



*Roma families' engagement with education
and other services in Glasgow*

Dr Daniela Sime and Dr Giovanna Fassetta,
University of Strathclyde

Dr Michele McClung,
Glasgow City Council



2014

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Acknowledgments | 3 |
| Foreword | 4 |
| 1. Introduction | 5 |
| 2. Methodology | 11 |
| 3. Migration and family life | 16 |
| 4. Education of Roma children: aspirations, expectations and experiences | 25 |
| 5. Access to services and community engagement | 36 |
| 6. Conclusions and policy recommendations | 45 |
| References | 47 |

Acknowledgements

The funding for the study was provided by a small grant from the British Academy (Grant SG 120406). The fieldwork was conducted by Dr Giovanna Fassetta and Dr Daniela Sime, with the invaluable support of Dana Gomez, who acted as Slovak interpreter.

We would like to acknowledge the contribution of the children, parents and service providers who shared their experiences for this study, despite their daily pressures. Special thanks to Maria Walker, Head of EAL Services – Glasgow City Council, and Keith Moore-Milne, Team Leader, Roma Children and Families Service, Govanhill.

Our gratitude also to the school and nursery staff in the Govanhill area, Glasgow, for facilitating the interviews with families.

Foreword

As Europe's largest ethnic minority, Roma communities have experienced few benefits from the expansion of democracy across the Eastern states since 1989. Despite recent initiatives and investment in Roma-targeted projects, the situation of Roma ethnic minorities remains unchanged. Across Europe, they continue to face significant discrimination and segregation. International bodies and organisations have reported extensively on the marginalisation suffered by Roma families, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. The vast majority continue to live in severe poverty, suffer from poor health and be victims of racism and systematic exclusion.

The situation of Roma children has been highlighted by several official reports, such as those produced by UNICEF (2007), the European Commission (2007; 2012), UNESCO (2007) and the Council of Europe (2006), to name but a few. Roma children continue to be excluded from mainstream schooling or segregated in special classes and they remain the lowest achievers among all ethnicities across Europe. The vast majority suffer bullying and discrimination on a daily basis. As education plays a key role to opportunities for social inclusion and well-being, poor experiences of schooling put Roma children on a pathway to marginalisation, with limited opportunities for employment or prospects of higher education later on.

The centuries of historic persecution have also led Roma families to extreme poverty. Most live at the periphery of societies in which they are born. Residential segregation of Roma is the norm across Europe. Many families live without access to basic services, due to their insecure accommodation and forced mobility, often brought by legal insecurity or threats from majority groups. Living on the margins limits Roma people's chances of getting involved in mainstream economic, social and political life and leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Roma women and children are especially vulnerable, due to low levels of literacy, traditions of early marriage and economic dependence on men.

The *European Commission Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020* states that "in spite of some progress achieved both in the Member States and at EU level over the past years, little has changed in the day-to-day situation of most of the Roma" (European Commission, 2011). Although most countries across Europe are now democracies, the exclusion of Roma in countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, FYR Macedonia, Serbia, Slovakia, Poland and the Czech Republic remains critical. Calls have been made by several European bodies for policy measures to end their discrimination. However, despite these, the day to day lives of Roma families across Europe remain dominated by fear, discrimination and intolerance.

Since 2004, many states with a substantial Roma population have gained rights for free mobility and employment across the EU. As a result, many Roma families have migrated from Eastern to Western Europe in search of better opportunities. Glasgow, where this study took place, estimates the Roma groups in the city at about 2,000 Slovak and about 1,000 Romanian individuals. Although Roma arrivals are a recent phenomenon in Glasgow, the concentration of families in the city and a history of marginalisation in their homeland poses specific challenges for local services. In this context, the study presented here, has aimed to gather the views of Roma children and parents on opportunities available to them in Glasgow, in terms of education and access to other services. We are grateful for their views and for taking the time to contribute to the project.

Section 1

Introduction



©Dreamstime.com - photo 23994187

1.1 Overview of the study

This study focuses on the lives of Roma families living in the Govanhill area of Glasgow, arrived in Scotland since 2004. The report examines their family and community life and focuses on their engagement with public services, especially in relation to children's education. A report by Glasgow City Council in 2013 identified Roma children's low achievement overall and very low attendance.

Building on work already available on Roma families in Glasgow (Poole and Adamson, 2008; Grill, 2012), this study aimed to identify:

- *What are Roma families' needs and experiences in relation to key services (education, health, leisure);*
- *What are the main challenges for services in working with Roma families;*
- *What are Roma children and parents' expectations of schools and cultural attitudes to formal education;*
- *Which factors influence Roma families' engagement with public services;*
- *How can barriers in Roma children's achievement be tackled.*

The research explored these questions in three main ways. Firstly, we analysed existing data on Roma children's attendance and achievement; secondly, we spoke to Roma children and their parents; thirdly, we interviewed practitioners and observed practice in organisations and services working with Roma families. Before presenting the findings of the study, we provide a historical background on the Roma communities and summarise current policy and research.

1.2 Historical background of Roma groups and terminology

Estimates place the current European Roma population at between 10 and 14 million. They remain Europe's largest and most impoverished and marginalised ethnic minority. The centuries of migration and persecution have made European Roma a very heterogeneous group, with dozens of national and ethnic subgroups. These have very distinct histories, languages, lifestyles and are spread throughout Europe. Policies often refer generically to Roma and Gypsy Travellers, with little acknowledgement of the distinct historical and social trajectories of the various groups.

Believed to originate on the Indian subcontinent, Roma are said to have travelled North-Westward in medieval times (Cylkowska-Nowak and Nowak, 2011), gradually settling across Europe. Records mention the first 'Gypsies' on the British Isles in 1505 (Okely, 1983). At the time, they were thought to originate in Egypt, on account of their darker skin, and were soon referred to as 'Egyptians', from which the shortened word 'Gypsies' came. During this first phase of their arrival, they appear to have enjoyed a degree of popularity on the grounds of their 'exotic' looks and customs, quickly replaced by hostility and racism.

Roma? Sinti? Romanichals? Gypsies? Travellers?

The current use of the term *Roma* (or *Rom*, or *Romani*) as an umbrella term is not unproblematic. In many countries (e.g. Germany, France, Italy, UK, Ireland), *Roma* is used in relation Eastern European Romas. In Germany and Italy, groups with a Western European background have insisted on a separate identity, as *Sinti*; French groups call themselves *Sinti* or *Manouche* and in the UK, they prefer *Romanichals* or *Romany Gypsies*.

Further confusion arises from country-specific traditional terms (such as the English *Gypsy*, Romanian *Tzigan*, French *Tsigane*, Spanish *Gitano*, German *Zigeuner*, and Italian *Zingaro*), which originate from the false belief that the Roma are from Egypt. In some languages, the term is deeply offensive (e.g. Romanian, German), and in other countries (France, England), the concept has also been criticised as politically incorrect. However, many local Roma continue to use the term, for example in Hungary and Romania (calling themselves *Cigany/Tzigan*), despite recent official policy of using the word *Roma*.

An extra complication is due to the use of the term *Traveller* as synonym, especially in countries where Roma populations have lived travelling lifestyles. In the UK, *Travellers* and *Roma* are sometimes referred to as *Gypsies*, *Gypsy Travellers* or *Romany Gypsy Travellers*, despite clear cultural distinctions between groups.

(adapted from Pietarinen, 2011)

The largest Roma communities live in Turkey (almost 3 million) and Central and Eastern Europe (especially Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria). During the Second World War, Roma were systematically persecuted in all of Germany-occupied Europe. It is estimated that between 30-50% of the Romani population was exterminated in Nazi concentration camps, in what is sometimes referred to as the 'forgotten Holocaust' (Cylkowska-Nowak and Nowak, 2011). During the post-war period, they were objects of 'dispersion' policies and of forced integration throughout Europe, in an attempt to eradicate their 'antisocial trends' (Poole, 2010). In the 1980s, Polish Roma were deprived of their citizenship and expelled to Sweden and Denmark (Minority Rights Group International, 2008).

1.3 Ongoing discrimination of Roma

Despite the collapse of the Iron Curtain and the gradual inclusion of former Communist countries into the European Union, Roma remain a discriminated minority. In 1993, the Council of Europe's Rapporteur compared the condition of European Roma to that of people living in developing countries, on account of their low life expectancy, lack of basic sanitation and their general lack of opportunities (O'Nions, 2007). More recently, *Amnesty International* (2010) denounced the deprivation of rights suffered by Roma and the Human Rights Watch World Report (2012) has condemned the forced evictions that Roma groups experience, and the rhetoric of crime often used to justify violent attacks on Roma communities.

These concerns have inspired the '*Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015*', involving 12 European countries, to break the cycle that keeps Roma communities excluded in most European societies. In 2011, the European Commission published *A EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020*, which emphasises that despite progress at EU level over the past years, little has changed for most of the Roma.

1.4 Migration of Roma from Eastern Europe

Before 2004, Eastern European Roma migrants entered the EU mainly as asylum seekers, fleeing racism. Western countries, such as Germany and France, were made attractive by the demand of unskilled workers and the perceptions of a more equal society. However, their arrival has sparked intense public debates, centred around stereotypes of criminality. Very soon Western European countries were deporting large numbers of Roma.

Following the expansion of the European Union in 2004¹ and then in 2007², substantial Roma arrivals were forecast in the UK, particularly by the tabloid press. Although the predicted 'invasion' did not materialise, many Roma families chose to move to Western European countries as a way to (potential) success and prosperity (Grill, 2012), similar to other ethnic groups before them (Clark, 2014), and to escape discrimination.

Roma do not generally move as individuals and family separation is often only temporary (Grill, 2012). This is partly the result of a traditional way of life, which favours communal living, but also due to a history of persecution, where communities represent a safety-net. Communities pave the way for other families to move, as this reduces the risks associated with migration while maximising benefits (Pantea, 2012; Massey *et al.*, 1998). This has resulted in the concentration of Roma in specific areas of the UK.

Numbers of Roma migrants are notoriously difficult to estimate. Romas are reluctant to identify themselves due to the discrimination they suffer. The lack of clear numbers makes it harder to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-discriminatory measures, such as the *Decade of Roma Inclusion* (Open Society Foundations, 2010), or to target specific policies (Chan and Guild, 2010). In the UK, estimates vary between 200,000 and 1,000,000 Roma people, with communities spread throughout the country (Craig, 2011). Sizeable Eastern European Roma communities have been reported in Glasgow, Leicester, Wolverhampton, Rotherham and Peterborough (Roma Education Fund, 2011).

As migrants, Romas are at the crossroad of different group memberships. As *migrants*, their experiences are simultaneously similar to, and distinct from, those of other European migrants. However, as *Roma migrants*, their histories shape in distinct ways the opportunities they have, which often translate into precarious work conditions (Sporton, 2013), low educational achievement and often continued marginalisation post-migration.

In this report, we refer to 'Roma' as a specific migrant group, composed by individuals who are at the same time: (a) *migrants* and, as such, subject to the dynamics of global markets, local narratives and national regulations; and (b) an *ethnic minority* with specific historical and social backgrounds, which influences how they are perceived in communities and their individual experiences.

¹ Eight countries joined the EU in 2004 (A8 countries): Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

² Two former Eastern European countries joined the EU in 2007 (A2 countries): Bulgaria and Romania.

1.5 Roma families in Glasgow

About 4,000 Eastern European Roma live in the Govanhill area in Glasgow, to the south-east of the city. Govanhill is Scotland's most ethnically diverse community. About half of its approximately 15,000 residents are from an ethnic minority background, representing 52 ethnicities. Affordable accommodation from private landlords has made the area attractive for migrants. The area faces significant economic, social and environmental challenges, and has recently been prioritised by the Scottish Government through its 'regeneration status' (RomaNet, 2011). Five of its 12 zones are in the bottom 15% of the national SIMD datazones, which measure multiple deprivation (The Scottish Government, 2012). Almost 40% of the adults have no qualifications and 39.3% of children grow up in workless households. Instances of violent crime are 59% above the Scottish average, with domestic abuse at 45% above national average.

Of the estimated 3,000-4,000 Roma residents in Govanhill (Paterson *et al.*, 2011; Social Marketing Gateway, 2013), about 2,000-2,500 are Slovakian (with small numbers of Czechs) and about 1,000 are Romanian. These are estimates, as families are reluctant to self-identify and migration flows remain unpredictable. Families experience high unemployment rates, in comparison to local groups and other A8 migrants, and inactivity is particularly high for women (Crkon, 2012). The vast majority (especially Romanian Roma) have lower education levels and limited English skills. Research has also reported that the wish to escape ill-treatment and discrimination means that Roma are more likely to settle permanently in their receiving country (Cook *et al.*, 2010), although they may move within the UK in order to chase employment (Bynner, 2010).

