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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION
MARGARET GREENFIELDS AND DAN ALLEN
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Margaret Greenfields and Dan Allen

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It is with great pleasure that we accepted the invitation to co-edit this special edition of *Today's Parents are Tomorrow's Children* which focuses upon the specific challenges faced by Roma children and families in Europe and the wider world. This special edition arose from a conference stream within the **Second World Congress on Resilience: from Person to Society,** held at the **University of Timisoara in May 2014** and we were both excited and honoured to be asked to develop a call for papers which provided scope for consideration of papers from a very broad range of disciplines which all in some ways considered "*The well-being of Gypsy, Traveller and Roma Children and Families - investing in the future by supporting families experienc-*

ing migration, exclusion, racism and stress".

As our call for papers emphasised it was the intent that the content of the themed special edition would "*address the welfare of the Roma (Gypsy/Traveller) child and young person in the widest context (of necessity reflecting the situation of wider family members who are experiencing stress as a result of social exclusion, migration pressures; racism; ill-health or poverty)*" and we particularly welcomed contributions from a wide geographical area (this edition indeed includes a paper on education of Calon/Roma families in Brazil) as well as from practitioners able to discuss *practical support measures, best practice and transferable modes of engaging with children, young people and families to increase well-being and enhance outcomes for children.* Contributions were welcomed " *from the fields of youth work, law, migration studies, social work, anthropology; social policy/political science and education or health*" and we were not disappointed in the range offerings, with submissions from the disciplines of psychology, education, linguistics, law and cultural studies, youth studies, social policy and beyond.

The current double issue of the TCTP Journal, (no.40-41), is very much an eclectic set of offerings, united under the single theme of recognition of both how Roma experiences of marginalisation and racism can have inter-generational negative impacts, and also identifying the potential which already exists both within resilient communities and which can be co-created with professionals and services, to disrupt and challenge cycles of exclusion and 'othering' which have long-term negative impacts on Roma children and families.

Whilst awareness of the challenges faced by Roma populations (the largest minority ethnic group in Europe, estimated at between 10 and 12 million people[1]) has never been so prominent on the international policy and research agenda, it is striking that despite commitments made at the highest level to challenging the wide-spread exclusion experienced by these populations the gap in access to resources, opportunity and achievement between Roma and non-Roma would appear to be decreasing slowly, if at all, with particularly notable discrepancies in social inclusion and worse outcomes experienced by Roma women (FRA, 2011, 2013) as a result of intersectional marginalisation and discrimination. Indeed racism against Roma is on the increase at an international level (European Network Against Racism (ENAR), 2015) and harsh anti-migrant rhetoric and media driven negative stereotypes are frequently levelled at Roma populations practising their legal right of freedom of movement (Fekete, 2014).

Thus the situation and future prospects of Roma children and families remains profoundly disturbing, despite the fact that all member states are under obligations to enactment and monitor National Roma Integration Strategies (EC, 2012) which focus on domains of health, employment, education and accommodation equity. Moreover we are now reaching the end of the Decade of Roma Inclusion initiative (2005-2015)[2] in which the governments of 12 member states with substantial Roma populations committed to working with Roma civil society, intergovernmental organisations such as OSCE; World Bank and nongovernmental organizations to close the gap in welfare and living conditions between the Roma and non-Roma popula- tions whilstseeking to end to the cycle of poverty and exclusion experienced by many Roma people. Despite these initiatives, on the ground the experiences of Roma people is often one of great hardship, exclusion and daily struggle and it is both challenging and refreshing to read the papers within this edition which present empirical evidence of resilience as well as sug- gesting alternative theoretical modelling and practical processes by which communities can be strengthened and supported.

In this volume which includes papers by scholars working in Hungary, Romania and the UK, we commence with a study by **Katya Dunajeva and Heather Tidrick** which sets out to prob-

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1 See further the Council of Europe webportal on 'Roma' people. http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/roma/ and individual population estimates by member state available at that page.
2 See the official Decade of Roma Inclusion website for further information on the 12 member states engaged in this project and their priority target areas http://www.romadecade.org/#

lematize the foregrounding of Romani language projects in Hungary where use of Romani is presented as key to empowerment and hence strengthening well-being of Roma youth through self-esteem. In their paper they seek to objectively assesses the relationship between Romani language and the welfare of Roma youth through focusing on implicit and explicit claims about its significance for Roma/Gypsy youth welfare.

In the second paper, **Radosveta Dimitrova and Venzislav Jordanov** turn their attention to resources aimed at enhancing the wellbeing of Roma youth in Bulgarian schools and how a sense of ethnic belonging and identity which combines both Roma and Bulgarian identity can be operationalised to increase cohesion, social identify and well-being for young Roma experiencing marginalisation.

Greta Persico in writing about an entirely different cultural context far away from Europe, brings a different perspective to considerations of educational challenges faced by Roma/Calon communities in Brazil. In this paper she recounts how sensistive co-production of pedagogic practice leads to an enhanced understanding by nomadic Calon families of the importance of supporting their young people to remain in education. Contrasting two distinct approaches utilised by schools with Calon populations she considers the benefits of close-knit supportive relationships between parents and teachers which offers scope for collaboration and flexible support mechanisms, in contrast to operationalising paternalistic methods which set nomadic children on a path to academic failure and limits their opportunities.

Returning to Europe, both of the final two papers in this edition concern research sites in the UK, and explore the experiences of young Roma migrants to Britain. In **Jenny Robson**'s article critically examines the dilemmas experienced by education practitioners as they work to overcome resistance to Roma children newly arrived in England from Slovakia. Through case study analysis her paper considers the various ways that teachers describe, recognise, understand and respond to a prevalent negative discourse about Roma children. In using the data she has gathered the author argues that negative discourse obscures and validates (at an institutional level) inequality and breaches of human rights for Roma children thus perpetuating a cycle of discrimination.

The final paper of this volume, written by **Phil Henry and Simon Williams** moves outside of the school setting and describes how an innovative project in the city of Derby has responded to large scale Roma migration by supporting the development of a Roma-led advocacy organisation which engages in youth work that puts Roma children and young people at the heart of its work. The authors show that by using traditional youth work values the team have been able to engage, and educate informally in ways that reflects a positive sense of wellbeing for children and young people involved in the programme, not only acting a space which diverts young people from involvement with criminal justice systems but also acting as a consistent theme in the lives of young people has provided a stable and safe space against a backdrop of family life, which has the potential to exacerbate social exclusion and perpetuate a lack of social mobility.

As can be seen the diverse range of papers in this themed special volume shed light not only upon the challenges experienced by children and young people in a range of different national settings but offer significant scope for reflection on best practice in supporting young people, as well as permitting of reflection on whether those models which are presumed to be self-evident (i.e language as empowerment, in-school support) are necessarily the most effective in working with young people who will be the adults and parents of tomorrow.

We, (the co-editors) **Margaret Greenfields and Dan Allen**, have briefly outlined above some of the key concerns in relation to the impacts of marginalization and racism on the long-term well-being of Roma young people.

This concern is also reflected in the papers selected for the second themed volume of the journal which continues with the theme of resilient individuals and Roma communities in the face of

sometimes almost over-whelming odds. The papers in this edition once more theoretical and empirical represent a cross-section of disciplines and nations, albeit often presented in 'themed pairs'. Thus we match a solidly empirical social policy study by **David Smith and Margaret Greenfields** with a legal and cultural studies paper by **Emma Pratchett** which utilises inter-disciplinary praxis to reflect critically upon the juridical articulation of the concept of 'home' viewed through the prism of Romanian Roma Alina Serban's dramatic monologue *I, the Undersigned, Alina Serban, Declare*, coupled with recent case law involving Article 8 to achieve a theoretical analysis of the effective potential of Article 8 in the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). In this paper, her aim is to propose an alternative jurisprudential narrative whereby the right to respect for a home can be understood in terms of both its material and onto-logical conditions, in order to suggest ways in which the protection afforded to the Roma family home can be strengthened. In stark contrast, **Smith and Greenfields** also explore the nature of home and preference for culturally cogniscent accommodation as experienced by forcibly sed-entarised British Gypsies and Travellers who become settled (if seldom acclimatised to) 'bricks and mortar' accommodation, whilst engaged in a cultural struggle to retain identity practices and community networks following their failure to achieve residence on 'caravan sites'.

In **Florina Pop and Maria Roth's** paper, we return to mainland Europe as the authors considers the role of ethnic divisions and social capital in understanding the narratives of Romanian Roma high school students. The aim of this research was to analyse the resources and barriers Roma adolescents identify in their life context and the role of these factors in assigning Roma youth their future educational and career path. The narratives of poverty and enacted racism (sometimes disturbingly emanating from teachers) makes for at times harrowing reading whilst providing plentiful scope for reflection on the pragmatic resilience expressed by young people as they identify resources in their life context such as parents, teachers or colleagues, whilst simultaneously referring to 'inferiorization' promoted by teachers and fellow students and the difficulties they believe they will experience in continuing their studies or pursuing a certain career.

The following pair of papers are both again set in the UK and explore the themes of grief and loss amongst Gypsy and Traveller children. In **Carol Roger's** empirical study, which is ground-ed in practice as an Early Years specialist, she explores the impacts of multiple bereavements and unresolved grief amongst Gypsy and Traveller households and the impact on family func-tioning. Bereavement is a significant health concern for Gypsies and Travellers with substan-tially higher levels of suicide, maternal and infant mortality, miscarriage and stillbirth than in wider society and multiple bereavements can result in long term health implications including depression, anxiety, and complicated grief reactions in adults. The significance of bereavement and loss within these groups can therefore result in a continuum of loss and complicated grief throughout the lifespan although the effects on children of loss, or living with carers who are experiencing bereavement remain largely unrecognised both in mainstream society and more generally within Gypsy and Traveller households.

Finally, **Dan Allen's** study of children in the public care system also focuses on the theme of loss and cultural trauma as he explores the narratives and disrupted life experiences of young Travellers from the UK and Ireland who had entered into foster or adoptive care and as a result experienced traumatic loss of identity, racist bullying and stigma which impacted re-entry into their communities in adulthood. In contrast, those young people placed in 'care' with members of their own ethnic group reported substantially better outcomes as a result of familiarity with culture and avoiding the need to 'hide' or their identity or resist assimilation. Allen's paper provides substantial levels of guidance and recommendations on best practice in foster care placements for Gypsies, Traveller and Roma children and as such this final article offers scope for practice elements to be transferred internationally to enhance good practice in working with

children in public care.

This collected volume, in presenting case studies from diverse locations, thus mixes theory and practice and crosses interdisciplinary boundaries whilst remaining centrally engaged with notions of resilience, family functioning and wellbeing. As such we welcome the opportunity to have co-edited this edition of Today's Parents and Tomorrow's Children and look forward to entering into dialogue with readers as to the content and translational practice and knowledge selected for inclusion in this volume. Finally we wish to thank the reviewers who worked so hard to support the process of developing these two journal editions, and also Professor Ana Muntean our commissioning editor for her immense patience, courtesy, tolerance and good humour in working with us to bring these two volumes to print.

Margaret Greenfields and Dan Allen
May 2015

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ROMA/GYPSY YOUTH EMPOWERMENT AND ROMANI LANGUAGE: CASE STUDY OF HUNGARY

Katya Dunajeva and Heather Tidrick

Katya Dunajeva

Katya received her PhD from the University of Oregon, department of Political Science in September 2014. Her dissertation examined Roma identity formation in Hungary and Russia, and built on extensive fieldwork in both countries. Currently, Katya teaches at EotvosLorand University in Budapest, Hungary. While Katya is actively engaged in scholarly pursuits, she firmly believes in bridging academia with public policy; she served for two years on Open Society Foundation Youth Initiative's Advisory Board and currently works as a political analyst at Political Capital – Policy Research and Consulting Institute.

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"*Te astaras o jekhipe amara čhibake avela o angluno phir karing amaro jekhedžengo khetanipe.* To achieve the unity of our language will be the first step toward achieving our unity as a people."
Ian Hancock, first World Romani Congress, 1971 (Hancock 2010, 117)

Abstract

This paper assesses the relationship between Romani language and the welfare of Roma youth. By examining the puzzling position of Romani language in the project of Roma empowerment in Hungary, focusing on implicit and explicit claims about its significance for Roma/Gypsy youth welfare, this paper evaluates language advancement in the context of conflicting views on Romani language and Roma/Gypsy identity. By highlighting contradictions entailed in employing Romani language to promote Roma well-being, we have analysed the issue holistically, considering perspectives from all "players": members of the non-Roma majority, Roma, and

non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other institutions.

The paper argues that sustainable welfare improvement for Roma/Gypsies and a better future for their children depend on (1) successful Roma/Gypsy social integration and/or (2) their political emancipation and cultural self-determination. Two major factors present challenges to both outcomes: (1) Roma/Gypsy diversity and (2) a progressively more exclusionary political and social climate in Hungary and the region. Given the barriers to achieving these aims, we urge a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how promotion, (re)teaching, and standardization of Romani language affect the welfare of the target group.

Introduction

For several decades, Romani language has been engaged internationally as a tool for building solidarity and promoting social advancement of Roma. Language revitalization is a common strategy for minority group empowerment, whether to advance their 'members' well-being or with an eye towards nation-building, but in the case of Roma/Gypsies it has many complicating factors. With worldwide geographic distribution of its speakers, extensive dialectical variation, low social status, and the absence of a nation- state in which Roma constitute the majority group, Romani lacks the definitive and cen- tralized geographic "home" and much of the institutional infrastructure that many world languages enjoy. The process of codification, standardizing lexicon and orthography, is thus complex indeed. Whether spoken or written, there are significant variations in Romani language as it is used across the world. In addition, many Roma/Gypsies do not speak the Romani language. In Hungary in particular, due to a history of both forced and voluntary assimilation, most speak only the majority language of Hungarian, and the portion of the ethnic Roma/Gypsy population that speaks Romani is actually quite small.[1] Of the three ethnic sub-groups of Roma/Gypsies, only one comprises speakers of Romani. Hungary is thus a fruitful context for analyzing Romani language revitalization and its contradictions when undertaken to promote Roma well-being, demonstrating some of the problems that would be relevant for Roma/Gypsy groups in many geographic contexts. The Hungarian context, especially its Roma/Gypsy diversity, helps explain why there is

significant resistance to the project, even as there are Roma leaders (such as Ian Hancock) who believe Romani language to be essential to Roma mobilization. Indeed, some persons of such heritage in Hungary favor the self-designation of *cigány* ("Gypsy") over the Romani term *Roma* ("the people"; literally, adult men) on the basis of not speaking Romani language.[2] Thus, as a key marker of cultural distinction both between Roma and non-Roma *andamong Roma/Gypsy subgroups*, Romani language is a valuable lens through which to consider both Gypsy diversity and anti-Gypsyism as they relate to the project of Roma empowerment.Our paper assesses, in particular, *the potential of Romani language to advance the welfare of Roma/Gypsy youth in Hungary* in light of these complications. We discuss some initiatives for Romani language advancement as well as the sociocultural context in which they are implemented. Our analysis strives to examine perspectives from all "players": members of the non-Roma majority, Roma, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other institutions. Our paper is divided to three complementary sections: In Part I we discuss the characteristics and importance of Roma languages. In Part II,we demonstrate how Romani language may be seen as a tool for promoting Roma welfare by various actors, and what the potential obstacles are. Subsequently, in Part III we consider the "bottom-up" view or perception of Romani language among Roma and non-Roma alike. We find that efforts at Romani language advancement often conflict significantly with views on Romani language and Roma/Gypsy identity on the ground. *We argue that addressing the factors of Gypsy di-*

versity and anti-Gypsyism is crucial for realizing improved well-being for today's Roma youth and their future families. Our holistic discussion of Romani language initiatives and the social context surrounding Gypsy languages and persons in Hungary demonstrate the necessity of addressing these concerns in order to advance Roma/Gypsy well-being, *no matter what tool is being employed.*

Part I
Linguistic diversity of Roma/Gypsies in Hungary

The characteristics of the three main ethnic subgroups of Roma/Gypsies in Hungary(namely, Romungros, Beash, and Vlax Roma)and their primary languages are reflected in Tables 1 and 2 below. Accounting for the diversity or even simply the number of Roma through census or other numerical data is difficult and often misleading (e.g., Surdu *forthcoming*). As indicated below, there are two distinctive Gypsy language traditions in Hungary — Romani and Beash — linguistically unrelated to one another, and also to Hungarian. Although subgroups are identified by their language traditions, assimilation to Hungarian language as a mother tongue is increasingly common across all groups, as we discuss further below.

Table 1

Subgroup name	Language-based categorization[1]	Historical linguistic roots of primary mother tongue	Most commonly spoken dialects in Hungary	Regional distribution
Vlax (Olah) Roma	**Romani-speaking**	Indo-European, descended from Proto-Sanskrit, with elements of Byzantine Greek	Lovari (becoming dominant) Carpathian	Dispersed; Carpathian dialect is common in traditional communities in Csobánka (Pest County) and Versend, (Baranya County)
Beash	**Beash-speaking[2]**	Indo-European, descended from archaic Romanian	Ticsan Muncsan Argyelan	Concentrated in Baranya county in Southwestern Hungary, and Tiszantul region
Romungro	**Hungarian-speaking (majority)[3]**	Finno-Ugric	Hungarian	Dispersed

Table 2/a and Table 2/b

Roma/Gypsy population in Hungary as reflected in official census data[4]	2001	2011
Total Number	205 720	315 583
Ethnic affiliation[5]	189 984	308 957
Romani *or* Beash as mother tongues	48 438	54 339
Romani *or* Beash spoken at home	53 075	61 143

Year	Hungarian	Beash	Romani	Other
1893	79.5%	10.0%	4.5%	6.0%
1971	71.0%	7.6%	21.2%	0.2%
1993	89.5%	5.5%	4.4%	0.6%
2003	86.9%	4.6%	7.7%	0.8%

Mother tongue language of Roma/Gypsies in Hungary[6]

1 Based on Forray and Beck (2008), p. 45.
2 Dialectical variation is extensive in Beash, as well, to the point that some experts argue that categorizing Beash peoples and languages under one umbrella term has no linguistic foundation. Arató (ND) observes that the dialects feature unique and distinctive grammars and borrowings from other languages, and therefore cannot be considered to be a unified language. This is a contested and highly politicized issue.
3 There is a very small Romani-speaking group of Romungros as well, speaking the Carpathian dialect.

4 Based on 2011 census data assessment available at http://nemzetisegek.hu/repertorium/2013/03/belivek_23-55.pdf
5 "Ethnic affiliation" refers to those who were categorized as ethnically affiliated with Roma/Gypsy group, but who do not neces-
sary speak any of the Gypsy languages.
6 Based on data from Kemeny and Janky (2003).

As a living testament to their ancestors and their retention of cultural distinction in spite of centuries of oppression and stigma, Romani can be a profoundly important cultural marker for speakers of the language. Its very existence is suggestive of resistance and resilience, since its speakers were subjected to state repression ranging from forced assimilation during the Habsburg and state socialist periods to mass murder during World War II. Moreover, it has the potential — both symbolically and pragmatically — to link Roma across the geographic boundaries of all the countries in which they are an ethnic minority. Due to the symbolic bridge Romani language provides to a shared Roma/Gypsy heritage, whether in Byzantine Greece or the Indian subcontinent, it is often invoked as a marker of cultural authenticity — with a double-edged quality, the ability both to unite and divide.[9]

Romani language in the Hungarian context
Most instances of Romani language use in Hungarian public culture are highly limited. Thus, they seem to serve a symbolic rather than pragmatic purpose. Isolated Romani words are frequently used to name organizations or programs in which the language of discourse is almost exclusively Hungarian or English. The Barvalipe camp organized through the Open Society Institute (meaning "richness" or "pride"), and local organizations Phralipe ("brotherhood"), Khetanipe ("unity" or "togetherness"), and Kalyi Jag ("black fire") are some examples. Whenever a program or event is intended to serve a diverse audience or client base, whether including non-Roma or targeting Roma/Gypsies across all subgroups, Romani cannot be practically employed to render intelligible texts that would otherwise be unavailable to their audiences due to language barriers. Hungarian is generally the most effective language to employ for any program targeting Hungarian-born persons, regardless of their ethnic origins. When an international audience is targeted, English is usually the language of choice.

More extensive Romani language use in the public sphere is thus generally relegated to the realm of the arts, mainly in music and poetry. There are numerous bands that perform Romani-language repertoire, including some that are notably ethnically mixed, such as Besho Drom ("riding the road"). Many such bands have a loyal following, including some non-Roma. However, between songs, the audience is addressed in Hungarian. The reach of the activities is also limited, only a small fraction of the Hungarian majority takes an interest in anything associated with Roma/ Gypsies (Tidrick fieldnotes, 2012).

In one unusual example, a performance of Federico Garcia Lorca's classic play "Blood Wedding" was staged in Budapest in 2000 in Romani translation. The performance highlighted many of the complications of employing Romani language in public culture in Hungary. The ethnically mixed audience included ethnic Roma/Gypsies from Hungary and beyond, ethnic Magyars, and many non-Roma foreigners, few of whom could understand the language of the performance. Indeed, even some of the actors had memorized lines in a language that was foreign to them, since the dialect of translator Dragan Ristic, who is Serbian Rom, differs from that spoken in Hungary.

This case raises many questions: Who was the target audience for the translated script? What was the value of performing in what was essentially a foreign language for most of the people in the venue? What is recognized through the process of the performance? What is the purpose of Romani language in this context? Many of these questions continually arise when Romani language is used in Hungarian public settings.

The emerging employment of Romani language in bureaucratic and NGO contexts raises similar questions. When Viktor Orbán's administration ratified the new "Foundational Law of Hungary" in 2012, they commissioned translators to render the document in Romani language. The European Roma Rights Centre has also included Romani language translations of their human rights publications for

many years. This translation of government and NGO documents requires creativity to a degree that many are unaware; it often requires the creation of new words, borrowing from other languages, or employing Romani words in a new sense entirely.[10] Not unique to Romani, this is part of the art of translation — especially when a language used primarily in an oral tradition is extended into a written realm, and particularly in the jargon-laden context of bureaucracy. However, given the small number of Romani speakers in Hungary, and the clear absence of pragmatic utility for communication in this context, the reasoning behind this labor is unclear. As written documents, such texts have an even narrower audience than oral performances, since even native Romani speakers often do not have reading literacy in their language.

With differences in dialect and orthography and a rather limited base of native speakers, the pragmatic function of Romani language is rather limited in Hungary outside the individual Vlax Roma households in which it is a primary language of communication. Yet it is frequently invoked as central to the project of Roma empowerment and mobilization. This contradiction is the puzzle we investigate in the remainder of this paper.

Part II
How might Romani language promote Roma/Gypsy welfare?

The reigning orthodoxy in contemporary Europe is that so-called Roma integration, which is the key to success and well-being of all Roma, including youth; nevertheless, there is no consensus on the process toward integration or what criteria define its successful outcome. This dissensus is reflected clearly in the divergent approaches in different institutions, international and national policies, and individual attitudes related to Romani language, and indeed, any markers of Gypsy/Roma cultural distinction.

Some institutions emphasize the strengthening of individual ethnic identity of Roma people as a route toward social integration and empowerment, including improved educa-

tional outcomes, living conditions, and overcoming stigma and marginalization. In some cases this identity promotion is geared toward building solidarity among Roma/Gypsies in Hungary. Others take this notion a step further in promoting a transborder Roma nation. Our observation is that the following assumptions usually underlie the engagement of Romani language as an avenue to improve Roma youth welfare:

Recognizing and utilizing Romani language in educational and bureaucratic contexts serves the *practical function of challenging linguistic disadvantage* for children raised in Romani-speaking households, promoting their social integration.

Promoting Romani language as a *positive marker of distinction* promotes pride and respect for Roma culture among Roma youth, increasing self-esteem and confidence in their cultural identity.

Romani serves as *"social glue"* for the diverse Roma population, enhancing cohesion, solidarity, and a sense of community, all prerequisites for improved living standards and effective political representation.

As a *tool of nation building,* Romani language helps legitimize Roma as a transborder nation, elevating the status of the group internationally and domestically, thereby building self-esteem. Since Romani language is "the primary identity factor of…Roma" in the current European nation-state system, "emancipation" of Romani language (through codification) becomes necessary (Halwachs 2003, 9).

The validity of these principles is rarely examined, and the assumptions rarely stated when an organization argues for, or actively promotes, Gypsy language(s) toward the goal of Roma/Gypsy well-being.

In this article, we do not intend to make assertions about the value of Romani language in any of the above functions. It is our profound belief that Romani language and cultural practices deserve respect and support, regardless of their practical utility for advancing Roma empowerment. *Rather, by examining the contradictions entailed in language mo-*

bilization efforts in the Hungarian context, we hope to demonstrate the importance of combating anti-Gypsyism and taking into account the diversity of Roma/Gypsy people in any and all attempts to advance their well-being. These are crucial components of the lived experience of Roma youth, and their brighter future depends on successfully addressing these factors.

The history of Romani language mobilization in Hungary

During the state socialist period in Hungary, Roma intellectuals began an emancipatory movement, including promotion of a Roma national culture and the idea of a Roma nation (Majtenyi & Majtenyi 2012, 130). Codification and advancement of Gypsy languages (both Romani and Beash) were important components of this movement, and they were believed to be tools for intra-group solidarity, with potential as social glue and as a positive marker of distinction. Sometimes it was also explicitly engaged as a tool for nation-building.

In the 1950s, Mária László, the first secretary general of the Association of Roma, (*Cigányszövetség*) fought for official use of Gypsy languages in education institutions, media, and other cultural establishments. "We want to be equal citizens…in our dark and sad life, which is equal to exclusion and hatred, we demand help for our human advancement (*emberi felemelkedés*)" (quoted in Majtenyi & Majtenyi 2012, 55). For László, Romani language support and cultural promotion was linked fundamentally to the improvement of Roma welfare.

Romani language music and poetry became visible in the public sphere in Hungary in the 1970s and '80s, when the Hungarian Roma intellectual and Romani language poet Károly Bari began publishing and publicly reading Roma folk tales and poetry, and musical groups such as Kalyi Jag also began performing songs representing Vlax Romani music traditions (Kovalcsik 2010). These grassroots initiatives made a powerful impression on some Roma, helping to build a burgeoning

sense of pride in cultural distinctions that were heavily maligned. Reflecting recently on those early years, one of Bari's contemporaries recalled how inspired she was by the way he was proud and unashamed in his Gypsy identity, walking tall in the streets of Budapest.[11]

Many of these pioneers embraced language as a crucial element to promoting such pride and overcoming boundaries among Gypsies in Hungary. Bari claimed the following in a 2010 interview: "Numerous Hungarian dialects were made fit for the contemporary requirements of communication during the age of reforms [early- to mid-19th century in Hungary—trans. note]. Today, we must unite and modernize the Gypsy language" (as quoted in Majtenyi & Majtenyi 2012, 29). This project of uniting and codifying the language was taken up by others in this time; for instance, in 1984, József Choli Daróczi coauthored a small Romani-Hungarian dictionary with Levente Feyér (Daróczi & Feyér 1984). Around the time of the regime change from state socialism, several key youth-focused institutions were established with the goal of promoting and preserving Gypsy identity/ies, partly through language instruction in Gypsy language/s. These organizations, such as the Gandhi Secondary School, Collegium Martineum, and Romaversitas, became central to Roma education and youth empowerment, and have modestly contributed to the recognition of Romani (and to a much lesser extent, Beash) in national and international circles. In most cases these initiatives seemed to be engaging Romani language either as a social glue or as a positive marker of cultural distinction. The requirement at the Gandhi school that all students study both Gypsy languages suggests that, rather than attempting to challenge linguistic disadvantage by including support for native speakers of a Gypsy language, pedagogues there have sought to enhance the youths' pride in their own identity as Gypsies and mutual respect and understanding of Gypsies of different cultural traditions within Hungary. They reinforce this approach by teaching the children

both the Romani national anthem "Dželem, dželem" and the Beash hymn (Tidrick fieldnotes, 2012).

These efforts begun during the state social- ist period,emerging organically from Romani speakers within Hungary, have therefore been different in fundamental ways from many of those appearing in the postsocialist period, mediated by NGOs, the European Union, and other actors external to Hungary.[12] The latter postsocialist period has placed greater emphasis on standardization of Romani language in the name of transborder nation-building, arguably with political motivations (Halwachs 2003, 9).

Romani language and national claims

In 1872, the International Statistical Congress established that "language was the only valid category that could statistically capture cultural nationality…and the best objective indicator which could possibly be devised" (Arel 2002, 98). Coming from the foundational organization establishing international demographic standards and census categories, this decision had far-reaching authority and consequences. As one example, an early 20th century Hungarian census used language to determine the size of the Gypsy population (Majtenyi & Majtenyi 2012, 22). Given the high degree of language assimilation, this methodology led to the false conclusion that their number was insignificant.

Language and nation have essentially been equated since the late 19th century, and the international Romani movement joined rather late in history. In fin-de-siècle Europe, "language was meant to be the great decoder of nationality" (Arel 2002, 98). Ernest Gellner described language as a "necessary touchstone of [culture]" and an important indicator of modernization (transition from pre-industrial to industrial societies) (1983, 43). Languages either must gain similar status in a nation-state as the majority language, or, to escape the "handicap," Gellner continued, such groups may choose assimilation to the dominant language and culture. Gellner's statement, however, might not hold true to-

day, when numerous NGOs and non-governmental organizations are changing the landscape of power structures.

Although the definition of nationality has changed over time, and language is accepted as a fluctuating marker, it nevertheless remained its critical signifier, and the status of nationhood bestows group recognition and guarantees certain rights and privileges. Consequently, national and cultural identity, with national language as the foundation, can be a critical tool to promote national consciousness and build "new" nations, which are often needed to legitimize political claims and certain rights for the very group.[13] In addition, language acts as "social glue," or an identifying marker of the nation, and reflects the status of its speakers in a given society, especially if the state acknowledges only one official language.

In the context of this dominant ideology, given the centrality of language for a group's *political and social status* both internationally and within their national society, it is not surprising that international actors see Romani language as a critical tool to achieve unity, "a reminder of the common cultural heritage among the diverse Roma communities in Europe" (Council of Europe, 2013). Following the national-cultural autonomy model and the concept of national self-determination, actors in the international Romani movement began a push for international recognition of Roma as a non-territorial nation at the 1971 World Romani Congress (Goodwin 2004; Hancock 1991), where a national flag and anthem, as well as a new ethnic label (Roma) were chosen. This marked a key moment in international Romani politics. At that time, and ever since, the International Romani Union has identified Romani language as a key issue (Hancock 1995, 31; McGarry 2010,143). Not onlya means of communication,language also serves as a medium of power necessary for groups to pursue their own interests and display their competence (see Bourdieu 1993). The quote by Ian Hancock that begins this article exemplifies the importance placed on Romani language during the 1971 meeting.

Many international Romani leaders continue to embrace this sentiment. In the absence of a state representing the interests of Roma, many non-governmental organizations and international actors have taken up the cause of Roma advancement, including the support for Romani language as a key component of national claims. Yet the "possible standardization" advocated by some leaders would involve challenging decisions about dialects, inevitably requiring inclusions and exclusions that would favor one group over another in the process of codification. Moreover, as in Hungary, many Roma/Gypsies world- wide do not speak Romani language. Thus, calling Romani language "the mother tongue of the 10-15 million European Roma" (The European Roma and Travellers Forum, ND) might be, bluntly, a gross misrepresentation of Roma/Gypsy diversity.

Romani language and Roma/Gypsy youth welfare promotion

International and national nongovernmental organizations in Hungary continuously publish recommendations in support of promoting, teaching, and assuring wider access to Romani language. Sharing the premise that drawing on the cultural heritage of Roma will advance their overall well-being, they variously argue that promoting Romani language in countries where Roma constitute a minority can help prevent the prejudice Roma children face in schools (Gergely 2014), assist inclusion of Roma children (Bennett 2012), and improve the quality of and access to education for Roma pupils (REF 2007), to name but a few. These assumptions are built into the policies and practices of such internation- al organizations as the Roma Education Fund, the European Roma Rights Centre, as well as some indigenous Hungarian institutions such as the Gandhi and Kalyi Jag schools and the Roma Parliament.

Embracing Gypsy culture as a tool for advancement and social integration is the exception rather than the rule, however, especially in more localized settings on the ground. Negative attitudes and ignorance prevail

about any form of Roma/Gypsy distinction, including language, and many people working with Roma/Gypsy youth display the common assumption that shedding this ethnic distinction, including their native language, is the key to their success and advancement, necessary conditions of future possibilities in education and employment.

For example, as one teacher at a Beash-majority school in southern Hungary stated, "The problem is that Gypsy language has no conjugation and lacks rules, which is why children perform badly in grammar and mathematics, they don't learn how to think logically and write properly" (Dunajeva 2013, 87). The teacher's opinion reflects the common be- lief that Gypsy languages impair academic achievement. The director of this school suggested: *"It is already problematic that they use Gypsy language at home; those who do, tend to perform poorer in school…their conceptual understanding is poor and they lack confidence in pronunciation" (ibid.).* Scientific evidence demonstrates otherwise, that Gypsy language is not a significant barrier to academic achievement. Derdák and Var- ga's study (1996), conducted among youth in the same region, indicated that instruction in Hungarian language is not an obstacle for Gypsy children, and their socio-economic background is significantly more detrimental. In this context, mobilizing language does not appear to be necessary for challenging linguistic disadvantage.

The popular assumption, therefore, is that Roma can't "catch up"—integration in Hungarian is referred to as *felzárkózás* or "catching up"—if constantly "pushed back" by their own language. The director of the above-mentioned school stated, "I'm afraid if we have Gypsy language classes, that will hinder integration" (Dunajeva 2013, 87). Hence, on the ground, the possibility that self-esteem and pride in one's ethnic background might play a role in a child's social integration is considered only very rarely. The idea that Romani language might be taught to help Roma children recognize their native tongue as a positive marker of distinction does not occur

to most such bureaucrats.

