mixed marriages are also common, where in most cases, other languages prevail over Romani. They also noticed that among students whose mother tongue is Romani, more and more students speak different Romani dialects. As a result, they have problems communicating in Romani with other Roma students.

Educational workers described Roma children's knowledge of their culture as poor in both schools. Certain teachers point out that children know their language, music, and dance but often need to learn history, culture, and customs. According to the educational workers, this knowledge also declined over the years as some families and communities abandoned Romani traditions. One teacher jokes, "Sometimes we teach them words in the Romani language."

Educational workers have different experiences when discussing Roma culture, language, and customs at school. To some, the Roma children want to keep these things to themselves and do not want to share them with others. A few educational workers even pointed out that they sometimes feel ashamed when they need to perform or say something in the Romani language. At the same time, some workers also have positive experiences, as students or kindergarten children want to present their nation or learn more about their history and culture.

3.5. The role of the school in compensating for the deficits of cultural capital

Educational workers from both partner schools see the first important task of the education system as encouraging the inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens or preschool programs. As already described, those children who attended kindergarten showed visible progress and easier integration into the school system. They see this as the best way to equalize the deficits in cultural capital among Roma students. One of the teachers states: "With those children



who were included in kindergarten very early, already at the age of one year, it is noticeable that they were included in the process of education and upbringing and are no different from other children in the field of knowledge as speech. They speak Slovene very well, and I think they speak less and less Romani; they know something, but not much." They emphasized that most of the problems and challenges discussed during the interview were related to children not involved in preschool education.

Both partner schools have organized additional help for Roma students through Roma assistants. At ES FP (Slovenia), they have one Roma assistant and another worker who works with Roma children. At ES Orehovica (Croatia), they have three Roma assistants and one Roma helper. At both schools, they have one employee who speaks fluent Romani. At both schools, teachers, who are members of the majority nation, also participate in training about the Romani language and culture to get as close as possible to students from the Roma community.

The educational workers of both schools also agree that Roma assistants are necessary for successful work, helping and supporting Roma students and teachers during their educational path. All workers emphasized that adapting the lessons and school responsibilities for struggling Roma students takes much time and effort, often interfering with their private time. For this reason, they find additional workers here necessary. One of the teachers said this about the Roma assistants' positive effect on the students' school work: "The children need these teachers. They need someone to guide them. If someone guides them, they can solve 10 math problems; if not, they can only do 2."

Educational workers also agreed that the relationship between the teacher and the student greatly contributes to how successful the child is at school. Establishing trust and positive relationships in the classroom is a crucial first step in the school environment because it enables working effectively with children, regardless of nationality. "As a teacher, above all, I want the student to feel that they are important to me. The most important thing is that they feel



that they are important to me, that I listen to them, that I consider them and hear them, like everyone else," one of the teachers described these relationships.

Some students, even those from the majority population, need more support and help in their home environment. For this reason, some educational workers highlighted the importance of cooperation between the school and parents. Not all parents have the same cultural capital, which must be recognized and considered when and if a child has problems at school. However, the educational workers believe the most important thing is that the child attends school regularly and attends the lessons, especially for Roma students. One teacher said: "Parents often tell me that they don't know how to help them (the children). That's why I'm here; I'll be there for them, they should just send the child, and then we can do everything possible here." Another continued this thought: "If a child goes to school regularly and takes his work seriously, he can progress, but he cannot make up for everything, especially if there is no hard work." Parents' involvement and support can be crucial for Roma students during their schooling, which one of the teachers described: "It is obvious. Those parents who were successful in class also have a positive attitude towards school, and they pass this on to their children. These children like to go to school; they like to work." Another added: "It very much depends on the parents how much they want their child to progress; if this is their wish, then they have no problems with parent meetings, speaking lessons, writing homework, etc. This support is a source of positive power."

