



# NATIONAL REPORT IN THE U.K.

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## PART I

### 1. PROSOCIALITY

#### 1.1 Defining prosociality

The term prosociality is the specular definition of what in psychology is defined as prosocial behaviour. It is meant as the set of actions that benefit other people or society as a community or a group of people characterized by the act of helping in which the helper does not benefit from the result of his/her actions.

As a consequence, “prosocial behaviour” can be defined as voluntary actions intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals without any expectation of a benefit in return. While these actions benefit the recipient, they can also be costly to the giver. One is thus faced with the decision to help others at the expense of oneself. When considering prosocial behaviour, the external, explicit actions are emphasized; as opposed to the internal, implicit motivations for those prosocial actions. Prosocial behaviour entails both the physical and mental improvement of others.

Along this idea of prosocial behaviour resides the concept of prosociality. The scientific basis is well defined by the so-called “game theory” that can be considered one of the greatest contributions of experimental economics.

This theory is the development of experimental protocols (“games”) that measure human preferences in a standardized fashion. These games can be used to measure differences between individuals, contexts and cultures at behavioural level, providing a valuable complement to self-report surveys. Instead of merely asking someone about the importance of helping others, for example, an experimental game reveals whether they actually do help others in situations that involve real financial loss and gain. In practical terms, when an individual has to face an economic challenge, he/she is naturally pushed towards equilibrium.

This equilibrium is reached when the challengers are next to be satisfied by their own positions. The characteristic of the cooperation is the term that can be defined as social capital to be referred to the benefits that can be obtained from social relationships, similar to financial capital, physical capital (e.g., a dwelling) and individual capital (e.g., an education). Those tangible substances could be defined as namely

good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit.... The individual is helpless socially, if left to his/her self.... If he/she comes into contact with his/her neighbour, and with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his/her social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his/her associations the advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of the neighbours.

The prosociality is the theoretical assumption of this social system of relationships: when an act is addressed not to a personal interest but is done in order to assure a general interest and with this act the individuals are conscious to respect rules (even if not written), commonly accepted and made to preserve the well being of the social group or community the individuals are part of.

For the accomplishment of these kind of acts, no external reward is expected. Prosocial acts can be defined as follows (this is not a definitive list):

- physical and psychological help
- sharing others' emotions (empathy)
- meta verbal approach towards others' problems addressed to increase a sense of safeness
- defending others against threats
- taking into account and appreciating others' points of view and differences

In this approach, prosocial acts have to be referred to a specific community, which can be defined as an educating community. The social area related to this community is given by the assumption that all the social actors share the same educational goals. Therefore, the “educational conflicts” are overcome or managed.

## **1.2 Prosociality for the integration of the Roma children in school**

The social marginalisation of Roma children is closely linked to education: illiteracy is widespread and integration in the educational system inadequate. According to some research, around 70% of Roma children in Europe have either never attended school or not finished it. Only 18% have completed primary school and 7% secondary school. Factors that hinder the integration of Roma children in the school system include poverty, parental or educational background, alcoholism, and the indifference of local authorities to the lack of opportunities available to Roma.

Despite Roma children's experience and school underachievement, modest attention has been paid to the pervasive institutional biases that force them out of school and on to the streets.

Without education, it's almost impossible to break the vicious circle of poverty and social isolation. For these reasons, in 2011, the European Commission adopted an EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies. Education is one of the four pillars included in the Framework as essential in order to ensure Roma inclusion.

In order to understand the new emerging dynamics and educational needs that are important to define the new role of school as an institution, it might be useful to stress the importance of providing Roma children with access to good-quality education in order to reduce the enormous gap between them and the rest of society. That is, to better integrate Roma at all levels of the school system (in particular at primary school level); to reduce the drop-out rate and raise the completion rate for Roma children attending school; to raise the awareness of Roma women about their human rights and of the importance of education for their children; to provide Roma parents with social and economic support and integrate them in the parent-school partnership.

Such an holistic approach aims to create a welcoming learning environment for the Roma children and families, developing a sense of community through the foundation of a new spirit of community feeling based on the concept of prosociality: prosocial behaviour in this sense aims to "solve" the potential educational problems emerging from the relationship between the school and the social community in an effort to encourage the inclusion of the Roma children in the educational system.

The aim behind the introduction of a prosocial model of teaching and learning is a set of accompanying measures addressed to include the Roma community in the local social framework. The backbone of this system can be defined as a "Peace Code". A list of common rules of positive behaviours, with the aim of fostering a prosocial environment through the assistance of civil society. That means setting up a cooperation group, formally subscribed by the leader (school) and the local representatives and associations, including Roma and Gajde representatives.

Because many educators are seriously concerned about marginalization of children, especially Roma, inside the classrooms, the promotion of prosocial behaviours could be a key answer.

Educators can promote prosocial development by building secure relationships, creating a sense of community within the classroom, modelling prosocial behaviour, establishing prosocial expectations and supporting families (Roma and Gajde).

It is equally important to nurture positive alternatives. Children should develop prosocial feelings and behaviour towards others. In contrast to the detrimental perception of Roma children as “different”.

These behaviours will be the result of voluntary will. If children are forced to “be nice and to share” or told to “say you’re sorry,” then their behaviour is not voluntary and cannot be considered prosocial. The prosocial approach entails and highlights that a child’s prosocial development can be actively promoted without being forced.

Prosocial acts (physical and psychological help; sharing others' emotions; defending others against threats; taking into account and appreciating others' points of view and differences....) could be a way for the integration of Roma children in schools and an answer to the systematic discrimination of Roma communities.

Prosociality can provide Roma children with an opportunity to access and complete education in an environment that is supportive, free of discrimination and sensitive to their needs as learners, being also an educational model that can engage with and support their cultural learning traditions

In this sense, a prosocial approach has to be framed around three questions: What is distinctly problematic for Roma children in traditional school settings? How can the education environment in particular engage marginalized Roma children with learning? How prosociality can dispel discrimination and oppression of marginalized Roma children? The answers to these questions lie in acknowledging that prosocial factors such as trust, personal connection with the teacher, parental involvement, cultural preservation and integration, play a critical role in the educational success of Roma children.

### **1.3 A note on the concept of ‘prosociality’**

The concept of prosociality has been defined well by partners within this project, however perhaps of interest is that in the UK, we would rarely speak of ‘prosociality’. So the matter of ‘defining prosociality’ with relevant parties (particularly the school) was quite an important one for us. We took a pragmatic approach to defining prosociality. Firstly we discussed the practical acts that make up prosocial behaviour, such as donating, sharing, volunteering etc. Secondly, in the UK we are very used to talking about ‘anti-social’ behaviour. This is usually reserved for particularly bad behaviour and conduct that could get an

individual in trouble with the police, however it can also be used in much more minor situations, such as poor behaviour from a pupil in school that nevertheless is problematic for the individual and the group. I explain that prosocial behaviour is the exact opposite of this well-known phrase, in that it is positive behaviours that benefit the individual and the group, and this has been an effective way to broach what can be a daunting new terminology.

## PART II

### 1 Analysis of historical and social dynamics involving Roma and non-Roma in the UK

#### A. General information

##### A 1. What is the percentage of Roma people in the studied population?

Accurate figures relating to the number of Roma in the UK population are difficult to obtain due to a number of reasons. These include a lack of robust national and local quantitative data collection regarding Roma, the lack of a 'Roma' category within the national census, the conflation of 'Gypsy', 'Roma' and 'Traveller' categories within recording systems, and low levels of ethnic ascription amongst the Roma community (Brown et al, 2013).

Estimates of the Roma population vary considerably, with the UK report to the *EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategy up to 2020* (NRIS) (2012) reporting that the breadth of estimates ranges from 80,000 – 300,000. This report indicates however that this figure relates to the “native” Gypsy and Traveller population, including (but not limited to) Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers and Scottish Gypsies and Travellers. The term 'Roma' in the British context is usually reserved for the migrant Roma population who have migrated to the UK 'following the end of the Cold War and successive enlargements of the EU in 2004 and 2007' (ibid:2) of which reliable data is minimal as entrants to the UK are not monitored by ethnic origin, but more often nationality.

A recent and comprehensive study (Brown et al, 2013) that sought to obtain hard data about the number of migrant Roma at a national and local level in the UK concluded the following:

- At least 197,705 migrant Roma are living in the UK, with this thought to be a conservative estimate.
- 193,297 migrant Roma are living in England.
- A rounded up estimate of 200,000 migrant Roma is in addition to similar projections of indigenous Gypsy and Traveller populations living in the UK, estimated at about 200,000-300,000 individuals. When combined, the study estimated that 400,000-500,000 'Roma', as defined by the Council of Europe, live in the UK.
- Using the Council of Europe definition of 'Roma', it is surmised that Roma account for 0.8% of the total UK population.