Roma migrants in Govanhill suffer from administrative inefficiencies that limit their access to welfare and social support, with significant repercussions (Paterson *et al.*, 2011). Limited English make many rely on community groups for help with access to financial support or at risk of becoming victims of self-appointed brokers. Increasing numbers of Roma residents in Govanhill are now engaging with local services (Bynner, 2010), overcoming years of negative experiences of exclusion from services in their homeland. As most households include children, there has been added pressure on local provision of nursery and school places and for other services involved in families' welfare.

1.6 Research on the education of Roma children

Research suggests that the marginalisation of Roma is exacerbated by their limited access to educational opportunities, systematic exclusion from schools, negative education experiences, low qualifications and early drop out. Underlying factors, such as family poverty, poor education of parents, perceived discrimination and racism experienced in schools contribute further to their limited opportunities (Open Society Foundations, 2007). Thousands of Roma children remain illiterate and do not attend school and among those who attend, their academic performance is considerably worse than that of other pupils (Council of Europe, 2006; European Commission, 2010).

Reports have highlighted the ongoing practices of segregating a very large proportion of Roma children in classes or schools with a substandard curriculum or designated as 'special needs' schools, despite children not being diagnosed with any disabilities. A study of Roma children who migrated to the UK showed that 85% of them had been previously in a special school or class. However, in the UK, only 2-4% of them were assessed as requiring additional support and most studied in mainstream schools (Roma Education Fund, 2011 a).

Research has also highlighted how social patterns of racism against Roma families are reproduced in schools across Europe. Roma pupils are let down by teachers, who may treat them differently, not intervene in racist attacks or punish children physically. Many schools do not have anti-bullying policies (Macura-Milanović and Peček, 2012; Roma Education Fund, 2011 a, b; 2012). The unequal treatment is also manifested in teachers' lower expectations, lack of interest in children's well-being if they do not attend, and low aspirations for their achievement (Open Society Foundations, 2007; Peček *et al.*, 2008). These behaviours are enforced by professionals' beliefs that Roma children's poor attendance and achievement reflect inherently negative attitudes towards education among their families (Luciak and Liegl, 2009; Macura-Milanović *et al.*, 2013).

The very low achievement levels of Roma children have been widely reported (Peček *et al.*, 2008; Roma Education Fund, 2011 a). Since most EU states do not disaggregate data on ethnicity, most data on Roma children are however approximate. Based on the data available, only 64% of the Roma school-aged children attend school in Romania (as opposed to 98.9% in the overall population) and of these, about half do not continue to secondary (Roma Education Fund, 2012). In Slovakia, data does not exist on the Roma school-aged children who are not in education and from those who attend, about two thirds drop out before secondary school (Roma Education Fund, 2011 b).

The overall levels of achievement of Roma children are much lower than the OECD average. For Romania and Bulgaria, for example, PISA results reveal results in reading, math and science below average³ in the general school population, but these are even lower for Roma groups. Data on attendance show the very high dropout rates of Roma children at secondary school (Roma Education Fund, 2011 b and 2012). Studies have also reported on Roma parents' reservations about formal schooling. Parents are often worried that children will suffer racist attacks from peers, teachers and other non-Roma parents, and are aware of the discriminatory policies and practices. Many choose not to send children to early years provision, and often choose to take older children out of school before the end of primary schooling. Girls especially have been reported as dropping out in substantial numbers, as parents worry they will be exposed to content and values incompatible with their culture (Cahn and Guld, 2010).

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview on the current situation of Roma in Europe and current trends in Roma migration. It has also identified some of the key policies across Europe aimed at tackling their discrimination and marginalisation, with a focus on the current state of Roma children's education. The next section discusses the methodology of the research carried out for this report.

³ PISA's average test results in 2009 for the two countries were: Romania- Reading (424), Math (427), Science (428); Slovakia – Reading (477), Math (497), Science (490), compared to OECD average- Reading (493), Math (496) and Science (501).

Section 2

Methodology



© Giovanna Fassetta

Outline of section

Studying the lives of Roma migrants presents a number of challenges. Many have low levels of literacy in English and limited formal education. Given the previous experiences of racism and discrimination, Roma migrants have understandable reservations about engaging with outsiders and sharing their life experiences. This section outlines the key decisions we made in respect of generating the data for this study and some of the ethical considerations.

2.1 The mapping phase

The initial stage of the research took place in January-March 2014 and set out to inform existing services and organisations within Govanhill about the study and to identify contacts. This process was pursued by reviewing existing local data and by speaking with practitioners from statutory services (education, social work) and other organisations supporting families (churches, voluntary sector organisations). At this stage, existing data on Roma children's achievement and attendance were also analysed, as available from the 2011/2012 cohort. Through this process, the following research questions were identified:

- *What are Roma migrant families' perceived needs and experiences in relation to key services (education, health, leisure)?*
- *What are the main challenges for service providers in engaging Roma families?*
- *What are Roma migrant children and parents' expectations and cultural attitudes to formal education?*
- *What are the factors that influence Roma families' engagement with public services?*
- *What are the perceived barriers in Roma children's education and achievement and how can these be tackled through formal and informal provision?*

We interviewed representatives from eight organisations to gather their views on the issues faced by Roma families from the service providers' perspective. Table 1 gives a summary of the interviewees from local services. Pseudonyms are used, to protect individuals' anonymity.

Table 2.1. Profile of interviewed service providers

| Pseudonym | Role and service represented |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Heather | EAL teacher, primary school |
| Mary | Head teacher, early years centre |
| Andrew | Service manager, police |
| Alison | Health visitor, health |
| John | Manager, local church |
| Elizabeth | Manager, voluntary sector |
| Sonia | Lawyer, voluntary sector |
| Gary | Social worker, social work unit |
| Total interviews | 8 |

2.2 Interviewing Roma children and parents

In the second phase, which took place in April- June 2014, data was collected through interviews and focus groups with 22 Roma parents and 10 Roma children. We aimed to provide qualitative evidence on Roma families' everyday lives and to identify current challenges in their engagement with services.

Following approval from the University of Strathclyde's Ethics Committee, several options were considered for recruiting participants. Overcoming the wariness of Roma participants towards institutional figures can be challenging (Chan and Guild, 2010; Craig, 2011). We were aware that families were more likely to respond positively if trusted 'gatekeepers' mediate access. We worked closely with practitioners, mainly teachers and local voluntary organisations, to approach families. We asked services to talk to them about the project and explain what was required in terms of participation, whilst also emphasising that participation was voluntary.

Although we gave out written materials, we were aware of the high illiteracy rates among Roma groups and did not want to exclude participants who could not read. We also knew that for Roma families, the language of their homeland is not their mother tongue. For example, the Romanian Roma speak Romani, while the official language of Romania is Romanian. In the absence of Romani interpreters, we acknowledge that the language used in interviews was not the participants' first language, but the language of the majority group in their homeland.

We were able to interview 10 children, 3 boys and 7 girls, between the ages of 8 and 14. All lived in the UK for between 1-5 years and attended local schools, apart from one girl, who was not in school. All Slovak children choose to have their interviews in English, as they were fluent speakers, while the interviews with the Romanian Roma children were conducted in Romanian (by the first author).

Table 2.2 Roma children interviewed

| Pseudonym | Nationality | Age | Gender |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| Lukas | Slovak | 12 | M |
| Emil | Slovak | 13 | M |
| Kristina | Slovak | 14 | F |
| Natalia | Slovak | 12 | F |
| Martina | Slovak | 14 | F |
| Veronika | Slovak | 11 | F |
| Klaudia | Slovak | 8 | F |
| Mihaela | Romanian | 11 | F |
| Vlad | Romanian | 8 | M |
| Alina | Romanian | 12 | F |
| Total interviews | 7 Slovak 3 Romanian | | 3 boys 7 girls |

Through schools and other local services, we accessed 22 parents from the Slovak, Romanian and Czech Roma communities living in Govanhill. We used the services of an interpreter well known and trusted locally and this helped with building rapport. Of the 22 Roma parents interviewed, two were male and twenty were female. As men were working during the day, mainly mothers were involved with the school, and were more likely to be asked by the school staff to take part. As a result, the responses we collected focus primarily on the experiences, concerns and needs of Roma mothers. Table 3 below summarises the interviews held with the parents. Some were interviewed individually, others in groups. All names given are pseudonyms, to protect the participants' anonymity.

Table 2.3 Profile of interviewed parents

| Group No. | Pseudonyms of parents | Nationality | Year of arrival in the UK |
|-----------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
| Group 1 | Helena Peter (male) | Slovak | 2004 |
| Group 2 | Alicia Beata Denisa Hana Katarina Matilda Jonas (male) | Slovak | 2008- 2013 |
| Group 3 | Dana Lydia Simone | Slovak | 2011 |
| Group 4 | Julieta Tatiana | Czech | 2011 2010 |
| Group 5 | Raluca Fahima Bella Irina | Romanian | 2013 2011 2011 2012 |
| Individual interviews | Greta Ilona Maria Danica | Slovak | 2011 2013 2006 2013 |
| Total parents | 20 mothers 2 fathers | 18 Slovak 4 Romanian 2 Czech | |

Most interviews were held in local schools and lasted between 30- 60 minutes. Given Roma families' experience of marginalisation, we were aware that talking about their circumstances may be a stressful experience and we emphasised the participants' right to not answer questions or to stop at any time. Interviews seldom went according to plan, and while on some occasions parents did not turn up, on other occasions, a whole family group arrived when only one participant was expected. Parents often brought along young children or other relatives. Some parents preferred us to visit them at home.

Although this is not an entirely representative sample of the whole Roma community in the Govanhill area, due to the range of family circumstances and the predominantly female sample, we are satisfied that the views of the families presented in this report shed some light on the issues that many Roma families are confronted with.

2.3 Conclusion

This section has summarised the various stages of the research. Given the Roma families' historic marginalisation and discrimination, it was important to negotiate access to the community through local agencies, and to accept that participation was not going to be straightforward, as families can change their mind at short notice. These issues are important however when conducting research with Roma groups, due to the linguistic and cultural barriers, and Roma groups' complex history of engagement with services.

Section 3

Migration and family life



©Dreamstime.com - photo 23465601

Outline of section

This section explores Roma families' experiences of migration and their everyday lives after migration. It draws mainly on interviews with parents and service providers, and looks at patterns of migration, reasons for migrating, family structures, the role of women and attitudes to child rearing. The migration of Roma families is set in a context of increased mobility across Europe since 2004, although Roma families have travelled to the Western countries before, mainly as asylum seekers. Changes to Roma family structures and their daily lives after migration are significant, as they can provide a better understanding to Roma people's attitudes to and engagement with services.

3.1 Patterns of migration among Roma families

Most Roma families in Glasgow seem to have migrated from rural areas in Romania and Slovakia. Those coming from Romania, used to live in three counties in Transylvania, the West of Romania, namely the counties of Bihor, Arad and Timis. Families used to live in poor villages situated at about 10-20 miles from the closest town, with a high Roma population, and limited access to sanitation, transport, education and health services. While many have migrated directly to Glasgow, others said they had travelled to Spain, France, Germany and Ireland previously. Some still had relatives living in these countries.



Figure 1. Map of Romania, with Bihor-Arad-Timis counties in the West

Roma families coming from Slovakia seemed to migrate from one county, Michalovce, from the Kosice region in the South East of Slovakia. One village in particular, Pavloche Nad Uhom, was mentioned; this is situated at about 20 miles from the closest urban area and has a population of about 4,000 people, of which 60 percent are Roma.



Figure 2. Map of Slovakia- with Michalovce area in the South East

Like other migrant groups, families often migrated in stages, men coming first to find accommodation and secure employment before bringing their family to Scotland. However, describing patterns of migration according to notions of nuclear families is not always representative of Roma arrangements. Several adults had joined other relatives already living in Scotland, and talked about extended family members who had arrived after them. The presence of other family members was often one of the reasons given for choosing Glasgow as a destination:

Researcher: So what made you choose Scotland?

Mother 1: My brother was here already.

Researcher: Did all of you have other people here?

Mother 1: This is my sister in law [points to another person in group], so...

Researcher: So are you all related?

Mother 1: Yes. They're my cousins.

Researcher: Do you all live in Govanhill?

Mother 2: Yes.

Mother 3: It's better because if you've got to work or... when we are family we go all together to the park or... at school, we are meeting up.

(Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma)

Researcher: So where is home now?

Mother 1: When I was in Slovakia last summer, I couldn't wait to come back here, I'm used to being here now.

Grandmother: And the children, too. They like it here [in Scotland] more.