Most educational workers agreed that cooperation could be more problematic when it comes to Roma parents but that the school must strive for this if they want the child to succeed at school. However, some of them pointed out that it would be helpful for them to be more equipped for working with Roma parents, at least with the basics of the Romani language, which would greatly help overcome language barriers. Some educational workers have overcome language barriers in the past in different ways. They mostly helped each other by communicating in the local dialect and through social networks and channels that the children's parents were familiar with (e.g., Messenger) instead of forcing



them to use an online classroom they did not understand. One of the teachers described it as follows: "When we have speech lessons, parents announce themselves, but then they don't come. They have errands that cannot be put off. I have two moms with whom I communicate via Messenger. They are active there and write back."

A lack of praise also links to a discouraging (home) environment. Most educational workers emphasized the importance of praising and rewarding children for their achievements. This is especially true for those children who do not hear praise from their parents or other relatives at home, so praise from a teacher or educator can mean much more to them. Praise is also a way to build positive relationships with children in the school environment; therefore, it is considered an essential motivational tool. "If a child feels that he is important to the teacher, he/she will fight for it," said one of the teachers.

Some educational workers also pointed out the ingenuity and adaptation of the teaching material to Roma children. Their suggestions for more precise explanations of the discussed learning content were the use of language games, picture books, and active work on strengthening vocabulary. Using examples from everyday life has proven to be very useful in teachers' practice, especially for children who find it difficult to follow the learning material and can thus more easily imagine abstract concepts.

Teachers also suggested multidisciplinary cooperation. First, they highlighted the cooperation of various educational institutions and then cooperation with other social welfare organizations and everyone else who can help solve these challenges. For them, the most significant opportunity they see in cooperation outside of school is in the multi-purpose Roma centers located in local Roma settlements. Regarding the challenges of a discouraging environment, lack of work habits, and forgetting about school obligations outside of school, all educational workers agreed: "Conversations at home, doing homework or consolidating; they are not used to it because they do not have the support of their parents. Parents more or less put everything on the school. What one



learns in school is it." For this reason, they find such centers where other providers can encourage and help children with homework and learning as an excellent opportunity to solve these challenges. One teacher said: "I think that this center is very important in the settlement itself because various events are organized there; children can do some homework there."

For some, such centers are also an excellent opportunity for teachers and other workers to get to know the home environment of their students and, in this way, to better understand their challenges, strengths, and other qualities. They also emphasized that no professional literature can give more than a personal experience: "My opinion is that it is necessary to first learn about the environment our Roma children come from, and only then can we judge. The life of the Roma is too romanticized, one is the fairy tales and legends about them, and the other is their real life." In general, they also see other advantages of these centers, even on a more informal level, which can bring positive changes in connecting people, integrating Roma into the wider community, and offering a safe space for those who do not have it at home.

Knowledge of Romani culture and language also seemed important to educational workers. During the interview, they were able to evaluate this. Among Croatian educational workers, more negative self-assessments prevailed, while among the Slovenian ones, assessments were divided between good and poor knowledge. Those who estimated their knowledge as good also explained that they were involved in additional education, training, seminars, and projects with Roma topics. Otherwise, they all said they also draw knowledge from their personal experiences, what the children tell them, and from cooperating with the children's parents. Some of them pointed out that the problem with indirect sources, i.e., education or fiction, is that such sources romanticize Roma's life too much or are made too general, so they cannot always use this knowledge for their work. They also feel that the professional literature on the Roma is not sufficiently up-to-date about the current situation and the differences between individual settlements, so much knowledge is mostly not valuable for them as much as personal experiences are.



All educational workers agree that significant changes take time and that neither parents nor the educational system can be expected to change and overcome all challenges overnight. One of the teachers said about monitoring progress in this area: "If I look now, some Roma parents that were my students, they go to work and have adopted a profession, so it is possible. Step by step, it's not from today to tomorrow; you can't see the change, not even in five years, but then you can slowly start seeing it. Also, socialization is better now; Roma parents can now give more to Roma children, let's say specifically books, they go to swimming lessons, they go to the theater, parents make it possible for them. Not all of them, but most of them, yes."

They also indicated that changes require mutual work, both on the part of the majority population and on the part of the Roma. In doing so, they consider acceptance of each other and a respectful attitude essential: You can do a lot with them; you have to have a normal relationship with them. They must not feel pushed away."







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