## **A 2. What is their number according to official statistics and Roma or other NGOs/international agencies?**

See above

## **A 3. Which are the national laws concerning minorities/Roma?**

The UK in its response to the EU's NRIS framework, projected the view that as the framework 'contained no new proposals for legislation' (Brown, 2013:12) and was intended to complement and reinforce equality legislation, that it was not in the UK's interest to comply with the framework. The responsible minister from the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), Grant Shapps, encouraged those EU countries with 'large, and often seriously disadvantaged Roma populations to take effective action' indicating that he is of the opinion that this is not applicable to the UK. Shapps also asserted that the framework would mean ceding powers and competence to the European Scrutiny Commission, inflict additional and unnecessary requirements on the UK, and impose unhelpful targets and burdensome reporting obligations on a country with 'relatively few Roma citizens' (ibid). The UK government's response has been criticised for focusing almost solely on the needs of indigenous Gypsies and Travellers and only covering migrant Roma issues where these overlap with the former's (e.g. with regard to educational attainment and attendance). The decision to take this approach seems surprising in light of studies that have estimated that the Roma population is sizeable within the UK (Willers and Greenhall, 2014). Willers and Greenhall (2014) further state that this approach is 'wholly contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the Framework' and, quoting The Roma Support Group, that 'It furthers the political and social marginalisation of Roma in Britain and dismisses the UK Government's commitment to address their needs and aspirations'.

Given this response by the UK government, it is hardly surprising that there is very little in the way of national legislation regarding Roma. Instead, all legislation regarding minorities is subsumed under the Equality Act 2010. This Act sought to consolidate, simplify and strengthen equality and anti-discrimination legislation by amalgamating such acts as the Sex Discrimination Act 1975, the Race Relations Act 1976, and the Disability Discrimination Act 1995. The Equality Act incorporates the EU Racial Equality Directive and legislates against discrimination in access to education, private and public services, employment, training, healthcare, social protection and housing. Furthermore, there is a positive duty placed on public authorities to have due regard to the need to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between members of different groups.

The DCLG have published a paper *Creating the conditions for integration* (2012) that outlines the government's approach to 'integration'. Integration is seen to be a model for positive relations among 'people from different backgrounds', with it stated from the outset that England's shared history is of 'migration both to and from these shores' (ibid:3). Integration is assumed to be achieved by the promotion of 'shared values', and five key factors:

- Common ground
- Responsibility
- Social mobility
- Participation and empowerment

- Tackling intolerance and extremism

The government's approach has been criticised by a consortium of NGO's and Think-tanks who are concerned about the conceptualisation of integration, and offer instead that in line with the *EU Common Basic Principles on Integration*, integration should be seen as a two-way process of mutual accommodation, rather than the insinuation that minority values are a threat to a unified country. They further comment that the paper 'lacks concrete policy solutions' and that the focus on mainstreaming does nothing to tackle racial injustice (Runnymede Trust and Voice4Change England, 2012).

#### **A 4. Is there a National strategy for Roma integration?**

The UK currently has no national strategy for Roma integration specifically. In a 2012 DCLG document: *Progress report by the ministerial working group on tackling inequalities experienced by Gypsies and Travellers*, 'Roma' are only mentioned in relation to education. Commitments set out by the DCLG with regard to health, housing and crime do not pertain to 'Roma', but only to 'Gypsy and Traveller communities'. This can be understood as a deliberate exclusion from their consideration as they do talk about 'Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils' in relation to education. It is evidence such as this that leads Craig (2011:20) to assert that the Roma in the UK are a 'substantial but officially – through a lack of data, research or policy focus – “invisibilised’ group”.

There appears to be an emphasis on placing integration in the hands of local authorities and eschewing a national, cohesive strategy. In the absence of a structural response to the Roma population, local governments and agencies have tended to respond to Roma populations by developing policy as they go along. This is drawn from generalist stances on Black and Minority Ethnic populations and from experience with Gypsy and Traveller populations. This is problematic as there is likely to be inconsistency in the treatment of Roma across the UK, there is limited opportunity for recording and sharing good practice, and there may be little understanding of the specific Roma context within localities (Craig, 2011).

#### **A 5. Is there a national/local Action plan budgeted for Roma educational integration?**

In Manchester a document was released entitled: 'Roma strategy 2011-2014', which amongst other issues highlighted the need to address the low attendance of Roma children in the Manchester area. The report goes on to discuss the factors that affect higher than average "CME" rates (Children Missing Education) within the Roma community, such as:

- parents from large families that expect all their children to go to the same school,
- the discrimination that Roma have faced in other European countries,
- the traditional non-engagement of Roma in formal education systems,
- and a focus on the experience of teenage girls 'who traditionally leave school in their young teens to 'marry' and raise families of their own or to care for elderly and dependent relatives and siblings' (Mills and Wilson, 2013:3).

The strategy briefly covers successful approaches to promoting Roma engagement with education, including a 'pro-active outreach approach' to engage Roma in early-years activities, multi-agency working, the promotion of 'community cohesion' at a neighbourhood level, and the skills development of a cohort of young Roma people enabling them to be community interpreters and mediators, who are seen as 'positive role models for children and young people in their community' (ibid:3-4). Future priorities for Manchester City Council include:

- The attendance of all Roma children in school, with a particular focus on the promotion of pre-school attendance
- A higher proportion of girls completing secondary school
- Both boys and girls to progress to post-16 education.

These challenges, successes and priorities set out in the 'Roma Strategy' are however followed by a concluding line stating '*the financial constraints facing the city council and its public sector partners make these objectives more challenging...*', thereby indicating that these priorities will not necessarily be backed by a financial budget.

In the UK, Roma migrants (and other Gypsy/traveller communities) have largely been included in broader Ethnic Minority equality initiatives. There is a complex recent history of funding and cuts for Ethnic Minority pupils, including Roma children. In Manchester the Local Authorities *Ethnic Minority Achievement Service* and the *Traveller Education Support Service* – regarded as 'major forces in fostering the social inclusion of Roma, and... as a model of good practice' (Equality, 2011:7) – were replaced by the International New Arrivals and Travellers, and Supplementary Schools team (INA/T/SS) in 2007. This team carried on much of the previous administrations work, however alongside this a private company set up in acknowledgement of the move to school's managing their own budgets and procuring services as opposed to the centralised Local Authority. Central government grants such as the Ethnic Minority Achievement grant (EMAG), previously directed to local authorities and used to allocate support for schools that had pupils with English as an Additional language in attendance, have now been subsumed within an alternative mainstream grant ("Dedicated Schools Grant") – raising fears that 'there will be less ring-fenced funding within local authorities for ethnic minority pupils' (Lever, 2012:22). The "Pupil Premium Grant" is still in effect, and this funding is linked with 'free school meals' – an indicator of disadvantage, and seeks to 'raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils and close the gap between them and their peers' (Department of Education, 2014:online). In theory this should be advantageous to Roma pupils who often are "disadvantaged, however due to various welfare restrictions they may not always be eligible. For instance, before the lifting of restrictions on A2 migrants (Bulgarian and Romanian nationals) – it was often the case that they would not be entitled to mainstream 'out-of-work' benefits, and as such were not eligible for free school meals. This change in the funding of schools was facilitated by a New Labour government and the move towards schools getting 'Academy' status and subsequently being responsible for buying in the services that their pupils required. Since the coalition Conservative-Liberal Democrat government came into power in 2010, there has been a further move along these lines and central government now funds schools directly, bypassing the local authority, and thus the onus is on the individual school to promote the integration of Roma and other minority pupils. Following this move, there is little to no robust checks on schools to check that they are spending their allocated funds on a needs-led basis, although there is an acknowledgement that OFSTED – the official body for inspecting UK schools – is interested in how schools are using their funds to promote integration and attainment amongst Roma pupils.

## **A 6. Which is the national agency/body responsible for Roma educational integration?**

As discussed, the UK does not assign the education integration of Roma to any particular body – unsurprising given it does not subscribe to the EU’s NRIS framework. All schools, whether maintained or independent, must adhere to their responsibilities as legislated in the Equality Act 2010. On the whole, whether maintained or independent, it is the school management or proprietors that are the responsible body regarding the Equality duty and subsequently those who are liable should a school’s practice be deemed to be discriminatory according to the Equality Act 2010.