Mother 2: If you have got family you're looking forward to get there [to Slovakia], but I don't have anybody, my dad passed away.

Grandmother: I'm her mother-in-law, but her mother is here too, in Glasgow.

(Focus Group 3, Slovak Roma)

Having relatives already in the country of emigration reduces the costs of migration, as well as the risks. It also means that new migrants find a ready-made community which can support them in practical terms. Families indicated relatives and other Roma friends who migrated before them as the main source of support before and after migration. Perceptions of area safety were also of critical consideration. There seems to be an issue of feeling 'safety in numbers', by migrating to an area where other Roma have settled and which they found relatively safe.

3.2 Reasons for migrating

All Roma parents interviewed cited the availability of employment opportunities as a key reason for choosing Scotland as their destination. This was often explicitly contrasted to the lack of jobs in the country of origin:

Mother 1: There are no jobs, back home, that's the problem. Here you can find a job, and you can work. My husband works, he earns money and the kids have everything, they have food... what job could we get [in Slovakia]? And if you don't have a job...

Mother 2: We are better off here.

Researcher: So it's better here, even after the economic crisis? Have you noticed any changes? Are there less jobs or...

Mother 1: Here? Here, there is always work. Whether you work in a carwash, or a hotel. My husband works, and he's been working for the past five years in a hotel.

(Focus Group 1, Slovak Roma)

Researcher: What was the reason you chose Scotland?

Mother 1: There is no work in Slovakia.

Grandmother: Back home, we've started building a little house, and got to the roof, and then there was no money [...] so we had to come here, because the young ones can work, and I live with them, help with the kids [...] we're better here than back home. (Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma)

Like in the case of other economic migrants, job opportunities were cited as a 'pull' factor, alongside a wish to ensure children's future prospects. Educational opportunities and the fact that the children would be able to learn English were mentioned as important reasons, in addition to perceptions of fairness and equal opportunity in schools:

Mother 1: [Here] the children can learn proper English, so they won't know Slovakian only, they will speak two languages.

Researcher: How important was school for your decision to move?

Mother 3: Back home, it's very expensive to send a child to university, here, they can learn more, they can get qualifications. Whether it's as cook, interpreter, they will learn. Back home there wouldn't be any chances to get qualifications or even be in school.

Father: Our son is now attending college.

Researcher: What is he studying?

Father: He is training to be a chef. (Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma)

Julieta: We came here for our children's future. Like everybody else. For example Pakistani people, they had some issues back home, so they came here. And it's finally a normal life: you go to work, you live your life, and you're happy here. (Czech Roma mother)

Perceptions of equal treatment in schools and children's increased opportunities to achieve were often contrasted with descriptions of discriminatory practices in their homeland, where children would be segregated, not challenged academically, or be victims of bullying and racism from other children, parents and teachers.

3.3 Roma family structure and role of women

Roma mothers appeared to live in isolation from the wider local community. Most women were not in work. Their main occupation was the care of children and home making. While this is not something they appeared to resent, the confinement to the domestic space community meant that they had very few chances to meet parents from a different linguistic background. As a consequence, their English remained basic, which afforded them few opportunities for participation and civic engagement:

Grandmother: We just say 'hello' to neighbours. We don't understand what they are saying. We just say 'hello', and they say 'hello' to us, but we cannot really communicate much because we don't speak English.

(Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma)

Researcher: Is it mostly Slovak women that you're friends with?

Greta: Yes.

Researcher: And Scottish friends? Have you managed to make any Scottish friends yet? Other mothers...

Greta: At school, yes, we would say 'hello' to one another, but apart from that... I would like to talk to them, but...can't speak [English]. (Slovak Roma mother)

The lack of proficiency in English further diminishes Roma women's chances to find paid work and to expand their social networks. Several practitioners were aware of this:

Most women come isolated and they leave isolated. You never see two or three coming together. Only one family where there is an auntie and a cousin of the same age come together. Other than that, I haven't seen them talk to each other, like you see other mothers at the school gate, especially if they share the language, you'd think they'd do if they are from the same country...but no. (Mary, Early years practitioner).

Not knowing English meant venturing outwith the local area was a rather daunting prospect. Women hardly ever used public transport, as they felt scared at the prospect of getting lost or running into difficulty. While males seem to work long hours, Roma women and children are confined in their everyday lives to their neighbourhood. This means that services outwith the area (e.g. colleges, cinemas or leisure centres, welfare support) are seldom used by them.

I think it's difficult, because it's... they've just organised a cookery class at the Tramway but it's trying to get them [Roma families] through the door, because they are quite a closed community, so it's actually very difficult to get them to go to things. It takes quite a long while of chipping away. (Alison, health service provider)

Service providers also highlighted the difficulties families had in claiming benefits, because they would not travel to centrally located offices and lacked the confidence to claim. This means that families do not benefit from support available, while living in extreme poverty. In one school, only about 25% of the children were registered for free school meals, while the staff thought that most children lived in poverty.

Roma culture appears, in many respects, to be more patriarchal, with men being the main decision makers and breadwinners. Participants described a conservative (traditional) pattern of family life, with men making the major decisions in relation to family mobility, family life and roles, the education of children, engagement with services and relationships outside the home. Most women talked about the importance of a big family, sometimes with older relatives sharing the household. Women often had to consult with their partners before agreeing for their children to participate in activities, sign forms or engage with other services. Most women did not drive and depended on men for transport.

While mothers we interviewed were young, in their early and late 20s, their husbands seemed to be older, a tradition confirmed by other research on Roma marriage habits. While men found work and often worked longer hours, leaving women with more responsibilities for running the household, there was a sense of ongoing supervision of women. Some seemed to accept this as a feature of the culture:

Yes, of course I need to ask my husband, he's the boss (laughs). That's normal in our culture. (Bella, Romanian mother)

Well, the women don't have access to English, they are not working and are kept socially isolated in their homes. I've got certain mums coming in here and if they are not back home promptly, the phone will go 'where is my wife?'. They are like tagged and kept very much on a very short leash. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

3.4 Childcare and looking after children

The activity of homemaking and child rearing was central to Roma mothers' lives. Many talked about the significant bond they had with their children and children being their 'purpose in life'. In many cases, migration was motivated by wanting to give children a better future, as mothers did not want their children to experience the discrimination they had suffered. Among the education staff, there was sometimes a perception that the parenting style adopted by Roma families was too permissive when compared to the Western expectations. Children, especially boys, would not be disciplined in the same way for infringements and boundaries were not always set:

The challenges that we have with children's behaviour are very different from the challenges that I've had in other deprived areas of Glasgow, where you'll get small angry boys with very low self-esteem. Our Roma kids don't have an issue with self-esteem, they are very loved, there's a lot of love in the families, but they have too much say in what goes on, and parents are often hesitant to discipline their children. (Heather, EAL teacher)

Staff also commented on other different cultural practices of child rearing. There seemed to be significant cultural barriers in engaging with early years provision, as mothers felt that children would be 'too young' to take part in formal activities. This meant that children were not always ready for formal education and, occasionally, had to be deferred entry:

They [Roma families] seem to be quite a caring and protective community when it comes to children. They don't like the children to cry. When we do the settling in, they don't like to leave them or see them upset. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

We've had children come to school at five, still not fully toilet trained or carrying a dummy or a milk bottle- because in many countries they start school later, the parents don't mind that, they still treat them as babies. (Heather, EAL teacher)

We asked mothers if they made use of local facilities, such as parks, swimming pools, the local library and leisure facilities further afield. Only a small number accessed these, and the main places mentioned were the local park and library. Families said they spent most time at home, or visiting relatives locally. Women gather together to socialise, with children watching television and playing together. Older girls often looked after younger siblings and grandmothers were also mainly at home. Mothers talked about the difficulties associated with caring for children at weekend and during the school holidays. This was even more difficult for large families living in small flats, unable to access facilities, because of costs, lack of information or transport.

3.5 Everyday lives of Roma families

For many Roma families, moving to Scotland also meant living in a city for the first time, as many families came originally from rural areas. While families talked about the pressures of leaving behind family when migrating, they also mentioned other challenges, like coping with living in flats, adapting to the different climate and the strangeness of the neighborhood in a city:

Researcher: Have you changed as a person since you moved to Scotland?

Maria: Oh, yes (laughs).

Researcher: How did you change?

Maria: Well, you have to depend more on yourself, which can be scary. Sometimes I get anxious, because I'm at home all the time, you can't get out, while back in Slovakia, we were out all the time. I am better now, but when I came here it was worse, because seeing the flats and the accommodation, I sort of sensed what it was going to be like. Nothing like back home.

Researcher: So do you mean you get anxious because you're inside all the time?

Maria: Yes, because of the weather, isn't it, we cannot go anywhere!

(Maria, Slovak Roma mother)

The contrast between the small, overcrowded, poorly heated flats and the physical restrictions of the inner city living compared negatively with what many viewed as the 'openness' of village life. Many said they felt more confined and less 'safe' to be in the streets, and some expressed regret that children did not have the freedom they had before migration to be outdoors:

In Slovakia, you could leave the children out all the time, here, you just don't do it. And you don't know if it's safe. (Ilona, Slovak Roma mother).

Roma families appear constituted by a conservative pattern of nuclear and extended families. Important family decisions were taken by men. Significant appointments with services were negotiated by men, for example, when registering children for nursery or school or when attending meetings with welfare services:

Many of the Roma and Slovak families have quite a nice family, they're very family orientated. We don't tend to see single parents. (Alison, Health visitor)

When you ask the mothers something, they'd go, 'I need to go home and he will decide', meaning the husband. The general norm is that he comes with one or two women, could be two families, and bring the children to make the first contact to get the children enrolled. Once he sees the place, then you never see him again. Then it's usually the mum that brings the kids. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

Men were the breadwinners in most families. Many were involved in informal networks of employment, working for cash in hand, in insecure jobs and low pay. In Glasgow, available work appeared to be mainly in agriculture, food processing and building, often outwith the city. Men would be organised by gang masters and 'picked' at morning gatherings at a known 'street corner'. Some had more stable work, in car washing shops, *en gross* retailers and factories, but in general, informal, unregulated work seemed to be dominant.

Women were mainly at home, looking after children and older relatives. Rules seemed to be set in terms of women's mobility, restricted to the local shops, school and services. All women said they were dependent on their partners for trips outside the area. Travelling by taxi was common for families without cars, as this guaranteed arriving at destination without the risk of getting lost.

Researcher: Do you ever go to the city centre?

Mother 1: Only for clothes shopping.

Researcher: And how do you travel to the city centre?

Mother 1: By car.

Res: Do you drive?

All: [laugh]

Grandmother: No, the sons, only the guys drive.

Researcher: And you don't drive?

Grandmother: What, drivers like us?!

All: [laugh]

Grandmother: No. Our sons need the car for work.

(Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma)

Researcher: How do you move around? What transport do you use?

Greta: I've used the bus about twice here. Most of the time we are using a taxi, but now we have a car.

Researcher: Can you drive?

Greta: No [laughs]. (Greta, Slovak Roma mother).

Mother 1: We've been to Ayr, by the sea, when it was hot, in the summer.

Researcher: How did you go there, by train?

Mother 1: No, by car.

Researcher: Can you drive?

Mother 2: No, my brother drives, and his son also has a car

(Focus Group A, Slovak Roma)

These experiences must be seen in the context of the extensive marginalization and racism that Roma groups were historically exposed to. They may reflect cultural beliefs that women and children need protection. Men were traditionally the breadwinners and more likely to engage with 'outsiders' to the community. This leaves women to undertake the home-based, more caring roles. Roma women seem thus to depend on men's income and their decisions, which clearly makes them vulnerable. Gender inequalities, reproduced after migration, are in many cases magnified by the inaccessible support systems, as women do not have the language skills or confidence to access these. Exposure to a more equal culture after migration may, in time, challenge the strains of these patriarchal structures. Roma women could become more engaged, provided that they are enabled and encouraged by the wider support mechanisms available to other groups.

3.6 Conclusion

This section has outlined the multiple transitions that Roma families experience as a result of migration. It has also looked at the motivations for Roma families' migration and how families attempt to recreate a more positive and stable environment for their children. Understanding the everyday lives of Roma families and the features of their culture, often resistant to contacts with the majority culture, can help shed further light on the engagement of Roma families with statutory services. The next section will look at the education of Roma children and parents' attitudes to formal education.

Section 4

Education of Roma children: aspirations, expectations and experiences



Dreamstime.com - photo 16638625

Section outline

This section reports on Roma children's experiences of schooling and their parents' views on education, as emerging from our sample. It explores cultural differences in thinking about the purpose of formal education in Roma children's lives, with an emphasis on the role of gender, and identifies cultural barriers which Roma parents may bring with them after migration. The section draws on data on Roma children's attendance and achievement in Glasgow and discusses some key issues that need to inform initiatives aimed at improving Roma children's achievement.