Ignorance about Romani and its characteristics is widespread, even among well educated Hungarians. Many mistakenly refer to the language as Lovari, its most widely spoken dialect there. Some popular slang words in Hungarian are derived from Romani (e.g., csaj [girl], csávó [boy], love [money], kéró [house]), but most Hungarians are unaware of their origins. Dr. Dunajeva conducted an exploratory survey (n=35) among Hungarian university students, aged 19-25.[14] Words of Romani origin, although the students were unaware of their linguistic origin, were most often described as negative, but also ugly, annoying, funny, vulgar, or pejorative. Students claimed they don't use these words, although some incorporate them only in informal environments or sarcastically. A few reported that they use them regularly. As to who uses these words, students variously reported: teenagers, rude people, gangsters, but most commonly lower class and uneducated groups. A few students wrote "mafia with thick necklaces" and "heavily accessorized Gypsies at Blaha"—reflecting common stereotypes that Roma wear excessive jewelry and linger at Budapest's Blaha Lujza square, widely perceived of as messy or seedy. Thus, we see the negative view of the language as part and parcel to Roma marginalization and rampant anti-Gypsyism in Hungary.

Part III
Romani language education in the context of discrimination

In a potentially positive development, Romani language training opportunities have increased in number and scope in Hungary in the last decades (Lakatos 2012). Unfortunately, the ways Romani language training opportunities are implemented and the ways students approach them also often reflects the marginal status of the language.

Ms. Tidrick observed such marginalization at a youth language camp in a village in the Matra in summer 2012. Unlike Spanish, English, and German, which were expected to be integrated into the daily activities, Romani was a separate afternoon class, offered as an alternative to excursions for caving and other appealing activities. The researcher concluded that the organizers had included Romani language as a cynical move to be able to claim the program contributed to Roma integration, and thus to receive funding toward that end despite its irrelevance to the goal. The local authorities who arranged the camp were in fact unaware of the presence of Romani-speaking residents in their own village, whom the ethnographer encountered within a couple of days of her arrival there. There was no apparent effort made to connect the local Roma population to the Romani language course, taught by a young Roma university student brought in from another community. Thus, an opportunity that might have enhanced social cohesion (through language as social glue) was missed in the implementation of the program.

Some Roma in Hungary who study Romani seek to learn the grammar and written components of the language they know as heritage speakers. In some of these cases, students appear genuinely connected with their mother tongue and interested in strengthening their knowledge of their own cultural background. In others it still reflects a strategic choice to easily complete the érettségi (higher education exams) (Tidrick fieldnotes, 2012). The occasional non-Roma student studies Romani out of personal or linguistic interest, or because s/he believes it will be of professional utility in future work with Roma persons in social services, law enforcement, school settings, or similar careers. More commonly, however, when non-Roma study Romani to complete their foreign language requirement, they do so because they believe that the language is simple and will therefore be the easiest choice. More than one student we encountered during our Romani language study in Hungary demonstrated this dismissive attitude; some combined it with visible rudeness toward the Roma who taught their classes.

Many Roma students, in turn, undertake Romani language simply because (and when) it

is a requirement in a funding package made available to them for continued study and training, or in a program of study in which they find themselves, as one young Roma student told us in an interview in 2012. In different ways, both cynical attitudes are reflective of the marginal, low status of Romani language and its perception as a less sophisticated language. A commitment to mastering the language seems the exception rather than the rule among the students who pursue this course of study in Hungary, according to our ethnographic observations.

Internalized racism and dwindling intergenerational transfer of Gypsy languages

The public display of Roma identity, widely perceived as undesirable, is uncommon in Hungary, and whenever possible, most persons of Roma/Gypsy origin attempt to pass as non-Gypsy. This is documented in the literature in the consistent discrepancy between the number of Gypsies who are self-identified and those who are so identified by neighbors or "experts" (Surdu *forthcoming*) and those how must especially in public "submerge their Gypsy ethnicity, because it is a social stigma"(Silverman 1988, 265). We also observed it ourselves during our fieldwork in the reluctance of some persons to declare Roma ethnicity. Indeed, stigma has become so strongly attached to Roma ethnicity over time as the ethnic group was located at the bottom of the social hierarchy throughout history, they by now come to be seen as an underclass (Ladanyi & Szelenyi 2006).Internalization of discriminatory attitudes was clearly discernible during the authors' fieldwork experience, too.

For example, one professional Beash man told Ms. Tidrick in an interview in 2012 that he'd never disclosed his Gypsy origins to his co-workers in the high-tech industry. With light skin and an advanced degree, his background was not obvious and he did not announce it. He didn't know if they knew or not, but they did not discuss it. This approach was particularly noteworthy given that he was a graduate of the Gandhi school, where Gypsy identity was highlighted and celebrated.

Some degree of ambivalence is frequently present in the ways Roma/Gypsies think about, talk about, and represent their ethnic heritage. As a young Roma woman living in a Roma settlement near Budapest told Dr. Dunajeva,"I am proud being a Gypsy, and I'm glad I have white skin, because when there are job opportunities and such; I have better chances than those with dark skin" (fieldnotes 2013) Being Roma was a private matter not discussed publicly for many in this settlement Dr. Dunajeva observed for about a year. In reporting pride in her identity, this young woman also simultaneously demonstrated the importance of looking lighter, less visibly distinctive, in obtaining access to resources. As in many communities with a history of racial oppression, looking lighter is considered desirable. Darker skin color can be the basis for discrimination and harassment, even among Roma/Gypsies. In one disturbing instance Ms. Tidrick observed in Budapest, a young adolescent with Beash Gypsy heritage called a darker-skinned Romani woman a "little black dwarf" (*kis fekete törpe*). A similar form of internalized oppression is apparent in the in-group tensions that sometimes present themselves. More assimilated Romungros and Beash often distance themselves from more "traditional" Vlax Roma, who are frequently labeled as "bad Gypsies" by ethnic majority Hungarians. This designation is not based on subgroup identification, but on the degree of cultural distinction from the ethnic majority that they demonstrate (e.g., Stewart 1997).

Not surprisingly, in such a context of negative stereotypes and discrimination, language loss is an ongoing trend that was clearly visible to Dr. Dunajeva during her fieldwork when engaging with three generations of families: grandparents, many of whom were illiterate, spoke it with nostalgia, parents remembered a few words, children spoke almost none (Dunajeva fieldnotes, 2013). "It's not cool anymore," explained a young father (Dunajeva 2014, 91). Similarly, a young, educated, professional Roma woman in the

capital explained her own experience with the language: "My parents and grandparents spoke Beash at home, but I wasn't taught… I only know a few words" (interview with Dunajeva, September 2012). Employed by a pro-Roma NGO, this interviewee has dedicated her career to fighting for Roma rights and improving their welfare. She shared her mother's story, which clearly reveals why the language was not passed on to her generation: My mother went to kindergarten only speaking Beash. She hated that place for the first year: she had no comprehension of the entire world around her, only of her own parents and grandparents, who spoke Beash to her…she cried by the gate. This experience deterred her from speaking Beash to her own children.

For the success and future prospects of their children, some Gypsy/Roma parents opt for a Hungarian-speaking home environment to avoid this kind of difficult transition. This decision is also a consequence of the state education system's success in assimilating minorities from early childhood. Dr. Ernő Kállai, a Roma social scientist, former minority ombudsman, researcher, and teacher, also claimed that "the first step [of integration] is linguistic assimilation…through the education system…In the 1950s and 60s, still many Vlax and Beash families spoke their mother tongue at home" (interview with Dunajeva, October 2012). This process has accelerated, Kállai continued, and today most can't get by with only one language [Gypsy language] in Hungary, so they are bilingual or only speak Hungarian. This was partially a rational process of adaptation." However, the reality is that while elements of Roma culture have been disappearing, integration has not been achieved. Although a "declared integrationalist politics," may exist, "some other state-level decisions point in the opposite direction" (Kállai 2012).

Local understandings of Romani language promotion in Hungary

Many Roma are puzzled how they would benefit from (re)learning Romani language in the long term. During an informal conversation in September 2013 with an elderly woman from a mixed Roma settlement, who raises her grandchildren from her meager pension, Dr. Dunajeva asked whether she would be interested in learning Romani. A local charity recently began a class for local youth, teaching the language. It was a firm "No." After a few minutes of silence, she explained, partially due to the pressure of her own peers: "I understand words, but have no interest studying it! No one spoke it in my family, I just don't care." Her grandchildren do not attend the offered classes, either.

Highly educated members of the Roma elite also sometimes express limited interest in Romani language advancement. As one leader involved in Roma higher education initiatives explained to Ms. Tidrick in 2012, English opens up more extensive opportunities for their academic and professional development than Romani. He advocates for English over other language choices to the Roma students he mentors. In his view, the goal is to advance academic achievement in higher education for Roma, expanding their presence in a wide range of skilled professions.

Others express concern, however, that educational and professional advancement of select Roma is inadequate, and those who achieve this degree of success must also embrace and publicly project a strong, positive sense of Roma identity. They must maintain a connection to and sense of responsibility toward other Roma, including disenfranchised and impoverished communities. These are particular emphases of the Barvalipe camp and associated initiatives, which seek to strengthen a unified sense of identity among diverse Roma raised in many different countries. Whether Romani language is a necessary component to building this pride and connection over the long term for a diverse, multilingual, international group remains an open question.

After all, it should not be underestimated the degree to which Romani language is encoded with meanings that are potentially divisive in the context of a diverse Roma/Gypsy population. A heated classroom discussion we ob-

served in Budapest's Kalyi Jag school demonstrated the power of a language hierarchy among Roma/Gypsies in Hungary, placing Lovari-speakers on the top and Hungarian-speaking Romungros on the bottom. After a Romungro student indicated that his mother tongue was Hungarian, another asserted: "…Romungros are not real Gypsies, they don't speak Gypsy [language], they are just not Gypsies to me…I don't think they should be called as real Gypsies" (Dunajeva fieldnotes, 2012). The teacher intervened as many students were angered. This moment laid bare a sentiment usually remaining unspoken — many Vlax Roma view Romungros as "sell-outs" because of the extent of their assimilation to majority Hungarian culture (Stewart 1997, 93). In the context of Roma diversity, then, Romani language can be the flashpoint in a highly emotional competition for "authenticity."

Conclusion
Implications and Moving Forward

In this paper, we have argued that recognizing both the diversity of Roma/Gypsy groups and the persistence of anti-Gypsyism is crucial to achieving sustainable welfare improvement among Roma/Gypsy youth. These are prerequisites for effectiveness in the employment of language or any other tool for the promotion of Roma well-being. Anything less will simply maintain the status quo of short-lived disconnected policy initiatives targeting various aspects of welfare and ultimately failing to achieve their goals.

In general, our fieldwork observations suggest that top-down initiatives engaging Romani language as a tool for Roma mobilization in the Hungarian context face two significant obstacles. (1) The climate of anti-Gypsyism in which they operate has fostered internalized shame in Roma/Gypsy identity and the various markers of Gypsy distinction, including language. It may be that this problem could be combated by building stronger connections between the Roma elite who are exposed to the popularization of Romani language and the rest of the Roma population, who tend to consider Gypsy language(s) in a negative light or as a private matter. (2) Given the diversity of Roma/Gypsies in Hungary and beyond, Romani language will never be embraced universally across all subgroups. Indeed, given its tendency to become a measure of authenticity of Roma cultural identity, it is frequently divisive for those whose families have adopted or assimilated to other cultural traditions. For this reason, as long as Gypsy identities vary, Romani language will consistently have limited strength as a social glue. It may be that small-scale projects, considerate of local dialects of variants of Gypsy languages could achieve more immediate results in the improvement of Roma welfare, but we do not see this situation changing in the foreseeable future unless there is a paradigm change in how we think and implement welfare policies directed at Roma.

Local community-building initiatives engaging youth through their local language may not serve the purpose of advancing a unified Roma nation, but they have much potential as social glue and the promotion of a positive association with Gypsy cultural distinctions toward the increase of children's self-esteem and reduction of their social isolation. For example, Romology professor Anna Orsós reports very positive responses to her Beash language revitalization work in southwestern Hungary, including a now-annual Beash poetry day with the local children. According to Orsós, the Beash children were surprised and inspired to learn that the language they sometimes heard at home was one understood and shared by others outside their own communities. Orsós's work unquestionably has more immediate significance to these children than any international Romani language standardization efforts, whose effects will take multiple generations to take root even after the debates over orthography, dialect choice, and other issues are resolved.

Currently, many Roma youth feel alien in their immediate contexts. In one southwestern Hungarian elementary school, teachers described one Gypsy student's dream to "move to Hungary" (Dunajeva 2013). His

hope was to relocate from the "Gypsy village" to the Hungarian town — but his choice of language is revealing about the extent of social isolation he experiences, and the disconnection from not only his ethnic majority peers, but also the world in which they live. Well-being for the future generation of Roma begins when they feel rooted and at home in the localities where they live.

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(Endnotes)

1 Later in this article we provide some numbers of Gypsies/Roma and the number of those who speak any of the Gypsy dialects. Such statistical information should be taken with much caution, however; Surdu (forthcoming) rightly pointed out that broad general references about all Roma distort reality, and production of data and quantifiable attributes about Roma often follow political interests. One important variable, which may account for some of the discrepancy in numbers, is the threshold of language ability at which an individual is considered a Romani speaker. Settling on a definitive population count of Roma is also both politically fraught and technically diflcult, because of the fluid nature of ethnic identity, with factors of assimilation and intermarriage as well as stigma that often significantly reduces rates of self-identification as Gypsy. Numbers provided by diuerent sources thus vary greatly. For instance, Rombase estimates that 50% of the 260.000 Hungarian Roma speak Romani (Romlex). We consider the above estimate to be very implausible given the subgroup breakdown of Roma/Gypsies in Hungary. Hungarian-language sources, taking into account drastic linguistic assimilation between 1871 and 1973, indicate that the number of Romani-speaking Vlax Roma decreased from 21.1% to 4.4%, to 21.000 speakers of Romani (Heltai 2015). By 2001, pro-Roma movements had reversed this euect with modest increases, but limited mainly to urban areas, especially the capital. Kemeny and Janky (2003) found that of all Roma/Gypsies in 2003, 4.6% were Beash-speakers, 7.7% Romani-speakers and 86% spoke Hungarian (and 0.8% spoke other languages).

2 It is for this reason that we diverge from the recent international trend favoring the exclusive use of the term "Roma." We use it mostly interchangeably with the term "Gypsy," which we do not intend to use pejoratively. We do so with the knowledge that this is a divisive issue and hope not to ouend any esteemed colleagues and friends.

3 Based on Forray and Beck (2008), p.45.

4 Dialectical variation is extensive in Beash, as well, to the point that some experts argue that categorizing Beash peoples and languages under one umbrella term has no linguistic foundation. Arató (ND) observes that the dialects feature unique and distinctive grammars and borrowings from other languages, and therefore cannot be considered to be a unified language. This is a contested and highly politicized issue.

5 There is a very small Romani-speaking group of Romungros as well, speaking the Carpathian dialect.

6 Based on 2011 census data assessment available at http://nemzetisegek.hu/repertorium/2013/03/belivek_23-55.pdf

7 "Ethnic aflliation" refers to those who were categorized as ethnically aflliated with Roma/Gypsy group, but who do not necessary speak any of the Gypsy languages.

8 Based on data from Kemeny and Janky (2003).

9 Roma/Gypsy origins are a hotly contested area of academic debate, with historical linguists and geneticists leading a controversial euort to identify "the" homeland for Roma. Recent scholarship points to the codification of Romani language in Byzantine Greece shortly after the arrival of the ancestors to Europe in c. 1000 AD from migrations from the Indian subcontinent, leading to their assertion that Roma are, in fact, "a European people." Hancock frequently likens Romani language to an onion, with the layers reflecting the lexical and grammatical borrowings from other languages speakers have come into contact, with the core being Indian (Ms. Tidrick's personal communication, 2002). The feeling of connection with India as a homeland in some sense is one shared by many members of the Roma elite. The historical linguistic evidence of a Byzantine Greek origin of Roma-qua-Roma aside, the popular understanding of Istanbul (Byzantium) as a Roma homeland has not gained the same traction.

10 Ms. Tidrick knew and observed translators of the Foundational Law puzzling over these diflculties during her fieldwork in 2012.

11 Comment from an attendee of Bari's 60th birthday celebration at the Roma Parliament in Budapest (Tidrick fieldnotes, 2012).

12 The importance of NGOs and non-state actors is thus increasingly important in the context of post-socialist globalized Hungary. For example, at the April 2014 International Roma Day celebration in Budapest, Hungary, the director of the Open Society Roma Initiatives called the Congress participants the "founding fathers of April 8th." Since Roma nationhood is not related to any state, he continued, there is no enforcing mechanism and consequently pro-Roma organizations and civil society must take up a special role (Jovanovic 2014).

13 The case of the Irish is telling (Johnson 1992).

14 Students were asked to analyze a list of words used in vernacular Hungarian, including words of Hungarian, Romani, and English origin, and state the following: what feelings they evoke, who uses them, and whether they themselves use them.

DO FAMILY ETHNIC PRESSURE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY ENHANCE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING AMONG ROMA YOUTH IN BULGARIA?

Radosveta Dimitrova and Venzislav Jordanov

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Abstract

Objective. In Europe and in Bulgaria, Roma are largest and most vulnerable minority group, historically subjected to severe marginalization and discrimination. This study examines multiple resources for well-being of Roma and outlines new avenues to increase well-being among Roma youth. Such results may aid local communities and schools to mobilize Roma in the face

of adversity and discrimination. Specifically, we investigated the relationship between family

and peer ethnic pressure, ethnic and national identity and their importance to the psychological well-being of Roma in Bulgaria. We refer to 'ethnic pressure' as experiences youth have pertaining to efforts of family and peer group to enforce conformity and following the traditions of the Roma culture. Ethnic identity is viewed here as feelings of attachment and 'belonging' to the Roma culture, whereas national identity refers to identification with the dominant Bulgarian culture.

Method. Participants were 94 Roma and 147 mainstream Bulgarian youth (mean age 15 years old) who completed ethnic and national identity scales previously used with Roma samples (Dimitrova et al., 2014), as well as family and peer ethnic pressure and satisfaction with life scales (Diener et al., 1985).

Results. Roma showed lower endorsement of Bulgarian national identity but higher family ethnic pressure than their mainstream peers. Path models showed that Bulgarian national identity was a positive predictor of well-being of Roma youth. Bulgarian national identity mediated the link between family ethnic pressure and well-being, whereas no significant relations emerged between peer ethnic pressure and well-being. Roma identity and well-being did not show a significant association for Roma youth.

Conclusions and Practical Implications. The study of contextual influences on well-being in such a marginalized minority is of great theoretical and practical significance. The advantages associated with family and national identity, point to the importance of these constructs for well-being among Roma youth. This relationship can serve as the starting point in designing targeted education and integration policies to promote the positive development of Roma communities in Europe. For example, interventions and policies could include opportunities for the Roma to sustain their family ethnic culture and national identity (e.g., their familial traditions and national customs) because they are associated with an improved sense of well-being for Roma youth.

Keywords: Roma, ethnic and national identity, family and peer ethnic pressure, well-being, Bulgaria

Objective

This study investigated the relationship between family and peer ethnic pressure, ethnic and national identity and their importance to the psychological well-being of Roma youth in Bulgaria. We refer to ethnic pressure as experiences youth have pertaining to efforts of their family and peer group to enforce conformity and following the traditions of Roma culture. Ethnic identity is viewed here as feelings of attachment and belonging to the Roma culture, whereas national identity refers to identification with the dominant Bulgarian culture (Phinney, 1989). In Europe, as well in Bulgaria, Roma are a particularly important group being the largest indigenous ethnic minority. This group has historically been subjected to marginalization and discrimination (Amnesty International, 2013; Barany, 2001). Therefore, identifying resources to improve their well-being is of utmost importance,

particularly in the light of current priorities within the European Union Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 (European Commission, 2011).

With this priority in mind, we explored how ethnic pressures by family and peer group members may relate to the identity and psychological well-being of Roma (life satisfaction), with the aim of identifying beneficial resources for youth. Target groups are Roma in Bulgaria, a post-communist country hosting a large Roma population. Although a small research literature exists, there is a surprisingly little empirical work on Bulgarian Roma adolescents. In addressing this gap, we also tackled an important issue for Roma youth - family and peer factors related to their well-being. Strong peer and family bonds are essential features of Roma culture and it is of practical and theoretical relevance to

identify resources in these features that provide strength and enhance the well-being of youth (World Bank, 2014). Identifying such resources in Roma has major policy priority implications for this increasingly growing population in Bulgaria and overall in Europe. In so doing, we built on some available work on Roma in Bulgaria and examined multiple identity resources for optimal psychological outcomes (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014) and extended this line of research into the study of peer and family factors associated with enhanced well-being among youth.

The main focus of this study is on marginalized social groups including the Roma and research on this specific group allows for a better representation of those who have been left out or ignored in research and discourse (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Nevertheless, scholars have also acknowledged the fact that neglecting intersections involving dominant groups is problematic because such 'blindness' may emphasize their normativity. For example, a critique of psychologists' lack of attention to Whiteness as a racialized issue in the United States, has argued that researchers are unaware of the way that White norms are used as the basis for judging what is seen as normal or abnormal, including standards of research practice, and codes of ethics (Sue et al., 1999). Therefore, by not acknowledging the dominant social groups as forming part of the wider American experience, the privileges of this group remain invisible and unrecognized as relevant to the discussion of marginalized groups (McIntosh, 1990).

This current study acknowledges this argumentation by taking into account a group of mainstream dominant Bulgarian youth in comparison to often socially deprived Roma. The comparison of Roma with their mainstream peers from the dominant society has the potential to unravel important cultural differences in family/peer ethnic pressure, identity and levels of well-being among groups. In that line of reasoning, main variables of interest [e.g., family and peer ethnic pressure, identity and well-being were treated as dependent variables in relation to ethnic group belonging (marginalized vs. dominant) and gender (boys vs. girls)]. We also tested the relations among these variables to explore the role of family and peer socialization factors on identity and well-being of Roma. In what follows, we first outline the theoretical constructs of major interest for this study (ethnic and national identity, peer and family ethnic pressure) and their relations to well-being, before presenting the findings of the study.

Identity of Roma Youth
A core developmental task for all youth, and those of ethnic minority background in particular, is to develop a coherent sense of identity which gradually becomes embedded in multiple social identities (Berry, 1997; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Extant research has focused on the relevance of achieving ethnic and national identities as an expression of a stable and integrated bicultural identification (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Solheim, 2009). The process of achieving a bicultural identity allows for the integration of both heritage and host cultures, which is a salient process for ethnic minority youth. Ethnic identity is a core aspect of individual self-understanding and concerns the process of maintaining positive attitudes and feelings of ethnic heritage group belonging (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Relatedly, national identity concerns the process of identification with the majority culture of settlement and includes feelings of belonging and commitment to that culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Conceivably, ethnic and national identities are salient aspects of growing up in a multicultural or bicultural setting for youth who have various options for cultural identification.

Ethnic identity may assume different connotations in conditions of social adversity, discrimination and threat. For example, according to the Rejection Identification Model (RIM; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), such conditions may prompt ethnic minority groups to strengthen ties with their own rejected group, in that ethnic culture and

ethnic identification may serve as buffers against discrimination and assimilation pressure. Conversely, acculturation models (Sam & Berry, 2006) assume that adverse conditions and discrimination may trigger marginalization where ethnic groups reject both ethnic and host cultures and ethnic identity does not provide a positive sense of belonging and positive attitudes towards one's own culture. Finally, it has also been suggested by the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997), that the salience of ethnic identity depends crucially on the acceptance of cultural diversity by the majority group.

The available findings on Roma youth indicate that they tend to strongly endorse the national identity of the majority culture (Barany, 2001; Marushiakova & Popov, 2010; Prieto-Flores, 2009). Concomitantly, it has also been reported that Roma show strong endorsement of Roma ethnic identity, possibly as a consequence of effective integration policies of their community (Walsh & Krieg, 2007). Finally, Roma youth have also been found to show low endorsement of both national and ethnic identities, arguably as a reaction to marginalization of their community (Dimitrova et al., 2014; Russinov, 2001). Although findings of identity in Roma youth are mixed, ethnic and national identities have been shown to bear potentially impor- tant implications for well-being and adjust- ment. A consistent finding concerning ethnic minority youth is that strong ethnic identity has been repeatedly demonstrated to relate positively to enhanced well-being and adjustment (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Wiesskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009; Smith & Silva, 2011). Relatedly, strong ethnic heritage and national identity (labeled integration) has been reported to bear beneficial implications for well-being of ethnic minority groups (Berry, 1997). However, ethnic and national identity may assume different connotations in relation to well-being. As stated above, an important conceptual model that links ethnic identity and well-being is Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey's (1999)

Rejection-Identification Model stating that social rejection activates the need to belong and enhances ties within the rejected group. Therefore, experiences of discrimination may lead to increases in heritage and cul- ture maintenance and strong endorsement of ethnic identity leading to better well-being outcomes. In fact, research has documented that a strong ethnic identity is associated with the well-being of minority groups (Berry, 1997; Smith & Silva, 2011). On the other hand, the Rejection Disidentification Model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) suggests that members of ethnic minority groups distance themselves from people who reject them on the basis of their group membership and are less likely to identify with the host country. They also have less desire to be involved in the national culture and form relationships with its people, which may result in lower levels of well-being (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). Following this line of research, we set out to investigate both ethnic and national identity in Roma youth and their relations to family and peer ethnic pressure and well-being outcomes, particularly salient topics to address in this marginalized and disadvantaged group.

Family and Peer Ethnic Influences
The family is a critical vehicle for children and youth to learn and maintain values and behaviors that make it easier for them to adjust to their social environment (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Indeed, family socialization with respect to strength of ethnic identity is critically important where young people are members of marginalized ethnic minorities and may experience commonplace discrimination (Edwards & Romero, 2008). Family ethnic socialization refers to parents' efforts and pressure to expose youth to the values and behaviors of their ethnic culture (Uma- ña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009). Importantly, a consistent finding across numerous studies and multiple ethnic groups is that parents' ethnic socialization pressure is positively associated with strong ethnic identity, ethnic knowledge, positive attitudes about ethnicity

(Hughes et al., 2008) as well as better well-being among youth (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

In addition to family ethnic socialization, a second contextual factor that is important to examine is adolescent peer pressure. Peer influence over behavior peaks during adolescence largely because youth are making attempts to establish their own social identity and independence from their parents. Peer relationships are the primary vehicle whereby youth negotiate the establishment of multiple social identities, and conforming to peer group pressure offers the powerful reward of a sense of belonging (Warr, 2002). Based on the established relevance of family and peer influence for ethnic minority groups, our study examined the processes by which family, peer ethnic socialization pressure and youths' ethnic identity informed one another and relate to the well-being of Roma.

Study Site

Bulgaria is an Eastern European country with significant Roma population exposed to a general lack of education, unemployment, and severe discrimination (Amnesty International, 2013; World Bank, 2014). Although following the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Roma gained the status of national minority with rights to preserving their cultural traditions, they still face social segregation and marginalization (Barany, 2001). The Roma in Bulgaria are estimated as between 325,343 and 800,000 people out of the nearly 7 million national population (National Statistics Institute, 2011). Regrettably, a distinguishing historical feature of this local context is that Bulgaria has a record of official oppression of its national ethnic minorities who were subjected to severe assimilation campaigns during the communist regime. In fact, during the communist era, Bulgaria adopted an extremely strict policy of repression of Roma ethnic identity, involving their forced settlement in neighborhoods and banning the use of their language (Csepeli & Simon, 2004). Probably as a reaction to such social marginalization, unique features and strengths of Roma are their strong family and peer bonds (World Bank, 2014). We are particularly interested in how such family and peer influences relate to ethnic and national identity salience and well-being of Roma youth.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study examined beneficial resources for well-being of Roma youth by addressing three research questions: (1) Do Roma youth in Bulgaria endorse their Roma ethnic identity more strongly than their Bulgarian national identity? (2) Do Roma youth differ in their endorsement of Bulgarian national identity and family ethnic pressure compared to their national peers? (3) How do family and peer ethnic pressure relate to ethnic and national identity and the psychological well-being of Roma youth? In addressing these questions, we advanced the following hypotheses. First, we expected mean level differences in ethnic and national identity within the Roma sample, such that Roma ethnic identity was less endorsed than Bulgarian national identity due to marginalization (Hypothesis 1). Second, we expected group differences in national identity such that Roma adolescents (experiencing severe marginalization but belonging to highly cohesive community with strong family bonds) compared to their mainstream peers would have a weaker national identity (Hypothesis 2a) and higher family endorsed ethnic identity pressure than their mainstream peers (Hypothesis 2b). Additionally, we expected positive relations between family and peer pressure, ethnic and national identity and well-being of Roma (Hypothesis 3). Lastly and in concordance with previous findings (Dimitrova et al., 2014), we expected that Bulgarian national identity would have the strongest and most consistent relationship with well-being for Roma youth.

Method
Participants and Procedure
Participants were 94 Roma and 147 mainstream Bulgarian youth (mean age 15 years old) (see Table 1).

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Roma and Mainstream Adolescents

| | Roma minority | Bulgarian mainstream |
	$n = 94$	$n = 147$
Age		
Mean (SD)	15.94 (1.44)	15.94 (1.01)
Gender, *%*		
Female	54	56
Male	46	44
SES (*n*)	76	58
Low	7	46
Middle	1	9
High		
Study Variables, *M* (SD)		
Roma ethnic identity	2.89 (.12)	-
Bulgarian national identity	3.20 (1.09)[a]	4.21 (.67)[b]
Family ethnic pressure	3.20 (1.02)[c]	2.88 (1.07)[d]
Peer ethnic pressure	3.17 (.88)	2.96 (.99)
Life satisfaction	4.53 (1.16)[e]	4.86 (1.18)[f]

Note: SES = Socio-economic status. Means with different subscripts differ significantly between groups.

A chi-square test was used to explore ethnic group differences for gender and socioeconomic status (SES). SES was computed as a composite score of education (primary, secondary, and university degree) and occupation of both parents (unskilled, semiprofessional, professional job), resulting in three levels of low, middle, and high SES (Oakes & Ross, 2003; Shavers, 1997). Ethnic groups in this study differed in terms of family so- cio-economic status (SES) as measured by occupation and education of both parents, with Roma youth having a lower SES than their mainstream counterparts, $\chi^2(2, N = 197) = 33.98$, p < .001. The groups did not differ in terms of gender, $\chi^2(1, N = 240) = .025$, p = .875. Additionally, gender and SES effects

on all study variables within each group were tested by means of multivariate analyses of variance. These analyses showed that gender and SES were not significantly related to family and peer pressure, identity and well-being in the Bulgarian group. No SES effects on main variables of interest were found in the Roma group either. Significant gender effects on Roma ethnic identity for the Roma group emerged, suggesting that Roma boys endorsed their Roma identity more strongly than girls, $F(1, 93) = 3.85$, $p < .05$. Because there was one significant effect of gender on ethnic identity, gender was controlled for in further analyses and inserted as a covariate. Participants were recruited from four public schools in major towns with a high concentra-

tion of Roma inhabitants in Bulgaria (Sofia, Simeonovgrad and Haskovo). Local school authorities were contacted and informed about the purpose of the study. Upon receiving school consent, parents were informed about the study via the participating schools. Upon receiving parental consent, teachers were approached to discuss the procedure of data collection. Prior to data collection, all measures for this study were translated from English into Bulgarian by four bilin- gual speakers while adhering to the standard guidelines to ensure linguistic equivalence (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The question- naires were presented only in Bulgarian, be- cause all Roma pupils acquire literacy skills exclusively in Bulgarian. Students filled out the questionnaire during regular school hours, an exercise which took approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Roma and their mainstream peers were enrolled in the same schools in the study locations.

Measures
Demographic Questions
Students provided information on their eth- nicity, age, gender, education and occupation of both parents.

Roma Ethnic and Bulgarian National Identity.
Two scales to measure ethnic and national identity have been adopted from prior work on Roma youth (Dimitrova et al., 2013). Each scale consisted of five items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from completely disagree to completely agree. Higher scores indicated higher endorsement of the identity component in question. The Roma Ethnic Identity Scale contained items, such as "I perceive myself as Roma", "I am happy to be a member of the Roma community", "Being Roma has much to do with how I feel about myself". The scale had excellent internal con- sistency of $\alpha = .92$. The Bulgarian National Identity Scale followed the same format in- cluding items like "I perceive myself as Bul- garian", "I am happy to be a member of the Bulgarian community" with internal consis- tencies ranged from $\alpha = .94$ (Roma group) and $\alpha = .81$ (Bulgarian group).

Family and Peer Ethnic Pressure.
This measure was represented by a set of items developed to investigate the degree to which adolescents feel pressures from their family and peers to conform to their ethnic group traditions and adhere to ethnically en- dorsed behaviors in their everyday life. The scale includes a total of 7 items and partici- pants were asked to rate their answers using a 5 point Likert scale, ranging from complete- ly disagree to completely agree with higher scores indicating stronger perception of eth- nic pressure. Sample items include "Mem- bers of my family would be upset if I wanted to dress like people of other ethnic groups" (family pressure) and "Friends who have the same ethnicity as me would be upset if I dressed like people of other ethnic groups" (peer pressure). Internal consistencies were $\alpha = .85$ (Roma) and $\alpha = .86$ (Bulgarians) for the family pressure and $\alpha = .91$ (Roma) and $\alpha = .91$ (Bulgarians) for the peer pressure scales.