## **A 7. Short summary about Roma presence in the country – history and culture**

As previously mentioned, the complexity of who constitutes as ‘Roma’ in the UK means that there is not one homogenous history and culture to summarise here. The Council of Europe definition of Roma, which includes non-sedentary Gypsy and Traveller groups, is not the focus of this research, but rather the migrant Roma that have arrived in the UK from mainland (largely Eastern) Europe since the 1990s. The ‘new’ Roma are a largely invisibilised group in terms of their history and culture in the UK – often subsumed within broader Gypsy, Roma and Traveller histories and events or their history conveniently ends in Eastern Europe. The recent history of migrant Roma aligns with much of the literature around other ‘new’ migrants – in that they are often represented as a problematic group in the context of immigration discourse. As across Europe, “‘Romani culture is diverse and there is no universal culture per se but there are attributes common to all Roma’ including belief in God, loyalty to family, belief in standards and norms (albeit with differing emphases), and adaptability to changing conditions” (Youth in action, 2009 as cited in Craig, 2011). A significant population of Roma began to seek asylum in the UK following the demise of communism in Eastern European countries, and while some did settle in the UK – and many communities have built up from these initial incomers – many more were refused asylum despite severe exclusion, discrimination and persecution in home countries being a major driver of migration. Craig (2011:4) describes the response to Roma asylum claims by the UK as ‘punitive’ rather than as assessing them as serious claims. Since 2004 many more Roma have moved to the UK as European citizens exercising their right of free movement within the European Union. Their numbers are estimated to match that of the ‘native’ Gypsy and Traveller population as discussed previously. This immigration history of the Roma presents us with a population who do not fit neatly into the “forced/voluntary” migrant paradigm, but rather they “seem to occupy a position which lies somewhere in the ‘grey area’” (Craig, 2011:4-5).

## **A 8. Traditional prejudices towards Roma people shown by previous studies**

Prejudice towards Roma migrants has heightened with the move towards a popular right-wing nationalism, which in particular frames the migration of European citizens as problematic. The increased popularity of the *United Kingdom Independence Party ‘UKIP’* has signified the resurgence of a politics of fear with regard to migrant communities in the wake of the global economic crisis, unemployment and massive welfare restructuring. The rhetoric of UKIP is particularly vehement against Romanians, when UKIP talk in negative terms about Romanians it is often with reference to well-rehearsed anti-Roma and anti-Gypsy sentiments. In this way, in British politics “Romanian” is actually a synonym of “Roma” – and with it a revival of historic Gypsy stereotypes and prejudice has dominated the political discourse (see Okely, 1983 for further discussion of the ‘Traveller-Gypsy’ community in the UK). Literature pertaining to the prejudice faced by Roma in the UK is minimal, due in large part to the relatively new arrival of significant Roma populations to the country. While there is a lack of evidence in this area, we can see that the political discourse surrounding Roma is problematic, and often bordering on hysteria. As has been noted previously however, what we do know is that Roma often face poverty and isolation in the UK, as in much of Europe. The ignition of racist politics has also led to isolated (and quickly retracted) instances of media and political

furor, such as in Sheffield where former home secretary, David Blunkett, stated; "We have got to change the behaviour and the culture of the incoming community, the Roma community, because there's going to be an explosion otherwise", and alluded to the threat of race riots in his local constituency between Roma and their neighbours (Grayson, 2013:online).

It is important to say however, that many of the Roma migrants in the UK have moved here in search of a better life, and while there may be difficulties, there are also many successes - and the literature on Roma in the UK also alludes to this. The non-segregation of Roma and non-Roma in education, and the employment opportunities (especially post-A2 restriction lift in January 2014) for EU citizens, means that the Roma population in the UK are also able to lead lives that are less fearful in the UK. As Acton and Ingmire (2011:4) illustrate quoting a Polish Roma migrant;

"England is a wonderful place. All kinds of different people live here in peace, and nobody throws our children out of school. And our women can walk down the streets in long skirts, *and nobody throws stones at them!*" (Italics in original).

## **A 9. Media coverage of the Roma**

The portrayal of Roma in the British media is often one of hysteria and perpetuating anti-gypsy tendencies. An analysis by Richardson (2014) of news reports in the period 2013/14 identified a number of 'whistle words' (words that prompt negative social construction of Roma) such as;

- Migrant/immigrants
- Benefits
- Rioting
- Work
- Behaviour
- Tensions
- Influx
- Rubbish
- Intimidating
- Sex
- Fear

As a rudimentary indicator of the negative portrayal of Roma, it is interesting to note that if one "Googles" 'Roma in UK', the first link is to a Daily Mail news story that starts with the headline "*Roma already in Britain 'are defecating on people's doorsteps...'*". This vitriolic portrayal is damaging to communities in the UK, and Richardson warns that such reporting is not only a reflection of events and feelings but 'it helps instead to create and shape events and feelings' (ibid:58). In extreme cases this can lead to further exclusion, and even violence against the Roma community.

The media representation of the migrant Roma reflects both the historic media portrayal of indigenous Gypsy/Traveller communities, as 'baby snatchers', 'dirty', 'thieves' etc., and the historic and contemporary media discourse around migrants to the UK, such as 'benefit claimants', 'influx', 'invasion' etc. These two associations ensure that the Roma are continually 'othered' by the media and perpetuate negative perceptions of the community within the public domain.

However, there is also a small movement of positive media portrayals in the UK, for instance in the eminent education magazine *TES*, a story titled '*The new Mancunians*' highlighted the attainment of Roma children in Manchester's schools. The report reflects on some of the difficulties of teaching children who may never have been to school, but also provides a platform for young Roma people to put forward their aspirations for life in the UK (Leeming, 2011).

## **.B. Education of Roma children**

### **B 1. Statistics of Roma educational achievements – level of achievement and drop-outs, etc.**

The national and local data relating to Roma in education are minimal due to their relatively new settlement in the UK and low levels of ascription as Roma, and as such there is a piecemeal and mixed account of Roma attainment in British education. The data on British Gypsy/Travellers suggests that they as a group experience some of the worst educational outcomes of any group in the UK, with 'just 12% of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils' achieving five or more good GCSEs, compared with 58.2% of all pupils (DCLG, 2012:5). The anomalous inclusion of 'Roma' in relation to this point does appear to be considered as a European Dialogue (2009) mapping report found that Roma children from mainland Europe face very similar issues to that of British Gypsies and Travellers. The researchers in this case found that:

'Issues of ascription, access, attendance, low levels of achievement and early drop out from school, are prominent among those features of policy and provision which impact negatively on their happiness and life chances'.

(ibid: 10).

A pilot qualitative research project looking at the experiences of migrant Czech and Slovakian Roma in British schools however does allude to some interesting and more optimistic findings in this area. Equality (2011) found that only 4% of the 61 Roma children interviewed were deemed as having special educational needs (SEN) – which were subsequently provided for within mainstream schools – compared to 85% of the same cohort who had previously been placed in *de facto* segregated provision or a 'special' school/class in their country of origin. This points to an increased sense of potential in the UK context, as Roma children are not routinely segregated from their non-Roma peers. This is in accordance with the Equality Act 2010 which legislates against discrimination on any grounds in a public or private setting, and places a duty on public authorities to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different groups. The report also found that:

'the vast majority of the British professionals interviewed... believed that there was little or no difference between the attainment and assessed potential attainment of the Czech and Slovak Roma children... when compared to the attainment by their other recently arrived non-Roma peers'.

(Equality, 2011:60).

## **B 2. Percentage of Roma students in schools by classes**

The data available for the number of Roma children in education are, as before, piecemeal and unreliable as a statistical tool due to issues of ascription, accurate recording and access to datasets. Internally accessed records suggest there are approximately 350 Roma pupils in Manchester schools - with almost 200 of these in secondary school, however this is almost certainly a gross underestimate. Given that there are thought to be 1000 Romanian Roma in one area of Manchester alone (Leeming, 2011) and research suggests that up to 65% of the migrant Roma population are of school age (Fremlova, no date:online) - we can take the figure of 350 to be inaccurate and in need of further examination.

## **B 3. Level of inclusion of Roma students in target schools/classes**

See B.1

## **B 4. Are there any language difficulties Roma students encounter at school?**

Where migrant children do not have English language skills, the school may use their budgets to buy in 'EAL' (English as an additional language) support for these pupils. The EMAG funding that was until 2011 ring-fenced for the support of pupils with language needs has now been mainstreamed into general funding streams for schools, with no mechanism to ensure it is spent on those children that need EAL support.