4.1 Parents' education and aspirations for their children

Roma parents spoke of their low levels of education and limited qualifications, and often said these were due to the wide-spread discrimination in their homeland. Mothers were frustrated at their inability to read and write in any language and how illiteracy got in the way of their opportunities:

Fahima: I only did four years [of school] in Romania, my parents kept saying it's better if you don't go to school. Romania was different... but now, of course you struggle to read, and you think, it would have been better to go to school. I am booked to start a language course at the library.

Bella: I finished 10 years in Romania. I'd like to do something like cooking.

Raluca: I haven't done anything. My parents used to work and they would take us with them, leaving the school behind.

Fahima: My parents would leave me with my brothers and sisters, to look after each other, and they would go to work. And they would say, you'll take care of your own children later on, so why go to school?

Irina: For myself, I'd like to go into nursing, I finished high school in Romania, so maybe...but I need better English first. (Focus group, Romanian mothers)

Parents highlighted their poor experiences of schooling in their countries of origin, as also reported by other research. Some talked about their parents taking them out of school because of bullying and expectations that Roma women would not require an education, as they would marry early and have children. Others talked about the segregation of Roma into special needs schools and how this had affected their attitudes to schools:

You know, for us it's good enough that children are accepted as they are, not put into special schools like it happens back home, just because you are Gypsy. I was concerned they will do this to my child and I was at the school everyday, checking, not trusting them, but now I'm more relaxed. (Greta, Slovak Roma mother)

Service providers were aware of parents' own negative experiences of schooling and how these had affected their attitudes to schools and aspirations for their children:

One or two parents have said, 'I want my child to be at nursery, I want my child to be educated, I want my child to have better opportunities than I had' and we were blown away by that, they fully appreciated and understood the benefits of an education. But unfortunately, the majority don't even dream of their children doing well. (Mary, Early Years practitioner)

Some mothers talked about wanting their children to do better than they could in their homeland and how aware they were of the importance of education:

I'd like my daughter to get into sports, I did gymnastics in Romania in my school, and my sister was champion, but you know what things are like for us in Romania, you can't do much. So I'd like her to have a chance here, see how she gets on, then depending what she wants to do, we'll see. (Irina, Romanian Roma mother)

Here, it's free higher education, they could learn more, they would get more qualifications, if they wanted to. Back home, there wouldn't be a chance to get qualifications. (Danica, Slovak Roma mother).

Education staff were aware of the generally low aspirations among Roma parents and this seems to be a key area for improvement in working with Roma families. However, not all parents had low expectations, as seen above, and many said that in the context of a more inclusive and equal system, they started for the first time to raise their aspirations for their children.

4.2 Early years provision and access

The area in which the study took place, Govanhill, suffered from limited provision of early years education. Given Roma families' impoverished circumstances, many of the pre-school aged children were at considerable risk of early disadvantage. Statutory provision was overstretched and resources were limited, which meant that most children were not accessing formal provision until the age of four:

The nursery has dozens of names still waiting to get a place, I think it's over a hundred at the minute. Many aged 4, who've not had a 3 or a 4 year place. Now that's scandalous! (Alison, Health practitioner)

The provision for early years is just shocking. They don't have enough places and most children can't get a place until they are 4, which means that they are missing out on learning, and also they don't have any exposure to the language. (John, Church manager)

While families were often offered a place in a nursery further afield, they were unable to travel or did not trust services in other areas. Given the key importance of early years in tackling early disadvantage, access to local provision seemed crucial to avoiding increasing gaps in achievement when children start school. School staff talked about the difficulties they have with the inclusion of children who had no access to early years:

Children have come completely traumatised beyond belief, who couldn't speak in Roma or speak in English, it was their behaviour, they were withdrawn, they had no language or social and emotional skills. (Heather, School teacher)

Some who don't have any time in the nursery, turn up at school to go to primary 1 in nappies with bottles of milk, screaming. The school would then phone us and say 'can you take them', they can barely speak and are not ready. So we then have to quickly enrol them here and because it's a deferred year, they've got to come and the difficulty is then when they don't. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

At the time of the study, local churches and voluntary sector organisations were trying to tackle the gap in local provision through playgroups and sessions aimed at young children and vulnerable families. One such group had attracted about 10 Roma Romanian families

which were attending a morning session per week, but provision was dependent on funding and availability of volunteers. Other Slovak families were attending similar provision through afternoon services, but all agreed that statutory provision needed to improve as a matter of urgency, as many families were affected.

There were other practical barriers that stopped families from accessing early years provision, such as not having transport to get to a nursery somewhere else, but also difficulties with registering. Registration forms were a major problem for parents, as they were only available in English, very lengthy and asked families information they did not have or were worried to disclose:

When you register, I had to ask someone to help me, because the form was 10 pages long, and most of the stuff they were asking, I didn't know, like phone numbers, address of a friend, where is your doctor, how much money you have, give the number of your landlord and all that, I just couldn't do it. (Bella, Romanian Roma mother)

Reflecting cultural beliefs that children need protecting, parents talked about their feelings that the school starting age was too low in Scotland. They were also worried to leave children in nurseries, as they thought they were 'too young':

Who else can look after my boy better than me? Send him to nursery, when he needs to sleep in the afternoon, and he needs his mother if he falls over or something. What would I do if he goes (to nursery)? (Raluca, Roma Romanian mother)

These beliefs showed cultural expectations on the role of women and childrearing practices which were distinct from Western beliefs and practices. Staff talked about the parents being perhaps overprotective and not valuing early years provision, which made it more difficult to engage them:

They'll not come, so I'd have to send the names to the social work team and the health visitors and then they go and visit and say 'are you not going back, what's the problem?' and try and facilitate them coming back. Quite often, it just needs someone to talk to them and get them back. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

In addition to cultural barriers, staff talked about the difficulties families had to cover the costs of attending nursery and which forced many of them to drop out, given the severe poverty in which many were living:

We now have to charge families 25p a day for children's snack. This was always free before and they're getting a bill now for £5 every 4 weeks. For many, that's a lot of money, they don't want a bill, they don't want to pay, so they are not going to come. We also rely on donations from parents to help us run the nursery, to help buy extra toys, buy paper, ink etc. All these things, you have to ask and you see some parents dropping out because they can't cope. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

Given the importance of early years in tackling disadvantage and low achievement, access of Roma families to local, good quality provision is key. Roma children need to be seen as 'vulnerable', due to the very high levels of poverty, limited English skills and low education levels among families. Provision needs to ensure that Roma children are not excluded,

repeating patterns of exclusion their families were victims of before migration. Given the high levels of poverty among Roma, early years provision has a key role in avoiding marginalization and poverty for future generations.

4.3 Roma children's experiences of school in Scotland

Roma children in Govanhill had experienced major transformations in their lives: migrating across several countries, moving from a small rural area to a big city, adjusting to a new school environment and learning a new language, while leaving friends and relatives behind. 'Change' was a major theme running through their experiences, and their life course had quite often been anything but orderly. There were numerous discontinuities caused by repeat migration, changes in their families' circumstances, poverty and health problems. Under these circumstances, schools were for many of them a constant, which gave them a sense of stability:

Researcher: Was Scotland as you had imagined it before you left?

Veronika (11): It was as I had imagined.

Researcher: What is the best thing about Scotland?

Klaudia (8): School.

Veronika (11): School.

Martina, aged 14, came to Scotland from Slovakia when she was 8 with her mother, despite the fact that Martina herself was not keen on the move. As for other children, going to school gave her a sense of normality in time:

I didn't feel great (when I arrived) because I didn't know anything, I didn't know the places and stuff. I had my gran in Slovakia and I said, like, 'I don't wanna go', but I just had to because my mum was coming. And then going to school, everything became normal.

Children who had experiences of school in other countries emphasised the differences in curriculum, in approaches to teaching and learning, and also in teachers' attitudes:

Researcher: What are the differences between school here and in Slovakia?

Kristina(14): The language, it's hard at the beginning.

Researcher: Of course! And apart from that?

Natalia (12): The teachers teach differently.

Researcher: Is there anything that was better in Slovakia?

Kristina (14): No, less choice there [in subjects].

Researcher: What about maths, is it easier here or was it easier in Slovakia?

Kristina (14): It's easier here.

Martina: The teachers are nicer here, they treat you with more respect, even if you are Roma.

Some Slovak children felt that the curriculum was less challenging, and they did 'more difficult' things in Slovakia, especially in Math and Science. However, they appreciated the wider choice of subjects in Scotland and the fact there was less emphasis on homework:

Researcher: What about homework.

Martina (14): More homework in Slovakia, a lot more.

Researcher: Is that good?

Martina (14): No! It took all your free time.

Many children saw the school in Scotland as a 'happy place', where they could forge new friendships, some based on ethnicity, but also with children from other ethnicities, and how they felt valued for the first time:

Researcher: How was making new friends here?

Veronika (11): I had a friend in Slovakia who came here first... someone who I knew in Slovakia who came here, and she helped me with that.

Researcher: That was handy! What about you? Do you have any good friends here?

Klaudia (8): [nods]

Researchers: Where are your friends from?

Martina (14): Some of them are Scottish, some of them are Muslim, some of them are Slovakian, but it's mostly Slovakian.

A key finding of the study was that many children relied on schools for access to other services, either to provide them with information on activities or services available, or to take them to services, such as shops or leisure facilities:

Researcher: What about the cinema? Have you been to the cinema?

Veronika (11): We went to the cinema once with the school.

Researcher: What about with your family or friends.

Veronika (11): No, never.

Researcher: Do you ever go to the sports centre.

Veronika (11): Not like this one [points at a picture].

Klaudia (8): We go to the gym in school.

Researcher: And outside the school, do you go to any gym or pool?

Veronika (11): No, there's not many here.

There was a combination of factors that impacted on families' ability to access services independently, including uncertainty on entitlements, costs, opening hours and type of service provided, but also lack of confidence on parents' part to use public transport to access services or limited English.

4.4 Data on Roma children's achievement and attainment in Glasgow

This section provides statistical information on all pupils (389) who were identified as Roma in the Govanhill catchment area of the city (2 secondary schools and 3 primary schools). The sample was drawn in September of 2012 and all data refers to the school session 2011-2012, which was the latest data available at the time of the report.

Number of Roma children in schools

As illustrated in Table 4.1 below, just under one third (29.8%) of all pupils in the primary sector schools in the study identified themselves as Roma. However, at the time of our research (in 2014), schools reported a further increase in the number of Roma pupils, with one primary school estimating that 70% of their children were now Roma. Far few children made up the roll in the 2 secondary schools in the study (4.6%). This is partly because the secondary schools have far larger rolls and cover a far wider geographic area than the primary schools. This meant that in many of the schools in the area, Roma children were

majority or one of the several ethnic minorities in the school, with limited exposure to native speakers of English, other than their teachers.

Table 4.1 Roll by sector

| | Primary Total | Secondary Total |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Roma Roll | 242 | 147 |
| School Roll (Census 12) | 813 | 3193 |
| Roma as % of Total Roll | 29.8 | 4.6 |

Nationality of Roma children

When examining Roma children's nationality in Govanhill (Table 4.2 below), the greatest proportion of pupils in the primary and secondary sectors were Slovakian (68.6% in primary and 72.8% in secondary). This was followed by just under one third (28.9%) of all pupils in the primary sector and one quarter (23.8%) in the secondary sector who were Romanian. Very small proportions were Czech.

Table 4.2 Nationality by sector

| Nationality | Primary % | Secondary % |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Czech | 2.5 | 3.4 |
| Romanian | 28.9 | 23.8 |
| Slovakian | 68.6 | 72.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Roma children's competence in English

As illustrated in Table 4.3 below, over three quarters (78.1%) of all pupils in the primary sector were 'new to English' or at the 'early acquisition' stage. In secondary schools, slightly less pupils were 'new to English' or at the 'early acquisition' stage, but this still constituted two thirds (62.6%) of all secondary Roma pupils. What is evident about this particular cohort is that the level of English acquisition is more developed for the secondary pupils than the primary pupils. Overall, the high proportion of EAL children who come from an impoverished family environment and with generally poor experiences of education before migration warrants increased resources and support for schools, to acknowledge the increased challenges.