Well-Being.
In our conceptualization, well-being refers to reflective cognitive evaluations, such as life satisfaction and affective reactions to life events. One of the most widely used well- being scales is the one introduced by Diener (1984), who proposed that judgments of life satisfaction are core determinants of well-be- ing. Consequently, well-being was measured with the Satisfaction with Life scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin, 1985, Ponizovsky, Dimitrova, Schachner, and van de Schoot, 2013) using five items evaluated on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Sample items were "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" and "I am satisfied with life" and showed an internal consistency of $\alpha = .86$ (Roma group) and $\alpha = .81$ (Bulgarian group).

Results
Results are presented in three parts following the main research questions. First, we inves-

tigated within group differences of Roma ethnic identity among Roma sample by means of paired samples t test. Second, we tested for national identity, peer and family pressure, and well-being differences across groups by performing a Multivariate Analyses of Covariance (MANCOVA) with group (2 levels: Roma and Bulgarian) as independent variables and national identity, peer and family pressure, and life satisfaction as dependent variables and gender as covariate variable. Third, we tested associations between ethnic and national identity, peer and family pressure and well-being by means of Structural Equations Modeling (SEM) in AMOS software (Arbuckle, 2009). Structural Equation Modelling is uniquely suited to determining whether the observed associations in the current paper adequately fit the hypothesized relations regarding identity, family and peer influences on well-being in minority youth. Specifically, we test a conceptual path model using SEM as this is currently the most widely employed hypothesis testing technique to analyse complex structures of associations among variables. In this model, we consid-

ered direct relations of peer and family pressure on ethnic and national identity and well-being outcomes. Fit indices adopted to interpret the model fit were the χ^2 test, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; recommended value $\leq.08$) and the comparative fit index (CFI; recommended value $\geq.90$) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Marsh, Hau, & Grayson, 2005).

The first hypothesis refers to mean level differences in ethnic and national identity within the Roma sample, such that Roma ethnic identity would be less endorsed than national identity. Results did not show significant within-group effects between national and ethnic identity, revealing lack of significant differences in endorsement of Bulgarian identity and Roma ethnic identity for Roma youth, $t(93) = 1.79$, $p = .075$. According to our second hypothesis, ethnic group effects in national identity and family ethnic pressure were envisaged. Results were largely according to expectations. As expected, Roma adolescents, showed weaker national identity [$F(1, 239) = 67.65$, $p < .001$] but stronger perception on ethnic pressure by their fam-

Table 2

Correlations of Study Variables per Group

Variable	Roma minority youth					Bulgarian mainstream youth				
	1.	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*	*1.*	*2.*	*3.*	*4.*	*5.*
1. Roma identity	-					-	-	-	-	-
2. Bulgarian Identity	-.58***	-				-	-			
3. Family pressure	-.08	.28**	-			-	.22**	-		
4. Peer pressure	.07	.13	.49***	-		-	.15	.65***	-	
5. SWLS	-.21*	.45***	.25***	-.05	-	-	.22***	.06	.05	-

Note. SWLS = Satisfaction with Life Scale. Asterisks indicate level of significant correlations as follows: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

ily, $F(1, 239) = 4.99$, $p < .05$. Roma had also lower life satisfaction compared to their Bulgarian peers, $F(1, 239) = 4.41$, $p < .05$. In addition, we performed correlations among all

study variables for each group (Table 2). As can be observed, Roma and Bulgarian

identity are significantly and negatively correlated for the Roma, suggesting that these identities work in parallel. In fact, Roma identity was negatively related to well-being, whereas the opposite pattern was found for Bulgarian identity. These correlations indi-

cate that Bulgarian national identity is beneficial for well-being and the Roma ethnic identity rather detrimental for well-being outcomes among Roma youth.

Figure 1

Path Model of Identity, Family and Peer Ethnic Pressure and Well-Being for Roma Youth
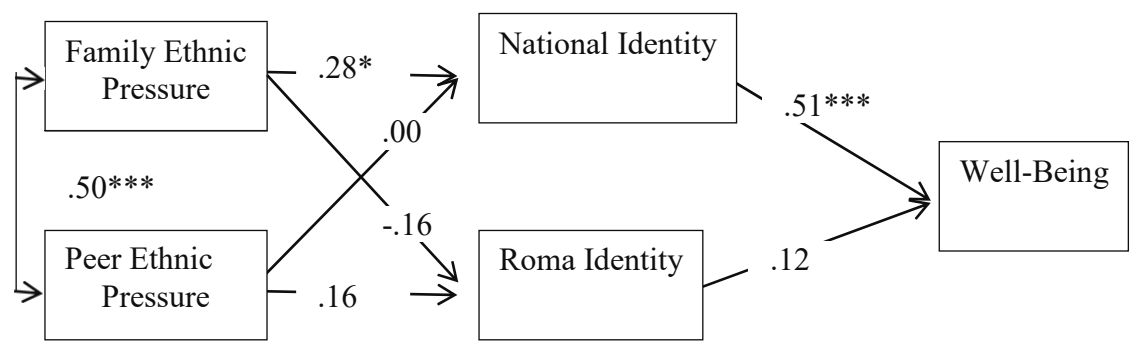
*Note. *p < .01. ***p < .001.*

Our last hypothesis predicted overall positive associations of peer and family ethnic pressure, identity and well-being for the Roma. We ran a model involving the Roma group, which showed an excellent fit, $\chi^2(1, N = 94) = 1.65$, p = .198, RMSEA = .084 and CFI = .993.

As can be seen in Figure 1, our hypothesis regarding the structural relationship between family pressure, national identity, and well-being was largely confirmed. Family ethnic pressure was directly related to national identity of the Roma. Regression coefficients of national identity were also significantly related to well-being. Interestingly, Roma ethnic identity was unrelated to outcomes. Contrary to Bulgarian national identity, Roma ethnic identity was not predictive of well-being. Peer ethnic pressure also did not show significant relations to all variables in the model. However, it is important to note that the loading of Bulgarian identity was significantly related to outcomes, indicating that strong national identity relates to better well-being for Roma youth. Finally, we replicated the model taking into account gender. In so doing, we per-

formed the same path model for Roma boys and girls. The results were largely invariant and showing the same relations as in the first model tested.

Conclusions

This study examined how family and peer ethnic socialization efforts and youths' eth- nic and national identity informed one an- other and ultimately relate to the well-being of Roma adolescents. Our findings provided compelling evidence that well-being may be strongly associated with family ethnic pres- sure and youths' national identity. Such find- ings contribute to a growing body of work on the developmental processes that are central to well-being of youth and Roma in particu- lar. In fact, scholars have suggested that fam- ily ethnic socialization efforts and youths' identity must be at the core of theoretical formulations that drive our understanding of child development and well-being among ethnic minority groups (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Our findings underscore the importance of such a recommendation.

According to expectations, we found ethnic

group differences in national identity and family ethnic pressure between Roma and mainstream youth. Roma adolescents showed weaker Bulgarian national identity compared to their Bulgarian peers. This finding is also in line with what has been observed among other ethnic minority groups where weak identification with the host culture has been found to positively relate to psychological health of minority groups. A possible explanation is that stronger identification with the dominant culture may prevent detrimental effects of discrimination. In fact, hostility towards one's own ethnic group and perceived discrimination may result in strong sense of belonging to the national dominant group (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). Although we did not directly measure perceived discrimination, it is clear that Roma youth tend to identify with the national culture at a much lower level than their national peers, presumably, due to severe marginalization and hostility toward Roma in Bulgaria.

We also expected to observe overall positive relations between family and peer ethnic pressure and identity as well as well-being among Roma. This hypothesis was largely confirmed, where the strongest and most consistent association was between family pressure, national identity and well-being. Family ethnic pressure was directly related to national identity, which in turn enhanced well-being. This result implies that Roma youth perceived a certain pressure in their family and concern for the transmission of Roma cultural values. Therefore, these Roma families were likely to strongly endorse, maintain and transmit these values to younger generations. Interestingly, in maintaining their Roma heritage, youth also develop a strong national identity toward the majority Bulgarian culture. It is also interesting to note that, Roma ethnic identity was unrelated to well-being. Yet, Bulgarian national identity was significantly related to well-being for Roma youth. Past research has shown that national identity is particularly salient for Roma in Bulgaria (Dimitrova et al., 2013) and this study shows the same to be true for this sample of Roma

youth. This finding supports the notion that national identity can be regarded as a psychological resource that can help youth face challenges and particularly in a Roma context. Based on these results, we can conclude that the current study has several strengths, including its unique target groups and the examination of ethnic and national identity, family and peer ethnic pressure on well-being during the important developmental period of late adolescence.

Practical Implications

Our findings have implications for the study of contextual influences on well-being in such a marginalized minority as the Roma, which is of great theoretical and practical significance. The importance of family cultural maintenance and national identity, highlight these factors relevance to the potential promotion of well-being among Roma youth. These key factors can serve as a starting point in designing targeted education and integration policies to promote positive development of Roma communities in Europe. For example, interventions and policies could include opportunities for Roma to strengthen and explore more their family ties and national identity (e.g., their familial traditions and national cultures in the countries where they live) as these are associated with an improved sense of well-being for Roma youth. New educational practices can be introduced in order to combat negative stereotypes and increase empathy toward Roma as they strongly identify with the national culture of the dominant society. These practices should also aim at providing opportunities for intergroup contact and creating a sympathetic understanding of cultural similarities and differences, values and beliefs between Roma and mainstream pupils.

Because family ethnic socialization and national identity can minimize the negative impact of stress and have clear benefits for Roma youth and as such, our findings have important implications for practitioners who work with them. For example, models of resilience stress beneficial psychological and social re-

sources that protect individuals against negative consequences of their marginalization experiences (Masten, 2001). Ethnic minority groups show a remarkable ability to cope with continuous discrimination, marginalization, and challenges. Such resilience has been ascribed to the importance of trajectories characterized by unexpectedly positive adaptation in face of adversity in the lives of the young people. Our study shows that resources also exist in the Roma context, where family and intra-ethnic group support offer resilience and improve well-being. By building on these conceptual premises, our research revealed how family resources might protect minority adolescents in marginalized ethnic contexts and promote their positive development and well-being. Understanding how this process unfolds and, particularly, the family's role in this process is critical for prevention efforts and practice with Roma families and youth who represent such a relevant segment of Europe.

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Acknowledgements

A FEW STEPS AWAY:
TWO SCHOOLS, TWO DIFFERENT WORLDS.
CALÒNS FAMILIES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS DEALING WITH ITINERÂNCIA

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Abstract

This paper describes how Calòn parents and teachers deal with the consequences on schooling of their semi-nomadic professions. The research is focused on two schools in a Brazilian neighborhood where I analyzed standard curriculum, organization and interactions among school directors and teachers. Within the framework of critical pedagogy, the paper aims at highlighting the ways in which Calòn parents participate in education, and the different strategies carried out by schools.

Keywords: Brazilian Calòn, schooling, multiculturalism, hidden curriculum, critical pedagogy

1. Research context: Calòn in central Brazil

This paper focuses on the chance to stimulate positive experiences of schooling through a constructive relationships between parents and school. It summarizes a part of a larger research project carried out in Italy, Romania and Brazil with the purpose of understanding the relationships between institutions and Roma groups.

The town featured in the research in Brazil numbers about 99,000 people and is situated in the State of Goiàs, in the metropolitan region of Goiânia, the current capital and located in a flat area about 125 miles southwest of Brasilia. The city is considered to be the "religious capital" of the Middle East and every year millions of tourists and the faithful pay a visit to the Sanctuary of the Divino Pai Eterno (Eternal Divine Father) who is unique in his devotion.

The Calòn populating the city, according to the figures reported by their local representatives, number over 2,600. The majority of them reside in a neighborhood whose parallel streets make it similar to the rest of the city: there are many low family houses often displaying an area in the front or in the back that is commonly used as kitchen garden, yard, small garden, garage or entrance. It's hard for an outside observer to distinguish the calòn from gage homes, except for the ones displaying an arras portraying Nossa Senhora Aparecida, the Virgin considered patron of the whole Brazil and worshipped by many Calòn.

This paper explores the identity attribution processes currently developing in two Brazilian schools located in the same neighborhood, with regard to resident Calòn families. The occupation of many of the Calòn families requires a semi-itinerant living in the federal territory; therefore the education of their children was often marked by absenteeism, learning gaps, missed learning goals and educational failures. As a way of engaging with this issue, the two schools used different ways to involve the Calòn families and to empower parents and children in educational settings. The starting point of our analysis takes into consideration the professions practiced by many of the Calòn families; from November to March they move to Rio Grande Do Sul where they sell beach gear on the seaside. For many years the months spent away from the town have represented a "black hole" in the children's scholastic careers and have had many important consequences for their education and for the relationship between Calòn parents and school.

This analysis aims at illustrating the premises and the strategies used by two schools who have to face the same difficulties in the schooling process connected to those semi-nomadic professions; as such the aim is to highlight the positive and negative effects of the different strategies they practiced and both the short and long term consequences. The research has been carried out in the same period in which Resolution 3 came into force, an Act from the Ministry of Education which focused on the necessity of developing teaching strategies that could appropriately fit every person and every group's learning needs. The act expressly mentions minorities like Roma groups and youngsters in a condition of itinerância and among the others, also named calòn, indigenous, trabalhadores itinerantes, acampados, circense, artistas e/ou trabalhadores de parques de dicersão (carnies), teatro de mambembe.

For the sake of this analysis it is therefore important to keep in mind that some of the initiatives launched by the schools may have been enacted prior to legislative expectations and constraints.

2. Critical pedagogy: a theoretical approach

We refer here to a theoretical background based on three main approaches. Firstly, reference is made to those authors who consider education as political action (e.g. [1], [2], [3]) able to foster the democratic principles that defines the need to safeguard fundamental children's rights. From such a perspective, school as a democratic institution (e.g. [4]) should be organized in such a way as to be able to guarantee the conditions for a posi-

tive schooling experience for each and every student. Positive schooling does not only refer to the child as an individual, but also as a part of a more complex social network composed primarily of the family and the group to which they belong. Many anthropologists of education (e.g. [5], [6], [7]) consider that school is a part of a complex picture. Reflecting on the school experience and, through it on those motivations for change characterizing the whole world of education, can thus strengthen the commitment to emancipation, both at the individual level and social level. Broadening the vision from the individual to his/her family and to the community puts the pedagogical discourse on a social level; in opening up to that scenario, the pedagogical discourse cannot avoid confrontation with the political level in which pedagogical practices are contained [3]. Within this analysis we refer to Paulo Freire and his "critical pedagogy". His theory explicitly identifies emancipation as the goal of education, but at the same time considers the historical and social context in which the act of educating is carried out. In doing this, Freire constantly sheds light on the connections between knowledge, relations of authority and power [8]. A key element coming from the theory of critical pedagogy and useful for our purposes concerns what Freire defines as "reading of the world". Through it, Freire highlights the need to investigate what kind of interpretation of reality people use in their everyday life and if and how they can share these views. For our purposes we will focus on the "reading of the world" that the schools officers and the Calòn people bring into play. Listening is a form of "reading of the world", knowing the favourite words used to clarify concepts (defined in this paper as "generating words") leads teachers and educators to develop an attitude that allow them to share meanings; in this way, education becomes a participatory process aiming at researching and building a shared knowledge.

If men transform the world by giving it a name, through the word, the dialogue is imposed as a way by which men acquire signifi-cance as men [...] The conquest, implicit in the dialogue, is that of the world, that the two parties realize together [9].

Thus, to share different "worldviews" means first an act of recognition of the others; and through this process we recognize them as qualified interlocutors in the transformation processes of reality. According to Freire and subsequent authors who have collected and developed his work, it is not possible to know if each reading of the world is "correct" if we do not compare these with other people's points of view. Starting from this premise, the dialogue is no longer conceived of as a simple pedagogical strategy, but as a criterion of truth [10].

As we will see below, this perspective is particularly interesting for our case studies since it assigns to the educational institution the task of listening and recognizing Calòn families. The Freirian perspective challenges what the author of this paper defined as "depository education", that is, a form of education in which the students have only to receive knowledge from teachers, thus affirming and confirming a basic asymmetry of power between them. A "depository school" therefore provides an unchanging service and its beneficiaries are necessarily forced to adapt to it. Furthermore, the depository education system conceives of a teacher who, given this asymmetry, put into play an unquestionable authority. This way all the other actors (students, families) involved in the educational process are considered as passive subjects without any opportunity or responsibility to engage with reciprocity. Freire instead, conceives education as a process based on relationships and within this model, the authority in not unidirectional.

The same concept of authority relations proposed by Freire can be found in the work of Sennett [11]: according to both of these scholars, authority is manifested as a bond between individuals in relationship. Both the above authors therefore intend to return the responsibility for the use and availability of power to the actors involved, declining the power to act and granting empowerment [12]

as being in possession of each of the parties. Within this theoretical framework, we consider Calón as active subjects: in dealing with educational Institutions, they can thus have some influence on the social process that defines their recognition as interlocutors.

Turning to the literature on the presence and the effects of the hidden curriculum (e.g. [13], [14]), we consider the school as not only a place for didactic content but also for all those material and immaterial elements it cre- ates e.g use of spaces, timing, bureaucracy, school year, meeting with parents, symbols etc. According to the theories and further developments within critical pedagogy (e.g. [15], [16], [17], [18]), all those elements act as a pedagogical device (e.g. [19], [20]) producing meaning, practices of subjectivation (e.g. [21]) and attributing identity at a tacit level.

To consider this further, firstly we define as a pedagogical device the set of elements of space and time, language, body that are put into the field when you educate a human being; a device may or may not be embodied in an institution; nevertheless it has a material aspect but also intangible dimensions, latent, hidden, unconscious (e.g. [20]).

On the one hand we can define the school as a pedagogical device in the strict sense because it carries out an educational intentionality which is clearly identifiable and implemented by explicit, declared and visible procedures. The school is therefore a device in the proper sense because those who enter want to be educated, so its educational mandate is explicit. [...] We define pedagogical device in a broad sense a device in which the effects of subjectivity are similarly produced but without any visible educational intentionality, at least in the first instance, without a subject that is definable educator or trainer. [...] Here the pedagogical purpose is not performed but it is anything but a fallout with respect to what should be the "real" purpose [...] of course this kind of devices is stronger, in its educational effects, compared to those previously exposed, because the more hidden and insidious is their pedagogical dimension [20].

The analysis of the different ways to deal with semi-itinerant Calòn students will therefore highlight the implicit and explicit effects of the device of school on parents' recognition and through that the process of being a bearer of parenting skills.

Research methodology
This research is the result of wider fieldwork conducted between 2010 and 2013 in Brazil, Romania and Italy. Literature about Roma groups has repeatedly stressed the need to adopt a methodological approach able to guarantee tools for reading their particular contexts (e.g. [17], [18], [19]). Therefore we decided to follow an ethnographic method through undertaking long periods of participant observation both in the neighborhood and in the schools. In particular we chose to conduct semi-structured interviews with the school directors, long-time teachers, a few semi-itinerant Calòn parents, and the local and state representative in charge of fostering ethnic minorities' rights. For a fully developed analysis we took into account official acts issued by the two schools, but these will not be analyzed in this paper.

The ethnographic work was designed to analyze the two schools and their complexity. The paper is mostly focus on the words coming from key institutional witnesses, in order to better understand the consequences that this process had on the Calòn families. At first, we will consider each school as a single case study; subsequently, we will compare the practices and the rhetoric of each school individually. Out of the many and epistemologically diverse ways of undertaking and sing a comparative method, the one used in our work consists of focusing on two parallel case studies. Usually the study case is not a method aimed at producing data to compare, yet the comparison of different case studies concerning the same issue can lead to enlightening interpretive categories and findings. [25] In our perspective a comparative analysis of the two schools can show to what extent the organizational culture of a school can affect both the identity attribution process

(e.g. [5], [6], [7], [24]) and schooling with regard to some social, economic, and cultural specificities of the considered groups. During the period of observation, the main objective was building trusting relationships and illustrating the aims of the research in order to gain trusted with the people involved.

In doing this the researcher's linguistic skills acquired before and during the work in the field have been essential. The work has been documented in logbooks that have been used as the main instrument to collect the data and record first observations.

Two schools, two worlds. Data analysis
From initially being a marginalized red light district, as a result of the dwellings that Calòn and moradori families has self-built, and the small businesses they are running, the whole surrounding area turned into a residential district.

The first school building, enlarged over the course of time, presents a simple and warm appearance. Most of the educational team has been working together in the same school for several years, some of them since its opening. The issue of itinerant students is of concern to the teaching staff. Those students leave the Montero school, stay in Santa Caterina for several months, and do not apply for other schools there. That causes evident gaps in educational attainment and progress that need to be filled. At first it looks as though there is no answer to this dilemma: enrolling students at schools in Santa Caterina is a parent's duty and the Montero school cannot directly deal with that issue. On the other hand, teachers cannot simply ignore and pass children, overlooking their major learning gaps. In the past, in earlier years, to face this issue the school authority initiated contact with a leader of the Calòn families. Subsequently, following the Direction, in agreement with the teaching staff, they decide not to deal with Calòn community as a whole but as individuals. There are in fact Calòn students who attend classes for the whole school year. Slowly the school personnel and the itinerant families being to know and to speak to each other.

A meeting is set up, with the involvement and participation of the Subsecretaria.

The school therefore has decided not to work alone and to bring the matter to a higher level. The teachers have also decide to talk directly to the itinerant parents to avoid the risk of turning the Calòn students into a target group so that people become involved in interventions just because of their shared ethnicity.

The aim of these processes is to exchange views between families and education authorities in order to find feasible solutions which are in accord with the current regulations, the teaching plans, and the families' working needs.

After much consideration the school and the families finally agreed on a procedure of intervention.

We have talked and we talk a lot and that's how we finally found a solution: we give a tarefão (a big assignment) to do and send back to the school so that we can base the missing assessments on the work that they send us. And it worked. In the meantime they have reached a certain awareness, they want their kids to study

Every teacher takes charge of preparing the educational material required ahead of time to enable completion of the annual teaching plan of the subject. During their absence, itinerant students can thus do their homework and send it by mail to Montero school. It has not been an immediate success and it can be difficult to get the homework done and enve- lopes posted. It has been rather an aspiration- al aim to pursue, as those people interviewed told us. Now the families tell us in advance when they're supposed to leave and they ask whether we could "liberar fulano" (set the kid free). According to the time left to the end of the school term, and to the missing evaluations, we suggest a leaving date so that it fits to their working season and to the student's success. The teaching staff cooperates, and establishes the test dates at the beginning of the absence, so that students will not be overworked at the end of the school term, enabling teachers to evaluate them adequately. In the same way,

every family has been different in terms of their adjustment needs and getting used to the new situation: some of them would rather postpone the departure date while some other chose to pay a person to help their children work with the assignments.

Parents who can't afford a person to help tutoring their sons often preferred to postpone their departure. Some parents are also illiterate, and cannot provide adequate help with their children's homework.

The itinerant students' issues are also taken into account by the staff of adult education evening classes (EJA - Educação Jovem e Adulto) which are given in the same building as the school: the teaching program is intensified during the months when students are not working away. By doing that, once the school term is over and evaluations are completed, youths are free to go away to work and come back to school for the following term.

Some of the Calòn try to match their journeys to the scholastic calendar and the school is careful to raise consciousness as to the contents of lessons, required to be learnt by their children. Some of the students completed their eighth year of schooling [end of the compulsory education] without ever being held back, but only because of this "fight" to work in such a flexible way. In general it is not common for students to stay in school after completing the years of compulsory school required by law, although there are some Calòn adults that are still studying, or who went on to university.

The trustworthy relationship that has grown over the years between school and families has therefore led to ongoing encounters, mutual support and requests for help or collaboration even going beyond the school institutional function (e.g., the school has a tableware loan scheme for Calòn celebrations going on in the neighborhood).

In spite of a federal legislation and the recent resolution of 17 May 2012 (nr.3) that ensures norms and protection specifically to the right to education for itinerant minors and minorities in the country, the course of action of the Montero school is not bound by general guidelines. It rather follows a course of action named jeitinho brasiliero, that is, "Brazilian knack" (or flexibility).

Let us look now at the case study's second school, the Abram Manoel.

The outer space is wide and the concrete building is slightly larger than of Montero school. As in the former school, students here wear neat, coloured uniforms. The headmistress who welcomes the researcher has had tenure for 13 years, and she has been a teacher as well as daytime and evening teaching coordinator. Regarding the mixing of Calòn and Gagé she maintains that there are no major problems between the communities. There has been only one isolated case of a potential student whose parents refused to enroll her as a result of the presence of Calòn students in the school.

The headteacher says about the Calòn community: As for the Calòn, they are very proud of being ciganos, they're not ashamed of it, they think it's the best. It happens sometimes that someone sells their house just because they say they couldn't stand living here any longer, any occasion's an opportunity to celebrate, an opportunity to play loud music. They are like that, barulhentos [loud]. When there's a wedding, the kids don't come to school during those days and sometimes not even on Monday, because they need to rest. Missed school days and fickleness are the main problems. They often miss classes, don't keep up with the school rhythm, barely can stay four hour in the classroom, and their parents are very protective. If a child doesn't turn up, parents say he's been ill in order to cover him […] Here the law sets as bare minimum 200 school days, but sometimes they don't even attend the half of them. […] They already miss the end of the school term, and come back after two months from the next term beginning. Nonetheless they miss further classes.

It happens to get medical certificates from time to time, but they look to be in such poor health in their justifications... […]. Sometimes we either phone up, turn up at home, or summon the parents, and we should fail the

students, but in the end we take pity on them and nevertheless pass them. They tell us that south, where they go, they get discriminated and their children's enrollment is often denied by schools. We don't know whether it's true, and whether they even tried. […] That's why we always support who is worthy, set the tests and close the school term in advance. For we have pity on them. […]

Among the many disparities between the two schools, one stands in a relationship established in a relationship established with the families. In both cases, school professionals welcome the parents' participation. Parents concern themselves with their children schooling: they do participate at meetings, show up at parent-teacher interviews and ask their relatives to replace them when they are busy. Nonetheless, this same kind of relationship leads to opposite effects. In the case of the first school, the ongoing exchange let the respective needs emerge, so that the two sides can find common answers, and build a trustworthy relationship even beyond the school institutional functions. In the other school the headmistress perceives the parents' concern as solipsistic, with no openness to face and solve problems. She said:

If they were the 70% [majority group] the school should take it into account, and even modify its calendar, but they're few as opposed to the student body [in a minority in the school].

In her view these problems don't lead her to question curriculum, or the school's organization, instead they are seen as affecting specifically the families of Calòn students, a minority compared to the whole student body.

Conclusions

Abramo Manoel and Montero schools are about five hundred metres distant, but one has the impression of going to parallel universes. Two school cultures, divergent and multifaceted, come to light with different approaches to dealing with the "Calòn issue". It is difficult to assess to what extent the respective histories of the two institutions have affected their course of action, not only towards ciganos. A first hypothesis: Montero school was

born as an outpost in what was then a highly marginal context, struggling for its very existence. As such it had to develop a more flexible organizational culture and became able to overcome hurdles by spotting creative solutions. On the contrary Abram school has been historically long-present in the neighborhood. It has never had the need to devise itself anew and has establishing throughout the years its own operating methods which have not been challenged.

Secondly, most of the Montero's teaching staff have been part of the institution since the school was founded and they have been present and active during the positive changes impacting the area. Thus they can rely on a strong team spirit and on strong bonds with the local families. Confronting their "vision of the world" through meetings and discussion, teachers and parents began to share what Freire defines as the "conscientization" process ([9], 15]): a common path to awareness developed through dialogues leading to mutually identified strategies to change current reality. That is not the case for the other school. Last but not least, a few teachers at Montero school have set up home in or next to the neighborhood, living personally the history of the mutual respectful approach undertaken between Calòn and moradori.

Unlike Montero school, the Abram school did not develop a specific strategy to deal with the learning problems of Calòn students who are bound to their families' itinerant work. Abram school decided they did not need to consider the "out of school" forces theorized by Ogbu (e.g. [5], [6], [7]), instead adopting a paternalistic approach [11] to their Calòn students. In fact their solution to dealing with this clearly critical state of student non-attendance has been to lower the required level in terms of learning goals. The reason of this choice is articulated as the will to "help" Calòn students, without considering, in the medium and long term, the effects not only on individuals, but also on the whole school community.

Lowering expectations leads to an even lower educational attainment and output for Calòn

people. What is missing here is the very concept of schooling: according to Freire approach, schooling can contribute to develop a reflective thinking, and this is the means by which people can emancipate and change their condition. As an institution, guaranteeing the right to schooling is a duty, and parents' profession cannot be an excuse for not respecting it and impacting on children's futures.

Given the need for assessment of all students, the particular professions followed by Calòn parents is not taken into account as a major element. On the contrary, at Abram school it is seen as an insurmountable hurdle to be dealt with only through undertaking makeshift actions, following the "lesser evil" logic. This school therefore gives up on developing the students skills and, furthermore it gives up on aspiring to be a dynamic subject aiming at structural transformation of society.

The question to raise at this point is: are the school professionals, with their imagery and consideration on Calòn families, still trustworthy as peer interlocutors? The same situations recur in the speeches of the teachers from the two schools, but they are seen in different ways. For the former (Montero), e.g., a celebration in the neighborhood is a good chance for sharing time beyond their professional role, whereas for the Abram's staff it can be "a bloody mess that ends up with some fighting". The intervention tested out by the Montero school is neither the only nor the best way to overcome the observed problems but it is the outcome of a process that deserves our attention. First of all, the recognized critical state of non-attendance is not unilaterally ascribed to the Calòn parents: their profession, although different from the most common kinds of job followed by parents, is taken into consideration in its economic and social prominence for both the families and their neighborhood life.

The experience of these Brazilian schools could be described by identifying three phases with just as many keywords: firstly there has been the recognition of the counterparts involved and a mutual recognition of each other's needs: according to the school's officers, parents have good parenting skills and they base on that premise their plans for interventions. Then follows a long phase of participation where the families and the school cooperated in an institutional, formalized and recognizable way; finally, the school and the families both had to take responsibility in order for the results to be steady and solid.

Children live and learn in a positive environment in which their parents and their group membership is not negatively labeled. Trust and respect between teachers and parents is reflected in children's learning processes. The school perceives of itself as being part of the problem and also a possible driving force for devising a solution. The skilled teaching staff look beyond abstract rules, which offer no practical solutions, and on one hand they speak directly with the families, on the other hand they bring back the issue on an institutional level.

Involving the Education Agency turn out to be crucial because it implies the expectation that the duty/right to education is as much a responsibility of the families as it is of the State. If Calòn children don not go to school and do not learn that is not merely their problem, but it concern their parents, their teachers, their classmates, and the education institutions. The identified solution in the context of Montero school is radical: recognizing both the right to take up an itinerant profession, and that achievement of learning goals have the same worth. The terms for mediating are crystal-clear and that fosters the imagination of feasible alternatives: the alternatives may not be totally successful, but they do lead to further chances to succeed for Calòn students.

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WELCOME TO THE ROMA? EDUCATION PRACTITIONERS' ATTEMPTS TO RESIST A DOMINANT NEGATIVE DISCOURSE ABOUT ROMA CHILDREN.

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Abstract

This article critically examines the dilemmas experienced by education practitioners as they work with schools in two towns to overcome resistance to Roma children newly arrived in England from Slovakia. Through case study I analyse how practitioners describe, recognise, understand and respond to a prevalent negative discourse about Roma children. Such a discourse obscures and validates (at an institutional level) inequality and breaches of human rights for Roma children. Bauman's theory of the *'outsider'* and *'stranger'* illuminates the complex operation of such discourse. Some education practitioners were able to resist the dominant negative discourses and present alternative responses; others retreated into their personal space where they maintained the familiar by replicating or extending the discourse. Education practitioners need opportunities to connect the *'personal troubles of the milieu'* with the *'public issues of the social structure'* (Mills, 1959). In this way practitioners may shape their own practice in ways that resist the hegemonic structures that perpetuate inequality for Roma children.

Keywords: Children/Young People; Family; Social Structure; Roma; Practitioners

Introduction

My study explored responses to the inequalities experienced by Roma families as they attempt to access education when they first arrive in the United Kingdom from Eastern Europe. The research arose from the dilemmas experienced by a group of specialist practitioners working with schools to promote inclusion of Roma families and children. 'Specialist practitioners' include advisory teachers, local authority officers responsible for schools admissions, Education Welfare Officers and family liaison officers; in this case the common factor was that they all worked with Roma families. I use the term 'specialist practitioner' as a strategy to ensure anonymity for participants as a response to the ethical issues in the research setting. However, 'practitioner' is also used to demonstrate a relationship of respect between researcher and participant as I recognise practitioners work in ways that are characterised by thoughtful and reflexive action (Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010).

Dilemmas, I observed, occurred when practitioners and their institutions responded to incidents where children experience inequality and breaches of human rights. I relate such dilemmas to Mills' (1959, p.6) description of the 'personal troubles of the milieu' where issues arise in the self and the local environment, and the 'public issues of the social structure' where issues arise with values and in the life of institutions or in the public realm. Mills later suggests that the process of connecting the 'personal troubles' and the 'public issues' is transformative for the individual, enabling them to focus and move from indifference to involvement in public issues. By focusing on this dynamic I explore how specialist practitioners attempted to resist a dominant negative discourse about Roma families.

In the United Kingdom the term 'Gypsy, Roma and Traveller' is regularly used in academic research and in policy to describe all Gypsy and Traveller groups, as well as Roma from Eastern Europe (Wilkin, Derrington and Foster, 2009a, p.1). I observe that 'Gypsy, Roma and Traveller' is often abbreviated by education practitioners to 'GRT' so that audiences are unaware of its meaning. Use of 'GRT' communicates an impression of homogeneity instead of emphasising the diversity and complexity of background, origins and experience. Belton's (2010) research about identity rejects the notion of externally defined categories. He argues that the process of constantly fixing identity leads to discrimination and a determination of who is 'in' and who is 'out'. In my study 'Roma' children and their families are people who self-identify and describe their movement throughout Europe (including to the United Kingdom) following the collapse of the communist regimes in countries such as the Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia and Lithuania. Initially families came to the United Kingdom as asylum seekers and then as migrants following the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 (European Dialogue, 2009). As researcher I challenge my assumptions about Roma identity and my knowledge of the discourse that impacts on the construction of 'Roma'.