In Manchester, as a city with over 150 languages spoken (Matras, 2012), many schools have to support a diverse group of children with many language needs. The challenge of supporting Roma students in the Romani language was addressed by the International New Arrivals education department in Manchester and the BHA Routes project by providing training for young Roma people to provide in-class support. This facilitates the students learning in class through interpretation, and also enables relationships to be built up between schools and parents - encouraging parental involvement and facilitating inclusion. Furthermore it has been shown to be a valuable way to raise aspirations as the students see the Roma mediators as role models, and have noted the importance of language support for successful settlement in school (What's Working, 2013).

## **B 5. Are there any support actions for Roma educational integration? For example facilitating Roma students to overcome language difficulties?**

Alongside support for learners of English, schools play a large part in facilitating integration of newly-arrived communities such as the Roma. The Roma history and culture has in recent years been celebrated in the month of June with the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History Month (GRTHM), however this lost its central government funding in 2011 and so the onus is now on individual schools and organisations to champion this cause. In Manchester, the education authority has for the third consecutive year organised for there to be a Roma presence at the annual Manchester Day Parade, a valuable opportunity to showcase the culture of Manchester's Roma community.

## **B 6. Are there assistant teachers/educational mediators supporting Roma children integration at school?**

In Manchester there is recognition that Roma mentors have a positive influence on many aspects of Roma schooling. There are a handful of Roma mediators in Manchester, with growing numbers, who have been trained by ROMED, which seeks to 'tackle the inequalities Roma face in terms of access to employment, health care services and quality education' (Kyuchukov, 2012: 375). The 'What's Working' report (2013:45) which piloted innovative educational interventions in Manchester, Spain and the Netherlands highlights the multiplicity of successes that mentoring within schools has:

'The mentors have supported children and young people to access education, maintain attendance, access the National Curriculum, and engage with enrichment activities (extra-curricular). By working alongside education professionals, the mentors have helped to foster relationships between families and third parties (mainly schools). Children and young people have benefited from identifying individuals from their own community, increasing levels of trust in institutions as well as improving academic aspirations.'

## **B 7. Are Roma students equally involved in all school activities together with their Gadjo classmates?**

As established previously, the Equality Act 2010 places a duty on public institutions, including schools, to promote equality of opportunity between different groups. Despite this however, it is uncommon for Roma girls to access enrichment activities. Local consultations suggest this is due to traditional roles that girls adopt within the family, and strict codes of honour. Funding has been allocated from Manchester city council to The BHA in order to further consult with the community around issues of girls and schooling, underage marriage and teenage pregnancy in order to promote equality of opportunity for Roma girls in line with their peers. Examples of positive Roma and non-Roma engagement is documented in the TES article *The New Mancunians* (Leeming, 2011), which highlights the approach taken by a school in Manchester with a high Roma population. The positive and proactive approach has proved to be fruitful - with a week long residential bringing together 12 Roma and 12 non-Roma pupils in order to promote cohesion, and with Roma students surpassing the average attendance rate, at 91% and 90% respectively.

## **B 8. How is childhood perceived by Roma and Gadjo – as the first step towards adult life?**

Local consultations and studies show that Roma families progressively see education as a positive link between employment and providing for the family (an integral element of Roma custom) (BHA, forthcoming). Conversations with Roma in South Manchester showed that Roma parents felt proud that their children were going to school and were able to talk enthusiastically about the practical skills that school imparted. Davies and Murphy (2010:24) found that parents were more often concerned with their children's perception of friendships, behaviour and safety rather than the particular subject matter in the curriculum. One parent explained that:

'School is good for people - it opens your mind; you can read if you go anywhere on the bus; you can get a job'.

The opportunity to learn English in school can be seen to be of vital importance, both in terms of the preparing for the children's future as can be seen from the excerpt above, and as a means to support the family with interpreting and translation.

**B 9. What is Roma and Gadjo adults' idea about school – do they see it as a socialization and educational environment from which their children may draw benefits?**

See above

## **C. Background of Roma discrimination and current situation**

### **C 1. History of Roma in the country – persecutions, exclusion, the Holocaust**

The particular experience of Roma discrimination in the UK, as discussed above, is a relatively recent history and parallels can be drawn in this regard between migrant Roma and native Gypsy/Traveller communities, and between Roma and other newly-arrived communities. This has manifest itself most recently in terms of EU migration and moral-panics around the "influx" of a community of people that are unfamiliar in British society. Moreover the rhetoric around Roma draws upon historically racist language directed at gypsy communities - such as 'dirty', 'thieves', 'scroungers' etc.

### **C 2. Self-exclusion arising from cultural causes**

As discussed regarding extra-curricular activities, the Roma culture that places *family* as central can be a barrier to accessing school on occasion. Matras et al (2009) touch on some of the general issues that may facilitate this culture among the Roma, including; minimal school experience on the behalf of parents, a culture of family precedence over external "Gaje" obligations, concern for child's wellbeing and general contestations between the Romani sense of morality and the clash with non-Roma culture.

Many Roma families have moved several times once in the city of Manchester, and high mobility within the city can also impede the settlement of Roma children and the cohesion within neighbourhoods

### **C 3. Exclusion arising from social conditions – housing and location, economic situation etc.**

All children in Manchester when applying for a school place, go to their nearest available school. Availability is determined by class size, as school may only permit a certain amount of children. Once this limit is reached, children may be placed on a waiting list for the school, however are more likely to be offered an alternative school that is seen by the Local Authority to be reasonable and practicable. This can be a particular issue for the Roma, as they often have large families - Matras et al (2009) found there were on average five children per household - and therefore the children may not be placed in the same schools. While problematic and frustrating, this is not a Roma-specific exclusion, but a repercussion of that fact that there are too few school places in Manchester for the children in the city.

Prior to the lifting of restrictions for A2 migrants, many would not be eligible for free-school meals, despite surviving almost abject poverty in many cases. Some good practice emerged, with a handful of school with high Roma populations providing free school meals as a matter of course for Roma pupils, however this was not a statutory requirement. With the lifting of these employment restrictions, Roma in theory are

eligible to work and apply for the same in-work benefits as British citizens, however their progression to the formal and contracted labour market has to date been slow and so this may still be difficult for Roma families to access free-school meals. While this is not exclusion at the school level per se, the value of a healthy and substantial meal for school aged children should not be underestimated for attainment and inclusion in the school setting.

#### **C 4. Are there any Roma issues included in school programmes – officially or through projects – for a Roma-friendly school?**

As introduced above, the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History Month was a national initiative that sought to showcase the culture of the GRT community, and while this has now lost funding at a national level, many schools with GRT pupils will continue to organise events in June to celebrate their culture.

There is a culture of promoting diversity within schools, particularly within ‘super-diverse’ (Vertovec, 2007) areas such as Manchester. One aspect of a super-diverse locality is the array of languages spoken, with the University of Manchester (2013) estimating that there are almost 200 languages spoken, making it one of the most linguistically diverse cities in the world. Schools can be seen as a microcosm of this multilingual society, with at least 3000 children taking foreign language GCSEs in the city.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is a move to incorporate some Roma history into memorial occasions, for instance the Porajmos were remembered in some localities of Manchester on Armistice day 2013 and young Roma people were included in this remembrance.

The BHA developed a heritage teaching tool pack in 2012 that can be used by teaching staff to incorporate Roma heritage and history into their curriculum, raising awareness of Roma history among both young Roma and non-Roma students and with the aim of promoting understanding and inclusion.

#### **.C 5. Media image of the Roma people – positive and negative**

See A.9

#### **C 6. Are there any new social trends supporting Roma integration?**

As discussed, the presence of Roma in the UK is a relatively recent phenomenon, and one which is still being negotiated within communities and politics. The UK government at times seem almost wilfully ignorant to their presence, and their unwillingness to sign up to the common EU Framework on National Roma Integration Strategy seems indicative of this. The UK’s insistence on conflating the Roma population with the Gypsy and Traveller population is problematic due to their ‘very significant historical, cultural and demographic differences’ (Craig, 2013). Professor Gary Craig in a report assessing the UK’s NRIS states that ‘the Roma are... apparently included in a strategy which actually excludes them’. There is a move within some academia and at practitioner/community level to emphasise the need for a concrete Roma strategy from the UK government, that recognises the discrimination that they face and properly funds initiatives to support Roma integration in the UK.