Table 4.3. Level of competence in English

| School | Primary % | Secondary % |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Competent | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| Developing Competence | 4.1 | 19.0 |
| Early Acquisition | 16.9 | 44.2 |
| English as a "first-language" | 1.7 | 6.8 |
| Limited communication | 0.0 | 1.4 |
| New to English | 61.2 | 18.4 |
| Not assessed/ Unknown | 16.1 | 9.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Roma children's access to free school meals

We know that many Roma pupils in Govanhill live in extreme poverty, however, very few of them are in receipt of free schools meals. As illustrated in Table 4.4 below, only 15.7% of Roma pupils in primary schools are in receipt of free schools meals. This compares to 35.3% of pupils in the general school population in Glasgow. This may be related to choice, as free school meal rates are very comparable in the secondary sector (28.5% of Roma pupils and 29.3% in the general school population). Information from practitioners working in the area suggests however that some families with young children are not sure of their entitlements, do not know how to claim or can not fill in the forms required.

Table 4.4. Free school meals

| Free Meals (in receipt of) | Primary % | Secondary % |
|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| No | 84.3 | 71.4 |
| Yes | 15.7 | 28.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Proportion of 'looked after' Roma children

Very few Roma pupils were looked after. In the primary sector, this accounted for 1.2% of the Roma population, while at secondary school, 3.4% of the Roma children were in this category.

Table 4.5. 'Looked after' status

| Looked After Status | Primary % | Secondary % |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Looked After | 1.2 | 3.4 |
| Not Looked After | 98.8 | 96.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Attendance and S4 SQA attainment of Roma children

Attendance levels for primary Roma pupils were far greater than that of Roma secondary pupils (81.5% and 57.9% correspondingly). However, attendance levels for Roma pupils were significantly lower than in the general school population (93.8% for primary and 90.8% for secondary in Glasgow in 2012). In terms of school exclusion, there were virtually no Roma pupils excluded from schools in Glasgow.

Table 4.6. Attendance

| Sector | % Attendance |
|-----------|--------------|
| Primary | 81.5 |
| Secondary | 57.9 |

In relation to attainment, pupils within the Roma population perform significantly less well than the general school population in Glasgow. Given English acquisition levels of Roma pupils, exam results are not exactly comparable with the general school population. However, less than half (37.5%) of all S4 pupils attained English and Maths qualifications

(SCQF level 3 or better) compared to 94% of pupils in the general school population. This is a basic measure of literacy and numeracy across Scotland. Similarly, 37.5% of Roma pupils attained 5 or more awards at SCQF level 3 or better compared to 94% of the general school population in Glasgow. Furthermore, what is also evident is that even for those pupils who stay on at school beyond the statutory age (which are very few), almost all of them do not gain any qualifications at higher or advanced higher level.

Table 4.7 S4 SQA Attainment

| S4 | S4 % |
|---------------------------|------|
| English | 37.5 |
| Maths | 41.7 |
| English & Maths | 37.5 |
| 5+ SCQF Level 3 or Better | 37.5 |
| 5+ SCQF Level 4 or Better | 0.0 |
| 5+ SCQF Level 5 or Better | 0.0 |

This last finding in relation to the very low levels of attainment among the Roma groups raises key issues in terms of the need to prioritise this through policy and identify specialist mechanisms of support for children, parents and staff. Roma children’s attainment across Europe is significantly lower than that of other ethnic groups and many of the causing factors have been linked with the decades of unfair treatment of Roma children in schools. In Scotland, the fair and equal treatment of children and the increasing involvement of parents with schools should represent a solid balance for reversing the negative trends of Roma children’s achievement and lack of qualifications and skills.

4.5 Adult literacy, education and training

Parents we interviewed talked at length about the limited opportunities they had to engage in education previously, due to their families’ poverty, beliefs about the benefits of education and the discrimination of Roma in schools. Some of them started to see now, after migration, an opportunity for them to improve their education, especially in relation to learning the language and developing skills that could potentially lead to employment.

When asked whether they would attend an English course, Roma mothers all agreed that it would be a good thing for them. However, older women, who were not literate in their mother tongue, were not so sure:

Researcher: Would you attend a course if there was one?

Hana: I don’t know how to read and write: how would I learn?

Others: [laugh]

Researcher: You can learn how to speak English.

Hana: I’m just telling you that I take my husband with me everywhere, because I don’t know how to read and write [...] I’m like a small child. I can only sign my name.

(Focus Group 2, Slovak Roma parents)

Researcher: Are there any language courses for adults?

Lydia: They used to teach one here before, but they don’t do it anymore. I would love to go, I would like them to have these courses, but they said there’s no funds.

(Slovak Roma mother)

Provision of English classes seems therefore a priority for the social and linguistic inclusion of Roma adults. However, provision needs to be tailored to their specific needs and take into account Roma adults' prior experiences of learning. Another course which had taken place locally had been delivered exclusively in English, with no interpreting available, and many were put off by the experience:

I attended a class, but it was all in English. They said 'If you hear English, you will learn quicker', but no one could really follow. Now, you tell me. If I was a teacher and you're sitting there, and you don't understand a word I'm saying, would you like it? You wouldn't know what's going on, so you'd give up. (Roma Czech mother)

Programmes designed to gradually bridge expectations and best practice in EFL may be a way to engage more Roma adults. These need to take into account the limited literacy skills of many Roma adults and focus on oral skills. Without English language skills, Roma adults, especially women will remain confined within the boundaries of the home, dependent on their male partners and unable to engage socially. This limits the opportunities available for Roma women and, at the same time, the range of experiences they can offer their children.

Some Roma mothers praised the weekly meetings that had attended at one of the local secondary schools and which focussed on practical skills for everyday life. Mothers had little idea about what was expecting them upon arrival in Scotland, and the practical advice received through school was very welcome. These meetings had, however, been discontinued because of lack of funding:

Mother 1: We didn't even know the money, how to go to shops, we didn't know anything, really. And these sessions were really good.

Researcher: And is this still going?

Mother 2: No, not anymore, because they don't have the funds.

(Focus Group 2, Slovak mothers)

As well as providing basic language skills, these weekly meetings had provided help for mothers with form-filling and general paperwork, making this secondary school a focal point for the Roma community.

Although we did not ask parents extensively about their plans for work, many said they would welcome opportunities to continue their education and perhaps improve their qualifications, in the idea of accessing better employment opportunities. As many talked about being settled in Scotland and planning to stay long-term, opportunities exist to build on adults' interest to develop their skills and become economically active.

4.6 Issues in parental engagement

Decades of research indicate that family involvement is a key factor in children's attainment and academic success. Many initiatives aimed at promoting parenting skills and parental involvement have been criticized for being based on a compensatory ideology, which focuses on inadequacies in parenting and the need to readdress these. New approaches to parental engagement are required in order to bridge this gap.

In the case of Roma parents, there is no question that parents' negative experiences of schooling, poor literacy and language skills act as barriers to their ability to engage with schools. In addition, their historic marginalization means that families may have very low

expectations of their involvement with schools and their children's learning. For parents in our study, the fact that children were accepted unconditionally by services and treated with respect and in an inclusive manner was key to their positive views of schools:

We like it here. They show an interest in my child, although we've not been here long, they accepted her straight away, they show an interest in getting her ready for school. (Irina, Romanian Roma mother)

Practitioners talked about the ways they tried to encourage families to get involved, including events such as school plays, exhibitions by children, open mornings, parents' meetings, translated newsletters, and curriculum-related activities. Although practitioners said that parental engagement had increased over years, many felt that more needed to be done for parents to gain the confidence to contribute to children's learning:

The few that use the service, use it well, but I think they feel on the edge of things, because we don't always have everything provided in their language, so they get a bit of an understanding, but they maybe think, rather than go and not understand, I'll opt out. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

Other practitioners talked about the need to raise parents' aspirations in relation to their children's potential to do well at school, as well as supporting parents' skills to engage:

Trying to get parents to come in is still difficult. We have a thing on a Tuesday morning called 'play along maths' so we've got like a bag with a maths game in it and the idea is that the parents come in and they play with their child in class and then they can take it home. The uptake is very slow and even if we book interpreters, parents don't show up. (Heather, Primary school teacher)

We want to have a monthly meeting and book interpreters and get the parents in just to tell them what's happening in the school every month. And at the first couple of meetings to actually ask them what do you expect from the school, because we've never really had that kind of dialogue with the families 'what do you think schools should be about?' (Heather, Primary school teacher)

It seems that given the complex barriers that Roma parents are faced with, home-school partnerships may require different approaches to engagement. These might include opportunities for parents to experience the education system and also to find the confidence to engage in a more proactive role. This could involve dedicated home-link workers or Roma mediators, who speak families' own language, and could help parents overcome their anxiety of getting involved. Other initiatives could include creative activities in schools to involve parents using their home language or activities organized locally by NGOs or diaspora-led groups, to get parents confident and support family-based learning.

4.7 Conclusion

This section has outlined the complex nature of Roma children and their parents' engagement in education and the barriers that need to be overcome to ensure Roma children's achievement. It also looked at Roma families' experiences and views of education. Families are overall positive about education, but may lack the education, knowledge, skills or opportunities to engage. These issues need to be seen in the context of the historic segregation and marginalization of Roma through education and, as a consequence, require increased support for services, in order to reverse the trend of Roma children's poor education outcomes.

Section 5

Access to services and community engagement



© Giovanna Fassetta

Section outline

This section gives an overview of Roma families' day to day lives, with a focus on their access to housing, local services and networks of support. It also outlines service providers' experiences of supporting families and barriers to engagement.

5.1 Housing and neighbourhood life

Housing was a major issue for Roma families in our study. Govanhill, as an area of marked deprivation, has many old flats, often of poor quality and at exorbitant rents, which leads families to share accommodation with relatives, often in overcrowded conditions.

Many women said they were living with older in-laws or other relatives. This familial living was sometimes the norm before migration, where relatives visit each other's homes during the day to help with chores and share resources. For many, moving from a rural area to an city meant however that they had to share a cramped living space, which could lead to tensions between family members:

I have three children, we came here two years ago, with my husband and my in-laws...and we live together, it's not great, sometimes I don't like what they say, other times, they don't let me do the things I want. (Bella, Romanian mother)

Limited and unstable income and lack of access to social housing forced many Roma families to depend on private landlords, who could change rents at short notice, charge penalties when rent was overdue and threaten to evict families. Mothers talked about their concerns in relation to not having a stable home or not being able to afford the rent. They also mentioned aspects such as lack of heating, dampness, litter in the back gardens, which made them unsuitable for children to play in.

Service providers also described the high levels of poverty experienced by Roma families, with lack of suitable clothing in winter and families forced to look through bins for food:

The housing seems to be very poor. I had a case I thought it was child protection issue. I brought mum in to ask why this child was scarred on his arms, it looked like self-harming. Anyway, the mum said the house was infested, the mattress was infested and the child had clawed his skin. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

Sometimes, depending on the overcrowding, children are not sleeping enough and arrive very late, they are not fed, they are tired, they are not clothed according to the weather. Kids are coming in the cold with bare feet, no socks or coats, that's why we keep supplies of clothes here. (Heather, EAL primary school teacher)

Many families, when it comes to snack time, they get two snacks because they are starving, they would eat your fingers and that's poverty. They want to take food home for later. And we've had a few reports of them looking through bins for food and how neighbours don't like that. (Elizabeth, Voluntary sector worker)

As families were not fully aware of their rights and entitlements, they were open to exploitation, and often lacked the strength and know-how to challenge loan sharks or unscrupulous landlords. Service providers said they found it hard to reach certain families:

People are afraid to say things, even if they were offered to do this anonymously, they wouldn't take the chance because the webs and links are so overlapping and connected that they never know who is going to find out. But we try to encourage them to speak about their problems. (Sonia, Lawyer, voluntary organisation)

As many families came from rural areas, the main street was seen as a public space for meeting with others and many said this was a common custom in their homeland. However, Roma families' socialising outdoors, especially at week-ends, was perceived by locals as 'a problem'. Tensions arose between Roma families of different nationalities and between Roma youth and local Pakistani groups:

Researcher: What about safety problems or any conflicts here? I know some Slovak families had some problems.

Fahima: It's more the Slovaks who start the problems, they get into fights. But we've not had any problems. (Focus group, Romanian Roma mothers)

The only people I would have issue with would be the Romanians, I think they put us in the same bracket, you know, the Romanians and Romas. That's what the problem is here in Glasgow, many Slovaks will tell you, we've got a different education, we are totally different. (Tatiana, Czech Roma mother)

We want our children to do well and find out what they want for the future, but I don't know whether the Romanians are looking into the future, I don't think that they are leading their kids towards that. (Julieta, Czech Roma mother)

The neighbourhood was clearly seen by many families as a 'big village', where they knew the streets well and could call on relatives for support. Most adults mentioned having relatives in the area and neighbourhood relationships overlapped with kinship ties, ensuring that the community remained closely knit and protective of each other.