Learning from the literature
What is the experience of Roma children and their families in education?

Literatures about the experience of Roma children in the (United Kingdom) UK are relatively recent, reflecting the arrival of Roma people in the UK from 1995 onwards. There is wide acceptance that a common reason for Roma migration is to escape racism and discrimination (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2009; European Dialogue, 2009). Research in the UK has primarily been conducted by voluntary sector organisations either as surveys to establish the circumstances of Roma (for example, European Dialogue, 2009) or as advocacy projects to ensure that children's and family's voices are heard. Such research has a stated purpose of developing policy and provision as well as raising wider public awareness (Ureche, Manning and Franks, 2005 and Children's Society, 2009b).

Research into the situation of Romanian Roma in London describes the extent of discrimination experienced by children and their families as both Roma and asylum seekers and the degree to which prejudice is increased by negative media coverage (Ureche et al, 2005). The invisibility of Roma families to public services is a key issue; one survey found that Roma families remain invisible to service providers because they may choose not to declare their ethnic background or families have little or no contact with any services (European Dialogue, 2009).

In a review of European research Wilkin et al (2009a) report little empirical evidence on the education of Roma children that was directly related to the UK. However, they note similarities between the situation of Gypsy, Roma and Travellers in the UK and across the European Union. Themes include the high proportion of children identified with special educational needs and placed in special schools, the high drop-out rate as children progress through education, the experiences of racism and bullying in school and the impact of economic disadvantage. The impact of poverty on access to education for the Roma is identified as an area insufficiently explored both in the UK and more widely across Europe (Unicef, 2007). Within the wider European context there is agreement amongst researchers and commentators on the range of factors that influence the inequality in education of Roma children (Liegois, 1998; European Commission, 2004a and 2004b; Save the Children, 2001; European Union Monitoring Centre 2006 and European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2009). Such studies find that access to education and attainment is affected by direct and systemic discrimination and exclusion. Discrimination is compounded by poverty, poor access to services and marginalisation that influence Roma children's ability to participate in education. The exclusion and discrimination is characterised by, for example, invisibility in the curriculum, forms of school or classroom segregation, difficulties in enrolment and maintaining attendance, physical segregation of living accommodation and unaddressed racism (European Union Monitoring Centre, 2006).

How do education practitioners' respond to the Roma children and their families?

Literatures exploring the responses of education practitioners to the inequality and breaches of human rights of Roma children are limited. Recent research about Roma in the UK (European Dialogue, 2009) points out the lack of awareness and knowledge on the part of practitioners about the needs of Roma. They suggest this is a significant issue and leads to a lack of response or inappropriate responses to children and their families. More positively, in the wider European context, literature suggests that effective practitioners hold a strong moral commitment to address the inequality of Roma children. They achieve this through engagement with Roma families, reflection on the barriers to inclusion and taking action within their realm of influence to promote Roma inclusion (European Commission, June 2010). There are three themes which emerge from this wider European research that raise concerns. Firstly, there is evidence that teachers' tolerance of the harassment of Roma by peers and other teachers within schools is widespread (European Union Monitoring Centre, 2006); secondly, the causes of inequality of Roma are not understood (European Union Monitoring Centre, 2006) and thirdly, teachers have low expectations of Roma (Leigois, 1998).

Although the literature has mapped the issues, challenges and impact of the non-inclusion of Roma children in schools it has not yet arrived at an understanding of how education practitioners engage in this agenda and establish a new set a set of strategies that can be drawn upon to achieve more positive outcomes for Roma children and their families.

Research aims and questions

My broad aim was to consider how the findings from literature may support an understanding of the prevalent discourse

about Roma children and their families operating in schools and the communities in which they are situated. On a further level I aimed to explore what may support education practitioners in arriving at an alternative response using Mills' (1959) notion of connecting the 'personal troubles' with the 'public issues of the social structure'.

My research questions were:

What are the prevalent discourses about Roma children that practitioners describe in their work?

How do practitioners respond to such a discourse?

What enables or inhibits their response?

Research methodology and methods

Prior to the commencement of the research I reflected on the relevance of qualitative methodology to this study. As the research setting was my workplace I had the dual role of both specialist practitioner and researcher. Qualitative research as a paradigm positions the researcher as an integral part of the research setting (Holiday, 2007). Cresswell's (2009) notion of research as interpretive inquiry supports an understanding of how I approached the study:

'Qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear and understand. Their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history, context and understanding.' (Cresswell, 2009)

Through qualitative methodology I explored my presence in the research setting (Holiday, 2007). I was critically aware of the challenges and tensions of being an insider researcher (Costley, Elliott and Gibbs, 2010) including issues of power.

Qualitative research enabled me to explore the complexity of the research setting:

'Qualitative researchers deploy a range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. It is understood, however, that each practice makes the world visible in a different way.' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005)

As researcher I anticipated that multiple understandings would emerge in the accounts of specialist practitioners of their work. Case study was an appropriate methodology as the phenomenon under study was inseparable from the context of the schools and the community (Yin, 2003). As a methodology, case study is instrumental (Stake, 1995) in enabling insight to the research questions in a specific context. My aim was not generalise the findings but to gain understandings that may suggest a series of considerations for future work with Roma children and their families in education contexts.

In planning the data collection through interviews I reflected on the ethical considerations that emerged from the research setting and my presence as both research and specialist practitioner. My approach was supported by Pring's (2004) principles for ethical relationships between researchers and participants. This included providing opportunities for the participants to question the research and also challenge the findings from the research. All six participants interviewed were specialist practitioners who had a critical role in promoting Roma inclusion in schools; they worked to make contact with the Roma families and engage them in the process of accessing education. They also worked with teachers in schools to develop inclusive curriculum and practice. Their work was situated in two towns where there had been a significant growth in the Roma community as a result of migration across Europe; they worked with 8 schools and 25 Roma families over a period of six months spanning this study. I adopted the notion of the interview as a '*negotiated accomplishment*' (Fontana and Frey, 2003) recognising that conversations are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place. I was aware of the power-dynamics operating in the research setting between specialist practitioners and schools and that this may impact on the interview process. I obtained informed consent but also took steps to ensure the anonymity and

confidentiality of participants in the analysis of data. I carefully negotiated the location of the interviews by asking the participants for preferences. I planned specific strategies at each stage of the interview process to promote the participation of the interviewee and counter my position as interviewer. My strategy was to enable the interviewee to tell the story of their involvement (Stake, 1995). As a way of beginning the interview I drafted a series of open questions to enable practitioners to tell their story, what they said, what they saw, how they responded and the factors that influenced their actions. After the interview I submitted the transcripts to participants for checking as a further strategy to give participants a voice.

Specialist practitioner's accounts of their work

Specialist practitioners revealed a prevailing negative discourse on Roma children and their families. The structure of this discourse emerged from the interviews; fragments reflected how the discourse established, consolidated and implemented power relationships in the research setting (Foucault, 1980, p.93).Dominant strands of the discourse are described below.

Denial of Roma identity

They described how the discourse that denies and fails to engage with Roma children's identity was produced; one specialist practitioner said:

'A lot of practitioners thought they were Romanian, other people just considered that they were Slovakians in the sense that they were not Gypsies and everyone else in Slovakia was like these people. So there was a lack of understanding about their history. ' (Practitioner D)

Specialist practitioners suggested that the denial of identity is informed by an absence of knowledge about the needs or history of Roma. They observed a sense of resentment at the presence of Roma:

'Depending on their view of Roma - practitioners often felt that Roma were being obstructive and not willing to engage rather than seeing them as having been a victim of prejudice and not having the confidence to engage. ' (Practitioner C)

'Resentment! Teachers say that the Roma children take up a lot of their time, they set up a support system and the child does not turn up. The teachers say they are not attending. The children tend to move a lot. There is a lot of resentment at the wasted time. ' (Practitioner B interview)

Consideration of admission to school did not involve a discussion about the needs of children but about the lack of resources and I suggest this discourse obscures inequality. Specialist practitioners recognised that the narratives about the Roma promote a version of the 'truth' (i.e. 'living off taxes'); in this way I suggest that specialist practitioners were aware how relationships of power constituted and permeated the social body of the school (Foucault, 1980).

Roma children as the 'other'

My analysis revealed how negative discourse about Roma cumulated in the setting. Specialist practitioners encountered a discourse in schools that positioned Roma children as the 'other':

'People did not have the information. If we go back to the boy peeing in the corner in the playground - that can be a foul disgusting piece of behaviour or it can be that he has not been used to using a toilet and then it is not a foul disgusting piece of behaviour. It is something that the child needs help with. ' (Practitioner D)

They found a lack of recognition of Roma children's needs and I suggest an alternative interpretation would be to consider this response as a denial of children's needs. This raises a question as to whether responses to Roma children (either the child urinating in the playground or the disruptive child in the classroom) are dependent upon practitioners having information about that child's background in order to make their response more 'compassionate'.

Resistance to meeting needs

Specialist practitioners described a discourse that validates a position of 'no response', 'slow response' or a 'resistant response' to the needs of Roma children on the basis of a belief that families would be in the locality for a short time. This was a further example of how a negative discourse about Roma cumulated in the research setting:

'People don't want to change they don't want to address these needs because they say in a few years' time they will be gone - they would have moved on. That is not going to happen - this is their home.' (Practitioner E)

Maintaining the status quo from the intrusion of the unwelcome visitors became a focus for activity. Specialist practitioners described different responses in schools. Firstly, they identified the juxtaposition of schools complaining about the presence of Roma but then not engaging in opportunities for change:

'We organised the Roma day last week and one issue was that only one school leader attended - though recently all the schools were saying why do we have to have those families? I just thought they need to realise why families are coming to the UK - how bad it is for them. All the issues about employment, why they don't engage in bureaucracy..... School practitioners think it is somebody else's problem and that someone else will deal with it rather than take responsibility.' (Practitioner E)

Specialist practitioners observed how people adopt different positions toward Roma children. I suggest they recognised how discourse impacts on the opportunities open to individual Roma children. This is an illustration of how the relationships of power in the settings created a specific discourse about Roma (Foucault, 1980).

I argue that such a discourse about Roma families deflected from any consideration about their experiences of inequality and the denial of their rights. Bauman's (1997) theoretical perspectives of the ways in which society creates and positions groups of people as the 'other' or the 'stranger' to be feared provides insight into the power and operation of the discourse about Roma in the research setting. Roma culture was presented as problematic; the discourse systematically produced and circulated a cumulative message (Foucault, 1980) that a consideration of the issues experienced by Roma children was outside of the remit of schools and that schools did not have the skills and resources needed to meet their complex needs.

Dilemmas for specialist practitioners

Throughout the interviews Specialist practitioners described a range of dilemmas in their work; I suggest that these were expressions of the personal troubles of the milieu (Mills 1959) as they were unresolved.

Inspections and targets

Specialist practitioners identified inspections and targets in relation to attendance and attainment as a dilemma. They perceived this in a number of ways:

'All the schools are being judged on their attendance figures and that is all they are worried about. I have spoken to the practitioner responsible for attendance and asked if there is a way that we can work in schools to look at how we get 99% attendance or whatever, that is never going to happen but it is better than it was before. They might have 89%.' (Practitioner E)

'The target driven culture has a huge impact. It causes resentment and pressure on teachers who have classes with many issues in socially deprived areas and those teachers are still being expected to get those children to those targets.' (Practitioner A)

They described the challenge of working with schools dominated by this external environment. I argue that the inspection and targets regime presents schools with dilemmas; specialist practitioners frequently gave this as a reason for schools not admitting Roma children.

Mismatch between policies and needs

Specialist practitioners recognised policy and practice frameworks were incompatible with the needs of Roma families. For example,

secondary school admission policies are not responsive to children who arrived in the area in the middle of the year.

'The Roma families do not know the systems here and these families who arrive mid-term they do not know how to access the services. A lot of children slip through the net - the schools tend not to support the families particularly primary and secondary transfer. The literature they send home is in English.' (Practitioner B)

This specialist practitioner recognised the inequality of access to secondary school for the child because the policy and practice framework does not respond to the particular needs of the family.

Another specialist practitioner pointed out that the admission process to primary school often results in children within the same family being split across schools:

"Sometimes we have had cases where the families have been offered two or three different schools for their children. One case we heard of recently was for children in the same family to go to school in two different towns. Absolutely ludicrous when you start to think about the families who culturally do not feel it is appropriate for children to travel very far away from them anyway and they have not got the money to send their children on buses to school and the actual practicalities of getting three children into three different schools." (Practitioner A)

This specialist practitioner recognised that the policy of splitting families between schools did not promote equality of opportunity in access to education. The family did not have the economic or other resources to be able to realise the opportunity of the school place that had been offered to them.

Issues of responsibility and challenge

Schools' failure to take responsibility for Roma children was raised repeatedly as a dilemma and this led to significant barriers for specialist practitioners in working with or challenging schools.One specialist practitioner described the way in which schools 'refer' families to her:

'They think that those parents are not their responsibility. They flag them up to our service to refer them to us. They are not treated equally.' (Practitioner B)

She suggested schools pass over responsibility for children to her in a way that they would not for other families.

Practitioners struggled to find authoritative sources to enable analysis and resolution of the dilemmas they faced in working with schools to achieve Roma inclusion. In this sense some specialist practitioners occupied a space of moral ambiguity or moral crisis (Bauman, 1993).

Practitioners shaped alternative responses to the dominant negative discourse

I found some specialist practitioners retreated into their own space and disengaged with the issues for the Roma whilst others responded to this dominant negative discourse and struggled to resolve the dilemmas in their own practice. They did not use the terms such as 'equality', 'inequality' or 'human rights', however, they were very clear about the inequality of opportunity in access to school. Analysis revealed a number of partial and fragmented strategies, however, they were recognisably responses formulated through the struggle to find points of references within the context of moral ambiguity.

Focusing on the facts

Some specialist practitioners adopted an approach of 'focusing in the facts' with a goal of educating the schools on the legacy of disadvantage and discrimination faced by the Roma.

"I am training the teachers as they don't understand the background." (Practitioner F)

"I talked to practitioners and attempted to bust the myths about the Roma put about by the media. I focused on the facts and how the Roma have adapted and moved on." (Practitioner C)

Specialist practitioners believed that giving schools information on the background of Roma would promote a positive response. I observed a reliance on this approach in specialist practitioners' initial engagement with schools. Although this strategy enabled

schools to understand the needs of Roma children, I did not find evidence of specialist practitioners reflecting or evaluating the effectiveness of such an approach.

Facilitating contact with Roma families

Specialist practitioners described an approach of enabling schools to have contact with Roma families as a way of addressing discriminatory attitudes:

"Some schools I think have moved on because they get one child or one family who do well, they attend and they succeed and they think ok.' (Practitioner E)

"We say 'you do need to be positive' and to build up that trust with the families and that face to face communication with the Roma families is key because they need to build up the trust in you." (Practitioner E)

I observed a reliance on the use of 'contact' with Roma children in order to challenge discriminatory and racist attitudes but without any robust evaluation; in some instances participants described that this actually reinforced and confirmed negative stereotypes. I observed specialist practitioners modelling practice or demonstrating alternative strategies in order to show that it was possible to work with Roma families.

In this way they indirectly challenged discriminatory practice. They promoted reflection amongst school staff by providing alternative perspectives.

"We keep trying to make leaders in the school or the staff actually realise that these families have the same needs and they want the best for their children. It may be the same as what the teacher wants. If the family do not think the child is going to be safe in the school then they won't send them to school so the teacher needs to think why isn't the child coming to school". (Practitioner E)

The specialist practitioner engaged in a humanitarian dialogue with the school and introduced an alternative discourse on Roma families; such a discourse positions Roma children alongside all other children.

Initiating dialogue and debate

Specialist practitioners initiated 'dialogue and debate'by introducing discussion on wider issues in order to challenge negative discourse.

"I am the Chair, it was quite a big group - each agency will talk about their viewpoint and it is a good thing that we can work together rather than everyone do their own thing. The challenges of education do get discussed, also health and housing. I might not have realised the big picture....". (Practitioner F) *"People's personal views get in the way of their professionalism. Sometimes they are racist - it is improving. They don't realise it - they are just ignorant. It is their attitude they cannot see the bigger picture and how they can help the families."* (Practitioner F)

Some specialist practitioners used the phrase the 'bigger picture' frequently and I asked what they meant by this. The consistent response was that it was about looking beyond the immediate context. I observe how practitioners were skilled at introducing discussion about the 'bigger picture'. They would ask questions that promoted new perspectives and probed the values and beliefs that operated in the setting.

Specialist practitioners engaged with the personal dilemmas they encountered on a daily basis in their work. They used their specialist skills and knowledge by modelling effective strategies to challenge inequality. They were aware of context in the 'bigger picture' that inhibited the effectiveness of their roles. They found opportunities to engage schools in dialogue and debate in order to formulate a way forward. I observed an emphasis on exploring the issues rather than seeking to understand why the school held discriminatory views. Specialist practitioners described how they engage or connect schools (and themselves) with the 'bigger picture' and that this led to new understandings.

Discussion

Although literature identifies the 'invisibility' of the Roma (EU Dialogue, 2009) I found the Roma families are visible in the research setting. My analysis of practitioner responses confirms the findings in the literature (EU

Dialogue, 2009; European Union Monitoring Centre, 2006) that lack of knowledge about the Roma families leads to inappropriate (or no) responses. This suggests that schools' responses to Roma children may be conditional on holding information and knowledge about their backgrounds. I argue 'lack of knowledge' becomes a persistent excuse for perpetuating situations of inequality or failure to take responsibility for families. Although in my study specialist practitioners had a strategy of 'focusing on the facts' my observation is that they did so without evaluating on the effectiveness of such an approach or considering whether schools needed to be provided with a framework for reflecting on the implications of such knowledge for their work with Roma children. This may include opportunities to reflect on and reposition the experiences of Roma families and their journey to the UK as a 'narrative of injustice' (Osler and Zhu, 2011).

I found that recognition of the negative discourse operating in the setting enabled specialist practitioners to critically reflect on their work with schools to promote Roma inclusion; for example they brought fresh interpretations to the impact of inspection and performance targets. Although specialist practitioners were aware of the ways in which education policies were non inclusive of Roma culture they felt compelled to work within these policies. I suggest that a future position may be to provide a framework for practitioners to explore and formulate a range of alternative solutions outside the established range of responses in institutional policies (Save the Children, 2001).

In their dialogue and debates with schools I observed that specialist practitioners placed an emphasis on exploring the issues rather than seeking to understand why the school held discriminatory views. They recognised that the later approach risked empathising or condoning discrimination. I observed that specialist practitioners did not refer to policy, legislation or guidance relating to equality or human rights agendas. There was a reliance on providing information and facts about the legacy of inequality and breach of rights experienced by the Roma. Specialist practitioners remained unconnected to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC); this meant that the struggles of the Roma were not interpreted as struggles for human rights. I suggest that had practitioners understood and used the UNCRC as an advocacy tool (Veerman, 1992) they may have moved beyond the provision of information to provide advocacy for Roma children's rights. By engaging in this wider theoretical framework I suggest that specialist practitioners may have made a strong link (within their own practice and in schools) between the 'personal troubles of the milieu' and the 'public issues of the social structure' (Mills, 1959). They may have shaped their own practice in ways that resist the hegemonic structures that perpetuate inequality for Roma children.

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POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT THROUGH YOUTH WORK: WORKING WITH ROMA CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN DERBY, SUPPORTING THEIR WELLBEING.

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Abstract

This article concentrates on the experiences of mainly Slovak and Czech Roma young people

and their families who make up the largest population of Roma currently residing in Derby in

the UK. It examines the experiences of Roma young people supported by the Multi-Faith Centre at the University of Derby through its outreach organisation Roma Community Care and their partner agencies. The development of a youth work led approach engaging young Roma is designed to enhance the wellbeing of those young people, not just by providing diversionary activities, but also through its holistic support with whole families. The article draws on youth and community studies examining race and ethnicity unpacked through the medium of social identity. It culminates in an assessment of well being of the young people in the case study correlated with the positive engagement of youth work through informal education, examining the experiences of working directly with young people as well as the conceptual frameworks set out herein.

Introduction

Roma migration to the city of Derby in the UK is disproportionately high for a city of barely a quarter of a million people. There are between 4,000 and 6,000 Roma migrants in Derby located in a densely populated area of approximately five square miles (Derby City Council, 2014). As with all new migrants in significant numbers the question of integration and the provision of services by the Local Authority and other statutory and voluntary agencies becomes more than a topic for discussion. Despite the desire to integrate new arrivals and those Roma migrants who have settled in the city since 2005 there are few parts of the statutory sector able to engage with Roma communities effectively. The barriers to engagement are not merely a matter of language, but involve a cultural disconnect associated with a lack of understanding of Roma, their heritage and years of discrimination, segregation and other forms of social exclusion suffered in their countries of origin. Derby however has developed networks of positive engagement, and is one of very few cities in the country where working with Roma families holistically is having an impact on the futures of young people, albeit early in the process to extrapolate clearly what future outcomes look like for young Roma migrants. The development of a Roma-led advocacy organisation Roma Community Care (RCC), supported by the Multi-Faith Centre (MFC) at the University of Derby has taken a youth work led approach that puts Roma children and young people at the heart of its work. It

has adopted youth work values to engage and educate informally in ways that seek to reflect a positive sense of wellbeing for children and young people involved in the programmes. The project promotes access to supported youth work and what follows examines its ability to empower young people and to offer culturally sensitive models of engagement that are Roma led. As Clark (2014 www.extra.shu.ac.uk [online]) contends, "it is notable that some of the most successful 'on-the-ground' projects [in the UK] are Roma-led." This article seeks to critically explore that premise and unpack the arguments associated with youth engagement and the wellbeing of those young people.

Context and Background

Roma migration to Derby is not only associated with the recent inward migration within the European Union (post 2004) and movement from east- west since the A8 acces- sion states had restrictions lifted on rights to work. It goes back to a period in the 1990s when Roma refugees seeking asylum came to Derby as a direct result of fleeing war zones in Bosnia and later in Kosovo. Be- tween 2000 and 2004 Roma from Czech and Slovak republics, in small numbers, came to Derby seeking asylum (none of these asy- lum seekers achieved refugee status and all were subsequently returned to the countries of origin) but many came back to the UK af- ter the restrictions on movement were lifted. Subsequent "chain migration" (McDonald,

1964:82) of families from eastern Slovakia and the Czech Republic to the UK has seen significant numbers settle in Derby, the majority of whom originate from three large towns and cities in Slovakia: Kosice, Presov and Michalovce and the rural areas in their hinterland.

Ethnic Roma are in most instances native speakers of the national languages of their-countries of origin. However, within the homes of many Slovak Roma families *romanes* (romani) is spoken, but few if any can write it as the language follows an oral tradition. This use of *spoken romanes* is certainly the case in Slovak Roma homes in Derby, but not so among Czech Roma families, many of who lost access to *romanes* as a consequence of the Roma Holocaust in the Czech lands in World War II, when Roma families were almost entirely annihilated. In the context of the interrelatedness of the Czech and Slovak Roma there are significant kinship links and ethnic sub-group associations pre-dating the formation of the former Czechoslovakia. Many Slovak Roma moved into Czech lands after the war, hence the family connections today between Roma in both nations. Although a shared heritage exists, this is not something which is homogenised as there are as many disconnections over time as well as connections through trade and travel and traditional familial clan-like links, which go back over at least four hundred years.

Methods

Methodologically the researchers are working with self-designated Roma young people and children having used a case study approach for over two years. They adopted an ethnographic framework, which involved them as participants to varying degrees, raising questions about their membership status as both insiders and outsiders. One researcher is leading the activities with the young people involved, the other acting as a volunteer (but holding an overarching strategic position in the organisation when it comes to decision making about the use and function of the youth work provision). Both are aware of the nature of 'insider/outsider' dilemmas (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) associated with observation research and levels of participation. The researchers are 'participants as observers' (Gold 1954) given their roles within the youth work group setting and also because this is a retrospective assessment of the value of the approach being adopted with young Roma in Derby. They are 'insiders' as members of the youth work population, but 'outsiders' in the context of ethnicity and in the differing roles within the group. What is important here is what Dwyer and Buckle (2009:54) identify, that is, not to treat their membership roles as part of a dichotomous relationship with the observed but one that occupies the space between insider and outsider, allowing the researchers to be both simultaneously insiders and outsiders and not dichotomously 'an insider' *and* 'an outsider'. Both researchers are using informal education as a model adopted to address a range of experiential learning opportunities with the young people.

The case study, undertaken through observation and informal conversation evidences the nature of reciprocal relationships in establishing trust with young Roma and their families and the wider community, operating against a back drop of negative stereotypes associated with media and popular discourse in a national environment that seems to have adopted an anti-Gypsy, Traveller, Roma, and anti-migratory sentiment (McGarry, 2013 [online]). The model adopted reinforces the use of ethnographic approaches "used very effectively to explore aspects of transition and some of the structural factors that impact upon young people's lives" (McDonald *et al.*, 2001 cited in Heath *et al.*, 2009:103).

Establishing Roma Community Care

Roma Community Care (RCC) was established in 2013 as a co-created response to the needs of the Roma Communities in the city of Derby. At the point of this development the outreach team (who are a mix of Czech and Slovak Roma) had worked with the Multi-Faith Centre (MFC) for the previous 15 months as volunteers. The Multi-Faith Cen-

tre, (through the Director, Lead Youth Worker and staff team) created the opportunities for additional outreach support for RCC in 2014, moving it towards becoming a self-sustaining and ultimately self-reliant organisation based on a three year capacity building plan. The RCC team comprises a lead advocate and a team of four other staff; three Czech Roma and two Slovak Roma (three females, two males) and in that sense it is thus 'Roma-led'. Their work is divided up between offering outreach support (including youth work engagement), signposting and assisting families across a range of social and mobility issues, which in the main relate to aspects associated with housing, welfare, education and health. These initiatives are new and have developed organically based on need and identifying gaps in provision since 2011-12. RCC has galvanized trust within the community, and particularly with the youth work activity with young people led by the MFC Youth work team. In addition, it has been able to involve other youth work agencies, has developed a successful partnership for youth work with Peartree Baptist Church in the city who host one session a week and are now running two additional evenings a week in the Mandela Community Centre. RCC has office space at a local primary school community centre. MFC is currently responsible for working with RCC in a co-creative relationship and acts as a critical friend, but one, which in the early stages of development, embraces the workers under its own legal framework and policies.

For two years The Multi-Faith Centre and RCC staff teams working in partnership with Peartree Baptist Church and later The Mandela Centre, have provided 48 weeks a year of consistent youth work and in the process established themselves as a regular and important feature in the lives of young Roma in Derby. Testimony to this consistent approach is that more than six hundred young people registered with the youth work provision, and many have gone on to become volunteer helpers in those settings when too old to attend due to age restrictions (that is over the age of

16). In addition the volunteer group, who are on average between 17-24 years of age, have become role models within the community.

Is Youth Work with Roma Effective?

Youth Work has often been described as being one of two things 'Activity' and/or 'Informal Education'. Activity is seen as "diversionary activity", it distracts 'bad people from doing bad things'. Informal Education however, is about building relationships, learning together, and developing critical thinking (Jeffs and Smith 2005:5).

Youth Work should never be about control or distraction, but should always be based in empowerment. This is manifested by engaging young people through voluntary participation to develop equality and raise aspirations, allowing them to become empowered to see the world as a place where they can develop and grow as people and citizens. Jeffs and Smith *(2005:5-6)*, claim:

"Informal education is a tool that Youth Workers use to help establish these things. Informal education flows from the conversations and activities involved in being a member of youth and community groups and the like. In these settings there are workers whose job it is to encourage people to think about experiences and situations."

There are many differences and some similarities between informal and formal education. Formal education is situated around a curriculum and is measured by a learning process that requires a regurgitation of the information, whereas informal education is situated around people and is measured by the challenges it provokes. Informal education can happen anywhere with anyone. Formal education relies on boundaries associated with schools and colleges across public and private sectors. It functions around attainment based on grading conformity and obedience to be able to achieve its goal (often 5 GCSE's). Informal education's goal is embedded in the journey with the learner; it is means not ends driven. Its *reason d'etre* requires flexibility and the ability to travel with others and learn together. As Batsleer points out, "the role of

educator and learner are each present in informal education" (2009:5). Formal education is based around a master of knowledge who fills the mind of theuneducated (Freire 1970). Informal education sees each participant as valuable in a 'person centred' context and a contributor to everyone's learning.

Formal education has similar aspirations but regularly fails to achieve them for a range of reasons associated with formalised learning regimes, exam-based learning styles and systemic weakness through inflexible curricula, disproportionate teacher pupil ratios and government standards and expectations. In this sense its person centeredness (Rogers, 1961) can be lost amongst the pressure in formal educational settings to achieve against benchmarks and targets. However, both types of education seek an increase in knowledge among their learners and intend that the knowledge they gain will positively affect their world and improve their lives.

Youth Workers value informal education as it is based in the principles of democracy and equality. Both of these enable young people and workers alike to be challenged and educated about the world around them (Beck and Purcell 2010).

When working with Roma young people and children in Derby in various youth work settings, informal education has been an invaluable tool for both workers and young people to develop a deeper understanding of each other's culture, history, life styles and experiences. It could be argued that informal education as a model for youth engagement has ultimately led to better understandings as the co-participants journey together and share experiences. This sharing extends the reach of the engagement beyond the meeting spaces and has also reached into the young peoples' families who see value in the youth work being provided. This is evidenced by cooperation from family members and community leaders, suggesting positive recognition by the community of the youth work offered, which is reflected in the continual engagement by the young people. The increasing sense of belonging associated with the

young people's attendance at the youth work sessions forms part of a reciprocal trusting relationship based on the community's understanding of youth work and its intention to support the integration and development of their children and young people. As a parent said in support of the activities being offered (translated into English):

Three of my boys come and it is the place where we know they will not get into trouble, or be bothered by people who want to be rude and disrespectful to them. We are happy they come and we know its important for them and for us, we want them to be safe (Roma mother in Derby).

Informal Education and Youth Work are based on trusting professional relationships as alluded to above, and yet there is no magi- cal formula for developing these. A recent report from The Roma Support Group in London highlighted the necessity for trusting relationships when working with Roma clients, stating:

The cornerstone of our approach [Roma Support Group] and the key to our success is our ability to establish and maintain trust with Roma children, their families and communities. Building a trust-based relationshipstems from having respect for our clients and their culture, as well as compassion and understanding of their problems and needs.www. romasupportgroup[online]2014

Many youth workers will have a 'tool kit' – these are things that over the years of their experience they have used successfully to enable degrees of engagement, through conversation, which starts the journey of building relationships. These may consist of questions, or activities, pictures or sports. As identified below:

"When I first started working with the Roma community I always carried a pack of cards with me, this was a great way to engage young people, even those who spoke little English - 'Snap'- the game to match alike cards is truly universal! As young people began to know and recognise me, they shared space with me and we were able to start developing a relationship, eventually they sought to teach

me their card games. There were also some games they refused to teach me, as I was often told that I wouldn't play good enough!" (Lead Youth Worker).

Informal education focuses heavily on conversation, but starts earlier with a shared space, a watching of each other, sometimes leading to questions that stimulate discussion. However workers have to allow time to be in a shared space, there is no rush in building and developing a relationship and if it is rushed, it will often be perceived as hollow and tokenistic (Packham 2008).

Unfortunately the current climate of austerity in the UK is effecting both statutory organisations and the community and voluntary sector, resulting in youth work postsbeing lost. The legacy of cuts in budgets may continue for some years yet. The consequences of the dramatic demise of youth work in many areas will have a serious effect on the development of relationships with young people in society and especially the marginal and/or harder to reach. Stability and reliability are crucial to developing trusting relationships, especially since many young people may lack this in other parts of their lives. Developing effective relationships is also impacted by the need for trust and honesty, wrapped around appropriate boundaries, as people grow closer and journey together. Workers need to remember their professional position and remain focused on what is best for the young person. Being honest can often raise negativity, however, dealing with situations honestly, appropriately and within an established trusting relationship will allow a more constructive space. To use a fairly mundane example; discussing personal hygiene can often be seen as a very difficult topic, and speaking to a young person and exploring with them the embarrassing subject of body odour could be seen as very offensive (despite the reality). However, when people trust each other and provide space, a discussion around issues like personal hygiene is often better received.

There is a generational moral code evidenced by community members, which adopts the principles of shame and honour developed among the Rom for centuries in which a basic division between the Rom and their worldview and that of the *Gadze* (stranger – or non-Romani) world becomes a starting point for decision making. There are obvious consequences for those decisions for family in the first instance (including the extended family), and then within the wider Roma community more broadly, but the latter does not take precedence over the former. Despite a tendency to homogenise Roma among the general population there is little grouping unity across Roma populations in Europe (Hancock, 2013:xxii).This distinction is premised on centuries of protecting the family and its extended group in the face of whatfor many is basic human instincts for survival, shelter, food, trade, and until the post World War II experience of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, varying degrees of nomadic lifestyle. Clan groups are effectively extended families, which may have as many as four generations as part of the group (Matras, 2014: 40). The importance of the Roma extended family cannot be overemphasised and the necessity to gain the trust of that family when working with their young people is summed up in Matras' assessment (2014:44), in which he states:

"Roms cherish the spirit of solidarity and mutual support that characterises the Romani extended family. They view it as a unique part of Romani culture of which they are proud, and as one of the things that separates them from the customs and habits of the Gadje, or non-Roms."