#### **C 7. Are there any concrete mediation actions for Roma integration?**

To conclude this report, while there are some important steps to take in the UK, namely around a national strategy and recognition of the Roma population, there is also evidence of good practice working with

Roma at a local level. However these locally developed initiatives and the expertise that has emerged from these are at risk of losing funding, if they have not already.

Outreach work with Roma families and communities is recognised as playing a key role in building trust and improving outcomes for Roma – particularly with regard to education. The emerging network of Roma mediators in Manchester who provide in-class support, school-parent liaison and interpretation are supporting increased attainment and raising aspirations for young Roma.

Multi-agency working between schools, the local authority, voluntary sector, community organisations, health, police, universities etc has ensured that Manchester is seen as city with exemplary practice in promoting the integration of its new Roma residents.

There is a fear that ‘the skills and knowledge developed by specialist traveller teams and services over recent decades may be lost’ (Lever, 2012) with the sharp funding cuts occurring at both a national and local level. The effects of ‘mainstreaming’ services – in which services are provided with a broad brush approach and equality is said to be integrated into the day-to-day workings of a local authority, rather than with targeted intervention for particular groups – remains to be seen, however it is likely to present some challenges alongside its intended aims as funds decrease.

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## PART III

### 3. Consultation with parents and teachers

#### 3.1 Introduction

A crucial element of the research for understanding the role of prosociality in the school and the general environment of the school is to consult with teachers at the school and parents of children that attend the school.

Due to pragmatic reasons the format that has been adopted for the research is that of a consultation with parents and teachers present at a parent's evening event. Several attempts had been made to arrange a traditional focus group, however these have been cancelled last minute due to other pressing demands placed on the school contact. It was negotiated that The BHA could attend the parent's evening, as this would be a good opportunity to meet parents and teachers/pastoral staff and there was to be an 'information fair' that would be an appropriate venue for discussions with parents and staff and also to introduce the SMILE research to a wider audience. This setting also allowed us to understand more concretely the dynamics between the school and the parents, and particularly between the school and Roma parents.

A stall was set up in the school, with three members of staff - one of Romani origin and one Hungarian well acquainted with the local Romani community – manning the stall. Parents and teachers were invited to talk to the team, and in a language that they preferred, about the SMILE project and to respond to the questions developed by partners relating to prosociality, the school environment and the inclusion of Roma and non-Roma students.

Respondents could either write their own answers on a questionnaire, or could discuss their answers in a more conversational manner with a member of the research team who would then record their answers.

The questions asked were as follows:

1. Are you a teacher or a parent of a child that goes to the school?
2. Do you think there is a culture of helping, sharing, donating, co-operating and volunteering in the school? Which is most common? Are any of these less common?
3. Do you think these things happen between children regardless of their origin, ethnicity and personal characteristics? What might influence how much the children practice these things?

4. What is the most positive experience you have had with the school or what is your best memory that you/your child has had at the school?
5. Have you or your child had any disappointing experience at school?
6. Is there anything that needs to be improved in the school? What would you do if you were in charge?

Eight responses were recorded, with 4 members of teaching or pastoral staff responding and 4 parents (2 Roma, 2 non-Roma) responding. These questionnaires have been analysed and common themes collated below.

### **3.3.1 Main issues in the scholarship of the Roma children**

While we did not specifically refer to Roma in our consultation - due to ethical considerations and the sensitivity of the topic (particularly with parents in this case) - in discussion with teachers and pastoral staff, several issues are apparent that may affect the education of some of the Roma pupils in the school.

- Absenteeism, for instance – the child who does not feature at all in her classmate’s sociogram drawings has very poor attendance, and when she is in school she is late. This is affecting both her education in terms of attainment, but also her development of friendships in class. It is important to note however that poor attendance is not demonstrated by all the Roma pupils, with some attaining 100% attendance.

- In discussion with a senior member of the pastoral team, it became apparent that the Roma children from the class that we had conducted the sociogram exercise with previously, were now not all enrolled at the school. In later discussions however, when specific names of the Roma children were given, it was stated that they were attending school. So where at first this appeared to be an issue of early drop-out, this is perhaps actually an issue of knowledge and understanding of who is and is not Roma in the school. This under-ascription may have several causal factors, such as parents may not have said they were Roma, or the member of staff may not have understood what ‘Roma’ means. It is important to understand the context in which this research is done, the Roma are a relatively new population (although they have been in the UK in smaller numbers since the 1990s), and as such there is still some misunderstandings about the community within the majority population. For instance, the conflation of ‘Roma’ and ‘Romanian’ has been witnessed within the school.

- Integration across ethnicities – It was noted by one member of staff that children “tend to stick with their ethnicity group if there is one”. This was not seen as problematic, however this should perhaps be explored

in more detail to see what the cause of this is, and if friendship groups could be diversified. It was noted that this is more apparent where a shared first language is held between pupils, as this obviously facilitates a relationship based on mutual understanding.

- Lack of participation of the Roma families in the school life – this was evidenced simply by virtue of being invited to attend the Parent’s evening event. None of the parents of the 4 Roma children in the class that did the sociogram exercise attended despite being asked by teachers and pastoral staff on several occasions.

### **3.3.2 Reasons related to the problems**

- Poor English language skills, and poor provision of English language classes in the area. The UK government has changed and significantly reduced the funding for ‘ESOL’ (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes. This means that it is very difficult to access comprehensive English classes, with many families placed on waiting lists that can amount to several years prior to getting a place. There is strict criteria for funded places, and often there are no crèche facilities placing mothers at a particular disadvantage when it comes to learning the language.
- Related to the English of parents is the English language support of the pupils – and conversely it was also stated that children need support in their first language when they start at the school so that they can understand class and feel valued. One Hungarian mother, also involved with the school as a part-time language support/teaching assistant, stated that many families in the area ask why the schools do not have interpreters for their Hungarian/Romanian children. Her own children only got support with this after 7 or 8 months in the school, and it may have been more beneficial to start this earlier.
- Family commitments – i.e. the family of the child that has poor attendance and is often late when she does attend, live close to the school yet still have considerable difficulty getting to school on time. It is understood that the mother has a newborn baby and may have difficulty preparing the children on time. The parental involvement worker will liaise with this family to support the family around this so that the pupil may be more actively involved in school life.

### **3.3.3 How to overcome the problems**

- Create an environment in class that encourage formation of relationships and friendships beyond own ethnicity group
- Language support, more coordinated and intensive, particularly when a child starts at the school
- building a pleasant climate in class and a positive approach towards studying

- Participation in school life through play/playing – one parent particularly valued the way that her child (newly-arrived from Spain) had been involved in the school through their play activities and as such the child enjoyed going to school despite struggling with the English language
- stimulate good working relationship with local agencies and organisations involved in the informal education of children or the promotion of education, especially when trying to encourage the involvement of the families. One mother recognized that while the school had good values and promoted a welcoming environment, the neighbouring area was not so well established in this respect. She talked about leaving school and going to the shops or to the GP and hearing how people would discriminate against people from other ethnicities/nationalities. For instance a GP's receptionist talking to a Roma woman in a rude manner. To create a welcoming environment it is necessary to look also beyond the school gates, to the wider community.
- Education about the Roma culture in order to better understand this community – the need for this is apparent as some misunderstandings have been noted in relation to the sizeable Roma population that the school now have.
- Organize in a flexible way space, time and way of working in class (group class, small groups, tutoring, individual work) – the children recognized that being split into working groups like this is productive for learning.
- Encourage the use of exploratory, creative and collaborative technology tools - the children in particular have recognized the importance of learning through play and through technology.
- The organization of activities that may involve Roma and other parents (particularly other newly-arrived parents who may also struggle with the language) so as to build trust, rapport and establish good working relationships between the school and parents. This can be achieved through outreach work, and having a contact point in the school that speaks the language of the family – being willing to accommodate the needs of the family for a period of time (when they arrive to the school/UK).
- To address the limited engagement of families of Roma pupils the newly appointed In-class support/parental involvement workers will do outreach work with the families who do not attend to encourage participation at future events. In the interim period for those parents that missed the Parents evening, a specific event will be put on and engagement encouraged through the outreach workers. This will also address the pressing issue of absenteeism among Roma pupils.
- One parent felt that it would be great if the school could provide ESOL classes to parents when they arrive so that they can build confidence both in the school and in general. She advised that this should be delivered while the children were in school so that the parents have opportunity to learn

English while their children are in class. There is also a nursery at the school that may potentially be able to provide crèche facilities. This will be broached with the school and successful models discussed.