Although some families (especially Romanian Roma) had travelled through several locations around the world (Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Argentina were the countries mostly mentioned), their lives in the city of Glasgow were confined to Govanhill, with limited access to other areas in the city. Families were, in general, positive about their neighbourhood. They liked the close access to amenities such as schools, churches, food shops and parks, which enabled them to live a 'normal life':

Bella: The library is the only thing. I go to get some books for the kids. I like it, nice place. And then you have the shops, the doctors, and the school, so it's all fine.

Interviewer: What else would you like to have for children in this area?

Fahima: The park is fine, but there's not much else in this area. Perhaps a pool would be nice for kids. (Roma Romanian mothers, Focus group 5)

When we asked them what were the aspects they did not like in the area, apart from poor housing, the major concern seemed to be the poor provision of leisure facilities:

The kids are constantly at home, they have nowhere to go. There was a club here and it was shut down, so for the Roma children, it would be a good thing to have one here. It could be mixed, it doesn't have to be just Slovakian, or just Czech, so the children would have somewhere to go. For example, on Saturdays, when the kids don't go to school and they could get together with others, just one or two hours, that wouldn't be bad at all. (Tatiana, Czech Roma mother)

One key finding in relation to Romas' lives in Govanhill is their safety in the local area and perceived risks in accessing other areas in the city. Many children had not been in the city centre. Parents mentioned concerns about drug and alcohol use among the locals and disputes between ethnic groups and between Roma youth and local Scottish gangs.

These findings have considerable implications for provision of services for Roma families. Key services need to be available locally for families to feel safe and comfortable in accessing them. Service providers thought that many families were missing out on accessing welfare services and education (for example, early years provision), as they were unable to access services outwith the local area. Access to services elsewhere needs to be facilitated through better information and support for families, to raise their confidence in navigating the city and provide transport.

5.2 Religion and identity

We were interested in how the Roma families viewed themselves in relation to key areas of culture and religion. Religion was an important aspect for many Roma families, with Romanian participants emphasising this more than the Slovak groups. Women emphasised the importance of church in giving them a sense of direction and support through emotional difficulties.

In some cases, individuals had gone through changes in terms of religious belonging after migration. Some had moved from the Orthodox tradition, the majority religion in Romania, to other Christian churches, often because these were available locally and were seen as more accepting of Roma families. Others had become more relaxed in the way in which they practiced their faith, with some loosening of the norms. One other phenomenon reported was that of Romanian Roma young women meeting Pakistani men and becoming Muslim, in order to conform to their husbands' stricter religious norms.

Fahima: My name is Fahima, I didn't really like my name, so I changed to a Pakistani name. Because I'm now married to a Pakistani man. And if you do that, then you have to change your name and religion.

Researcher: So what religion are you now?

Fahima: Muslim.

Many women talked about the importance of having 'fear of God' in their lives and following strict moral values. Church often helped with families' engagement with services. For example, many Romanian mothers who were reluctant to have their children in nursery or could not get a place for their children attended a playgroup organised by their local church, and through the pastor, were reassured to then access formal provision.

In terms of identity, when we asked adults how would they define themselves, quite often they said they were 'Gypsies', rather than referring to their national identity. Children also talked about being 'Gypsy' or 'Roma', and would sometimes mention their national identity, as Romanian or Slovak.

Issues of religious belonging and identity are key to how Roma children see themselves, especially in relation to how they experience schooling and their interactions with other people and services. We need more longitudinal data to examine how the length of stay in one country influences young people's perceptions of their religious, ethnic and national identities, especially when they might not have much contact with their parents' homeland.

5.3 Health and leisure among Roma families

There is now substantial information on the health status of minority ethnic groups and surveys have documented the extremely poor health outcomes for Roma groups. The social determinants of health (Dahlgren and Whitehead, 1991), from individual characteristics (such as age, sex and constitutional factors), to social and community networks and socioeconomic and environmental conditions (such as education, housing, working conditions) play a key role in explaining the health practices and outcomes for migrant groups. In the case of Roma, the poor levels of health and increased risks of illness and mortality even among children have been widely reported across Europe (Unicef, 2007; European Union, 2010).

In our study, Roma families commented positively on their experiences of health care in Scotland, in particular with reference to the availability of free care and medication. Some areas of dissatisfaction were mentioned, in particular concerning the standard of care received from GPs, often due to comparisons made with practices in their homeland:

Mother 1: Basically, in two ticks you're sorted, it's all very simplified. They don't even examine you, they're just writing something.

Researcher: Is it different in Slovakia?

Mother 1: Totally different.

Researcher: Is it more checks?

Grandmother: Yes, or they would refer you. (Focus Group 2, Slovak mothers)

They only give you paracetamol and nothing else. If you were dying, they would still give you paracetamol. I need to buy headache tablets from the Slovakian shops, it's not cheap it's like £10-£20. (Dana, Roma Slovak mother)

Issues with delays in registering due to waiting lists were also mentioned, as some families felt they could not register with a GP or dentist as soon as they needed one:

I'm on a list, waiting for a place for a few months, they said they'll send us an appointment, but nothing yet. (Fahima, Romanian Roma mother)

Others mentioned interpreting and availability of interpreters for appointments as a common barrier, especially as many Roma families have Romani as their first language and interpreters were usually found for their second language (Romanian or Slovak):

Once we had an emergency with one of the children and they still didn't give us an appointment, they said 'no interpreter'. (Bella, Romanian Roma mother)

Cultural differences were identified in provision, in terms of access to specialists and of how services operated. Pre-migration, families were more used to access healthcare at short notice, by just turning up at the surgery and waiting to be seen and many said they had to get used to a new system of appointments in advance or accessed A&E care.

On occasions, some families had made transnational healthcare arrangements, including asking relatives in their homeland to post medicines (like antibiotics) or checking a diagnosis given in Scotland with doctors back in their homeland. This use of services in both countries is linked to families' increased mobility and issues of 'trust' in provision, as well as familiarity with the system in their homeland.

We also asked families about their access to leisure services. All mothers mentioned the local park as the main public place they accessed for leisure, although some were concerned by threats from local youth and said they would not let children there alone:

Mother 1: We take the children to the park.

Grandmother: If it's nice outside.

Mother 2: When it's raining, they spend time on tablets, computers, the internet...

Researcher: Are they allowed to the park with their friends?

Mother 1: No, no, no, because we are too worried to let them [go] on their own.

Researcher: What are you concerned about?

Grandmother: People are intoxicating themselves, and we are scared.

(Focus Group, Slovak Roma mothers)

Greta: I prefer to take the children outdoors, to run around.

Researcher: Do you have a park nearby?

Greta: Yes, we live just by the park.

Researcher: How do you feel about the park? Do you feel it's a safe place for the children?

Greta: No, because there are also some different... strange people [...] in summer, there are young men there, and they are drinking, shouting, and swearing. There are always bottles there. (Greta, Slovak Roma mother)

Material deprivation, as well as limited information on services, restricts the range of experiences that Roma families have. As many live in poverty, their access to leisure is limited by their language skills, knowledge of services, but also by their limited resources. Having sport and educational amenities available locally would increase opportunities for families. Diverse ways of disseminating information on services available, perhaps through Roma groups and NGOs, could support families' increased use of services.

5.4 Barriers to employment

Many families said that seeking better employment opportunities was one of the main reasons for their migration, in addition to a desire for a more fair treatment. Men seemed to be the main breadwinners, mainly employed in low-skilled, underpaid jobs, often depending on gang masters and variable work. In some cases, men were forced to travel to England or Ireland, to find work.

As we interviewed mainly women, we were interested in their opportunities for finding employment. While some were decided to remain homemakers, others talked about their wish to find employment, but encountering significant barriers due to their language skills, low qualifications and the limited childcare support:

I'm hoping to get some work, but it will be hard. In Romania, my parents would leave me to look after my brothers and sisters, while they would go to work. They said, you'll take care of your own children later on, so why go to school? So I don't know what job I could get, with no school. (Fahima, Romanian mother)

My boyfriend put an advert for me on the internet, on Pakistani websites, so I found some clients. They call me, email me... It's cleaning jobs, not bad. It all depends on how often they call me, if it's three times a week, then I start off with £5 an hour. I'd like more work, but of course I can't work all the time, I drop off my daughter and then I need to be here at 3 o'clock to pick her up. (Irina, Romanian mother)

Women who were new in the country lacked networks of support to access information on training or jobs available. Some relied on their partners to find them occasional employment, mainly in cleaning and seasonal factory jobs:

Interviewer: What kind of work are you thinking of doing?

Fahima: Probably cleaning. I do some already, my husband is getting me some work from people.

Irina: Cleaning is the easiest route, you don't need papers or work permits, you just do the job and get the money. If you want work, you need an insurance number, I tried and didn't get it. They say it's going to be easier now [as restrictions were lifted on Romania], but we'll see. (Focus group, Romanian mothers)

Many women had young children and were limited in the jobs they could do in because of their childcare duties, in addition to the language barrier, and their low education and skills. Overall, families seemed to rely on men as the main breadwinners and depended on variable incomes and uncertain jobs. Changes in employment opportunities often meant that families would uproot and leave at short notice if employment became available elsewhere. Roma women said they would like to become economically active, but lacked the networks to access opportunities, in addition to limited support with childcare.

5.5 Service providers' views and experiences on working with Roma families

Service providers interviewed discussed instances of discrimination and marginalisation many Roma had suffered in their homeland and were aware that these experiences have shaped Roma migrants' engagement with statutory services. While they agreed that the situation was steadily improving as families were getting used to local services, several stressed the need to find ways of increasing trust:

It's hard to know ... you get glimpses of what it was like for them... maybe they associate what happened back in another country with us here. It's trying to build up that trust, to understand that we are here to help. It's building that relationship... (Andrew, Service manager, Police)

Service providers were also aware of the difficult economic situation families were facing, and of their lack of education and skills. Differences in expectations and practices (about how services work) were also cited. One example was that of missed appointments, as families rely on memorising dates or were used to turning up and waiting to be seen. However, slow but clear improvements were noticed, as families got more used to the 'Scottish' way of delivering services.

Differences between the Slovakian and Romanian communities were also remarked upon, highlighting the need to consider not just people's ethnicity, but also their social class position. In general, the Romanian Roma were seen as more likely to have poorer levels of education and language skills, less access to benefits and employment, and overall less opportunities to engage with local services.

Interviewees could also see the benefits of having dedicated services to engaging with the Roma communities over the last decade. Through increased understanding of the specific needs and expectations, services were becoming more successful at engaging families. This also meant that inter-agency work was much more effective, and that resources and

know-how were better shared, with practitioners often relying on each other to support families' complex needs.

Many remarked that a good proportion of families were now settled, with some still visiting their homeland, but being based mainly in Scotland. This meant that families were overall more aware of services available and were also known to services:

We have some kids in P7 this year that have been here since P1, so some of the families are quite settled, but some are still in a migrant mind-set. We are trying very hard to get people from outside of the area to understand that these are not traveller families, they stay here now. (Heather, EAL Teacher)

Despite the many positive aspects of local provision, service providers identified several areas of provision which required further development, especially at time of financial pressure. These included:

- Facilitating families' better access to information on services;
- Increase families' trust in provision and practitioners and their confidence to engage;
- More direct involvement of communities in consultation on provision.

Service providers said that some families still found it difficult to access services, with some remaining very isolated from provision. Support available free of charge (e.g. money advice, translation, help with forms etc.) was not accessed by these families, who became victims of self-styled 'brokers' charging them fees:

We need to find a better way to let as many people know that we are here, and that we can help them, so that there are no situations when they seek help among their own people and they are asked to pay like a hundred pounds for translation of a letter or filling in a form and so on. (Elizabeth, Third sector provider)

While trust had improved over time, many service providers felt there was still some way to go. Working with a closely knit community meant that relationships were fragile and rumours and misinterpretations could jeopardise years of good work. The fragility of this trust became evident following the broadcast of a documentary on a Slovakian TV channel, which claimed that Slovakian children were being removed from families by social workers in England and put up for adoption:

That programme was aired on Slovakian television. Lots of our Slovakian families watch Slovakian television on Sky or whatever, and the programme was played again and again. At that point, we had some real difficulty with some of the families we worked with. They were frightened... (Gary, Social work practitioner)

They do trust us because we are from health and... I think there is suspicion about social work, and obviously recently there has been quite a lot of stuff in the media in Slovakia which doesn't help things. That's the first time that we've had people actually questioning us. (Alison, Health worker)

Most service providers talked about the considerable time and effort it takes for individuals to be fully engaged with services, and aware of entitlements and rights, in contrast to the common perception and media portrayal of migrants as a drain on the welfare system.