Working with Roma Communities in Derby has informed the youth work team of the vital importance of trust. Being part of communities that have historically experienced discrimination, abuse and even persecution has produced a people who cannot be blamed for a lack of trust in authority, be that state sponsored or otherwise. Any kind of rumour within the community can have devastating effects regardless of its provenance. The reality of working with the community means that youth workers need even more time for exploring relationships, honesty to remain

open and transparent and consistency to build reliability (Soni, 2011). We know that a lack of trust can have an adverse effect on community cooperation.

Social Services are one such service that currently lacks trust among the Roma communities in Derby and elsewhere. There are a number of reasons for this, based on misunderstandings and a lack of cultural awareness by Social Workers. An example of where cultural practice is misunderstood impacts on shared childcare arrangements, where extended family members take responsibility within families for the wellbeing of children and young people. However, the lack of trust in social services filters out to others, and makes it increasing difficult to assure Roma family members that not all those offering services from seeming positions of authority within society, are linked into Social Services. The fear among many Roma is that service providers could be presenting Social Workers with intelligence about neglect or abuse within Roma families.Many families believe the rumours that Social Workers have an agenda to remove children from Roma families without good reason and that they are prepared to sell their children to British families who are childless.

These rumours are foundationless yet are spawned by social media, through word of mouth and various media stories from the countries of origin, many that started in the UK. BBC News [online] 20th Decem- ber 2012, reports: *"a highly sensationalized documentary aired on Slovakian television, painting a picture of British social workers out to make money from vulnerable Slovak children."* BBC Radio 4's 'The Report' programme aired on the same day, reported the rise of Roma children in Care across the UK and the mistrust between the Roma families and Social Workers. A general lack of trust in authority and those in power also affects wellbeing as people mistrust doctors, teachers, police, the fire service, etc. This leads to many misunderstandings and people tak- ing unnecessary risks with their lives, not always finding support or intervention when

it is needed. Often families do not recognise in the systems in place, (health or social care in the UK) the State's propensity to seek to intervene supportively in people's lives, as this had never happened in the experience of most Roma in their countries of origin, unless it came with negative consequences for their community.

Youth Work, using informal education, helps provide space to tackle many of these issues. It provides space to examine self-worth and identity, it allows space to discuss rumours and reflect on different versions of reality, and it also provides space for discussions that would be considered taboo or controversial. Yet youth workers need to make sure that this is based in the needs of young people and in a safe space, by having appropriate boundaries and awareness of local issues (Coleman *et al* 2005). They also need to recognise cultural sensitivities around a range of aspects including: gender, family values, codes of conduct and shame and honour, as well as an awareness of race, discrimination and other forms of marginalisation, stigmatization and stereotyping. This includes understanding a tendency towards early marriage, often arranged, or at least recognition of how young people are responding to this previously fairly strict cultural norm. Youth workers should appreciate where young people 'are', in terms of reconciling their own views on these issues, and how in the UK context there may be additional generational tensions between young people who may be questioning previous historic norms.

To enable a comparison, the legacy for many South Asian young people in similar geographic locations as their Roma counterparts, is reflected in a third generation of Asian migrants in the UK still apparently living 'parallel lives', between family and community on the one hand and wider social norms and other social groups on the other. Cantle's (2001) report into the race riots in north- ern British towns/cities, and his later works (2008a, 2008b) identified *"the separation of communities by ethnicity and/or faith meant that there was a lack of shared experiences,*

with little opportunity for the emergence of shared values" (Cantle, 2008b:1). Debo- rah Phillip (2006) reinforces Cantle's views when she talks about the *"processes involved in the racialization of space and to challenge the view that British Muslims wish to live separately from others and disengage from British society."*

Roma young people in Derby, in the post 2004 migration generation were in many instances between 6 and 11 years of age on arrival in the city (now between 16 and 21 years of age) and are living lives with one foot straddled either side of the parallel divide, between family heritage and UK society more broadly (albeit not quite the parallel lives scenario expressed by Cantle or Phillips). However the generation of young people that follow (the children of the post 2004 generation) may be more inclined than their older peer groups or their parents towards the perpetuation of 'parallel lives'. If, in particular,the example of the current older generation is anything to go by, then marrying outside the community becomes an increasing option. Current evidence of Roma women marrying into the Kurdish community in Derby (many of whom are entrepreneurs with shops in the Normanton and Peartree localities of the city) is one example of the changes and challenges for traditional communal lifestyles for Roma in the UK.

It must be asked, will the generation that follows, who already carry the legacy of their heritage with them in terms of collective memory of discrimination and racist stereotyping, withdraw solely into their communities for protection and support or will the opportunities that life in the UK presents impact negatively on Roma culture and traditions as they seek to move away from the communal lifestyle? The tension between the State's desire for greater community cohesion (Cantle, 2008a) and a dilution or even loss of Roma tradition will not be taken lightly by older Roma, and yet there seems to be a recognition of a better future as a potential outcome to life in the UK, which many see as a compromise they are prepared to face both as families and communities.

Youth work with young Roma has another significant dynamic to consider if paral- lel lives are to be avoided and wellbeing is to be seen as more than just an aspiration. It comes back to the development of trust and relationship building in order to empower young people to test and discuss matters they are unsure about, and be challenged about their own perspective on what might be considered to be 'traditional thinking'. That is, ideas that emanate from the heritage of their parents and families and what affect and impact that might have in Derby today. As self-worth and aspirations rise there may be a turn away from risky behaviour and a pursuit of self-fulfilment. In short, it is the development of critical thinking that supports cohesion and citizenship from a community development perspective and this leads to a positive sense of self and a shift in thinking about 'the other' at a personal level.

Youth Work,based in core professional values against the backdrop of family life enables workers to foster critical thinking and anti-oppressive practice through participation. As Packham (2008:69) suggests:

"Enabling participation is a central aim of Youth and Community work. Facilitating effective participation enables communities to have a voice and agency, and it assists service providers and policy makers to make sure that what they do is wanted and required, so being more efficient and effective."

For many young Roma people there are structural issues in their lives that they have little control over. For example, family lives are affected by living in poverty in rented homes that are in very poor condition, often severely damp, with leaks, old and dirty carpets, poor but expensive heating systems and unsanitary rooms. These houses are often over-occupied by large extended families as sharing the home is a norm, due in part to welfare benefit constraints, in part as a cultural response to communal living, and in the basic human need to exist collectively against mount- ing odds. It raises the question of wellbeing, and what impact such living conditions will have on individuals, and specifically children

growing up in this kind of poverty. The effects on young people's health through poor housing naturally expands out, affecting other aspects of their lives such as education and employment futures (Batsleer 2013). If we understand 'wellbeing' as "the state of being comfortable, healthy, or happy,"(Oxford dictionaries [online] 2015) these young people should not be failed by the system that could force them to remain in a poverty trap. Even with the advantage of shared family income and pooled resources, gaining consistent sustainable work is critical to overcoming poor living conditions, as current state welfare reform is having severe impacts on many Roma families economically and socially.

This potential uncertainty about instability in the family also leaves the door open for social care and social work professionals to question values, and this is exacerbated by poverty, which may be used as a factor to assess neglect or abuse. It may even raise the spectre for some of where in fact they feel they are better off. Already in the early months of 2015 (January data only), Roma Community Care has worked with 4 clients wanting to leave the UK and be repatriated to their country of origin and there has been a steady trend since late 2014 towards this kind of decision. For some Roma the vulnerability of a lack of understanding about systems and structures, coupled with no consistent work, abject poverty, anti-migratory sentiment, unscrupulous landlords seeking to exploit them and poor experiences associated with racism and/ or discrimination have helped make up their minds to return to central and eastern Europe. In the country of origin they are at least connected through language and an awareness of expectations for life, albeit many times a life which is one of oppressive discrimination and segregation, or living in the shadow of violence perpetrated by extreme right wing groups.

The dilemma however of life in former homelands versus the unfamiliar pressures of living in the UK seem for many to be weighed in favour of resettlement in places like Derby. The motivations of families are generally a search of a better life for themselves, but ultimately there is evidence to suggest that what matters for the future of these families is the search for a better life for their children. Evidenced by a Roma Father from Slovakia, stating:

"My daughter is at school from five. I want that she will be educated here. I want to stay here. I will not return back to my country in Slovakia. I want that she will receive a good education here and then she will have a job. I want that she will not have to work hard like me and that she will have a better job, and easier job than me." (Slovak Roma informant).

How then do those who provide services and support for Roma make the most of the opportunities to do so without alienating families and communities? No one is suggesting that creating false hope is a positive outcome and youth workers are one of few professionals in the lives of young people and ultimately their families, who do not offer what is not achievable or realistic in the circumstances. But what they do offer is equality as a crucial aspect of service provision, and democracy as a model to underpin that equality of opportunity and choice. For many Roma this is all they are seeking. A young man of 15 years of age in the youth club one Tuesday evening said:

"I don't mind being different and I am proud of my culture but I want to be given the same chances as anyone else, not to be discriminated against because of my colour or how I speak or where my family comes from."

The development of a safe space allows some issues to be explored at grassroots level, however, if matters are only dealt with at this level it can too easily become a blame game. This may not take into consideration the wider impacts of heartfelt inequalities affecting health and wellbeing, which may require workers to be involved in lobbying outside the youth work environment (Disability Rights UK 2011). Youth Work can affect change through the development of young people by assisting them in forming leadership groups and being advocates of/with young people to challenge discrimination and oppression at all levels

while demonstrating democracy in action, even if this causes conflict for workers who can sometimes end up challenging work partners or funders.

Conclusions

Working holistically with children, young people, young adults and their families helps to create a community profile around housing, health, education and employment which can enable better informed approaches to understanding the complexity of needs, the effects of identity, and the formulating of a youth led approaches to targeting issues. As Roma young people take the lead on projects and concerns around their wellbeing, it removes the feeling of being targeted by other organisations. Health and wellbeing are of course personal (Laverack 2007) and this can mean that perceptions of healthy behaviour and outcomes associated with wellbeing are relative to people's culture, experience and understanding. The sensitively around be- ing told to be 'more healthy' can also be insulting, as it doesn't acknowledge the wider determinates associated with one's life that can impact on our sense of health and wellbeing, including how these things affect social capital and our environments (Dahlgren and Whitehead 1992). Good health is therefore not always an available choice.

Roma communities are often very aware of being targeted by organisations to reach their own organisational targets, and may react by withdrawing their engagement. As a consequence MFC and RCC are constantly monitoring organisational agendas of others that are not necessarily youth led, and do all they can to mediate those experiences to prevent relationships being undermined, while retaining a safe space for young people. To enable positive engagement, activities need to be centred on young people's needs. This may take extra time as relationships are built and developed, but in the end provides constructive activity that has a chance of producing positive change valued by young people because of their input into its creation. Such activities also ameliorate aspects of 'hopeless-

ness' associated with studies of Roma adolescents in Slovakia (Kolarcik *et al* 2012) where they scored high for feelings associated with a lack of a sense of wellbeing, based on no constructive future in their country of origin due to multiple factors, many of which related to poor social mobility, discrimination and a lack of opportunity.

If wellbeing is the aspiration for young people as they develop through life, then advocacy, as a model to enhance wellbeing generally needs to be given serious consideration. RCC has adopted a Roma-led model of advocacy, which is demonstrating positive outcomes through the power of one-to-one support for adult Roma clients. Evidence from school-based studies in Australia also reflects the potential power to affect wellbeing in schools, suggesting:

the provision of a secure and reliable relationship with a teacher-advocate who engages with the student empathically and non-judgmentally has a positive impact on the adolescent's emotional wellbeing (Henry *et al.* 2003) and psychological development (McCann 2008).

The youth work setting is interconnected with families and family life while earned trust ensures family support for the youth workers and what they are achieving in the construction of positive safe spaces for development for young Roma. In those spaces the challenges and opportunities of life and many of life's lessons are being learned, informally for the most part, but effectively. This can be evidenced by behavioural change among young people who others, (such as school and elsewhere) have labelled 'problematic' or worse, and are therefore in danger of reinforcing the stereotypes which youth work seeks to move away from. RCC volunteers and workers in the youth work setting now understand the value of youth led approaches, and one-to-one advocacy through relationship building. Adopting a person centred attitude (Rogers, 1961) when working with children and young people in a safe space is critical to any hope of releasing a persons potential. The question of creating hope for the future of young

Roma is critical to those adolescents who see the UK as a place of opportunity, thus dispelling the high levels of hopelessness reported in the Slovak study (above).

In order to maintain a youth led approach MFC is increasingly introducing youth workers from the Roma community. This 'passing of the torch,' enables communities to take ownership, provide an example of good practice, and allows a 'first-hand experiential' approach, to working. The 'insider' source of knowledge enables better and more appropriate responses to needs, thus being more effective in promoting wellbeing. It cannot however become a sustainable model without committed support from others who believe in the value of youth work, and who continue to walk the journey together as 'critical friends'. As suggested in the introduction to this article, access to supported youth work has the potential to generate a sense of wellbeing, based on its ability to empower young people and to offer culturally sensitive models of engagement.

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RESISTING ASSIMILATION: SURVIVAL AND ADAPTATION TO 'ALIEN' ACCOMMODATION FORMS: THE CASE OF BRITISH GYPSY/ TRAVELLERS IN HOUSING

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Abstract

This paper consists of discussion of findings from a series of empirical studies conducted in London and southern England. A central concern of these studies was to explore the collective responses and adaptations of Gypsies and Travellers to post-war (1945) government legislation which has aimed to eradicate nomadic lifestyles and in so doing, to settle and assimilate this group into the general population. Despite these policy objectives Gypsies and Travellers through utilising forms of cultural resilience have resisted enormous pressures to assimilate, managing to live within a wider culture while rejecting its values and social institutions and recreating

traditional collective lifestyles (as far as possible) within 'bricks and mortar' accommodation. The authors outline contemporary forms of resistance to assimilation and, by drawing on qualitative and ethnographic data, demonstrate how relations between the state and Gypsies and Travellers is characterised by a cyclical relationship of domination, resistance and resilience. As legislation is enacted to restrict the mobility of Gypsies and Travellers and 'settle' them, so these groups develop innovative strategies to evade or minimise the impact of legislation, thus instigating a new phase of policy development.

Cultural resilience in this context therefore encompasses active resistance to externally imposed changes that are perceived as antithetical to traditional lifestyles. Drawing on Acton's (1974) typology of adaptive strategies the authors illustrate how recourse to culturally grounded strategies of resistance has allowed Gypsies and Travellers to maintain a sense of social cohesion and group identity,which assists in minimising the more damaging impacts of legislation.

Introduction

This article draws upon a series of interlinked research studies previously published as both discrete themed papers (Greenfields and Smith, 2010, 2011, Smith and Greenfields, 2012) and a monograph (Smith & Greenfields, 2013) which examines in depth, the accommodation 'careers' and impacts of enforced settlement from quasi- nomadism into 'bricks and mortar' housing as experienced by 278English (Romanichal) Gypsy and Traveller[3] households.

The studies comprised materials drawn from commissioned research undertaken on behalf of a social housing provider in the South East of England which is known to have a substantial number of Gypsy and Traveller tenants; a focused project on housed Gypsies and Travellers in South West England as well as a series of Gypsy, Traveller Accommodation

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1In the context of *this* paper and in line with current cultural and policy usage in the UK, 'Gypsies' is used to refer to members of the English Romanichal community whilst 'Travellers' is used both to refer to ethnic minority groups such as Irish and Scottish Travellers and as a generic term to encompass all other groups of *nomadic* people, or those of nomadic heritage. In the current UK usage this definition excludes the people identified as 'Roma' who are classified in UK policy documents as migrant populations from Europe who share a cultural/linguistic heritage with English (Romany/Romanichal) Gypsies but who by dint of their relatively recent migration are perceived as 'other' than Gypsies and Irish/Scottish Travellers who have a history in mainland Britain of many hundreds of years. While the use of the word 'Traveller' is not unproblematic (given its origins as an identifying marker for those nomads of Irish, Scottish and Welsh descent as well as those formerly sedentary members of the community who have adopted a nomadic way of life in the previous three generations) it is increasingly accepted as a politically inclusive term which permits all nomadic people, whatever their ethnic origins, to acknowledge some form of collective identity whilst recognising the structural constraints and common experience of prejudice and racism encountered by all currently nomadic people as well as those who are 'ethnically' Gypsies or Travellers albeit living in housing.
Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Assessments arose as a result of considerable policy interest amongst the New Labour Government of 1997-2010 into the causes and solutions to wide-spread discord between Gypsies/Travellers and mainstream society over site provision, as well as substantial anecdotal evidence from registered social landlords that significant numbers of housing placements of Gypsies and Travellers broke down fairly rapidly. Accordingly an amendment to the Housing Act 2004 required that each local authority with housing duties should seek to ascertain the preferences of members of the above communities in relation to accommodation type. See further Cemlyn et. al, 2009 for an extensive discussion of findings, methodologies and policy approaches to site and accommodation provision for Gypsies and Travellers. Greenfields was co-author with Robert Home of the first GTANA undertaken in the UK ('The Cambridge Project') see further Cemlyn et. al. 2009, op. cit.). That study and a follow-up commissioned small scale projects into the accommodation preferences of Gypsies and Travellers who had been required to move into housing provided by a local authority in the South West of England identified core issues around clustering of families in social housing contexts. Subsequently both authors of this paper have worked on a series of GTAAs in both urban and rural areas culminating in their major research study into the experiences of housed Gypsies and Travellers (Smith and Greenfields, 2013). Quotations in this paper have been drawn from a number of sources – e.g. various GTAAs on which the authors have worked; Smith and Greenfields, 2013; and Gypsy/Traveller health needs assessments in rural areas (Greenfields with Lowe 2013).
 As a result of a change of UK Government in 2010when a Centre-right coalition came to power which proved significantly more interventionist in relation to accommodation of Gypsies and Travellers and seemingly more hostile towards the former administration's commitment to 'facilitating a nomadic lifestyle' (see further National Federation of Gypsy Liaison Groups (NFGLG), 2014) at a local level GTANAs have become considerably 'watered down' and subject to individual local administration control, with a reducedrequirement to take account of unmet need when planning whether and how to provide accommodation for members of these communities. In May 2015 a newly elected single-party Conservative administration came to power who have expressly indicated that there will be changes in policy approaches to the delivery of Gypsy and Traveller sites as concern has been expressed that these communities are treated disproportionately favourably vis a vis other populations with regard to location and format of planning applications (see further, European Roma and Traveller Forum, 2015). At the time of writing it is unclear precisely what measures will come into force although concerns have been voiced by UK civil society organisations that there are likely to be significantly more stringent regulation of sites and tightening of regulations regarding obtaining planning permission, based upon the Government's manifesto pledges and policy statements see further: Travellers Times blog 06-05-

2015 http://travellerstimes.org.uk/Blog--Comment/What-do-they-say-about-Gypsies-and-Travellers.aspx.

(and other Needs) Assessments (GTANAs) carried out between 2006-2013[4] . In addition to survey data, other materials were gathered by undertaking a series of focus groups (comprising 40 participants) and 55 in-depth interviews(South East England and London) convened specifically for the purposes of exploring the impact of policy on the accommodation options available to Gypsies and Travellers in England.

Given that the legislation which underpins the GTANA process[5] requires that a sample of housed Gypsies and Travellers are interviewed to ascertain their accommodation preferences these relatively recent large-scale surveys of Gypsies and Travellers provide an unprecedented body of data which provided information on the accommodation situation of Gypsies and Travellers at local, regional and national levels. Accordingly we were able to data mine in excess of 200 GTANA questionnaires for outline information on housed Gypsies and Travellers' residence prior to moving into housing, to enable us to triangulate our findings with those of other extant public sources of information in addition to the in-depth materials outlined above (focus groups and targeted surveys of housed Gypsies and Travellers undertaken by the authors). Overall, the household data reviewed was selected from a pool of over 700 respondents, although only materials pertaining to individuals living in housing at the time of interview were treated to in-depth analysis.

The comparative studies undertaken at different localities enabled the authors to consider variables pertaining to peri-rural and urban dwelling; inter and intra-ethnic relationships and the ethnicity/culture of participants. In the two localities in Southern England reported in this article the majority of participants are Romany (English) Gypsies, albeit a small sample of Irish Travellers and New Travellers are also included. In contrast, the majority of those interviewed in London were of Irish Traveller heritage (see further below for a discussion on specific locality based stressors associated with access to sites and housing).

Drawing upon data gathered from these distinct communities whose access to 'traditional' site accommodation is impacted by both histories of migration to the UK and the period at which settlement first occurred, as well as the degree to which they retain a tendency to travel either seasonally or on a more permanent basis for occupational reasons (see further Cemlyn et. al. 2009; Smith & Greenfields, 2012; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010). These considerations permit an analysis of whether and how ethnicity variables impact resilience and resistance to enforced sedentarisation.

Gypsies, Travellers and Accommodation in the UK

It has been estimated that there are over 300,000 Gypsies and Travellers in the UK with as many as two-thirds resident in conventional housing (Commission for Racial Equality, 2006; Cemlyn et. al., 2009)[6]. Whilst as evidenced by Smith and Greenfields (2013) and Cullen et. al. (2008) some respondents have entered housing voluntarily (often for health reasons, to obtain a stable education for their children or as a result of age or infirmity) it is incontrovertible that the pace of transfers from caravan sites into housing has increased in recent years due to the closing off of traditional stopping places (Greenfields, 2013); a shortage of pitches on council caravan sites (Cemlyn et. al., 2009); difficulties gaining planning permission to

 Whilst the UK's 2011 Census for the first time included the option for respondents in England and Wales to self-identify as either a Romani Gypsy or a Traveller of Irish heritage (Roma or Scottish Traveller was excluded as option) only 57,680 respondents identified as being a member of these ethnic groups, representing – based upon GTAA data - an absolute minimum undercount of 54% of these communities (Traveller Movement, 2013). The Traveller Movement moreover posited that those least likely to self-identify in the Census were likely to be Gypsies and Travellers resident in housing or experiencing extreme marginalisation and exclusion, such that they were neither registered to be enumerated in the census or experienced fear of identification as members of these ethnic minority groups: http://www.travellermovement.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Gypsy-and-Travel-ler-population-in-England-policy-report.pdf
 For a discussion of the legal situation in the UK and the impact of Human Rights legislation see both the paper by Pratchett in

this journal edition, and also Johnson and Willers,eds. (2007)

develop private sites (NFGLG, 2014; ERTF, 2015) and a sustained legislative assault on nomadism, in particular with the enactment of wide-ranging punitive powers under the 1994 Criminal Justice Act (CRE, 2006; Crawley, 2004; Cemlyn et. al., 2009).

In the UK a higher percentage of Romani and Traveller populations (estimated at between one quarter to one third of the population, CRE, 2006) still reside in 'traditional' culturally congruent forms of accommodation (caravans) than are found elsewhere in Europe. In much of Europe Roma communities have predominantly been forcibly settled for longer than have British Gypsy/Traveller populations, (see Picker, Greenfields and Smith, forthcoming, 2016; Matras, 2014; Taylor, 2014). In both contexts, the cumulative impact of legislative and policy pressures to sedentarise throughout the 20th and 21st Centuries have had a profound and increasing impact on both mode of residence and community structures.

Mayall's (1995) classic text on nomadism and the impact of legislation and state policies enacted in England to repress such 'unruly' behaviour associated with both ethnic Gypsies and Travellers and homeless travelling groups, was published just as the bitterly disliked and fiercely resisted Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (CJPOA) came into force. That volume documented not only centuries of repression in the UK, with nomadism at times practised on pain of death or expulsion, but also detailed the impact of rapidly changing social organisation, industrialisation and the declining position of Gypsies and other mobile workforces as demand for casual labour and tolerance of 'difference' declined. The accumulation of policy responses which sought to enforce settlement through simultaneously targeting nomadic families via educational and public health policies in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries (Smith & Greenfields, 2013), escalated as a result of a dramatic decrease in farm labour opportunities and the closure of traditional stopping places in the immediate post-World War Two years. In addition,

restructuring and rebuilding projects across the UK led to ever more regulation and social control of nomadic lifestyles (Picker et al, forthcoming, 2016).

By the late 1950s the national project of building a modern nation state which sought to sweep away the 'squalor' of unregulated camps (both occupied by Gypsies and Travellers and other citizens who had increasingly taken to living in caravans in response to a national housing crisis) led inexorably to the passing of rigorous legislation and control over where and how caravans could be stationed, and who was able to reside in such accommodation. The impact of the 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act which curtailed many opportunities for Gypsies and Travellers to reside at formally accessible locations, coupled with mass evictions from traditional or 'tolerated' stopping places which had become increasingly overcrowded in response to the processes described above, meant that many Gypsies and Travellers were condemned to a cycle of repeated, and often aggressive, police-led evictions from road-side stopping places.

Assimilatory Accommodation Policies

It was at this point that the first large-scale movement of Gypsies and Travellers into housing commenced, in response to a programme of explicit sedentarisation and assimilation (see McVeigh, 1997; Smith & Greenfields, 2013; Clark and Greenfields, 2006; Hawes & Perez, 1996). Despite the appalling hardship experienced by many Gypsies and Travellers at this time (repeated evictions at short notice sometimes resulting in the destruction of property and homes, physical violence to household members and threats (sometimes enacted) to remove children into public care on the grounds of 'neglect' if families refused to move into housing). Many clung tenaciously to their traditional way of life, often sliding deeper into poverty as they were unable to find places to stop and access work, and indeed casual labour opportunities for populations

who were often illiterate, declined sharply.

In 1968 after many years of lobbying by a small group of public spirited and determined Parliamentarians and civil rights activities, the public outcry at the sight of hundreds of homeless Gypsies and Travellers parked on the edge of dangerous roads with nowhere to go and facing repeated eviction, led to the passing of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act which for the first time required local authorities to provide sites for Gypsies and Travellers who wished to reside in caravans. In this paper it is not possible to explore the many ramifications and unintended consequences of this benevolently intentioned piece of legislation, although much has been written about the impact of ferociously policed regulations on local authority sites, the complex bureaucracies; often dangerous or polluted locations at which they were grudgingly built and the complex political negotiations and manoeuvres implicit in negotiating such provision (McVeigh, 1997; Kenrick & Clark, 2006; Richardson, 2006; 2009; Powell, 2007;Cemlyn et. al., 2009; Greenfields & Smith, 2010; Smith & Greenfields, 2012; Greenfields & Brindley, 2015)

In theory, members of nomadic communities who wished to remain living in caravan accommodation were afforded legal protection (and indeed the recognition in both UK domestic and European human rights law of the need to protect Gypsies and Travellers from enforced sedentarisation and loss of cultural heritage occasioned by ever more rigourous anti-nomad policies[7]). In practice, the persistent shortage of site provision and increasing difficulty in gaining access to such 'authorised' sites for Gypsy and Traveller households has, over the last four decades, led to a significant transition from caravans to conventional accommodation for members

of these communities.

The enactment of the CJPOA in 1994 (by a Conservative Government) has indeed been recognised as the most recent 'low- point' in enforced sedentarisation, firstly by repealing the duty on local authorities to provide Traveller sites and secondly by enacting provisions making it illegal for Travellers to move or stop in 'convoys' of more than six vehicles. Third, police powers were enhanced making it possible for police enforcement action to lead to the forcible seizure of the caravans (homes) of anyone in breach of the legislation (O'Nions, 1995; Richardson, 2006; Kenrick & Clark, 1999). Inevitably, despite profound resistance, often in the face of over-whelming odds, and widespread public criticism of such sedentarising impositions, this far reaching piece of legislation impacted dramatically on opportunities for nomadism and led to an increased move (often as a last resort) into 'bricks and mortar' accommodation for Travellers and Gypsies who vociferously protested at these restrictions on their culture and traditions.

Despite the far-reaching impacts and profound human cost of these cumulative legislative enactments, Gypsies and Travellers' cultural resilience and resistance persisted in the years following the passing of the CJPOA. Whilst initially there was a retreat from nomadism and a steep decline in households living at 'unauthorised encampments' following the passing of the CJPOA[8], within a few years it was widely recognised by public bodies, (including police authorities who expressed their dismay at being required to play 'cat and mouse' and repeatedly evict homeless Gypsies and Travellers who had nowhere else to move to) that the policy was a failure (see Greenfields, 2008). A significant number of

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Longitudinal data sets are available from the DCLG website mapping trends since the 1990s. These show the ebbs and flows of caravan numbers at different 'types' of site (self-owned authorised and unauthorised, roadside/unauthorised encampments and local authority provided authorised sites). The most recent data set (July 2014) https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/376736/Traveller_Caravan_Count_release_-_July_2014.pdf demonstrates that there has been a decrease in both overall numbers of caravans occupied by Gypsies and Travellers in England and more specifically a decline in caravans stationed at 'unauthorised' encampments in the year since 2013, a trend which may potentially reflect harsher policies in recent years in relation to difficulties in obtaining planning permission for such sites. Despite this trend, (which should be contrasted with an increase in some former years of residents at 'authorised sites') it is noteworthy that 16% of all such caravans (perhaps accounting for 3000 individuals) are still stationed on unauthorised encampments/developments

and as such residents are thus technically homeless households at risk of eviction and enforcement action.

households were unwilling or unable to access housing and preferred facing the hardships of living 'on the roadside' to moving into 'bricks and mortar' accommodation.

Indeed amongst those families who did attempt to settle into housing it was noted that as many as 50% of such placements broke down rapidly, with families either returning to roadside life or (in breach of site planning regulations) sought to 'double up' and squeeze onto already often dangerously overcrowded authorised sites (Davies, 1987; Niner, 2003). The resultant public concern over the failure to diminish numbers of highly visible unauthorised encampments despite harsh policy measures, led to significant disquiet in both human rights and political circles as well as considerable media comment on the 'Gypsy problem' which refused to go away. Shortly after the election of a Labour government in 1997, in recognition of the considerable negative consequencs of the CJPOA, a wide-ranging policy review was announced which set out to consider how best to deal with the increase in unauthorised encampments and the widespread public hostility   to granting planning permission for either local authority provided, or 'self-provided' (on land owned by Gypsy and Traveller families) sites for members of these communities (Erfani-Ghettani, 2012). Ultimately, in 2006, as part of an series of incremental policy enactments aimed at reducing community tensions over unauthorised encampments and enhancing the wellbeing of Gypsies and Travellers who were increasingly recognised as experiencing extreme exclusion across multiple domains (see further Cemlyn et. al, 2009) the then Government amended the Housing Act 2004. This required local authorities to assess the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers in their area (through the mechanism of GTANAs) and move towards the provision of sites where need was identified. It was as a result of these new duties that for the first time attention was paid to the experiences of housed Gypsies and Travellers who has in essence become 'de-ethnicised' and forgotten once they had moved into housing and ceased to feature within the twice yearly caravan counts.

As noted above, the genesis of this series of studies is thus intimately connected to the relatively enlightened policy focus on Gypsies and Travellers which commenced under a Labour Government in 1997 and which has largely been superseded by a more punitive approach since 2010 when a Conservative led coalition came to power. At the time of writing and following the recent election of a majority Conservative government in May 2015, it is unknown precisely what policy approach will exist in relation to these ethnic minority groups. Nevertheless, based on the findings of our studies we fully anticipate that forms of cultural resilience will continue to evolve in line with the trends noted below. Indeed as we outline in subsequent sections of this paper, evidence demonstrates that a transfer into housing does not simply lead to assimilation and a homogenised culture of 'white Britishness' but often creates as many (if different) problems for housed families as they experienced when 'on the roadside' which in turn are met by a new and dynamic cultural turn.

Social Invisibility and Routes into Housing
One striking finding from the GTANAs was that local authorities overwhelmingly had very limited information or knowledge of the size or ethnicity of the housed Gypsy and Traveller populations living in their localities. Indeed even in situations where researchers identified (often to their own astonishment) that a significant number of housed Gypsies and Travellers lived in a specific housing estate or locality, the communities were typically 'invisible' to the housing authorities who had simply subsumed the population into the category of 'White British' tenants. Commonly there was a failure to recognise (or confusion regarding) the concept that Gypsies and Travellers retained in law their ethnic identity and protected 'minority status' regardless of the fact that they no longer lived in caravans. Such was the lack of recognition of the populations by public authorities

that in our work on early GTANAs we typically only became aware of populations of housed Gypsies and Travellers as a result of 'snowballing' of contacts from the more visible 'sited' members of the communities, who were then able to refer us onto their relatives and wider networks who had moved into 'bricks and mortar' social housing.

Once contact was initiated with housed members of the populations in the localities where the qualitative studies were undertaken, a rich source of data rapidly became self-evident which revealed both stark challenges (including enacted racism and highly gendered isolation) experienced by many housed Gypsies and Travellers, as well as vibrant resilient networks of social capital and operationalised resistance to assimilatory pressures.

Legislative and policy induced pressures to settle was the primary reason for movement into housing with 40% of our sample of housed Gypsies and Travellers reporting that they had moved into housing as a direct result of a lack of authorised sites. Typical narratives were as follows:

"We were stopping on the marshes. The council said if you go in houses just till we've built you a site so we went in houses but the site was never built for us they only built a site for the roadsiders that hadn't gone into housing when us lot did" (Male, South-East England)

"We was forced out [of the local authority site] *when it was shut down but it wasn't how we was brung up not to be in a house – but it was that or go on the road again and we couldn't do that with our son being disabled and me being pregnant again."* (Female, South-West England)

A further 10% had moved into housing following failed applications for planning permission in situations where they had bought their own land to live on (often collectively purchasing land with family members). In these latter cases respondents typically reported many years of legal challenges and resultant stress before they were forced to sell or move away from their land and into housing to avoid eviction or even threat of imprisonment for being in breach of planning permission. One Romany Gypsy couple interviewed in the South East who have been housed for six years after failing to obtain planning permission observed that:
"The councils make it nearly impossible to get planning permission and that's because they don't want us round here".