### **3.3.5 Other important points:**

- Oversubscription of school places. One parent spoke in particular about her children being out of school for over one year when they arrived in the UK from Romania. While this is not a factor that the school can mitigate, it is important to recognize the quite devastating affect that this can have on children, and their parents who may not be able to work and provide for their family in this period.
- All the parents were keen to state how helpful they had found the school. One mother told her story of arriving in the UK and not knowing how to find a school place for her children. When she finally did go into the school she was very nervous and also nervous about saying that she was Roma. She stated 'I say we are Roma community and I think oh god, perhaps it will make a difference but it did not. They were normal, I was very happy, there was no difference.' 'They don't care if you're rich or not, if you're Roma or not, they're nice to everyone.' Another mother said that when she first came she was pregnant and struggling. The school helped her with a package for her and the baby and with food for the family. She said that this was different to her experience in Romania, where teachers do not care if the family have problems. This mother got a 'good feeling' from the help that the school had given her. This is an example of good practice that can be shared across the partnership and promotes the idea of holistic practice – to help a child, the school must support the whole family where possible.
- The school has established quite a few of the elements of prosociality in its ethos already. All the parents talked about the recent Harvest collection that was to be donated to a local Food Bank (for people who cannot afford food) and which all children were encouraged to bring something to donate and explained the reasons why it is good to do this. The day after Parents evening the children were to dress in pink and donate £1 for a Breast Cancer charity. Evidencing that donation is weaved into the fabric of the school life. Children are actively encouraged to share and co-operate and no problems were perceived with this. One of the teaching staff however did state that they try to get volunteers but often people are reluctant (this may be in reference to the parents of children).
- The diversity of the school is much celebrated with examples such as a 'Destiny Africa' concert cited, where parents and children participated with clapping and singing. Christmas carols are sung around the Christmas tree and even parents who do not speak English say that they enjoy this experience. This celebration of diversity can be built upon to include the Roma culture more

explicitly. The children could be involved in this and a training pack developed by The BHA 'Long Roads' could be used to facilitate this.

## PART IV

### 4. Moreno Sociogram: The children's point of view

Prior to conducting the Moreno sociogram with pupils at Moston Lane Primary School, The BHA undertook some preliminary research and considered the contextual factors that should dictate how we approach the sociogram activity with the pupils.

Considering the diverse nature of the Manchester area and the school population was key for the researchers. City conurbations such as Manchester have recently been defined as 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007), meaning that no one ethnic group has a majority within a locality. In Moston Lane Primary School this diversity is also evident.

Manchester has been a popular home for many newly-arrived families, migrating both from within and outside of the European Union. While the Roma population is a relatively new community, there are other groups of migrants settling in Manchester too. Since the expansion of the EU many European citizens are calling Manchester home, and there are also asylum seeking refugee populations from outside the EU who are moving to the UK in the wake of war and turmoil in their countries of origin.

For this reason, we did not think it ethical to single out the Roma pupils for discussion in a class setting, but rather sought to ask broad questions that focus on matters of friendships, relationships and difference in the classroom. The BHA and the school were concerned that we should not leave the children with concerns about their Roma peers by asking leading questions, where they had not had concerns before. Instead we hoped to understand phenomenologically the classroom and the experiences within it as the children understood and explained it.

The researchers took note of the conceptual and methodological approach taken by the Institute of Education (<http://friendshipacrossdifference.com/>) in a ESRC funded project entitled 'Children & Adults' Friendships across Social Class & Ethnic Difference', as well as the literature from the project partners in the designing of the sociogram activity.

It was agreed with the school that we would do the sociogram activity with Year 2 (pupils aged 7 years old), as it was in this class that a Romani support worker had been placed and the class had several Roma pupils in it.

Three members of staff (2 project workers and 1 teaching assistant) spent an afternoon in the school with Year 2 pupils. Year 2 has 60 students split across two classes. It was agreed that we should concentrate on one class, with the highest proportion of Roma students. Of the class of 30 pupils, 4 are Roma – all of which are female. On this day we were able to speak to 22 members of the class and 3 of the Roma pupils. Over the course of an afternoon we met three small groups and discussed the sociogram and focusing questions with the pupils. The first group of 6 had opportunity to draw their impressions and answers as well as writing and verbalizing them. The following two groups did not get opportunity to draw due to time constraints. The three Roma pupils were in the second group. As we asked the class teacher to send pupils out by table we can assume that they sit close to each other in class usually.

The methodology that we followed was used to facilitate discussion and debate amongst the pupils and to encourage them to think about their friendships, relationships and differences between themselves and their classmates. The BHA designed a simple worksheet, in which the pupils were asked to enter their name in the centre circle. They were then asked to place their friends on the A4 sheet of paper, with their best friends closer to the centre circle and acquaintances further away from the centre circle. We found that some of the children began to name almost all of their classmates, and to place them all very near to the circle. To narrow down their choices we asked them to indicate with stickers 3 friends that they would invite for dinner at their house. This initiative worked well to indicate those closest to the children. (Please see the attached documents on the email for the scanned versions of the sociogram exercise).

We then initiated discussion and asked the children to record their responses to four questions. The four questions were as follows:

- What makes a good friend?
- How happy are you to share your belongings with your classmates?
- How are your friends and classmates different to you? IS it important if someone is different to you? Does your teacher ask you to work in pairs or groups with other children? Do you like doing this? Who do you like working with?

The children wrote down their responses if they felt able, or they were given the option to draw their responses. Some children in the first group took the opportunity to draw their responses. We also had a group discussion and one member of BHA staff took notes throughout the sessions to record the conversation.

## Sociogram Results

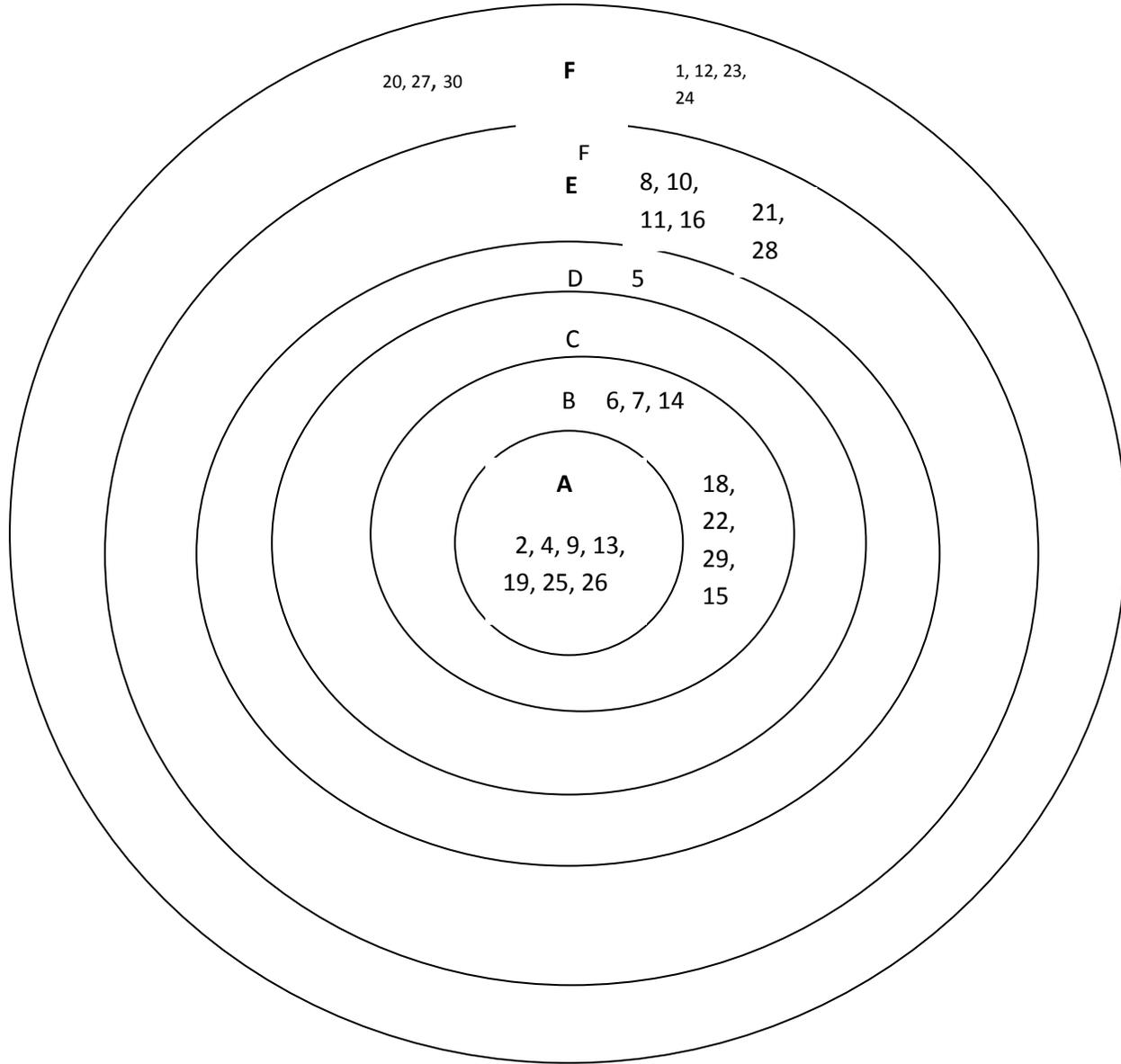
Below you will find a table with the results of the sociogram nominations recorded. Following the lead of ADRA we have used the indicators A-F to define the results.