5.6 Poor representation of Roma and lack of opportunities for community participation and citizenship

We asked Roma children and parents if they felt they belonged to the local community, and to Scotland in general. Many said they felt 'at home' in Scotland, although they could not fully participate in community activities; however, their children were learning English and parents saw a future for their families in Scotland. We asked parents what they felt in terms of national identity and most defined themselves through their country of birth, but when it came to their children, they talked about them as likely to become Scottish:

Researcher: What about your national identity would you say you are Roma or Roma Slovak or Slovak or Scottish?

Maria: I'd think Roma Slovakian, I'm not Scottish because I cannot speak the language, if I spoke the language I would say Scottish, because this is my home now.

Researcher: And what about your children?

Maria: Yes, they could be [Scottish], because they can speak the language and this is their home. (Maria, Slovak Roma mother)

Throughout the interviews, Roma parents and their children showed overwhelming appreciation for services available in Govanhill and for their improved opportunities after moving to Scotland to lead 'a normal life'. They often compared provision with the discrimination they experienced before migration:

Researcher: Where would you see yourself in the future? Staying in Scotland, going elsewhere, going back to Slovakia...

Ilona: I don't think I would go elsewhere. I don't think I would go back to Slovakia. My daughter is now attending a good school here, she wants to get qualifications, and it's a good place here for children. She keeps saying that she wants to be a teacher, hairdresser, or... I don't know, back home is difficult, because they are choosing people by the colour of their skin, but not here. (Roma Slovak mother)

Roma families' commitment to living in Scotland seemed thus unwavering. Nevertheless, the combination of limited English skills, low education and confidence in engaging with other ethnicities means that Roma groups remain underrepresented and rarely engaged in the communities in which they live. Several service providers were aware of this issue and considered the involvement and increasing representation of Roma in local structures as a priority for future.

5.7 Conclusion

This section has examined the day to day lives of Roma migrants in Govanhill and their opportunities to engage with local services. We have identified several factors which impacted on Roma families' ability to participate fully in neighborhood activities, including family poverty, uncertain employment, limited English and cultural barriers. Roma people's difficulties in terms of community participation are compounded by their ambiguous social position as migrants, with a history of being seen as 'undesirables'.

Section 6

Conclusions and policy recommendations



©Dreamstime.com - photo 31849536

6.1 Key issues emerging from the study

This final section brings together the key policy issues arising from the study. Some of the themes identified in the previous sections have concerned:

Education and parental involvement

- The important role of education in supporting Roma migrant children, the vast majority of whom come from an impoverished background in terms of educational resources, opportunities and aspirations;
- The very low levels of Roma children's achievement and poor attendance, often linked to experiences of discrimination in their homeland;
- Generally low aspirations in relation to educational achievement of many Roma children and parents, linked to parents' own negative experiences of schooling;
- Limited levels of parental engagement, often due to language and cultural barriers;
- Many Roma children not attending early years provision due to insufficient local provision and cultural barriers, with increased risk of underachievement later on, and social, emotional and behavioural difficulties;

Marginalisation and poverty post-migration

- The 'natural' segregation of Roma in confined areas in the city, due to poor, affordable housing; this leads to Roma children's isolation and limited exposure to English other than through their teachers;
- Problems associated with poor and overcrowded housing, cultural barriers to engaging with statutory services, fear of social work and police (due to negative experiences before migration);
- Isolated cases of Roma children, especially girls, who are not in school due to parents' beliefs that they would be bullied or exposed to culturally inappropriate information, and their risk of falling victims to trafficking and exploitation;
- Roma families' poor access to services, restricted mainly to local services, due to lack of information on services available, limited access to interpreters, lack of trust, fears of racism and attacks and limited access to transport;
- Low levels of access to welfare support, even when entitled, due to limited knowledge of entitlements;
- Some tensions between Roma communities and existing ethnic minorities (mainly Scottish Pakistani) and between Roma communities from different countries (Romanian-Slovak);
- There is still very low representation of Roma groups in consultations on local service delivery and initiatives and limited opportunities for community participation and engagement, for example through volunteering.

Poor health and well-being and limited access to leisure

- Poor levels of health among Roma migrants, including high levels of stress and anxiety, respiratory and heart illness, poor ante-natal care and higher risk of infant mortality or illness;
- Poor levels of dental care and high levels of obesity; also, low levels of immunisation;
- Limited access of Roma to safe, well-equipped leisure spaces and the impact this has on children's health and well-being;

- Women and children in the community at increased risk of being victims of abuse, domestic violence and exploitation, due to the limited education, lack of trust in services and fear of repercussions from male family members;
- Cultural differences in the provision of health care and expectations mapped on homeland provision make Roma migrants less likely to engage with statutory health services;
- The effective collaboration between multiple agencies has clear benefits in improving the lives of Roma families, but gaps still exist in collaboration with services across the UK or cross-country, with a risk of children falling between gaps when families move unexpectedly.

Adult literacy and education

- Very low levels of literacy among Roma migrants, especially Romanian Roma, and the impact of this on their opportunities for employment and community engagement;
- The important role of Roma women in the community, in terms of looking after children, engaging with schools and services, and their vulnerable status at the same time, due to their low education and English language skills;
- The significant linguistic barrier that places Roma families at risk of segregation and exclusion and the limited provision of English language skills to address this gap;

Some of the above issues can be seen as specific to the Roma population, due to the longstanding issues of discrimination and marginalisation. On the basis of the evidence summarised, the remainder of this section identifies some recommendations for policy and practice and highlights the opportunities that exist to build on existing good practice and achieve successful integration of Roma migrants.

6.2 Recommendations

1. Raising achievement, attainment and aspirations among Roma

The achievement and attainment of Roma children are the lowest among all ethnicities, putting them at risk of long term exclusion and marginalisation. Attendance levels for primary Roma pupils are far greater than those of Roma secondary pupils (81.5% and 57.9% correspondingly). However, attendance levels for Roma pupils are significantly lower than those in the general school population (93.8% for primary schools and 90.8% for secondary schools in Glasgow in 2012). This is due to a combination of factors, including children being absent for half days after lunch, frequent travel to their parents' homeland and cultural beliefs on the importance of attendance.

There is a clear need to work with families and Roma communities, perhaps through the use of Roma mediators, to raise awareness on the importance of children's attendance and motivate parents to fully engage with their children's education. Parental attitudes and low expectations for their children are often justified through parents' own negative experiences of schooling and beliefs that Roma children would not go far in education. A change of minds is needed and this requires sustained support from dedicated workers, perhaps through a family outreach model.

Linked to attendance, Roma children have the lowest levels of attainment in the country. Only 37.5% of all Roma S4 pupils attained English and Maths qualifications (SCQF level 3

or better), compared to 94% of pupils in the general school population. Similarly, 37.5% of Roma pupils attained 5 or more awards at SCQF level 3 or better compared to 94% of the general school population in Glasgow. Attainment is clearly linked to Roma children's developing English language skills and the high levels of poverty. Roma children are at considerable risk of lifelong disadvantage, exclusion and poverty, with an urgent need to tackle this gap. ***This requires increased resources, through a 'pupil premium' or similar additional funding, to reflect the higher number of EAL learners than in other schools, and through sustained collaboration with NGOs to make improvements possible within the current financial constraints.***

Roma migrants often live in considerable poverty and are likely to reside in the most deprived areas in cities or at the periphery. In Govanhill, schools were becoming increasingly segregated, as Scottish children were moved out by their parents from schools perceived as 'Roma'. This leads to segregation of Roma children, in schools where the only speakers of English are their teachers. The level of support required cannot be sustained by schools alone, given children's complex educational needs, variable levels of competence in English and history of interrupted learning. ***Creating mechanisms of support for schools could involve volunteers to mentor children or by linking schools with mainly Roma populations with better performing schools, as well as provision of out-of-school activities to support children's language learning.***

The low levels of attendance and achievement make it hard for schools to adopt and promote high educational aspirations for Roma children. However, ***raising children's and parents' aspirations is an important aspect of making Roma children aware of the opportunities they have for the future.*** We found that many Roma children and parents had started to be more aspirational in relation to what children could achieve in the more supportive environment they encountered in Scotland, although some still did not hold any long-term aspirations.

2. Early years provision

The early years are key to a child's cognitive, social and emotional development. In the case of Roma children, many are experiencing impoverished educational and home environments, which puts them at risk from a very young age. ***Access to good quality early years provision for Roma children is therefore key to their well-being and as a route to tackling underachievement at school.*** At the time of the study, in early 2014, statutory provision in Govanhill could not meet the demand, and many children were unable to get a place before their 4th birthday. Some attended provision offered by local organisations from the non-statutory sector, such as churches or voluntary organisations (Daisy Chain, Crossreach, Crossroads etc.). This provision was however patchy, limited to 1-2 sessions a week and restricted in terms of space and trained staff.

As Roma families do not have the means to travel to other areas and lack the confidence to access services elsewhere, ***local provision of early years places is key to Roma children's inclusion.*** While some families could not get a place, others were not aware of entitlements or encountered cultural barriers, such as fear of children being discriminated, often based on parents' own experiences. Others could not register due to the lengthy forms they had to fill in, which were only available in English, and asked for information parents did not have or were afraid to share. These cultural barriers can only be addressed by ***simplifying registration, and ensuring well trained staff, with knowledge of the community*** and who can engage in actively breaking down barriers.

The use of Roma mothers as volunteers or as trained mediators could go some way in bridging the gap between families and services.

3. Engagement with Roma parents

The important role that parents have in their children's education is well established in research. Children whose parents are involved are more likely to do well academically, attend school regularly and stay in education. Although Roma parents want their children to do well, their obstacles to take up opportunities for engagement are significant. Many reported that they lacked the confidence and knowledge to engage with schools. Also, there was a perceived hopelessness in relation to the chances that Roma have to better themselves through schooling.

Such factors reinforce *the need for different approaches to working with Roma families, less formal, focussed on one-to-one interactions, rather than written materials. Any parental initiatives require a personalised delivery, and highly-skilled educational workers, with time to engage parents in a sustained way. Collaborations with other providers, based in communities, could also help increase parents' confidence* in their ability to support children's learning. Labelling parents as uninterested should be replaced by tackling the reasons why parents find it difficult to engage with services in the ways that services want them to. Roma mothers seemed interested in improving their English language skills and getting involved with schools. *Opportunities for parental involvement in schools and early years centres through volunteering could help parents become more involved and positive about education.*

4. English language skills

Roma parents recognised their limited competence in English, made difficult in some cases by their illiteracy. They expressed frustration at how this was impacting on their lives, such as when accessing services, interacting with neighbours or helping children with homework. Many wanted to learn English and to complete their education. However, provision of adult literacy classes remains limited and patchy. *This highlights the need for local adult literacy and English classes, as key to families' ability to participate in community life.*

When provision is available further afield, barriers such as lack of transport, limited confidence and lack of childcare can stop parents from engaging. The reasons why Roma migrants might find it difficult to access educational provision need to be considered first when planning interventions. *Any provision should be flexible, delivered by practitioners aware of the cultural barriers and aimed at giving people not just the knowledge, but the confidence to learn. The role of local NGOs and voluntary organisations should be explored to develop suitable provision for tackling the linguistic inclusion of Roma migrants.* As adults are often bilingual (by speaking Romanian and Roma or Slovakian and Roma; some had more than two languages), there is clear potential to build on their previous informal learning.

5. Better access to services- stronger communities

This study was carried out in an area of high deprivation, often not captured by official statistics and SIMD data, where children and their families were at risk of long-term exclusion and segregation. *This calls for a family-centred approach, with an outreach dimension, provided by experienced workers from a range of services, to overcome*

the significant barriers Roma families encounter in engaging with services. The legacy of poor health, poverty, underachievement and unemployment, combined with families' past experiences of marginalisation, require distinct interventions to gaining their trust and supporting them to engage. This can only happen through effective partnership between services, already ongoing in the area, and with the effective involvement of Roma families. There was a clear need in the area for a hub or a Family Learning Centre, to facilitate a more holistic provision for vulnerable families.

Although services in Govanhill had solid mechanisms of communicating between agencies, ***improving communication with families on how services operate and what services can do for them remains a priority.*** Many families relied on informal networks to get information on health, welfare, housing, social work etc. This leaves individuals at risk of exploitation and abuse. Families need information which is accessible to them, provided in their own language, perhaps through Roma mediators, to tackle the longstanding health and social disadvantages. For families moving from rural to urban areas, having to tackle the complexities of services in the new country, with limited English skills, is a considerable challenge. Guiding people efficiently through the network of available services at the first opportunity helps avoid risks to children's safety and well-being and ensures that families integrate effectively.