Contrary to media claims and political rhetoric that Gypsies and Travellers have a favoured status in planning law, one respondent reported angrily:
"I'll tell you the difference between us and you. You can put in for planning permission. You haven't gotta say who you are. We put in for it, we've gotta put in as a Gypsy. Then, you've gotta turn round and prove that you are a Gypsy. Now you tell me if that happens anywhere else?"

Since a household is considered homeless if they reside in a caravan but have no legal place to live in it the decline in authorised sites has resulted in a drift into housing as a result of homelessness with 21% moving into housing after being accepted as homeless:
"We wanted a place on the site where my mum and brothers are but there were no places I'm down on the list but we're stuck here 'cos there's nowhere else to go."

A further 20% reporting entered housing primarily for 'family reasons' typically to live close to family, to obtain a stable education for children or to ensure that relatives could access health care or social services support which was unavailable to 'roadside' nomadic households.

"I don't like this house its not how we've lived. But we're getting older now and need to be here so I can get seen by a doctor when me or the wife's poorly".

"The chavvies [children] *need an education. A lot of them* [schools] *won't take them from the roadside so you need an address to get them into school. I want mine to get an education not grow up and not read and write like me. We were on the road when I was growing up and I never got any schooling".*

The remainder of the sample <9% reported

that they had either grown up in housing, had *"always fancied giving it a try and wanted a change from trailers"*, had married into a family where their spouse or extended family already lived in 'bricks and mortar' accommodation or had other 'private' reasons for making the transition.

The sense of enforced assimilation and an assault on a traditional way of life came through respondents' narratives extremely strongly and this held true regardless of the age or ethnicity of respondents or even the duration of their residence in housing. Gender however (see further below), was a key variable in the depth of isolation expressed by respondents. Thus a female focus group member who has been housed for over ten years commented that:

"all the other groups in society are allowed to keep their way of life so why not us? I hate it here in this house but where can I go? There's no pitch on the site and they won't give us planning [permission] *if we buy our own land."*

Levels of dissatisfaction with housing were strikingly high. Somewhat shockingly, when asked to discuss the compensatory factors associated with living in housing, 16 per cent of respondents were unable to find a single positive element about residence in 'bricks and mortar':

"*Nothing at all. All I need I could have in a caravan on a site, or on my own land.*"

"*I hate it. Want to be on the site with mum and dad.*"

Dislocation and Cultural Trauma

During a focus group interview, one young woman in the South West of England expressly related the loss of traditional nomadic lifestyles to increased rates of depression, unemployment and disillusionment amongst her relatives:

"the older ones, no offence like but they don't have a job, they're all on the dole and sit around all day and have kids and basically that's it."

Such comments reiterated findings from a focus group undertaken by one of the authors

of this paper during which a participant noted (Richardson et. al., 2007:114).

"You have a drive down the High Street and have a look at the boys I grew up with… they're either out of their head on drugs or on Tennants Super[strong beer] *because they're getting rid of the day, there's no point in them having a day…They're all stuck in houses now, all stuck in the council estates, they don't want to be there but where they going to go?"*

In relation to the above quotations on depression and nihilistic self-destructive behaviour (see Cemlyn et. al., 2009 for a discussion on high suicide rates among young Traveller men) it is relevant to consider on one hand, the sense of "cultural discontinuity" (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998) and ensuing "cultural trauma" occasioned by rapid disruption of a traditional culturally cohesive lifestyle and quasi-colonial imposition of new modes of behaviour (Alexander et al 2004). On the other hand, is the ambivalent and volatile relationship with 'settled' or '*gorje*' [non-Gypsy] society experienced by Gypsies and Travellers living in housing. The relationship with *'gorjes'* amongst whom settled Gypsies and Travellers were expected to reside after making the transition into housing, has historically been characterised by both an employment-focused symbiotic relationship, and centuries of experiences (and prior expectations) of racism, discrimination and derogatory ethnicity based stereotyping (see further Smith & Greenfields 2013). As such it is unsurprising that tensions and mistrust were common amongst settled Gypsies and Travellers compelled to live amongst 'others' with whom they had typically had very little contact outside of carefully bounded working contexts.

Female respondents in particular, (who as a result of gendered and cultured behavioural expectations which frequently precluded working outside of the home or having contact with non-relatives) repeatedly reported having had very limited prior contact with non Gypsies or Travellers before settling into housing. As a consequence of their confinement to the home and immediate

neighbourhood they typically commented on the fact that the transition from living on a site or in a caravan was particularly isolating and traumatic.

"It's one of the loneliness things that can happen to a travelling woman. It's alright for the men 'cos they can go off to the fairs and everything else. It's the women, men aren't in the house 24 hours, the men probably won't come in until 8 pm and they've been out all day and they just go to bed but we've been there all day. It's been really, really hard."

"I'm among strangers here. I don't feel safe there's no family nearby".

"On a site you are never alone – there's always your sister, your cousin, your Aunty, your Nan – someone to have a cuppa tea with or tell your troubles – but here you don't see them [neighbours] *even over the fence from day to day and they're that unfriendly if you do say something – they just want to keep to themselves and anyway they think you're a dirty Gypsy"*

In such circumstances it was therefore unsurprising that many respondents reported no meaningful contact with non Gypsy or Traveller neighbours and a retrenchment into isolated anxiety which was in no way alleviated by experiences of cold unfriendliness, or even overt hostility or racist abuse which a significant number of respondents recalled[9].

Adaptive Resilience and secure cultural identity

In situations such as those above where limited agency existed in relation to satisfying accommodation preferences it was noteworthy that a high number of respondents reported reformulating, as far as possible, 'traditional' community life through the activation of networks of kin living in close proximity (see further below and Greenfields and Smith, 2010; Smith and Greenfields, 2013).

One particular mechanism for recreating such clusters of relatives and community members was through the utilisation of deliberate 'swaps' of accommodation between Gypsies and Travellers anxious to live amongst their kin (even if this involved moving from a more 'desirable' location to a run-down housing estate). In turn as specific localities became known as 'Traveller areas' with a high concentration of the community living locally, it was reported by several respondents that non-Gypsies or Travellers would seek a transfer away to a different area, unless they had networks of friendship/relationships with Gypsy or Traveller co-residents. Thus over time spatial concentrations of Gypsies and Travellers developed enabling the recreation of a close-knit community such as pertains on traditional Traveller sites. Local authority housing officers interviewed for the studies commented on the high degree of organisation and mobilisation of social capital which could exist and which enabled family members to relocated near to their kin networks:

"Through the exchange system they are very mobile within housing and don't stay put for long, they're moving around and using houses like wagons, the lifestyle doesn't stop just because they're in housing".

One male interviewed as part of a focus group in south east England observed that:

"As much as people try to separate Gypsies in housing in this area, they're wheeling and dealing to be in houses near their own families, so then you end up around this area with estates full of travellers, and people don't understand why they want to be together. But it is that family network ..."

In all of the key study areas most housed Gypsies and Travellers were concentrated in specific neighbourhoods as part of close knit, cohesive communities, often located near to former stopping places. In London, in contrast, where respondents were most likely to be Irish Travellers with a shorter history of residence in the UK and a more recent history of nomadism, clusters of residence were still noticeable but these related less to traditional

See further the full Smith & Greenfields monograph (2013) and Greenfields (2013) for a discussion of more positive relationships which could and did accrue when *gorje* neighbours were identified as being familiar with Gypsy/Traveller culture or where long-standing personal relationships existed, which for example had been forged in (often male) working environments or

through school.

site locations and were more often associated with employment opportunities or following a move near to a relative who lived in a particular London Borough. Even in London though, it was still noticeable that there was considerable contact between housed respondents and other Travellers resident at local authority sites in the vicinity.

It has been noted that spatial concentrations of specific ethnic minorities can bring important social and cultural benefits to those populations, most noticeably informal social support systems that help residents cope with social exclusion, racism and prejudice (Bauder, 2002). In all of our study locations the presence of other Gypsies and Travellers in the neighbourhood served to mitigate some of the problems outlined above, by reproducing traditional communities and social networks through which distinct cultural identities, within the context of the local communities, are maintained. For women in particular, access to networks of support could assist in alleviating isolation as well as offering practical support with child care or assistance with looking after aged or ill relatives. A frequent theme concerned the protection of having other community members in close proximity.

"There are a lot of Travellers round here and that's a good thing, we're always in and out of each other's houses"

"This estate's full of them [Gypsies] *it's good 'cos we look after each other".*

"I got family all over this estate there's so many of us the gorgers wouldn't dare give us any trouble that's the best thing about being here me aunts and cousins are always in our place".

The ability of Gypsy and Traveller groups to adapt cultural practices and identities to new environments has been observed by several authors (Gmelch 1977; Acton 1974) and during the focus group discussions it was apparent that although behaviours and practices retain traditional cultural traits and identity markers, Gypsy and Traveller communities were also evolving in response to the new environment in which they find themselves. Despite the lack of cultural continuity there was clear evidence of strong adaptive practices and cultural resilience in the face of assimilatory pressures. One focus group participant, commenting on the housing estate where she lives observed:

"Because we have 3rd, 2nd and 1st generations on the estate, there is a culture that is evolving...so you've got the Travellers of 30, 40 years ago that originally came onto the estate all those years back, and now you've got the generations coming on. And the culture is evolving."

This participant went on to speak of the generational tensions which could exist between younger members of the community and older Gypsies and Travellers whose attitudes were sometimes crystallised and focused on traditional models of behaviours and expectations (such as early intra-community marriage). Conservatism made them both less adaptable and unwilling to accept with equanimity residence amongst gorjers and the differing educational and employment opportunities which were available for young people growing up in housing. However despite her culturally adaptive approach to gendered roles and opportunities this young woman's firm belief that there was *"still going to be Gypsy culture in one hundred, two hundred years – just different from how it was"* recalls Norris et al's (2007) definition of community resilience as a process linking change and adaptive capacity in the aftermath of significant disruption. In this case the rapid large-scale enforced sedentarisation of Gypsy and Traveller communities experienced over the last half century.

Discussion and Conclusion
As we have demonstrated, the relationship of Gypsies and Travellers to the state is characterised by a cyclical relationship of domination, resistance and resilience. Whenever legislation is enacted to restrict the mobility of the communities and 'settle' them into a state approved simulacrum of sedentarisation, so members of these

communities begin to develop innovative strategies to evade or minimise the impact of legislation and enforced acculturation. We suggest that great tenacity has been shown by Gypsies and Travellers throughout history in resisting assimilation and retaining autonomy (Sibley, 1981). The examples outlined above pertaining to innovative approaches to subverting enforced sedentarism within housing are merely the latest versions of such innovative adaptation.

Acton's 1974 typology of Gypsy/Traveller resistance to state control suggests four key modes of adaptation: The **Conservative approach** (minimise contact/withdraw in); such as can be identified in some of the examples in this paper, most specifically where respondents resolutely resisted contact with Gorjer neighbours and withdrew into a sense of traumatised, angry loss which offers little scope for either resistance or resilience. Secondly he refers to **Cultural Disintegration** (a breakdown of traditional culture and values) which can be seen in references to depression and substance misuse. The third strand of Acton's typology consists of **"passing"** (competing on equal terms in mainstream society and disguising ethnicity) and again in a number of cases we found evidence of this, where respondents were not known to their neighbours or work colleagues to be Gypsies or Travellers and where they took particular care taken not to 'perform' the role of 'Gypsy' as perceived of in popular discourse.

Perhaps of most interest to the current discussion however is the final model outlined by Acton. He proposes that **Cultural Adaptation** (bricollage) consists of adapting and adopting those strategies which will prove most favourable and likely to enable a positive outcome for the individual and community as a whole. It is this set of behaviours at which Gypsies and Travellers excel. As such we argue that flexible adaptation represented by the recreation of traditional communities in a new context (such as we have outlined in this paper) is in itself a form of cultural *resilience* which in the context above can

be perceived of as encompassing **active resistance** to externally imposed assimilatory pressures.

Whilst at first view, accepting and adapting to residence in bricks and mortar accommodation could be perceived of as antithetical to traditional lifestyles and thus as representing the death of both nomadism and Gypsy and Traveller culture, we suggest instead that it merely represents a pragmatic response to an irresistible (State) power. Accordingly such quietly resistant practices are at the intersection of cultural adaptation/ community resilience (Scott, 1985). These collective practices provide additional protective factors for those without the resources to access a secure authorised site (should they wish to live in such a manner) but who are able to adjust to a new (and perhaps not entirely congenial) mode of living in housing. Thus we concur with the interviewee who stated her belief in the evolving nature of Gypsy and Traveller identity and suggest that the more profound impacts of co-residence may, in the long run, perhaps be felt more by the gorjers learning to share communal space with their resistant, resilient, adaptive neighbours.

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THE RIGHT TO RESPECT FOR HOME: ROMA, MATERIAL SPACES, AND THE INTERPRETATIVE POTENTIAL OF ARTICLE 8

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Abstract

This article seeks to explore the juridical articulation of the concept of 'home' through a theoretical analysis of the effective potential of Article 8 in the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). I aim to propose an alternative jurisprudential narrative whereby the right to respect for a home can be understand in terms of both its material and ontological conditions, in order to suggest ways in which the protection afforded to the Roma family home can be strengthened. The interdisciplinary methodology of this research provides a means of deconstructing the site of the home through the intercultural narratives of the literary and the legal text.

Employing a spatio-temporal analysis of the Romanian Roma Alina Serban's dramatic monologue *I, the Undersigned, Alina Serban, Declare* alongside recent case law involving Article 8, this paper will attempt to consider the spatial articulations and legal codes of the Roma settlement through a theoretical framework informed by the work of Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben, and the wider field of legal geography. Reading the spatiality of the home differently thus has implications for the ways in which the protections of Article 8 are interpreted as positive obligations, interrogating narratives of exclusion which adversely affect the lives of the Roma community.

Keywords: Roma, human rights, Article 8, home, spatiality

Introduction: Law, space and power

Numerous research has explored the relationship between law, power and space (Blomley, 1994, 2003) including taking account of diverse socio-legal challenges to the law-space nexus (Braverman et al., 2014), as a recognition of the self-authorising co-dependence of the spatial and the legal in the field of legal geography. In this context, space is considered as neither dead nor neutral but is *"invested with meaning in the context of power"* (Cresswell, 2004: 12). Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos writes that despite law's 'spatial turn' driving an engagement with scale and jurisdiction, *"law's engagement with space is being increasingly despatialized"* (2010: 188), and argues instead for "a reinstatement of the particular embeddedness of the law …with a view to a fuller, more potent understanding of the connection between law and space"(2010: 193). Hence, rather than simply theorising the spatial this work aims to "embrace the uncertainty of space" (Keenan, 2015) through a critical interdisciplinary analysis of the legal meaning of 'home' as it is refracted in the literary text.

Theorising articulations of the legal in literature allows critical legal scholars to explore the ways in which "the unfolding of lives – or what it is like to be in the world – depend upon the authoritative interpretation of space and the micro-moves that constitute these interpretations"(Delaney, 2004: 848). The starting point here, then, is the understanding that "law is inevitably a matter of language"(Dolin, 2007: 2); this paper attempts to trace the "'contours' of law"(Ward, 2009: 22) as they construct the right to the 'home', and the impact of that narrative for a disadvantaged minority group. This approach recognises that "the law is grounded not on transcendent values, be they those of divine law, natural justice or immemorial practice, but on textual or symbolic effects"(Kayman, 2002: 11). This is not to suggest that the material space defined as 'home' is rendered as no more than a textual effect of discourse, but rather views its literary implications as "a privileged guiding thread for access to the general structure of textuality"(Derrida, 1992: 71).

Alina Serban's one-woman play *I, Undersigned Alina Serban, Declare* is a dramatic monologue written and performed by Serban, a Romanian Roma. The performative and autobiographic elements of this particular text –adapted from both a monologue about her own life and excerpts from Serban's diary –offer a rich and productive site in which to examine the construction of home. This text will be read through the correlative rhetoric of 'home' in the ECHR, attempting to partially formulate an interdisciplinary topography which reads the potential in Article 8 to engage with issues of dispossession and belonging. Article 8 states that 'everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence'[1]. Such a statement is evidently ambiguous in its determination of what each of those elements specifically designate, particularly in the case of 'home', "an autonomous concept, which does not depend for classification under domestic law"(Kenna, 2008: 200). My argument here is neither to omit such ambiguity nor to engage with an exact location or discretely surveyed physical space. I argue that it is possible, through a critical reading of Article 8, to do both: to turn towards the narrative of home as an autonomous signifier, whilst simultaneously acknowledging that the "material world that is drenched with the signifiers of sovereignty and property" (Delaney, 2004: 849).

The latter is particularly key in the reinterpretation of human rights as bearing a significant impact beyond the ECHR, where –in most domestic cases, "critical issues relating to the home fail to be determined through the property paradigm of rights and priorities"(Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 431).

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1 Article 8 of the Convention: "1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, [and] his home...2. There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is neces-sary in a democratic society in the interests of ... public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of

disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others."

The problem with *how* the implications of Article 8 become effectively broadened so as to acknowledge the material spatialities of property is that, as Sarah Nield and Nicholas Hopkins argue, within "this property rights-based approach, occupiers without such rights are frequently invisible"(2013: 431). They suggest that it is possible to incorporate "an independent right to respect for their home [for all occupiers] under Article 8 of the [ECHR] whether or not they hold a property interest in that home" (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 432), and yet it appears that even in this grounded formulation of linking rights to property law as a means of emphasising broader doctrines of protection, it still fails to take account of the spatial rhetoric of (dis)possession and the ways in which this remains fundamental to the application of Article 8 for the Roma.

There is evidently a critical need to attend to the protection of the 'home'space in the particular case of the Roma, as research has demonstrated that large numbers of Romani families live in inadequate conditions in segregated, substandard settlements with the continuous threat of eviction (FRA, 2009; ERRC, 2010). Indeed, "despite formal legal efforts and declarations from the EU, the European Council and EU member states ... real shifts have yet to occur"(Kuhelj, 2014: 66). Although discrimination has been addressed at numerous levels, the spaces made available to Roma families remain notably inadequate and instable:

"Roma housing is considerably less secure, less habitable and more overcrowded, compared to non-Roma housing. ...Roma own their dwellings to a lesser extent than non-Roma, and consequently are tenants to a larger extent than non-Roma. This means the fear of losing their housing, due to eviction, is higher among Roma households" (Perić, 2012: 9)

Helen O'Nions argues that Article 8 is key to addressing the exclusion and discrimination which characterise the condition of many European Roma (2007: 80). It can be particularly instrumental in the case of obligations towards minors in cases of exclusion or dis-

possession which disproportionately affect minors within the family, as "the superior interest of child, which constitutes the message of the International Convention of the Rights of the Child, is also taken into consideration by the Court of Strasbourg beyond other arguments invoked to justify the violation of Article 8 of the Convention on Human Rights" (Aleca and Duminică, 2012: 108). However, the European Court has often relied on the ambiguity rather than the materiality of what constitutes the concept of 'home', particularly in the case of a disadvantaged minority, in decisions involving protection under Article 8.

For instance, whilst the Court recognised the need to protect the right to home, private and family life in Buckleyv UK (1996), it acknowledged the need for a "wide margin of appreciation" in terms of planning provision (O'Nions, 2007: 81). This is particularly evident when it comes to the law's recognition of moveable homes in the UK, for example, where this shifting of identities could be seen to be a refraction of uneasy discourses which have sought to prioritise movement, despite the fact that after shifts in the post-war economy there was a reduction in seasonal work and a gradual elimination of traditional stopping places. Although the Caravan Sites Act 1968 signalled a recognition that local authorities were obliged to address this, this was through a limited perspective of generating the panopticon, not by challenging the prohibition itself, through the provision of sites across England. Since 1835 various Highways Acts have prohibited movement to those who travel or attempts to camp on a highway. The use of nomadism as a metonymy for Gypsy ethnicity was established in Mills v Cooper, when the court declared that in fact *"gypsy means no more than a person leading a nomadic way of life with no, or no fixed, employment and with no fixed abode"* (cited in Greenfields & Home 2007: 136).

The same definition used to categorise Gypsies was simultaneously an aspect of criminal non-belonging, and established a rhetoric of spatiality which was both enclosing and

ambivalent. The Caravan Sites Act held this judgement, so that Romany ethnicity was sublimated by a status based on nomadic behavior under planning, which meant that from now on, paradoxically, "ethnic Gypsies could lose their legal status if they ceased to travel"(137). This still presents a problematic form of labelling for the Romany in the UK, as the emphasis on nomadic behavior as an identifying characteristic that is essential for the designation of status in planning law continues to dominate the official narrative. Judicial decisions have continuously emphasised this aspect of their (supposed) identity, creating a heavily specific form of spatiality by "impos[ing] an increasingly restrictive reading of the definition [and thus] making it harder for Traveller families to set up legal sites"(149).

The contradictory interplay between domestic judgments and ECHR judgments displays the paradox of stasis at its most potent. In R. (Smith) v. Barking and Dagenham London Borough, for example, the High Court held that there must be a distinct difference between the way site provision is granted to those who are nomadic and those who are not, stating that "there is no good clogging up all the caravan sites with those who do not move, and effectively removing them from the stock of available sites, by giving security of tenure" (cited in Connors v UK (2004) at 51). However in Connors, the ECHR noted that *"it no longer appears to be the case that local authority gypsy sites cater for a transient population"* (at 84), claiming that as the practice of nomadism had effectively disappeared, it should not be used to classify this particular minority group and signal a special status – a status *"which is the raison d'être of that special treatment"* (2004 at 93). It is an endlessly circular definition.

Hence, although Nield and Hopkins contend that a greater correlation between property law and human rights may go some way towards unlocking the potential of Article 8 and the right to a 'home', it is evident that this formulation still privileges the narrative of rightful occupation, and may not thus be

relevant in the issue of greater protection for Romany families, whereby, as O'Nions observes *"subsequent cases suggest that planning authorities pay lip service to human rights issues and this is facilitated by the balancing Act under Article 8"* (2007: 83). The value of the concept of 'home' is thus negated when *"the applicant's right to a home and family life could be outweighed by the state's interest in applying and maintaining planning rules"* (O'Nions, 2014: 157). Consequently, this paper will attempt to explore an alternative articulation of 'home' that will incorporate materiality and ontology through the spatialities of the law as a potential for greater protection under Article 8.

Attending to socio-legal spaces

Turning towards an ontology of exclusion through the spatialities of 'home' does not seek to emphasise the metaphysical experience of a site, but rather 'grounds' the narrative of what counts as 'home' within a discursive analysis of space. Such a space can be approached through the recognition of *"flat ontology, a theoretical position that contests the privileged, transcendent abstraction of structural, hierarchical, and formal treatments of 'being' in explanations of social and spatial life"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 204). It is of critical importance that this paper acknowledges an alternative *"site ontology [which] offers spatialities stripped of transcendence"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 205), as a means of engaging with the experience of Serban without neglecting the materialities of her living experience –including the evictions she is subject to, substandard living accommodation, and her relationship to the space. Indeed, reading the text through a site ontology of the spatio-legal *"forces the law to turn toward itself and judge its own judgements: space is the terrain of law's questioning par excellence"* (Phillipopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2010: 194).[2] Serban's text contains an explicit sense of the socio-legal landscape, and the way in which her home was situated as marginalised

and excluded yet surrounded, and enclosed, rather than peripheral. She describes the way in which *"some fancy villas were built around the yard, and the owners of the villas fined them, through the police, because of all the mess"* (Serban, 2011). In this way, the location of her own space is mediated through a discourse of control in which the 'owners' are privileged rights-holders, on the side of the law (police) whilst she remains subject to a disciplinary system of surveillance and control. Whilst this may at first appear to reflect a Foucauldian reading of the space, in this instance the panopticon (1977) is distorted –there is no central observer, because there need not be, as it is only a particular hierarchy of what constitutes 'home' (as opposed to 'settlement', 'dwelling', 'slum' or 'habitation') through which *"Art. 8 places 'home' as the focus of protection"* (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 436).

Within the locus of this autonomous topography of power, then, there is *"no transcendental organizing principle"* (Woodward et al., 2010: 273). Article 8 simply maps out a field of recognition with no guidelines as to what is necessarily omitted from doctrines of rightful occupation and legitimate 'homeowners'. Serban's resistance, however, comes in the form of unsettling the dominant regime of being 'observed' and situated in a permanent space: she demands more, in a letter to the authorities she reads as part of her monologue, in which she states, *"I'm making this appeal in hope of support...I need a decent place to live and study"* (Serban, 2011). This raises a critical challenge which is frequently omitted from discussions of the right to home: to question the risk of a home as unsettled space asks us to consider how such a resistant space can be fully acknowledged within Article 8 jurisprudence.

Although commentators *"have speculated*

that the incorporation of the human rights enshrined in the ECHR, particularly Article 8, may provide a new form of property right" (Nield, 2013: 147; see also Gray and Gray, 2009: para 1.6.1 and 1.6.3) there remains the uncomfortable proposition that occupation, property and home may be entirely distinguishable phenomena which demand altogether different precedents in law. One way of overcoming this paradox has been partially identified by Sarah Nield, who notes that for the ECHR (European Court of Human Rights), a *"home is defined not by property rights but by the sufficient and continuing links with a particular site"* (Nield, 2013: 149). In this sense, Article 8 does depend upon a particular ontological condition in which *"there is a right to access to, occupation of, and peaceful enjoyment of the home"* (Kenna, 2008: 2008). However, this gets no closer to an understanding of what the space of the home might actually mean or evoke, as Padriac Kenna relates: *"while the authenticity of home as a social, psychological, cultural and emotional phenomenon has been recognised in other disciplines, it has not penetrated the legal domain, where the proposition that home can encapsulate meanings beyond the physical structure of the house, or the capital value it represents, continues to present conceptual difficulties"* (Kenna, 2008: 200; see also Fox, 2007)

Although some legal scholars, such as Lorna Fox, have attempted to grapple with this by engaging with *"a concept of home beyond proprietary interests in a tangible dwelling to capture 'the x factor' within a cluster of home values"* (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 435), this still demonstrates why Article 8 is potentially incomplete. Although the *"recognition that a home is not dependent on property rights provides the foundation for human-rights based protection beyond our domestic notions*

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of property" (Nield, 2013: 149), it can be said that there needs to be room for multiple claims and connections beyond the notion of possession. Hence, whilst it is important to recognise that the ECHR *"marks out the home as distinct from other forms of property"* (Nield, 2013: 149), heralding a fundamental shift in the dichotomy of legitimate owners vs marginal occupiers, the narrative still stubbornly refuses to engage with the material conditions of space, in which the experience of the home is dialogic, rather than simply (passive) inhabitation on a neutral zone of jurisdiction. In this way, scrutiny of socio-legal discourse must demonstrate a means of *"coming to terms with the notion that the subject is not per se the author of a site's politics, but can be instead a complex scattering of vague, localized articulations"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 216).

This can be read in the text, where Serban does not remain contained in the space of the settlement, but attends to her mother in prison following her mother's arrest. The space she evokes here is rigidly segregated, reflecting the cauterized forms she must abide by if she is to enter that 'other' familial space, when her home moves with her: „Name: Alina Serban. Age: 14. Visiting: mother. *"Friday is the cleaning day in prison, tight schedule. You've got one hour"* (Serban, 2011).

Dispossession under Article 8
The applicability of Article 8 for recent cases involving the Roma has been regarded as an indication that, due to *"their turbulent history and constant uprooting the Roma have become a specific type of disadvantaged and vulnerable minority [who] therefore require special protection"* (DH and others v Czech Republic (2007) at 182). This is particularly evident when one considers the prevalence of eviction and dispossession in many Roma communities. And yet, rather than approaching this issue from the context of exclusion, it is more productive to use the concept of 'abandonment' as it pertains to the narrative construction of 'home'. As Geraldine Pratt (2005: 1054)

explains: *"Abandonment is not equivalent to exclusion. It has a more complex topological relation of being neither inside nor outside the juridical order. The difference between exclusion and abandonment turns on the fact that abandonment is an active, relational process."*
Thus, this concept presents a more resistant sense of connection that reflects the interpretation of home as a series of 'links' to and within a normative space. Such relationality is key to a reading of Article 8 which may acknowledge occupation and simultaneously combat discriminatory housing practices. Within this interpretation, then, proximity is not obscured in the redemptive articulation of 'home': the rich villas surrounding Serban's home are all implicated in the 'messy' spaces of the settlement. Drawing on Agamben, it can thus be said, *"that we live in more intimate spatial terms with those who have been abandoned"* (Pratt, 2005: 1055) and such proximity should be taken into account in the determination of Article 8 rights as mutually constructive of what 'home' can be. It is this sense in which dispossession is omitted from the discourse, and in particular how it feeds into the making of 'home'. Such a negation is most explicit where the protection of familial life is also concerned, as *"children are thus among the most common occupiers who are unable to claim property-based protection [yet although] the vulnerability of children is commonly acknowledged ...the language of 'home' is notably absent"* (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 432).
This cannot be regarded as anything but problematic discourse, particularly when it is suggested that *"all proceedings for possession of a home engage Art.8"* (Kenna, 2008: 200) [my emphasis]. Indeed, where evictions are concerned the ECHR has identified that the loss of one's home is the most extreme form of interference with the right to respect for the home (McCann v UK 2008). Consequently, evictions have been found to constitute violations of Article 8 and the right to respect for an individual's

home (see Connors v UK 2004) and is as such determined, in principle, as an effective guarantee of material protection regardless of the level of ownership: *"Article 8 which also protects 'the right to respect for his home', encompasses, among other things, the right of access, the right of occupation and the right not to be expelled or evicted without provision of relevant safeguards, and is thus intimately bound with the principle of legal security of tenure"* (OSCE/ODIHR, 2014: 14)

However, the privileging of planning considerations demonstrates that in effect, this protection is severely limited in the case of eviction if *"justification for such lawful interference can be made on the grounds that it is in accordance with the law, necessary in a democratic society and proportionate to the aim sought to be achieved"* (Guet, 2011: 6). This establishes the apparent dichotomy between ambiguous representations of 'home' and the idea of property, through the way in which they can be cleaved apart. Such a dichotomy resonates in the suggestion that *"property that is not personal is fungible: its loss does not engender pain and it can be replaced"* (Saporita, 2003: 272). Hence, the discourses of property highlight the material at the expense of the ontological, and the rhetoric of human rights emphasise the symbolism of 'home' as a textual effect of property. In this regard, any attempt to stipulate the wider conditions of 'home' through its manifestations in property law need to destabilize this flawed dichotomy or risk retaining the validity of the latter only as a transient consideration.

To return to the framework of site ontology, on the other hand, it emphasises a way in which this dichotomy can be challenged through an exploration of *"the material, self-organizing conditions through which situated politics emerge"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 217). Taking account of the 'conditions' of encounters with spatiality provides a means of addressing those formerly considered 'dispossessed' as having a valid and contingent right to the home, by suggesting that *"home occupiers who have never held any property interest may enjoy the sufficient and continuing links which define home and thus should be entitled to a right to respect for their home"* (Nield, 2013: 149). Moreover, it emphasises the need to explore the way in which home is articulated as a normative site. A significant issue with using human rights frameworks to unsettle legal spatiality lies in its relentless focus on the individual. It is arguably for this reason that human rights have been unable to advocate towards greater protection of minority rights (O'Nions, 2007), but also accounts for the problem with acknowledging the ontology of material dispossession without desubjectifying the concept of home. One way of encountering this problem might be through drawing on Giorgio Agamben's notion of the 'suspended subject' (2005) as a means of looking beyond the individual-centred doctrine of human rights whilst maintaining a focus on how that individual subject operates within and through a site. As Woodward et al suggest: *"Taking account of the suspended subject, both critically and methodologically, does not negate the work of individuals or their subjectivies; rather, in acknowledging them, this account looks beyond so as to ask what else is happening in a site"* (2012: 206)

Thus, just as the concept of 'abandonment' can be a useful way to re-frame the dichotomy of owner vs the dispossessed, so too can this notion of 'suspending the subject' provide a means of engaging with the spaces of the dispossessed without privileging a singular narrative. Such an approach highlights the ways in which, *"Article 8 requires us to look at repossession of the home differently* [whereby] *No longer is repossession a positive vindication of a better right to possession; where the right to possession engages Article 8, it is also a severe, if not the most severe, interference with respect for the home"* (Nield, 2013: 156).

This layering of rights interrogates the hierarchy of ownership which continuously deflates the concept of 'home' in domestic law disputes. For the Roma, eviction can

hence be re-evaluated as both evidence of fungibility and settlement: this can be read in Serban's text, when she relates her frequent experiences of potential eviction and undermines the positionality of a minor outside the owner-occupier framework: *"I am ten years old and I know what a mortgage is. I know what losing one's house means"* (Serban, 2011). The spatio-temporal approach of 'suspending the subject' can bring to light some of the broader positive obligations which are implicit through applications of Article 8 (Kenna, 2008), by defining the limits of possession and the absent spatialities in the *"paper written in red ink,* [the] *eviction notice"* (Serban, 2011).

Materiality/Spatiality of the home

Attending to the materiality of the spaces of the 'home' does not necessitate a distinct focus on housing provision, although this is implicitly evoked within the meaning of the Convention. Although Article 8 guarantees respect for the home, *"this does not amount to a right to housing"* (Guet, 2011: 3). In effect, the 'home' is not necessarily mutually constitutive with provision of housing. Indeed, although positive obligations have arisen in regard to the negative effect inadequate housing may then have on an individual's private life (Marzari v. Italy 2000), there is no focus on the right to the ontological site itself: housing is regarded as a (neutral) physical obligation which can be discounted due to pragmatic considerations. Hence, housing law is a less productive avenue of inquiry in the instance of seeking to articulate home within the context of Article 8 in order to recognise that whilst *"there must be a physical space...home encompasses more than the physicality of a shelter"* (Nield, 2013: 149; see also Fox, 2007). However, attending to the consideration of home in spatial, rather than personal, terms, raises some interesting questions about the familial. As Nield and Hopkins relate, *"a child's home is usually the family home... the same physical space that is occupied by their parent(s) and sibling(s)"* (2013: 435).