- A = Popular, 3+ nominations
- B = Liked more than disliked, more positives than rejections
- C = Disliked more than liked, more rejections than positive
- D = Equal rejections and positives, “controversial” children
- E = Rejected children = 1 or 0 positive nomination and more rejections
- F = Neglected/invisible children, no positive nominations or rejections

However it should be noted that our methodology was not exactly the same due to our not asking for explicit negative relationships. What has been recorded however is whether the nomination that the child made was reciprocated by the pupil that they nominated, and this has been calculated in terms of ‘rejection’. There are limitations inherent with this approach as this data is taken from the 3 ‘sticker’ choices that the children could make, however they may still have placed other children on their sociogram drawing in general. However this approach was necessary to narrow down the often vast choices the children were making. Two of the children are anomalies, as they did not participate but received 1 nomination.

Pupil number	N1	N2	N3	Results	Other comments
1	.	.	.	Did not participate or receive nomination	Female – Asian F
2	13	7	26	Received 7 nominations and 3/3 of theirs were reciprocal	Female - very popular (including with all Roma pupils) most popular female A
3	.	.	.	Did not participate and received one nomination	Male – invisible ANOMALY
4	26	28	9	Received 4 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal	Female - fairly popular A
5	15	4	25	Received 2 nominations and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	Male - Quite rejected D
6	17	2	7	Received 3 nominations and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	female - Quite popular B

7	2	6	26	Received 3 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal	female - fairly popular B
8	11	19	25	Received 1 nomination and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	Male - quite rejected/invisible E
9	10	19	25	Received 7 nominations and 3/3 of theirs were reciprocal	female - very popular A
10	9	25	19	Received 1 nomination and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	male - quite rejected/invisible E
11	8	25	9	Received 1 nomination and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	Male - quite rejected/invisible E
12	.	.	.	Did not participate and received no nominations (Roma)	Female – invisible F
13	18	14	2	Received 3 nominations and 3/3 of theirs were reciprocal (Roma)	Female - fairly popular, 2 of 3 nominations are Roma A
14	18	2	13	Received 2 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal (Roma)	Female - fairly popular, 2 of 3 nominations are Roma B
15	21	29	5	Received 2 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal	Male - sufficiently popular B
16	22	3	19	Received 0 nominations and 0/3 of theirs were reciprocal (although 2 nominations did not participate)	Male - Polish, invisible E
17	.	.	.	Did not participate and received one nomination	Female – invisible ANOMALY
18	2	14	13	Received 2 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal (Roma)	Female - fairly popular, 2 of 3 nominations are Roma B
19	9	25	29	Received 6 nominations and 3/3 of theirs were reciprocal	male - very popular A
20	22	4	2	Received 0 nominations and 0/3 of theirs were reciprocal (although 1 nomination did not participate)	male – invisible F
21	6	5	15	Received 1 nomination and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	Female - quite invisible E
22	.	.	.	Did not participate and received 2 nominations	Male - sufficiently popular B
23	.	.	.	Did not participate or receive nominations	female – invisible F
24	.	.	.	Did not participate or receive nominations	female – invisible F
25	29	9	19	Received 8 nominations and 3/3 of theirs were reciprocal	male - very popular (most popular male) A
26	2	6	4	Received 5 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal	female - very popular A
27	7	26	25	Received 0 nominations and 0/3 of theirs were reciprocal	female – invisible F
28	4	9	26	Received 1 nomination and 1/3 of theirs was reciprocal	female - fairly invisible/rejected E
29	9	19	25	Received 3 nominations and 2/3 of theirs were reciprocal	male - sufficiently popular B
30	.	.	.	Did not participate or receive nominations	male – invisible F



The above bulls eye graph shows that there is an almost even split across categories A, B, E and F – indicating a range of relationships and classroom experiences. Fewer or no children are in categories C and D.

Category A includes 7 children, with a wide range within this group. For instance, one boy in this category has 8 nominations and one girl has 7 nominations (the most popular children), where at the bottom of the range we have the one Roma girl in this category with 3 nominations. It is worthy of note that 2/3 of these nominations are from the 2 other Roma pupils that took part in this exercise. This girl also received a reciprocal nomination from the most popular girl, who is non-Roma. It is also interesting to note that all the Roma children that took part nominated this same popular non-Roma girl.

Category B includes 7 children, who received more positive nominations than rejections. 2 of this cohort are Roma girls. They had 2 nominations each and both were from the other Roma girls that participated. Both of their non-Roma nomination was not reciprocated.

No children were placed in category C. This category conflates with category E in this case whereby they had few positive nominations and more rejections.

One child was placed in category D. The boy in the category did choose one of the Roma pupils for his nominations, but this was not reciprocated and he was not placed on the Roma girl's sociogram at all.

Category E included 6 children who we can class in this experiment as 'rejected' children. They had either 0 or 1 nomination and their nominations were not usually reciprocated.

Category F included 7 pupils. 1 Roma girl who could not participate in the experiment was placed in this category as she received 0 nominations. 5/8 children that did not participate have been placed in this category. There is likely a bias here as they were not present in the room in which relationship/friendship discussions were taking place and so may have been 'forgotten' by their classmates. This has led to a category of 'invisible' children.

The final two categories, category E and F necessitate a further discussion with the school and the class teacher to ascertain what dynamics are at play and whether there is cause for concern. More likely it is that there is a sort of "web" of popularity, whereby there are pupils that emerge as leaders in the classroom and others that follow but may not be as assertive or at the forefront of the classroom. *(Additional note: 24/10/14 – It has emerged in discussion with staff at the school that the attendance of the Roma girl in Category F is very low and she is often late, therefore stressed and anxious in class. The BHA has agreed to engage with the parents of this family so that hopefully an improvement will be seen regarding this young girl's friendships when the follow up sociogram exercise is conducted).*

It should be noted that the very popular girl, child number 2, is a migrant child also – from outside of the EU. This is perhaps a positive example of the integration and inclusion of all children in the school in question. While child 2 only nominated 1 of the Roma girls to come to her house for dinner/party, it is the case that she recognized the other two Roma girls that participated in the exercise in her overall sociogram drawing, and placed them relatively close to her centre circle.

## Questionnaire results

Below are the typed up answers that the children gave in response to the four questions asked of them. Following this a summary of the observation notes taken during the discussion. The responses are numbered according to the pupil number indicated in the table above. Separate to this document will be a confidential list of first names and pupil numbers so that cross-examination with the completed sociograms and drawings will be possible for the psychologist's synthesis report. Please do not use the names mentioned in this report as they are confidential and should be anonymized.

### *What makes a good friend?*

2. When I am sad, she cheers me up. She is very funny but I want her to be more funny.
4. Because they play with me. She gave me a card so we can be friends forever.
5. They care for you. They play nicely. They act nice.
6. Pupil 17 cares for me. They make me laugh. They always play. Pupil 2 likes me.
7. Pupil 6 always sticks up for me and she helps me.
8. If I ask him do you want to play he plays.
9. I like Pupil 25 because he plays out with me and we buy things for each other for Christmas. I like Pupil 19 because he sits next to me at dinner time. (Female pupil who chooses 2 male friends).
10. They are nice with me. They are playing with me.
11. At play time he plays good games. He listens to me.
13. I like Pupil 14 (Roma) because she always hugs me. They care about me.
14. Help when I first came to school.
15. Because they're great friends I go to their houses.
16. Its (sitting) next to me. Cause he always play with me. Makes me laugh. (Newly-arrived Polish child).
18. Pupil 14 (Roma) is my friend because I am her friend and she's my friend. I like about Pupil 14 that she is very kind. She help me to run.
19. Pupil 9 lets me play with her. Pupil 29 and Pupil 25 play football and they are on my team.
20. I like Pupil 22 because he's fast. I like Pupil 22 because he cares about me.
21. Help when I fall over. Playing with me.
25. Because he plays with me. Pupil 9 helps me. Pupil 19 plays football with me.
26. They make me happy when I am sad. She is funny but sometimes she helps me.
27. I like the three people who I choose (in the sociogram) because they are kind.