We found that families had long-standing health issues which they left untreated because they were not sure they would qualify for treatment; similarly, some pregnant women would not access antenatal healthcare. Few families made use of local leisure services and were often limited to socialising in the street, which was perceived by non-Roma families as an act of public disturbance. Children talked about going to the local library and a local park, although not all felt safe to do so. ***Families had limited knowledge of the possibilities available to them or had no confidence to access these.*** This highlights a clear gap in terms of the scope for social inclusion of Roma families, through better information on services and better local provision.

One other aspect highlighted by the research was that of families leaving the area unexpectedly and the responsibility that services had to check on the welfare of children. ***As channels of communication between services across the UK and across European countries are not well established, and families do not always inform services on their leaving, there is a gap which may put children at risk.*** We came across children who were not known to services through parents' choice, such as girls not in education. The risks to their safety can only be tackled through better engagement with the Roma communities.

6. Housing and employment opportunities

Roma families in Govanhill were attracted to the area by low rents and landlords with quality properties who do not mind overcrowded properties. We have come across a family unit with seven children and six adults sharing a two bedroomed flat, with damp, no electricity and heating. Service providers reported similar cases, where families live in insalubrity and are often at the mercy of landlords, who can evict them at short notice, threaten them or keep their belongings for unpaid rent. ***There needs to be a wider policy engagement on access of Roma to social housing outwith the area, to avoid ethnic segregation, exploitation and health risks to families.***

Linked to housing is the issue of families' ability to take themselves out of poverty. Families we interviewed often had someone in work, although the work reported was

infrequent and unskilled (car washing, seasonal fruit picking, factory work, cleaning), which means that families were stuck in poverty, even if working. As many were not entitled to benefits or unsure on their entitlements, they depended on unstable incomes. ***There is a need for supporting Roma adults to find more stable employment and to develop their skills, possibly through local courses and training or through redirecting them to colleges.***

7. Engaging Roma women in the community

Our research has highlighted the important role that women play within the Roma community. While men work, women tend to look after children or older relatives, deal with bills or letters from services. ***While many women were happy with their domestic roles, some talked about wanting to engage in further education, find employment or participate in community activities.*** They all expressed a sense of 'disconnection' with their new country, although they said they wanted to integrate and participate locally. ***Our study shows an opportunity to tackle these obstacles (language barriers, lack of formal education, cultural barriers) and find ways of engaging Roma mothers, through adult language classes, support to continue college training, opportunities for volunteering locally, or to work as Roma mediators.***

Some Roma women may be at risk of exploitation and abuse, due to their low levels of literacy and education. Service providers have mentioned cases of domestic abuse where women do not report abuse for fear of repercussions or because they are isolated. In some cases, young single mothers appeared to be exploited and made to work as domestics, through promises of marriage by Pakistani men, and the risk of them being involved in the sex industry was also mentioned.

8. Family poverty, welfare rights and advice support

Many Roma families live in extreme poverty, often at levels reported by service providers as unseen for decades. This is reflected in situations such as overcrowded and unhealthy accommodation, with incidents of pests, people scavenging for food and clothes or scrap metal in bins, and children working on the streets or as manual labourers to help their parents (street selling or playing music, making things to sell, going with their parents to search for food or helping at manual work etc.). Some practitioners also said they heard of young girls exploited in the sex trade. However, this extreme poverty is hidden within the existing statistics through SIMD or similar measurements, as many families are not entitled to claim benefits or do not know if they can claim. For example, only 15.7% of Roma pupils in the area are in receipt of free schools meals, compared to 35.3% of pupils in the general school population, despite staff estimating that around 60-80% of children in the area live in poverty.

This clearly suggests the need to extend existing services such as welfare rights advice, which are accessible to families and provided through interpreters or mediators, but also to implement innovative forms of assistance, which can join different parts of social security, education, training and employment. Some current initiatives from the local Law Centre and the Social Work Roma Team to engage families through schools and raise their awareness of support available are examples of good practice. More needs to be done to reach families and tackle their poverty through better mechanisms of support.

9. Better representation of Roma

Roma communities require a novel approach to service delivery. Perceptions of potential risks to their safety, combined with limited English and knowledge of services available, often confines them to distinct geographical areas. **The geographical segregation, combined with their lack of trust in outsiders and prior negative experiences, make them a unique group to engage.** Centuries of racism and persecution have made them insecure and protective of their own communities, with understandable anxieties. These worries are linked to their everyday pressures of surviving on an insecure income.

In the wider debate on the issues of citizenship and social justice, **there seems to be an argument for avoiding new forms of social exclusion, as ethnic groups persecuted in one country flee in search of better opportunities, only to be marginalised and excluded post-migration.** In this context, Roma families in our study were clearly deprived of opportunities and excluded to a certain extent from participation in various areas of society, such as local policy, work, welfare systems and inter-cultural relations.

Better representation of Roma groups should be tackled through the training and employment of Roma representatives to act as mediators, to help bridge trust and overcome linguistic barriers. There needs to be more representation of Roma views in local service delivery and an acknowledgement of the transnational and multicultural dimension of their lives, as well as the historical dimension of their marginalisation. Roma families have a sense of insecurity and suspicion because of their own negative experiences and this can only be addressed through sustained, systematic support and a redefinition of involvement to suit the realities of a more mobile community.

Lastly, **representation of Roma relates also to challenging local and community-wide perceptions and stereotypes about the nature and lifestyle of Roma groups.** This requires **more effective forms of inter-cultural dialogue**, to underline the responsibilities of different communities to respond to the needs of vulnerable groups and to counter inequalities within the Roma population. Promoting social inclusion of Roma groups is clearly a long-term, multi-faceted process, which needs to engage communities in a sustained dialogue and through clear opportunities, to challenge centuries of discrimination and their systematic exclusion across Europe. This will ultimately lead to new forms of participation for Roma, with clear gains for the wider society in terms of citizenship and diversity in a multicultural 21st century.

References

- Amnesty International (2010) *Human Rights on the Margins. Roma in Europe*. Amnesty International Briefing. London: Amnesty International. Available at: http://www.amnesty.org.uk/sites/default/files/roma_in_europe_briefing.pdf
- Bynner, C. (2010) *Report for the Govanhill Neighbourhood Management Steering Group*. Glasgow: Community Planning Partnership.
- Chan, C. and Guild, E. (2010) *Recent migration of Roma in Europe*, Wenen: OSCE Report.
- Clark, C. (2014) Glasgow's Ellis Island? The integration and stigmatisation of Govanhill's Roma population. *People, Place and Policy* 8(1): 34-50.
- Cook, J., Dwyer, P. and Waite, L. (2010) The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency. *International Migration* 49(2): 54-79.
- Council of Europe (2006) *Education of Roma Children in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing. Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/roma/Source/TextsActivitiesISBN_EN.pdf
- Craig, G. (2011) *United Kingdom. The Roma. A Study of National Policies*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Crkon, P. (2012) *An Assessment of the Human Capital Levels and Economic Performance of A8 Romani Migrants in Govanhill*. Glasgow: Glasgow City Council.
- Cylkowska-Nowak, M. and Nowak, W. (2011) Moral Panic over the Romani Presence in Slovakia and Great Britain. A Comparative Study. In: *Contemporary Learning Society. A quarterly of social and educational ideas*. Wrocław: University of Lower Silesia Press. Pages: 75-92.
- European Commission (2007) *Segregation of Roma Children in Education. Addressing Structural Discrimination through the Race Equality Directive*. Luxembourg: European Communitéis.
- European Commission (2010) *Roma in Europe: The Implementation of European Union Instruments and Policies for Roma Inclusion. Progress Report 2008-2010*. Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (2011) *A EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020*. Brussels: European Commission. Available at: <http://www.combattrafficking.eu/sites/default/files/documents/EU%20Roma%20Frameowrk.pdf>
- European Commission (2012) *Roma and Education. Challenges and Opportunities in the European Union*. Luxembourg: European Union.
- European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006) *Roma and Travellers in Public Education. An Overview of the Situation in the EU Member States*. Vienna: EUMC. Available at: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/179-roma_report.pdf
- Grill, J. (2012) 'Going up to England': Exploring Mobilities among Roma from Eastern Slovakia. *Journal of Ethic and Migration Studies* 38(8): 1269-1287.

- Human Rights Watch (2012) *World Report. European Union*. New York: Human Rights Watch. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/eu_2012.pdf
- Luciak, M., and B. Liegl. 2009. Fostering Roma Students' Educational Inclusion: A Missing Part in Teacher Education. *Intercultural Education*, 20 (6): 497–509.
- Macura-Milanović, S.; Munda, M. & Peček, M. (2013) Roma pupils' identification with school in Slovenia and Serbia: Case studies, *Educational Studies*, 39:5, 483-502.
- Macura-Milovanović, S., and Peček, M. (2012) Attitudes of Serbian and Slovenian Student Teachers Towards Causes of Learning Underachievement Amongst Roma Pupils. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1–17.
- Massey, D.S., Arango, J., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, E.J. (1998) *Worlds in Motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Carendon Press.
- Minority Rights Group International (2008) *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Germany : Roma/Gypsies/Sinti*. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/49749d1b2d.html>.
- O'Nions, H. (2007) *Minority Rights Protection in International Law. The Roma of Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Okley, J. (1983) *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Open Society Foundations (2010) *No Data-No Progress. Country Findings. Data Collection in Countries Participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion . 2005–2015*. New York: Open Society Foundation. Available from: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/no-data-no-progress-country-reports-20100628_0.pdf
- Open Society Foundations (2007) *Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma. Monitoring Reports. Budapest: Open Society Institute*. Available at: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/2roma_20070329_0.pdf
- Pantea, M.C. (2012) *Social ties at work: Roma Migrants and the Community Dynamics*. *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(11): 1726-1744.
- Paterson, L., Simpson, L., Barrie, L. and Perinova, J. (2011) *Unequal and Unlawful Treatment. Barriers Faced by the Roma Community in Govanhill when Accessing Benefit and the Implications of Section 149 of the Equality Act 2010*. Glasgow: Oxfam and Govanhill Law Centre.
- Peček, M., I. Čuk, and I. Lesar. 2008. Teachers' Perceptions of the Inclusion of Marginalised Groups. *Educational Studies*, 34 (3): 223–237.
- Pietarinen, K. (2011) *Roma and Traveller Inclusion in Europe. Green questions and answers*, Belgium: Green European Foundation.
- Poole, L. (2010) *National Action Plans for Social Inclusion and A8 migrants: the case of the Roma in Scotland*. *Critical Social Policy* 30(2): 245-266.
- Poole, L. and Adamson, K. (2008) *Report on the Situation of the Roma Community in Govanhill*, Paisley: University of the West of Scotland.
- Roma Education Fund (2011 a) *From Segregation to Inclusion: Roma pupils in the United Kingdom – A pilot research project*, Available at: http://equality.uk.com/Education_files/From%20segregation%20to%20integration_1.pdf

- Roma Education Fund (2011 b) *Country Assessment: Slovakia*. Budapest: Roma Education Fund. Available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/ref_ca_2011_sk_english_screen.pdf
- Roma Education Fund (2012) *Country Assessment: Romania*. Budapest: Roma Education Fund. Available at: http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/sites/default/files/publications/ref_ca_2011_ro_english_screen_singlepages.pdf
- RomaNet (2011) *Glasgow Baseline Study*. Glasgow: RomaNet. Available at: http://urbact.eu/fileadmin/Projects/Roma_Net/outputs_media/Roma_Net_Glasgow_Baseline_-_FINAL_MAY2011.pdf
- Social Marketing Gateway (2013) *Mapping the Roma Community in Scotland: Final Report*. Glasgow. Available at: <http://www.socialmarketinggateway.co.uk/news/new-research-mapping-the-roma-community-in-scotland/>
- Sporton, D. (2013) 'They Control My Life': the Role of Local Recruitment Agencies in East European Migration to the UK. *Population, Space and Place* 19(5): 443-458.
- The Scottish Government (2012) *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation*. Available at: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/>
- UNESCO (2007) *Towards Quality Education for Roma Children: Transition from Early Childhood to Primary Education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNICEF (2007) *Breaking the Cycle of Exclusion. Roma Children in South-East Europe*. UNICEF Serbia. Available at: [http://www.unicef.org/serbia/070305-Subregional_Study_Roma_Children\(1\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/serbia/070305-Subregional_Study_Roma_Children(1).pdf)



©Dreamstime.com - photo 32227183

For questions on the project, please contact:

Dr Daniela Sime
Senior Lecturer
School of Social Work & Social Policy
University of Strathclyde
141 St James Road, Glasgow, G4 0LT

T: 0141 444 8678

E: daniela.sime@strath.ac.uk

© University of Strathclyde/Glasgow City Council