If this is taken into account then the spatial must necessarily not be wrenched free entirely from the manifestly material (not the physical legitimated through housing rights), at the risk of limiting the spaces of recognition. If a child's spatiality is defined by contingent relation then the construct of 'home' within a Roma minority community may also be to acknowledge 'special territory' (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 436), yet not in the sense of that which is marginalised or made obsolete but, in effect, through the resonant textuality of the materiality of the (communal, familial) home. Drawing on David Delaney, we can argue that *"every centimeter of the material world means"* (Delaney, 2004: 849) - although I would contest here the sense of legality as omnipotently pervasive, it is important to turn towards the material conditions of the home. If we negate these conditions, as Woodward (2012: 214) et al argue: *"we risk blurring recognition and authorship by overlooking the forces of unfolding matter and taking their strange articulations as merely the result of the hard work of human hands and dead materiality. Both slippages can cause us to miss how the site is composed, as aggregations of matter-processing rather than the authorship of subject-thinking."*

The interrogation of such complex composition should be fundamental to any spatiolegal reading of 'home', particularly if it is recognised that the *"Article 8 concept of home is concerned also with the social and psychological connections that a person develops with a particular dwelling"* (Nield, 2013: 149-150). It is this liminal spacing between the sense of ambiguous spatiality and the material which I think should be turned towards in this instance, rather than relegated to the juridical: I would argue that to acknowledge that the rights conferred by Article 8 *"hover ambiguously between*

The Revised European Social Charter (1996), addresses the right to housing in Articles 16 and 31 , in addition to the Recommendation Rec(2005)4 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on improving the housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in Europe. This is not the argument I am addressing: because I would suggest that the provision of adequate housing

is not intrinsically connected to the meaning of 'home' as it is conceived of in Article 8.

the personal and the real" (Gray and Gray, 2009: 1.6.7) merely foregrounds the idea that *"Home is an autonomous concept"* (Kenna, 2008: 200).

This is important as it exposes the reliance of law on matter in space, whereby *"rights are understood as the gossamer filaments that connect our embodied lives to specific fragments of the world –to places, especially to home"* (Delaney, 2004: 851). Hence, for Serban, 'that adobe shanty' (Serban, 2011) in which she lives can be read as operative within *"movements of force that repeat (as hardenings and blockages) and vary (through rupture and collapse) as they mark the situatedness of its composition and the 'proximity'of its components"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 210). Rather than offering up a system of normative privileging, then, it can be argued that *"the work of the site ...engenders 'grounded' situations that generate a localized relation through resonant, unfolding doings and sayings"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 210). Through such a re-framing we are not negating the individual's experience of the home but rather interrogating the conditions of the space upon which that particular ontology is enacted; in other words, *"the effects of subjectivity continue to get expressed in countless ways in a site's composition, but these do not exhaust the forces of the material world"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 214).

This is perhaps a glimpse into what law is or could be, articulating a conditionality of suspension as a way of recognising that the space *"deserves special treatment by virtue of its function as a home"* (Nield, 2013: 149). In this instance, 'home' is autonomous through its very relativity as a material construct: it is *"the emergent product of its own immanent self-organization"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 214) but is paradoxically reliant on the suspended subject for its very negotiation through the discursivity of the law. Serban's narrative is viscerally material when she describes the space she inhabits:

"The house is made of adobe, with really thin walls which the rats pierce and easily get in.

The roof is really crooked, with so many holes it often rains inside. On the ground there isn't even a normal floor, but some cartons covering the cold dirt beneath" (Serban, 2011)

The disordered shapes and pervasive sense of porosity in the text reflects the bleeding of the material into the spatial, the inseparability of their authorisation. The relationship Serban has with the space in which she lives does not negate its resonance as a 'home', even though she evokes an unsettled distance from the site. This unsettled reading thus complicates Radin's argument *"that the amount of protection afforded property [depends] on the extent to which we constitute ourselves as persons through our possession and/ or interaction with an object"* (Saporita, 2003: 272). Distinguishing between the 'constitutive versus fungible' (Saporita, 2003: 272) in this way does not fully take account of the disassociation which Serban experiences within the text. For Radin, home is intrinsically subjectified – *"the more closely an object is connected with personhood, the stronger the entitlement"* (Saporita, 2003: 272-273) and yet the materiality of this articulation of home is jarring: Serban is entitled to both engage with the space whilst relating its 'crooked' and debased conditions. Its disordered materiality does not make it any less of a home; indeed, as Christopher Saporita (2003: 276) suggests, *"Radin's theory lacks the tools for distinguishing between property with which people sustain themselves, and property through which people constitute themselves."*

Coding the space

Although 'home' is recognised as autonomous, *"the concept of a home is not confined to dwellings or land, which are lawfully occupied or owned"* (Kenna, 2008: 200). The ECHR has demonstrated that more than simply according respect for the family home, Article 8 may indeed compel the member Court to take an active role in fashioning, or coding the idea of 'home': *"The object of Article 8 is essentially that of*

protecting the individual against arbitrary interference by public authorities, it does not merely compel the State to abstain from such interference. There may, in addition to this primary negative undertaking, be positive obligations inherent in an effective respect for private or family life and the home" (Lăcătuş and others v Romania, 2012 at 82)

In the case of Lăcătuş and others v Romania, the destruction of their homes (in a violent riot) demonstrated a violation under Article 8. This followed the decision in Moldovan and others v Romania (2005), in which the court found a violation of Article 8 following a similar incident in which the Roma settlement had been burnt down by locals (including local police officers). And yet, it appears from these cases that the concept of home is only present through its negative articulation: in other words, only when it is threatened is the concept invoked. Rather than stipulating the 'home' as a source of protection, then, it is justified as worthy of attention in response to its negation: at the heart of this discourse, which is the crux of my argument, is an empty space, rather than the *"ontologically 'full', self-organizing, and 'subject-independent' sites are where something occurs"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 209).

Serban's monologue is in its own way a dedication to spatiality as the narrative of belonging. Her letter to request assistance begins with: *"I hereby declare the following: The state of things at home"* (Serban, 2011), implicating the way in which material spatialities are formally identifiable. This looking beyond the site to anonymous observers (further enhanced by the performativity of Serban's one woman play, in which she is speaking to an audience) results in a sense of unsettled proximity to the unseen: this relationality is the means through which the conditions of her home are judged, through *"the aggregating components of the site [which] engender an immanent politics of multiple orientations"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 216). In this way, Serban constantly revisits the politics of location as she refers

to her situatedness within the site, writing that *"I don't look out the window, cause I'll see my yard and it seems even more horrible"* (Serban, 2011): and yet, again, this 'suspension' or disassociation is unsettled, as the first person narration draws the audience into the very distinct realisation that this is defiantly 'her' world.

This unsettling disassociation in conjunction with an almost claustrophobic familiarity is the paradox which must not be – yet so often is - left out of juridical notions of the home. In other words, it is possible to have an ontology of abandonment and exclusion whilst retaining the material site of the home, without falling into the singular privileging of 'subject-thinking' (Woodward et al., 2012: 210). The 'subject-thinking' of human rights discourse merely reflects *"lingering Cartesian extensive spaces that grid materiality or reflect Kantian spatial structures arranged by the control centre of transcendental thought"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 210). To look beyond this subject-centered ontology of home is a prerogative in the realisation of the effective potential of Article 8 for the Roma, as *"the individualist emphasis [in human rights law] cannot meet the demands of this universally marginalised group"* (O'Nions, 2007: 25). One way of challenging this emphasis by articulating the spatial whilst not losing the 'inherently personal context' (Nield, 2013: 157) of the right to (respect for) a home is by, counter-intuitively, arguing against overcoding the space of encounter.

To code a space in the context of Roma cases before the ECHR involves the recognition of possession as an imperative, which troubles the assumption that *"the right to assertion of private life must be analysed first of all as the right to intimate private life, the right to social private life and the right to a healthy environment"* (Aleca and Duminică, 2012: 113). In this instance there is a new meaning allotted to possession (as private life) yet its apparent 'antithesis', dispossession, is absent from juridical discourse on Article 8. The overcoding of the spatiolegal is

effectively, then, a reading of subjectivity in such limited terms that Article 8 can have no material resonance, therefore is no adequate solution to the protection of the right to a home. Similarly, the ECHR have *"recognised that states had a margin of appreciation in housing policy but emphasized that the margin would be narrower where there was a great intrusion into the individual's personal sphere"* (O'Nions, 2007: 83).

If we are to return to the concept of 'suspension' here the 'personal sphere' takes on a renewed relevance, which can be obscured due to the overcoding of a space[4]. If suspension in this instance is taken to mean *"the production of a 'conditional withholding', an interruption of what 'subjects'a situation to overcoding by certain 'somethings else'expressed in a site's material processes"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 213) then it is possible to realise the problematic discourses (of eviction, of housing provision, and of rightful ownership) which 'overcode' the reading of 'home' often drawn from Article 8. To 'suspend the subject' here *"allows us glimpses of the effects of a site's drawing together, delay the givenness of subjectivity as a frame of reference for a site, so that we might better inquire into its entangled happenings"* (Woodward et al., 2012: 213). In other words, engaging in post-panopticon thinking by moving beyond subject-thinking as the only condition of the home allows us to interrogate the 'entangled happenings' of the spatio-legal, enabling a more grounded analysis of the coded spatialities that are being simultaneously encountered. As Woodward et al write, *"overcoding the site is thus a peculiar capacity by which subjectivity reflects the world back upon itself"* (2012: 214) – the enunciation of performative utterance through the overcoding of the legal, which this analysis seeks to challenge. This is why Article 8 has been limited in its protection: we need to look at housing provision and family life through the framework of destabilising property law

because the site must be considered through its own materiality, not as a consequence of the subject in suspension: thus we can begin to articulate the home as *"not just a place where one lives but also the place where one feels one belongs"* (Busye, 2006:296).

Enclosed spaces –spilling outwards?
It must be noted that this paper does not seek to merely indulge in the theoretical but rather offer a chance to unlock the potential of the right to home as contained in Article 8 jurisprudence. The theoretical posturing over the concept of 'home' clearly must have considerable weight to contend with the particular situation of the isolated and segregated spaces of housing for the Roma. Serban's text is a reflection of the situation in her home state of Romania, where *"as a result of economic coercion and the Communist industrial drives, the overwhelming majority of the Roma now live on the fringes of the cities and towns"* (O'Nions, 2007: 7). In Moldovan and others v Romania (2005), the ECHR made note of *"the applicants' living conditions in the last ten years, in particular the severely overcrowded and unsanitary environment and its detrimental effect on the applicants' health and well-being"* (at 110). This discriminatory spatiality is not confined to the former Eastern bloc alone, for such 'ghettoization' (European Parliament, 2005) is identifiable in most European Member States. However, Serban's narrative rebels against the sense of containment which insists upon enclosed, separated spaces. Her visceral writing displays a sense of fluid porous boundaries, whereby 'squalor, muck and garbage' (Serban, 2011) spreads across and beyond the lines of the settlement. The chromatic distortion at play here resists the sense that the options for the claim to space are merely 'assimilation...exclusion or containment' (O'Nions, 2007: 40) which would justify David Delaney's claim that 'there is no outside' (2004: 858). Sarah

By 'overcoding' I am referring to the notion of coding I believe Mariana Valverde (2015) acknowledges as a recognition of the

spatio-temporal dimensions of governance through which space is both produced and regulated .

Keenan takes issue with Delaney's concept of home in that it constructs a world in which *"law is inescapable...it literally leaves no space out of the reach of law"* (2015:36). This overcoding thus over-simplifies the relationship between the subject of human rights discourse and the spaces they do (and can) inhabit:

"For a subject is not always either home or not home. Home, like any place, is not just a discrete physical location that a subject is either inside or outside; it is loaded with complex social and emotional meaning that seeps out beyond that subject's residential front door" (Keenan, 2015: 36)

This 'seeping' performs, in my reading, a similar function to the notion of the 'suspended subject', for it takes the meaning beyond the singular ontology of dispossession. Serban's narrative also could be read as a similar response to the idea one can be contained by law or that law can be 'everywhere', for the final part of her monologue describes her journey from the settlement, where she writes, *"It took me 9 years and 500 kilometres to leave Bucharest and forget"* (Serban, 2011). This spatiotemporal distance does not negate the idea of home but merely demands its reframing as a fluid and relational critique of the limit. Serban fashions her own 'home' in her encounter with a space in which she can tell her own story, a claustrophobic space where she mimics the performative narrative she is relating:

"I look on the right side of the stage, there's a big tent that says: 'Speak out your opinion! Roma tent!' I don't know why, but, before even realising it I'm running toward the tent" (Serban 2011)

Towards an alternative jurisprudential narrative

Whilst the home is clearly, then, not "just another physical structure "(Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 435) under Article 8 of the ECHR, there is evidently a need to articulate alternative conditions of the material and ontological relationship to space:

"Concerns for permanence, home, and land underlie these disputes, but are not fully contained by the law. Lawyers must thus find ways to narrate these interests in terms that the law can recognize. The incompatibility in the discourses of place and law represents one of the central features of the law-space nexus" (Martin et al., 2010: 182)

Whilst scholars have recognised the potential significance in Article 8, the problem lies in attempting to 'narrate these interests in terms that the law can recognize'. Hence, as Sarah Nield argues, *"Article 8 has changed the property landscape, but it might be misleading to think in terms of a new equity"* (2013: 169). It is worth considering what an alternative topography might look like when 'home' is re-framed as both the locus of encounter, yet beyond the subject; curiously material, yet more than simply the physical. The adaptation of this concept in juridical terms is entirely possible, given that in recent cases the Court has suggested that the positive obligations under Article 8 necessitate a duty of consideration to the particular needs of a minority group in finding suitable (alternative) accommodation (see Winterstein and others v France 2013). Whilst this is a long way from the assertion of a particular kind of conditional spatiality, this still represents a shift in the right direction. Sarah Nield and Nicholas Hopkins have also identified a significant development in the conceptualisation of human rights protection for the home, through *"recognition of a child's independent right [where] the child's right to respect for their home under Art 8 is crucial because of their invisibility in property law"* (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 454). For Hopkins and Nield this suggests a greater emphasis on positive implications which could also have an impact on other vulnerable occupiers, when *"it is because of this vulnerability that a state's positive duty to prevent unjustified interferences with the home is particularly potent"* (2013: 454).

However, the material spatiality of what constitutes the 'home' remains underdeveloped in jurisprudential discourse. This paper argues that we must look

for instances in these sites where *"the suspension of the law becomes localized"* (Pratt, 2005: 1055) in order to acknowledge *"that recognition of a human rights-based protection of the home raises a question about the future dynamics of the relationship between human rights and property rights"* (Nield and Hopkins, 2013: 433). These dynamics will require a renewed articulation of the inherent manifestations of the concept of 'home' in order to challenge weaknesses in protection. The obstacles in the way of achieving such a jurisprudential debate are manifold, namely that the ECHR's reluctance to determine upon general conditions of rights has resulted in *"the usual drawback of making it difficult for an account of the case-law to rise above the single instances before the Court"* (Harris et al., 1995: 353). However, such reticence also means that *"the Court has been able to develop the interests protected to take into account changing circumstances and understandings without being confined by an established theoretical framework"* (Harris et al., 1995: 353). Perhaps such a fluid and dynamic process of interpretation has the possibility of realising the potential of a discursive 'home' under Article 8, enabling us to *"deploy more sensitive radar in order to detect subtle relational connections between individual locales that may be far distant"* (McNeill, 2010: 400). This has wider implications for the interpretation of additional rights and obligations in the case of the Roma community, providing a way of breaking out of the subject-centred dichotomy of legitimate ownership which prohibits effective protection. The potential of reading the spatiality of the 'home' differently demonstrates the ways in which *"[s]pace is law's mirror on which the irresolvable paradox between its universality and particularity is thrown into relief"* (Philipopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2010: 195). The aim of this paper is thus, to emphasise the spaces of site ontology and its emancipatory potential for the Roma community, by calling for the construction of *"an alternative jurisprudential narrative"* (Ward, 2009:

20) recognising the full implications of the spatio-legal concept of the 'home'.

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ETHNIC DIVISIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL DESCRIBED IN THE NARRATIVES OF YOUNG ROMANIAN ROMA

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Abstract

This paper considers the role of ethnic divisions and social capital in understanding the narratives of Romanian Roma high school students. The aim of our research is to analyse the resources and barriers Roma adolescents identify in their life context and the role of these factors in assigning their future educational and career path. The focus of this research is on whether the identified resources function as social capital and help Roma adolescents cope with disadvantage. Our findings illustrate that adolescents identify several resources in their life context such as parents, teachers or colleagues, but they also refer to inferiorisation promoted by teachers and students and to difficulties they believe they will experience in continuing their studies or pursuing a certain career. This article argues that beyond data illustrating the low educational level and skills level of young Roma, the situation needs to be approached within a broader framework, which accounts for the impact of structural inequality and processes of differentiation which influence the ability to overcome disadvantage.

Keywords: ethnic divisions, social capital, Roma adolescents, narratives

Introduction

The situation of Roma youth in Romania has been most commonly approached in terms of educational level and skills level, given that Roma adolescents register a far lower educational attendance and achievement level than the majority population. Compared to the non-Roma population, the proportion of Roma in the age group 18-29 graduating from secondary school is almost two times lower (Fleck & Rughiniş, 2008). The higher the educational attainment, the wider are the differences between Roma and non-Roma, with 2% of Roma graduating from higher education, compared to 27% in the non-Roma population (Fleck & Rughiniş, 2008). Education indicators show some improvement both in the area of primary education, which was reported to be completed by 71% of Roma in 2004 and 83% in 2011, and in the lower secondary education, where attainment rate increased by 11 percent (Bruggeman, 2012). In spite of some affirmative actions for Roma youngsters, such as scholarships for attending high-schools, and free (state-budgeted) access to University in the domain of social work, law, special education and others (depending on local policies), there are no significant changes in the employment perspectives of the young Roma, as their lower secondary education attainment was in the last decade below 50% and enrolment in upper secondary education is still considered exceptional (Bruggeman, 2012; Roth & Toma, 2014).

This article argues that beyond data illustrating the low educational level and skills level of young Roma, the situation needs to be approached in a broader framework, which accounts for the impact of structural inequality and processes of differentiation which influence the ability to overcome disadvantage (Anthias, 2009). We employ the concept of social capital to investigate Roma high school students' perception of resources they identify in their life context, while keeping in mind that not all identified resources can be accounted as social capital. In our investigation, we draw on the assumption that while some resources may have the power to compensate for structural disadvantage, thus constituting social capital, others may not (Anthias, 2009). In addition, we view the everyday realities of Roma youth at the intersection of multiple systems of oppression, since both resources and barriers are interconnected. Using the intersectionality framework (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Anthias, 2013), it is not only ethnicity that informs our analysis, but also other social divisions such as gender and social class.

A social division approach to ethnicity and social capital

The concept of social capital has become influential in the last decades, as researchers have employed this concept in a large

variety of domains. As argued by several authors, Bourdieu's (1985) framework on social capital is the most theoretically solid, while offering the possibility for empirical coherence (Brubaker, 1985; Portes, 1998; Lewandowski, 2006; Calhoun, 2003). In Bourdieu's theory of practice, social capital is *"the aggregate of the actual and potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition"* (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 248). His model assumes that actors are constrained by the social contexts in which they are embedded and therefore, their access to resources is constrained as well, thus leading to reproduction of social inequalities (Lewandowski, 2006). In this respect, he acknowledges the existence of objective structures inside the society that influence the scarcity of resources that accrue to some individuals, as a result of their belonging to a certain social class.

In analysing how social capital can be operationalized, it is essential to stress that Bourdieu views social capital as a result of "investment strategies, oriented to institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits" (Portes, 1998, p. 9). In our attempt to invest the concept of social capital with empirical value, we find important Porte's understanding that social capital is divisible into two elements. He argues that the first element consists of the social relationships that allow individuals to claim access to existent resources within their social networks, whereas the second stands for the quality and amount of these resources. One of the important elements of Bourdieu's theory, as argued by Calhoun (2003), resides in the contribution he made to understanding the reproduction of systems of unequal powers or resources.

Within feminist and social stratification literature, Anthias (1998, 2001) asserts that Bourdieu's reflexive sociology focusses extensively on class, to the extent of viewing symbolic and social capital as aspects of class and implicitly as translatable into economic forms (Anthias, 2001). From this perspective, gender and ethnicity find almost no place in Bourdieu's theory. She explains how dividing people solely on the basis of class or status group has little empirical value, since the division of class is also intersected by gender and ethnicity. However, the author acknowledges Bourdieu's contribution in emphasizing the role of social structure throughout class processes in perpetuating inequality and disadvantage.

Anthias (1998, 2001, 2002, 2009) introduces the social division framework, which emphasizes the role of non-class forms of divisions in understanding inequalities and structural disadvantage. Moreover, it provides the groundwork for a contextual analysis on how resources and opportunities can compensate in face of disadvantage, whereas the influence of support networks' status and that of the processes of racialization and discrimination remain central, in so far as they can act as boundaries, impeding individuals' ability to use their resources.

Several authors highlight that in comprehending ethnicity, one needs to start with reflecting on its boundedness character (Barth, 1969; Heath & McMahon, 1997; Battu & Zenou, 2010). Platt (2011) asserts that ethnic groups are *"formed by their distinction from others, rather than by the 'content of ethnicity'"* (p. 70), while boundaries regarding ethnic membership or non-membership are situational and relational. The issue of situatedness is also approached by Anthias (2006) who asserts that individuals belong simultaneously to different categories, as described by the context, situation and meaning. From this perspective, differences as collective attributions are constructed situationally, taking into account multiple forms of categorisation such as gender, class or ethnicity. This intersectional approach illustrates how opportunities and constraints are put in place, based on the assumption that, although accounting for agency in one's identity construction, location and positionality influence the access and the extent to which individuals make use of the

opportunities (Anthias, 2006).

In addition, systems of categorisation based on ascription are important aspects that eventually interact with identity and influence the manner certain minority ethnic individuals perceive themselves (Platt, 2011). This also creates the expectation that certain individuals match predefined categories (Burton, Nandi & Platt, 2010; Platt, 2011). Not less important is the work of Sigona (2005) who draws attention to the fact that the mechanism of social separation of certain ethnic groups, in our case the Roma, from what is considered to be mainstream society, might be enforced to the extent that inclusion is considered deviant. The author explains that representing the Roma as 'enemies' (p. 747) can be a social strategy that sets apart the outsiders from what is familiar, without renegotiating relationships and identities. Anthias (1998) argues that ethnicity, as well as class, are systems of classification, which determine allocation and positioning, depending on a range of criteria such as skills or educational credentials. A series of characteristics may be thus attributed to ethnic minority individuals as personal competencies, although in fact they constitute group identification and attribution. Moreover, although in terms of social mobility modern class systems consider it as depending on personal capacity and individual outcomes, in the case of ethnicity, capacity counts less than the classification process, the latter assuming for the capacity (Anthias, 2001). Following this idea, structural and cultural factors within the given society are main explanatory elements for the movement in and out of a certain social position.

With regard to the principles employed by Anthias (1998, 2001) to describe the production of social outcomes of positionality or inequality, the author discusses the manner in which social class discourse as related to social divisions can be employed when analysing ethnicity, gender or social class as social division. To the extent that we accept that ethnicity, class and gender are connected discourses, the first principle is the hierarchical parameter and it refers to both concepts, when positing that categories determine places and positions, which in turn determine allocation of certain social roles. The author further implies that the construction of difference starts with the attribution of positive or negative value, whereas belonging, which may be understood in terms of inclusion and exclusion, determines access to different resources. The concept of belonging has been critically approached by Yuval-Davis (2011) and Anthias (2009), who argue that in the context of increasing interest towards the role of borders, security and social cohesion, belonging needs to be approached with a focus on (unequal) resource allocation. Anthias (2009) stresses that belonging relates closely to the quality of life, including both cultural identity and society's mechanisms producing inclusion and exclusion.

In addition, belonging can be understood through experiences that enable one's participation in society, forms of identification with the others and also constructed social places, while considering different positions and social divisions such as gender, class or ethnicity. From this perspective, the concept of belonging contributes to the construction of 'we-ness' and that of 'otherness', which nevertheless influence the system of resources allocation. It is the 'hierarchical otherness' (Anthias, 1998, p. 520) that explains the reproduction of privileges and advantages of one group, such as the distinction between White and Black categories. However, hierarchical outcomes need to be understood as the interplay of several forms of differences and thus resulting in multifaceted forms of hierarchy, which need to be analysed accordingly, while keeping in mind that the constructs constantly vary in terms of salience (Anthias, 1998, 2001). Other common parameters of the production of social outcomes of inequality and positionality discussed by Anthias (1998, 2001) are those of unequal resource allocation and inferiorisation. Mostly discussed as economic resources, the issue of resource

allocation has generally found a theoretical place in the field of social class theory (Miles, 1989).

Although empiricalevidencedemonstratesthe disadvantaged economic position of specific ethnic categories, the mechanisms producing these effects are often difficult to identify and evaluate (Castles& Kosack, 1973; Platt, 2011). This becomes more difficult if we try to point at discriminatory practices, since they regularly constitute wider social structures generating disadvantage (Miles, 1989). With regard to the principle of inferiorisation, Anthias (1998) builds the explanation on the normality-pathology binary divide. She states that binary social categories lead to forms of theory and practice that are constantly informed by what is presumed to be normal or right and which is employed as a potential reference point for the "other" or pathological side, to the extent of considering the former to be the ideal and eventually the "normality". With regard to other research employing similar frameworks, social capital has proved its value as a theoretical concept in studies, among which we mention studies of the importance of non-parental adults in the lives of adolescents (Beam, Chen & Greenberger, 2002; Wooley & Bowen, 2007; DuBois & Silverthon, 2005), studies demonstrating the role of institutional agents in status attainment (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995) or research focusing on the importance of networks beyond the ethnic community in the case of refugees in Sweden (Cederberg, 2012).

In our investigation, following particularly the research work of MacDonald, Shildrick, Webster and Simpson (2005), Anthias and Cederberg (2009), Cederberg (2012) and Pluss (2013), we focus on understanding the role of resources that function as social capital in helping adolescents cope with disadvantage.

Our assumption is that while resources and opportunities can address social inequality, ethnic divisions and processes of racialization and discrimination can act as boundaries that restrict adolescents' access to resources and their ability to use the resources, eventually leading to the reproduction of inequality.

In the Romanian context, studies targeting Roma adolescents are to a large extent secondary. We acknowledge the contribution made by Vincze (2010), in the comparative study of ethnic differences in identity formation and future aspirations of urban Roma youth. The study identified the crucial role that the school setting and educational policies play in the construction of minority ethnic identity, together with identity strategies, in the sense that it can reinforce or mitigate the power of the dominant discourse in society with regard to ethnic differences (Szalai, Messing &Nemenyi, 2010).

The study

The aim of the present study is to gain an in-depth understanding of how social capital and ethnic divisions are reflected in the narration of Roma adolescents about themselves, their life context and their future plans. We focused on the resources and barriers adolescents identify in their life context and how they inform and shape adolescents' understanding of their life context and future aspirations.

The discussion in this paper is based on the analysis of 20 interviews with Romanian Roma adolescents aged 16-18, 11 boys and 9 girls, studying in Cluj-Napoca, Turda and Câmpia Turzii, three cities in the North-Western part of Romania. We identified the participants using snowball sampling, with four adolescents being identified with the help of a school counsellor, a teacher and a local nongovernmental organisation (NGO) and the rest upon adolescents' referral. All participants attend urban schools, 12 adolescents live in urban areas and 8 in rural areas and they either commute for school or they live in dormitory in the locality they study. Adolescents are in 10th, 11th or 12th grade, in technological (forestry, industry, services and technical profiles) and theoretical (social sciences) fields of study. The interviews were conducted in the schools where the adolescents are enrolled or at a local NGO's office, at a scheduled date. We were informed

of the school schedule and asked to have our meetings with the adolescents so that we did not interfere with school activities. All adolescents identified themselves as Roma minority ethnics.

In our interviews we used an interview guide, which focused on the following main aspects: family history (educational level, occupations, working experience, etc.); resources and obstacles that adolescents identified in their family environment and which they saw as influential in relation to school participation and decisions regarding their future path; schooling trajectory, pleasant and unpleasant experiences in the school context; experiences of discrimination, inferiorisation or differentiation in the school context or other settings; adolescents' perception of resources in the school context which they saw as influential in relation to school participation and decisions regarding their future path; the influence of their peer group with regard to school participation and future plans; the existence of other resources and barriers in their life context: poverty, restricted access to opportunities, nongovernmental organizations or other support institutions etc.; child labour experiences in the household or outside the household, participation to informal labour; future aspirations and plans. The interview guide was employed to assure a certain common orientation among participants, but participants were encouraged to approach all subjects and themes important for them and related to our study and express them in a personal manner.

The interviews were conducted in the period February 2014-November 2014. Adolescents were first invited to an introductory meeting where they were presented with the aim of the research and informed about the manner in which the investigation would develop. All adolescents were asked for their prior consent to participate in the research, and in the case of adolescents younger than 18 we also asked for parental consent. At this introductory meeting, information about risks and benefits, voluntary nature of participation in the research and adolescents' right to draw

out from the research at any point, as well the procedures used to protect confidentiality were discussed with the adolescents. We used a tape recorder to gather data, and the interviews each lasted about 45-60 minutes. Using deductive analysis and following the aim of our research, we first reviewed the interviews separately and identified the themes that emerged from the data. We then compared the interviews and elaborated a common list of themes, which finally included: Family support and making a living; Schools: resources, divisions and the experience of discrimination; Resourcefulness and struggle in the face of disadvantage; Belonging, otherness and the rationalisation of ethnic divisions.

Family support and making a living
The majority of the adolescents who participated in the research described their families and particularly their parents as being supportive of their education all through their school years noting that they continued to be very supportive towards their participation in school as well as encouraging achievement of a high school graduation diploma or continuing their studies. Family support is one of the main resources adolescents perceive as important throughout their educational path. These findings come to question the wide spread opinion that Roma parents would not support schooling. On the contrary, adolescents stated that their parents encourage them to pursue a career that would provide them with a higher social position, would allow them to make a decent living, and thus enable them to overcome the financial difficulties they have experienced in their families. When discussing their families, many adolescents were aware of the financial difficulties their families have to deal with and their parents' struggle to provide them with all the necessary means in order to continue their studies and build a career. Along with financial support, the majority of Roma adolescents reported that their parents offered them advice and encouraged them to continue their studies, teaching them the

importance of education for their future professional trajectory.

Poverty was often brought into discussions, along with the hard work their parents have to undertake so that they may finish their studies. Some of the interviewed adolescents described living in isolated areas, with restricted access to transportation, which makes school participation even more difficult and expensive.

"They [parents] are a very valuable resource for me because they didn't try to stop me. When I needed them they helped me a lot. When I didn't have money for school they preferred to give me the money for transportation, in order for me to get to school, instead of buying food." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, female)

"In this matter, in order for me to build a career and go to university, my parents are doing their best (...) they would be capable of going all lengths, only to help me, so that I become somebody. So that I build a living they like and that I like. So that they [parents] are satisfied." (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, male)

Within their life context and that of their families, adolescents narrated being aware of the obstacles and barriers that might hinder access to what they consider to be their 'ideal' careers. Therefore, (a theme which also emerged from their parents' talk of their futures), some of the Roma adolescents made a clear distinction between what they would like to achieve and what they believe is achievable for them in terms of education and labour market participation. Another important aspect was adolescents' perception that because of their difficult life situation, they had to take up some adult roles at a younger age, and they believed this aspect had prepared them for their adult life. In their future plans, adolescents accounted for the fact that they would like to be able to provide for their parents as well, and this became a reason for them to choose a career that would allow them to stay close to their families.

"I have become very grown up in the last years. I often think about whether my family has something to eat that day. I don't need my father to tell me what to do, I know what I have to do, and I am not like other children my age. (...) My aim is to finish school and get a job so that I can help my father and my brother, so that we can live happily together, or at least to make a living, this is our situation after all..." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

"I thought of a possible solution and probably it is the most beneficial, but I don't know... I thought of leaving school for a year and go to work, so I can help my family buy a house and all the other things they need and then go back to school." (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, female)

Ethnicity was also an important dimension reflected particularly in the adolescents' perception of their parents' talk about the future. On the one hand, the ethnic lines dividing their Roma families from the 'others' became visible when adolescents described the type of employment roles and situations where they believed they might not be accepted because they are Roma. On the other hand, some adolescents viewed ethnicity as so intimately related to poverty and informal labour in their families that they could view their future path as separated from this already socially assigned path.

"I think that not all Roma go to school. I, for example, I am the second or the third from my family who does this. Me and my family we work in commerce, we travel a lot. I am afraid that somebody, my parents might say 'enough with the study.'" (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, male)

"Young Roma don't have the necessary financial means, they don't have parents to guide them, to tell them to go, to make something of themselves, not to settle with working on the black market and be at the mercy of somebody...." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

Schools: resources, divisions and the experience of discrimination

The school setting and adolescents' experience in schools was differently described by our

interviewees, revealing different scales of ethnic divisions. In some cases, adolescents described how teachers associated their ethnic belonging with negative characteristics such as laziness, poor hygiene or impertinence. They added that being called a 'Gypsy' at school by either teachers or students is a pejorative way of encompassing the above characteristics. In some of these situations, they stated that they asked for the help of their teachers or parents, but when inferiorisation is promoted by teachers they hardly have any means to address the injustice. Together with teachers, some of the Roma adolescents rationalized their experienced inequalities by explaining that there is a category of Roma ethnics who have these negative characteristics, and that is the reason why teachers might treat them like that, not knowing that they are 'not that type of Gypsy'. To avoid these practices, some adolescents mentioned they would rather choose to study in schools with Roma students only.