28. Pupil 26 is the kindest girl in the world because she plays with everyone. I like Pupil 4 because she makes me laugh and she is funny.

29. They always listen to me and if I ask for help they help me straight away.

*How happy are you to share your belonging with your classmates?*

2. I would share my scooter with Pupil 26. I wouldn't share my bike with anyone.

4. I'll share with Pupil 28, so when she goes to another new school we'll remember (each other).

5. I would share my bike with someone that is in my class who is the correct size and not a thief.

6. I would share my loom bands. I would share my bike.

7. Drawings depicting sharing Kindle, Playstation and dress – with Pupil 6 – but not everybody.

8. I trust Pupil 11 to not pop my ball.

9. I would share my Furby with Pupil 25 and I would share my loom-bands with anybody.

10. I share with Pupil 25 a ball.

11. I would share my wrestling figures with Pupil 8 because I know him for a long time.

13. Yes I would. But I wouldn't share with strangers.

14. I would share with my friend.

15. Yes. 😊 I will share with friends and family.

16. Drawing: Would not share laptop or Xbox. Maybe share cars with Pupil 22.

18. I will share with my friends.

19. I would share my ball with the whole class.

20. I would share with Pupil 22 with my football. I will share with (child not in class) with my trampoline.

21. Yes!! I would share my Xbox with Pupil 15.

25. I would share with anyone.

26. I wouldn't share my bubbles again with my cousin.

27. I would share my loom bands with Pupil 26.

28. I am okay if people give it back. Or if I have a loomband, lots of them, I could give them all my loomband.

29. Yes I would but I would mainly share with my family but not a lot with my mates.

*How are your friends and classmates different to you? Is it important if someone is different to you?*

2. She is funnier than me. He is mean and he's got a gang.

4. Pupil 26 is different because his skin is not the same (as mine).

5. Pupil 4 is from Thailand. Pupil 13 (Roma) speaks English when she is from a different country. Pupil 15 opened his head on a radiator.

6. /

7. /

8. Pupil 11 is younger than me. Pupil 8 is smaller than me.

9. I am different to Pupil 3 because he is 6 and I am 7. I am different to me because we have different eye colour.

10. They are good at football. Pupil 9 is different because she is a girl.

11. Pupil 25 is different to me because his skin is white and I have peach skin.

13. They are different. Pupil 2 has black hair but I have blondish hair.

14. Pupil 18 (Roma) knows how to clean. Pupil 2 is from another country in Africa.

15. She's a girl!

16. Pupil 3 is smaller than me. Pupil 22 is from a different country.

18. My friend, Pupil 14 knows how to skip and I don't know how to skip. She likes catch(?) but I don't like catch(?) I am from Romania but she is from Africa (about Pupil 2).

19. Pupil 20 is different to me because he talks a different language to me. Pupil 10 is the same as me because he plays football and I do.

20. They have loom bands and I don't. (Child not in class) comes from England and I come from Africa.

21. I like tuna. He is a boy. We like watermelon. We got a DS.

25. Pupil 9 is a girl. Pupil 9 has different hair.

26. I am different because my friend has blonde hair and I have black.

27. Pupil 26 likes running all the time.

28. Pupil 26 has different hair than me.

29. Pupil 19 is different because he's smaller than me and he has short hair than me and I have a different hairstyle.

*Does your teacher ask you to work in pairs or groups with other children? Do you like doing this? Who do you like working with?*

2. I like mixing up with people. I like working with Pupil 5.

4. I like playing and working with Pupil 26.

5. I like being in pairs and working with Pupil 2.
6. I like mixing up with Pupil 7 because we get things done.
7. I like mixing up with people because I like working with Pupil 25 and Pupil 6 because we get things finished.
8. Sometimes I don't like working with Pupil 11 (*although he names him as his friend earlier*).
9. I like working with Pupil 29 because we never talk.
10. I like work.
11. I like Pupil 25 because he is in my group.
13. Yes she does. She says I should work with Pupil 28 (non-Roma) but I like working with Pupil 14 (Roma).
14. I like working with Pupil 12 (Roma).
15. ½ and ½
16. I like Pupil 22 because I'm the same speed and we nearly are 1<sup>st</sup>.
18. I don't like to work in groups with other children. I like to work with my partner because he helps me write. He is Pupil 10, he is from Africa and he's black.
19. /
20. Sometimes.
21. Yes (they do ask). No (I don't like it). I like working with Pupil 15.
25. I like working with Pupil 7.
26. I like mixing up with people.
27. I like the teacher to choose a group for me.
28. I like working with Pupil 4 and Pupil 26.
29. Yes. (I like working with) Pupil 9.

#### Observational comments

The children were very well behaved and well mannered. They expressed often that they liked people in the class because or if they play with them. One child commented that "we're all friends in this class". This comment was reiterated by the Roma mentor who supports the children in class who stated that there is no noticeable difference in the classroom between Roma and Gaje children. He stated that there are no divisions based on ethnicity, but rather on behavior. One girl noted that she doesn't like to play with some of the boys because they twist their arms, Vasile (Roma mentor) has observed that this same group of boys will steal the football from the Roma boys at break time.

The children were more concerned to talk about what items they would and would not share, rather than who they would share with. This would often be expensive technology that they did not want to share. Some children talked about preferring to share with their family rather than friends.

Difference was most often discussed in terms of looks, language and country of origin. In a discussion about different skin colours (i.e. White, Black, Asian, Olive skin), one white British girl talked about being brown (tanned) because of the holidays that she had been to in Australia, Spain, America etc. This was in quite stark contrast to her fellow classmate's discussion of their holidays. Ethnicity and looks were secondary to similarities such as ability to play football.

The children appreciated that the class teacher often separated them into groups to work that were different from their friendship groups as they recognized that they got more work done this way, as with their friends they will talk and get in trouble.

### Discussion

It is evident from the data above, that the Roma girls in this class very much stick together and are a close community. It will be interesting to see if their external relationships with non-Roma children have expanded in the follow up sociogram after the prosocial intervention.

The final question regarding who the children work with best did not elicit any positive nominations for the Roma children from the non-Roma pupils, but 2 of the 3 Roma children did nominate each other as their preferred working partner.

The gender division was not as obvious as expected when talking about differences and friendships. However it can be seen that boys recognized the athletic (mainly footballing) skills of their male peers, and more often the boys would recognize the positive influence that their female friends could have with regard to their working in class.

The second most popular female child, Pupil 26 was mentioned often in the questionnaire. One child notes that she 'is the kindest girl in the world because she plays with everyone'. This summarises a main theme that has emerged from the discussion with the children, which is that *play* is a very important element of socialization and acceptance of your peers.

The values of sharing, helping and kindness were also often expressed by the children, indicating that an explicit prosocial approach could be implemented very successfully in the classroom to facilitate the improved integration of the Roma children in the classroom.

To conclude, while there is evidence of effective friendships and relationships within the classroom, and with the Roma children also sitting within these high-functioning friendship bands, there is also evidence of extremes – with very popular children, and rejected and “invisible” children. The children themselves recognized and affirmed the value of prosociality and this then could be used effectively to improve the class dynamics and improve the integration of all classmates. While the children did not verbalise anything negative towards any ethnicity – including Roma – they appear to gravitate towards children that they have perhaps “known a long time” and the Roma children certainly cluster together. In diverse and ‘super-diverse’ contexts it is important that proactive steps are taken to facilitate better, cross-community relationships within the school environment. The children’s enjoyment and appreciation of play, including organized sport, and of technology (evidenced by their constant discussion of items such as Kindle, Xbox, Playstation etc) are two areas that could be explored for routes to improved understanding, empathy and

friendships. In this way then The BHA is hopeful that the SMILE project will have a positive impact on the dynamics of this class, and many more in the future.