"And all the time, they say you Gypsies curse and so on, and so on. We have an English teacher and every time we have a class with her she says that we stink, that we must go and wash ourselves, and that we are stupid and so on. Yes. And she calls us retarded and stupid, and that we don't deserve to go to school, that we should go and shepherd sheep. Of course, I don't think it's fair that our teacher calls us all kind of names. And hits us (...) and I told my teacher: miss teacher, how do you dare talk to us like this? First of all, we have never insulted you... What? Did I ask you anything? Well... I stopped talking; there was no sense in it. (...) And if we go to the head teacher he says it's not true and how do we dare to say that the teachers would do such a thing. Well, I am not sure if she has a problem with us or with the other kind of Roma ethnicity." (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, female)

The fragment above shows that sometimes students themselves tried or just wished to stand up for themselves in case of discrimination, but they lacked support from the school leadership, and there is no structured complaint process known to

students.

"Well, on the one hand, they don't really like Gypsies, but my mother told me not to get upset about it. This would be the only thing. They don't like Gypsies or the colour, or the language, but I don't like to speak my language at my school, as I speak. That's why I told you that in 6th grade I had a funny accent in Romanian language, but now they have told me I have started talking almost as they do." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, female)

"And where I was in school we were 100% Roma and I was glad this was the case because there were no reasons to worry that the other ones would give me any trouble, or our people would have something [trouble] with the others." (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, female)

Moreover, it appears that adolescents viewed the inter-ethnic relations in the school setting as a model that might be reproduced later on in other social environments, such as in the labour market. Adolescents who experienced ethnic discrimination in their schools were often preoccupied that this type of interaction might occur once again when they were searching for employment.

"It worries me a bit that I am Roma. It worries me (...) some can look me with bad eyes, talk dirty to me (...) I have seen this around me, at school." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, female)

Another type of ethnic division comes to prominence when Roma students go beyond what teachers expected from the Roma in terms of educational attainment. Two of the adolescents described how teachers reacted to their school participation, representing this in terms of an exception, considering Roma students in high schools as a particular and special exception, either praising them for getting so far, 'although being Roma', or advising them to settle for what is achievable for the Roma ethnic minority. Gender could be another social division intersecting with ethnicity when referring to higher educational attainment.

"We were even praised, in some way. We

were also praised by the principal from our secondary school. We were very praised by him because we have reached where we are now, given our conditions. On these grounds, we were praised, that we are Roma and we got so far..." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

"*(...) at school there was this one person who was against me continuing my studies, she said it was of no use for me. She told my parents that their girl would become 'a very important person' if she graduated a professional school. I told my mother I want to go to a professional school. I wanted to study at a professional school instead of getting a job, where I would get paid 600-700 lei and oh my, I would become such a great worker. Because this is how it is in a company, the ones who don't have an education don't get a salary.*" (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, female)

In some cases, adolescents identified school personnel as role models, because of the support they offered them throughout the school years. Support was described as advice, ethnic tolerance, understanding towards their life situation and the difficulties they encountered and at times material support provided by teachers themselves or mediated by teachers. Secondary school teachers were mentioned by a number of the adolescents as helping them make the decision to continue their studies.

"*Honestly, I have never witnessed a situation in which a Roma child was treated differently... but honestly, I have never felt a teacher treating me differently. (...) On the contrary, they helped me a lot with my studying and even with other things I needed.*" (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, female)

"*There was this teacher. She always encouraged me that I would succeed. That I would have a career, and she gave me really good advice. She is very important to me. When I graduated, she walked me out and she said to me 'You take good care of yourself. I care very much about you'.*" (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

However, Roma adolescents noticed that there is no clear support policy or programme in schools for the disadvantaged children, except for the social scholarships for high schoolers and they advised that more structural school support be introduced.

Resourcefulness and struggle in the face of disadvantage

Besides their families and schools, Roma youth identified other resources in their social contexts, such as relatives, organisations, including religious organisations and friends. Adolescents viewed their friends as both resources and obstacles: while some encouraged and supported them, becoming their role models, others served as counter-examples, by abandoning school. Different churches, particularly Neoprotestant, were included among the organizations adolescents feel they were encouraged and influenced by. One adolescent described how he is part of an adolescents' group, together with other Roma youth, which gives him the feeling of belonging and the support for going further in life. The church was also brought into discussion by another adolescent, but in a different light. She considered that it could become an obstacle, because the religious tradition could get in the way of her education, from the perspective of gender divisions and what is expected from her as a young woman. She brought into discussion themes of religious community and the neighbourhood she is part of, noting them as an disruption to her education and prolonging of her studies.

"*I can give you an example with the church. I am Pentecostal, I respect the church and I often didn't go to church and study instead, so there are some that ask me if school is more important to me than God. But this is how the word of God says: the wise one must act as his wisdom tells him to (...) I must show light as I learn (...) People from where I leave, they don't have a job and they are not young so that they could understand me, but I have a lot of friends at school and they are Pentecostal, too.*" (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, female)

But most of all, when asked about what they needed in order to accomplish their future plans, adolescents stated that they mostly rely on their own personal characteristics, abilities and strengths to fulfil their goals. In this respect, they referred to the positive experiences and success they have had so far, either in school or in other educational and social situations. In terms of their ethnic belonging some of them stated that they will need to work even harder, so that the teachers and employers, as well as their colleagues understand that they are 'the same as the others'.

"First of all, I must study. It can't be any other way, and attend classes, the ones that are related to high school. And to keep out of mischief outside of school (...) There aren't any obstacles, really. Only if I create them myself and make it harder for me to graduate high school." (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, female)

"It is all up to me to succeed, and if I put my mind to it, I will do it. I will not give them the chance and time to treat me differently, as I didn't give them the chance in school. You don't have the possibility to study like other children do and that is why they don't like you. They did not have the time to draw their own conclusions about me, I proved them wrong." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

Belonging, otherness and the rationalisation of ethnic divisions

The perception about the 'other', as an outcome of the processes of othering were illustrated especially in adolescents' narratives about their interactions in schools, as the main formal setting in which they experienced the construction of social hierarchies. A large share of the interviewed adolescents used the 'us' (Roma), versus 'others' (non-Roma) divide to explain that at some points they felt disconnected from their school colleagues because of their ethnic belonging. They stated they felt 'ashamed' or 'different'. While for some adolescents the situation improved once their colleagues and teachers got to know them better, for others the image of the

'ethnic other' remained linked to its negative representation, and assumptions that it is up to the Roma to improve and not to mainstream society. In adolescents' interviews, this was reflected in being told that they needed to prove they are not like 'the other Roma'.

"There are no problems with my teachers, but with the children, when we act like children, well... he calls me Gypsy, I call him Romanian and that's it (...)." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

"In secondary school I was ashamed to say I was Roma, because I had only Romanians and Hungarians in my class (...) And I felt somehow, if I said I was Roma, I felt rejected. Because from what I had seen then, all Roma children were different from the others. Meaning they didn't study, they didn't play, they were dirty, they had no manners. And then, when I went to high school, I changed my way of thinking. Even if I hide, I am still Roma." (Roma adolescent, 18 years old, male)

"Yes, at first I was very disturbed, because when I was in the 9th grade I went in and had an argument with my class mates and I told my teacher ... that I am disturbed by the fact that we walk on the street or we are in the school yard and they call me different names and that, at some point, it will become ugly. But the teacher told me, don't worry about it, it will all be taken care of." (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, female)

The strategies adolescents employed in order to rationalise ethnic divisions are similar to those found in their teachers' discourse and practices. Some of the Roma adolescents stressed that they feel proud about their ethnic belonging but they made the distinction among certain groups of Roma in term of qualities, behaviour and physical appearance. They considered that the 'other type of Roma', which match the negative social image as overall less civilized are responsible for the difficulties that the Roma faced as they were viewed as a homogenous group. They tended to identify with the often compassionate, 'exceptionality' view of some of their teachers or other support persons, who saw them as

rather heroic 'exceptions' from the general negative image associated with the Roma. But as stated by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999), such attributions maintain the subjective feeling of being identified with the negative image of the ethnic group.

"Well, I am not Romanian, I am Gypsy, but others say we are all the same, who wear long skirts, you know, those who wear scarves on their heads, with coins, but we are not all the same. Just our language, otherwise... and our behaviour. But we do not behave as they do, we don't dress like they do... We are pretty normal, just like the others. But my school mates, these school mates don't really understand what we have and what we don't have. Yes, they associate me, but they... I posted some photos with my parents, with my family on my Facebook and eventually they saw we are not like the others. My mother dresses just like everybody else, so does my father, my sisters, my brothers-in-law... we dress just like everybody else. We don't have different styles." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, female)

"I believe that there are Roma people who are not like me or my family, because even when it comes to Romanian people, and older people, they go, they steal, they hurt people and beg for money. And you know, they don't care that there is that kind of Roma that steals, and I'm not, that he is unfair, and I'm fair. And that's why there are people who are scared, very scared." (Roma adolescent, 16 years old, male)

"In my case, when speaking about ethnicity, I am Romanian, Gypsy and Hungarian. Yes. I write all three of them, there is no point in lying. Well, I also have a Roma behaviour. It means I sometimes swear, I behave in a certain way, I talk back at people and other things... Well, it is not necessary for me to be a Gypsy if I swear, but... there is no point in hiding if this is who I am, what is the point? No. I don't look like a Gypsy, that is the thing. Do I look like one? No. Many have told me I don't look like one when I told them I was a Gypsy. That's why they were not affected. They said I wasn't one, that I did not look like a Gypsy. Well, I am not black... maybe just a little tanned." (Roma adolescent, 17 years old, male)

Discussion and conclusions
A complex relationship between individual and social resources can be depicted in Roma adolescents' narratives. Parents and adolescents' families were perceived of as valuable resources, and families offered adolescents a strong sense of belonging, in some cases ethnic belonging to a community as well as a household. Poverty and informal labour were present in many of the families, determining adolescents view of their co-ethnics as usually having to undertake informal labour as a survival strategy. Structural disadvantage in the form of poverty, discrimination or restricted access to opportunities were reflected in their parents' talk about the future, advice which recommended them to use education as an opportunity for social mobility, so that they can achieve more highly than other members of their family.

The other resources adolescents identified in their social environment, such as school personnel, organisations and friends also illustrated the concept of social capital, together with the strategies used for social mobility and class advantage. Within our framework, Bourdieu's definition draws attention to the dimension of accesses to resources but also to their quality and ability to compensate for inequality. For some adolescents, it seems that the resources that accrued to them have been successfully used and they potentially have the power to compensate for disadvantage, but this observation is mostly valid in the cases of young Roma adolescents who come from families with moderately but not severely deprived status, and who managed to study in fairly supportive high-school settings. When analysing the interviews we identified adolescents' focus on self-reliance, seen as their own ability to overcome disadvantage. Adolescents' narratives highlighted that they have experienced ethnic differentiation

and overt racism throughout their school trajectory or in other social contexts. Along with other structural forms of inequality, this emphasised the idea that access to adequate resources is not a sufficient condition for Roma adolescents who do not have the advantages of their non-Roma peers. Keeping in mind that *"the notion of social capital cannot be coterminous with resources, but involves additionally being able to use networks and ties for social advantage"* (Anthias & Cederberg, 2009, p. 915) and that social networks cannot replace state enabled opportunities, we nevertheless draw attention to their importance in adolescents' life in mitigating the impact of social exclusion processes.

The interviews provided us with rich information about participants' strategies for coping with ethnic divisions, othering processes and inferiorisation. The participants in our study usually differentiated themselves from 'the other Roma', although they have experienced racism. 'The other Roma' or the 'Bad type of Roma' were described as those who match the stereotypical negative image of the Roma. To some extent, we can state that adolescents coped with the othering and exclusion processes by refusing to identify with the 'other Roma category' and attempting to include themselves amongst the majority population by accentuating that they do not belong to the 'other Roma' category, and that they are very similar to the non-Roma. Although overt racism was recognised and narrated, sometimes in striking examples, adolescents tried to delineate themselves from the threat that the 'bad Roma' represented to mainstream society. This of course needs to be understood in the broader societal context and informed by what it socially presumed to be the 'other', the pathological side and the 'normal' or right as a reference point (Anthias, 1998). From the part of teachers and even Roma adolescents themselves, this technique might explain why they considered that higher educational attainment in the case of Roma is still exceptional, mostly possible for those who were viewed as more similar to

the non-Roma majority.

When looking at the testimonials, we can see most clearly the willingness of young Roma to cope and thrive in an adverse world. We have to acknowledge what the young people told us about the contribution of their parents' daily struggle to make sure their children are able to use the educational opportunities, and hopefully obtain a higher social status. But we also have to recognise the efforts of the young Roma high-school students themselves towards school attainment, in spite of so many structural and informal odds. From this perspective, we are convinced that these 20 Roma young people in high-schools are not the exceptions, there are many other young people who are likely to improve their life chances. However, the resources these minority ethnics adolescents have access to can improve the quality of their life and influence upward mobility, but they cannot replace structural forms of advantage. It is important that interventions addressing Roma youth account for the fact that besides adolescents' families and friends, the school setting and educational policies, together with employment opportunities appear to be particularly important in mitigating ethnic differences in society.

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BEYOND BEREAVEMENT: THE IMPACT OF BEREAVEMENT ON THE RESILIENCE OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

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Carol is a senior lecturer and course lead for the Early Year's programmes at Buckinghamshire New University. She has also had significant experience of teaching and learning across a range of early year's programmes including Foundation degrees, and Early Years Professional status, within both her current and previous role as head of curriculum in a further education college. Carol is co–organiser of the annual 'Safeguarding Conference' at Buckinghamshire New University and is passionate about the protection of vulnerable children, the promotion of the child's voice and the emotional health and wellbeing of children. Her focus is drawn from her experience as a practitioner having worked as   a childminder, in pre- schools; with children with additional needs and in her current role as curriculum governor at a specialist school for children with profound and multiple learning difficulties. Carol's doctoral research which is near completion investigates the bereavement support needs of Gypsy and Traveller families, a subject which supports her interest in young and vulnerable children and families.

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Abstract:

There are an estimated 300,000 Gypsies and Travellers in Britain. Despite Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers and Scottish Gypsy-Travellers being recognised as distinct ethnic groups, in recent decades these communities have faced increasing challenges to retaining their culture and traditional nomadic lifestyle with significant impacts on their health and wellbeing. In addition to facing inequality and discrimination Gypsies and Travellers experience noteworthy health inequalities and have a life expectancy which is considerably less than surrounding populations. Bereavement is a significant health concern for Gypsies and Travellers with substantially higher levels of suicide, maternal and infant mortality, miscarriage and stillbirth than is found in wider society. Multiple bereavements can result in long term health implications including depression, anxiety, and increased risk taking behaviours, including alcohol and substance misuse and complicated grief reactions in adults. In addition the close knit nature of Gypsy and Traveller communities means that the death of a relative is felt with great intensity articulated by some research participants as an event with which they 'never come to terms'. The significance of

bereavement and loss within these groups can therefore result in a continuum of loss and complicated grief throughout the lifespan.

However, the effects on children of loss, or living with carers who are experiencing bereavement remain largely unrecognised, despite the increasing research evidence which explores the connection between early childhood experiences and later life chances.

This paper presents emerging findings from on-going research studies exploring the bereavement experiences of Gypsies and Traveller families, and considers resilience in relation to the bereavement experiences of this marginalised ethnic group.

Keywords: Gypsy, Traveller, Bereavement, Resilience, Wellbeing.

'What makes you strong won't kill you'
(Participant in Rogers' ongoing research).

Introduction

The statement above made by a participant in my on-going bereavement research reflects the stoic nature and resilient attitude found within Gypsy and Traveller families and communities experiencing hardship. Moreover, it summaries acceptance of life-long challenges and adversity faced by Gypsy and Travellers living a marginalised lifestyle within mainstream British society.

Living on the edge of mainstream society British Gypsies and Travellers (the standard terminology used in the UK to refer to members of the ethnic group included in European policy documents as 'Roma' communities, see further: Council of Europe, 2012) remain largely hidden or invisible. Whilst there is limited space in this paper to detail all the risk factors faced by these communities, they are vulnerable across all aspects of the life- course, including experiencing high rates of premature death. Hence bereavement and complicated and long-term unresolved grief underpins high levels of mental illness (depression and anxiety) in Gypsy and Traveller communities (Parry, Van- Cleemput, Peters, Moore, Walters, Thomas et al, 2004; Cemlyn, Greenfields, Burnett, Matthews, Whitwell, 2009). However despite the challenges faced by Gypsies and Travellers, community members, and women in particular, have been found to have a very stoic attitude towards life as illustrated in the opening quotation (Richardson, Bloxham & Greenfields; 2007). Stoicism refers to

personal or societal attitudes in which the endurance of hardship is accepted as the norm without feeling or complaint (Sellars, 2006) and is a strong feature of Gypsy and Traveller identity, a characteristic which individuals aspire to and take pride in (Parry 2004; Atterbury,2010; Smith & Rushton, 2013). Stoic attitudes and behaviours were evident throughout the study with a number of my research participants explicitly referring to themselves as stoic *"Travellers are very stoic, we just have to get on with it"* (Rogers' ongoing research). Hence this paper sets out to question whether when faced with repeat bereavement, individuals are behaving stoically or exhibiting psychological and social resilience?

Resilience relates to an individual's capacity to recover from adverse life experiences including trauma and high levels of stress (Daniel & Wassel, 2002). The complex lifestyles led by some Gypsies and Travellers who often experience poverty, homelessness or insecure accommodation typically involves experiencing high levels of trauma and stress, both on an individual level and also collectively, as members of a marginalised ethnic group. Thus Gypsies and Travellers have been identified as being vulnerable to both individual and 'cultural trauma' through their communal experience of membership of a group whose traditional way of life is increasingly criminalised and stigmatised in sedentary post-modern society (Ryder, Cemlyn & Acton, 2014). Individual

vulnerability is therefore exacerbated by collective cultural trauma which impacts on social dynamics, emotions, spirituality and the resilience of those involved. Additionally it can have intergenerational impacts on coping mechanisms leading to increased emotional vulnerability (Thompson, 2012).

Methods

Participants were recruited via civil society, Gypsy and Traveller led agencies: from The Traveller Movement in Britain and One Voice 4 Travellers, advisory organisations who act as advocates and provide support for Gypsies and Travellers by promoting social inclusion and equality within mainstream society. The sample chosen only included women, a deliberate decisión following recommendations from the advisory groups above, based on the nature of the research and the premise that given the traditional gender role behaviours of Gypsy and Traveller men, it was highly unlikely that they would talk about bereavement, a subject that they do not comfortably speak about within their own community, let alone to an outsider, a non-Gypsy female researcher (Okely,1983).

Therefore as the participants and the researcher were all women and the study focused on bereavement experiences from the perspective of women, the research is closely aligned to feminist paradigms. Feminist approaches often research sensitive subjects related to the experiences and place of women in society (Oakley, 1981; Dickenson-Swift et al, 2008). Although the place of women in Gypsy and Traveller culture is not the main focus of this study, gendered role traditions were influential in the decisions to only access women for this research. Participants were all female between the ages of fifteen and mid-fifties accessed via opportunistic sampling, with participants having responded to requests made by the advisory organisations. This age range provided participants who spanned four generations of families, including grandmothers, mothers, daughters and granddaughters, thus giving a perspective of bereavement from different roles and relationships within the same families.

Given the sensitive nature of the research, narrative inquiry using focus groups and narrative conversations was used to hear the bereavement experiences of the participants. Two focus groups, one with eight Irish Travellers and one English Gypsy and the other with seven English Gypsies were carried our, followed by a further nine individual narrative conversations. In addition a workshop using stories, music and art to explore bereavement experiences from children's perspectives were carried out with seven children and young people between the ages of seven and fifteen.

A thematic analysis of the data identified the following themes, cultural characteristics, religion, health, gender and family as influential in shaping the bereavement practices and behaviours of Gypsy and Traveller families. The stories heard during this study confirm that bereavement creates long term problems for Gypsies and Travellers, the consequences of which result from strong cognate relationships and the cultural practice of not discussing death. Embedded in these relationships are very strong protective behaviours. It is this predominant need to protect family at any cost, which results in part from living within an often hostile majority society, but also from the collectivist societal approach that favours the wellbeing of others above that of the individual that appears to have an impact on complexity of bereavement behaviours of Gypsies and Travellers. It is particularly notable in women who will consistently put the care and protection of other family members above their own health and wellbeing.

This paper explores research participants' capacity for resilience by considering the risks and protective factors faced by Gypsy and Traveller families including the impact on the development of resilient children when living with frequent and multigenerational bereavement experiences.

Who are Gypsies and Travellers?

In order to set the scene it is important to clarify who are included within this definition.In Britain, 'Gypsies and Travellers' is a generic term used to identify members of ethnic groups who are traditionally nomadic. Defining who is a Gypsy and Traveller is however relatively complex, with different formulations found in UK planning law, which is based on nomadism (as still practised by a considerable number of Gypsy/Travellers in the UK) and also under the Race Relations Acts which provides protection for individuals who are members of ethnic groups. It is important to recognise that there are a number of distinct groups commonly included within the generic term Gypsies/Travellers, e.g. English Romany Gypsies, Welsh Gypsies, Scottish and Irish Travellers, Show People, (Fairground Travellers) Bargees (barge or boat dwellers) European Roma and New Travellers (Clark & Greenfields, 2006). For the purpose of this paper the term 'Gypsies and Travellers' is used to refer simply to English Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers the largest of these populations in Britain.

Despite various estimates the size of the Gypsy Traveller population remains unclear. In 2006 the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) suggested that there may be many as 300,000 Gypsies, Roma and Travellers in the UK. However the 2011 Census identified much smaller numbers, 58,000, (ONS, 2014) but only included English Romany Gypsies and Irish Travellers who were housed or on authorised sites and those who chose to self-ascribe and complete the census. Following identification of this disparity in assessment of population, the Traveller Movement in Britain sought to contrast this official data with a more accurate account using population data from Gypsy Traveller Accommodation Needs Assessments undertaken in 2011. Use of these data sets identified the Gypsy Traveller population as 119.193 more than double the numbers suggested by the census (ITMB, 2013).

The difficulties in accurately depicting the numbers of Gypsies and Travellers is in part due to their separateness from mainstream society, meaning that they remain a largely hidden community in mainstream consciousness In part this invisibility is used as a protective strategy by the communities, to maintain their distinct cultural heritage and also to prevent assimilation into the sedentary society (Liegeois, 2007). However, invisibility also keeps them marginalised and misunderstood by the wider population, creating a dichotomy of views, from the historicised and romanticised notion of glamorous beauties leading a nomadic lifestyle with horse drawn wagons in country lanes, juxtaposed against the more recent stereotypical view of 'dirty' and 'dishonest' people living in illegally parked caravans (Evans, 1999; Richardson et al, 2007). The reality is in fact more complex as may be expected of a marginalised community who have experienced a long history of prejudice and discrimination dating back to the Sixteenth century when they were first identified as present in the UK.

Whilst Gypsies and Travellers undoubtedly experience an unequal positon as 'others' within the mainstream society which creates many of the adversities they experience, they simultaneously remain the negative focus of discourse pertaining to 'unruly' ethnic minorities. However there is a growing discourse highlighting the growth of the power of self-identity and community activism which promoting social justice and human rights, a process that is becoming increasingly successful in empowering rather than creating a victimisation narrative of Gypsies' and Travellers' experiences (Powell, 2008; Ryder, Cemlyn & Acton, 2014).

Nonetheless the separateness and lifestyle choices favoured by many Gypsies and Travellers in the UK, which is often at odds with mainstream sedentary society, has resulted in a complex and difficult relationship between Gypsies, Travellers and the state (Bancroft, 2005;CRE,2006). Consequently increasingly repressive laws and social and economic exclusion and health impacting

lifestyle factors such as smoking, substance misuse and generally poor health has led to Gypsies and Travellers having the poorest life chances of any ethnic group in the UK (Diacon, Kritman, Vine, Yafal, 2007; Ryder & Greenfields, 2010). Furthermore the marginal physical places occupied by many Gypsies and Travellers often adds to the high levels of exclusion they experience, increasing their vulnerability across all aspects of life, in particularly in relation to accommodation, heath, education and employment risk (Greenfields, 2012 in Greenfields, Dalrymple and Fanning, eds.).

This is most evident when considering the poor health status and rates of premature mortality found within Gypsies and Traveller communities when these groups are compared to mainstream populations, including individuals with low socio-economic status (Parry et al, 2004). When this multi-factorial exclusion is added to a high rate of multi-generational premature bereavement, often from accidents or preventable deaths, it means that the individual and socio-cultural significance of death remains at the forefront of Gypsy and Traveller experiences.

Although my research has focused on Gypsies and Travellers in Britain there are many similarities to Roma populations both those in the UK and Europe, who also experience marginalisation, poor housing and education, substandard health care, high infant mortality and the shortest life expectancy in Europe (Open Society Foundation (OSF),2013; Ryder, Cemlyn & Acton, 2014). As the lifestyles and experiences of both Roma and Gypsy/Traveller populations are mirrored it highly likely that their bereavement experiences will also be similar.

The impact of bereavement on Gypsy & Traveller communities.

Although death and grief are universal, the place of the dead in society, mourning rituals and the manifestations of grief vary greatly across cultures (Field, Hockey & Small, 1997). Thus culture, societal traditions and beliefs create understandings about death,

and provide a framework for bereavement behaviours determining the influence that the dead have on the lives of the living (Niemeyer, 2001; Silverman, 2001; Walter, 1999).

Whilst death remains central to shaping the behaviours of Gypsies and Travellers, often played out through strong cultural traditions and religious beliefs; within the community there also appear to be explicitly contradictory models of bereavement behaviours, with overt expressions of loss, lavish funerals and complex death rituals, whilst the experience of 'grief' (defined as the emotional response to bereavement and loss that has both physical and psychological consequences that may impact on health, see Strobe & Schut, 1998), stays firmly hidden and is often unresolved for many years (Cemlyn et al, 2009). In order to understand the phenomenon of long-term complicated grief it is necessary to understand the close knit nature of Gypsy and Traveller families who are typically defined in their relationships through their collective culture, in with each person's well-being and identity are connected to membership of their family and kinship group rather than primarily operating as an autonomous individual.

The close-knit nature of Gypsy and Traveller life (which in many ways remains unchanged from the models found in pre-industrial rural societies) means that following a death, public displays of grief, and open recognition of the enormity of loss both to private individuals and the community at large, are central to both demonstrating the value of the deceased person and acknowledging the ways in which life is changed forever by the loss of a community member. Failure to respect these social norms is almost unthinkable for the vast majority of Gypsies and Travellers, with individuals often travelling for many hundreds of miles to 'show respect' and support a recently bereaved family. Not uncommonly a funeral, regardless of the age of the deceased person, or the circumstances of their death, might attract several hundred mourners. Moreover should a breach of 'respect' such as not sending flowers or failing to attend at the funeral or at the

'sitting up' with the family the night before the burial occur, (even if social breaches may have existed in the past between families), individuals who behave in such a way would feel both personally diminished and fear being socially ostracised for failing to adhere to cultural mores (Okely,1983).

So why does this central focus on death and appropriate behaviours remain so crucial to Gypsy and Traveller identities? Firstly, the relatively unchanging family structures and 'traditional' values common to the overwhelming majority of Gypsies and Travellers means that there is an exceptionally high level of contact between kin groups on a daily basis. This is in complete contrast to the majority of 'Western' communities where families tend to be smaller, more disparate and geographically dispersed. Thus, an individual might spend their entire life living alongside their parents and siblings, on a caravan site, with their own children growing up, marrying and having their own family whilst living either at the same location or geographically nearby. Hence almost by definition, if living in an extended family unit, the repercussions of birth and death are likely to have a greater impact and deeper resonance than for individuals who are unable to live in such close proximity to their wider family. The close kin-ship structure of Gypsy and Traveller communities means that the death of a relative is felt with great intensity, articulated by some research participants as an event with which they 'never come to terms'. The significance of bereavement and loss within these groups can therefore for some people result in a continuum of loss and grief throughout the lifespan, particularly (as touched upon below) if there are cultural factors which preclude seeking external psychological help. Unresolved grief can therefore leave sufferers with no option but to 'cope' stoically, or resort to 'self-medication' such as alcohol or drugs to numb the pain of loss.

Resilience factors within Gypsy and Traveller communities.

Having outlined the factors which lead to increased grief reactions, amongst Gypsies and Travellers it is time to consider the strong protective factors which aid resilience and survival for individuals experiencing repeated trauma. Many of these resilience factors, like those which exacerbate risk of unresolved grief, are embedded within close family networks.

Rutter (1981) identifies a number of domains (both personal and environmental) which measure individual capacities for resilience against the dominance of risk, and also protective factors within each person's life. Personal domains include personality traits and gender, capacity to cope with stress factors and change, and family influences, whilst environmental factors include living conditions. It is impossible to separate personal and environmental factors where Gypsies and Travellers are concerned, as their nomadic traditions are increasingly compromised and an insecure living environment may be a significant cause of stress, with fear of eviction, prejudice and persecution common concerns amongst research participants.

Additionally, poor and dangerous living environments account for a number of intergenerational sudden unexpected deaths such as those associated with traffic accidents or poor environmental health. Negative family circumstance can also result from accommodation change with families being 'broken up' and unable to live in the close proximity that they are used to. Bereavement will also have a significant effect on family as they come to terms with their loss and the changing roles and responsibilities that accompany the loss of a family member (Cemlyn et al 2009). Thus, whilst the closeness of family is a strong protective factor associated with resilience, changes in circumstances such as those outlined above can also create additional stress and risk factors.

Furthermore Rutter's (1981) consideration of personality traits and gender roles is

particularly pertinent to Gypsy and Traveller families as he highlights psycho–social stressors in males, particularly those linked to family discord, proposing that males are more vulnerable and less resilient than females to stress. Evidence of male responses to family bereavement stressors within Gypsy and Traveller families in my research (and earlier literature), repeatedly note high incidences of risk taking behaviours and bereavement-related suicide, supporting Rutter's proposition of increased male vulnerability, as this quote illustrates: *"More men than women can't cope with it and take their lives"*. In contrast Gypsy and Traveller women are often responsible for keeping the family together and demonstrate a stoic or resilient attitude of ' just getting on with it' (quotes from Rogers' ongoing research).

Overall, positively correlated resilience markers are clearly found within Gypsy and Traveller culture and traditional family structures: predominantly secure emotional attachments, strong relationships, security, and a structured family environment with consistent boundaries, all of which were noted by respondents as fundamental to Gypsy and Traveller values (Walsh, 2006). However, the overriding cultural need articulated by my research participants to 'protect family at all cost' may, as normatively practised, be detrimental to individual emotional resilience, as grief is internalised. Hence the desire to alleviate grief, and the culturally accepted way of protecting family members by, avoiding the subject of death, ignoring others' pain, simply 'getting on with it' seems to create personal vulnerability rather than increased emotional protection for some vulnerable individuals, as summarised here: *"If it's a member of your own family, your brother or sister, you can't show your feelings you can't because you are afraid to hurt them, you have to keep a brave face on it"* (Rogers' ongoing research).

The continuous cycle of bereavement, loss and the protective practices of not discussing grief and death extends across family relationships, creating a physical closeness but emotional distance within family interactions following bereavement. This process of internalising feelings and responses to grief appears to lead to significant and long term implications for health and wellbeing, with women commonly suffering from anxiety and depression and men resorting to alcohol or the more extreme bereavement-related suicide (Parry et al, 2004). The extract below summaries the challenges faced, particularly by Gypsy and Traveller women, resulting from these culturally protective behaviours:

"We do expect a lot of ourselves we have to cope with everything, to carry on with family life; you almost haven't got time to grieve... the men go straight to drink ... so then the woman has to manage with her husband, family, kids, it's hard you know. That's what causes more problems for the woman it builds up you once it's there you don't know how to manage, or how to get rid of it. It's part of being a Traveller, it's what they do, unfortunately that brings a lot of problems" (Rogers' ongoing research).

For Gypsies and Travellers their individuality and sense of self are secondary to their place within the family, where a strong family and community orientation that provides primary socialisation ensures that kinship values and responsibilities are at the forefront of relationships, overriding individual needs, unlike the predominantly individualised and societal socialisation models found within the mainstream population (Powell, 2013). This strong emotional connectedness between family members underpins the protective practices that put the wellbeing of others before the wellbeing of themselves, leading to low resilience and poor health for some individuals. These protective behaviours clearly have a detrimental effect on health and wellbeing of some adults, with family becoming a barrier rather than a protective resilience factor consideration. These implications also need to be given consideration in terms of the impact that adult behaviours have on the development of children learning resilient behaviours.

Children and resilience.

Children are highly valued and central to Gypsy and Traveller family life, benefiting from being part of strong nuclear families and also of wider kinship and community structures. This central place of children means that they are included and participate in many aspects of adult life including death rituals and funerals (Okley, 1983). Liegeois (2005) asserts that the place of children within Gypsy and Traveller communities provides them with both physical and psychological security. The physical care and wellbeing of children was very evident throughout my research, as many research participants' reinforced how well cared for children are, following bereavement, particularly being cared for by extended family and the community as a whole.

However whilst physical care needs are undoubtedly well met and strong family attachment bonds are evident, the cultural practice of not discussing the deceased or feelings of grief as a protective strategy results in a lack of emotional support for children, as illustrated below:

"we are all trying to protect one and another but you can't protect the child from the scenes the children [are] involved in the process of the death of the person, so they wear the hat of what is going on but we don't explain anything to them, they see it all the time but are too young to understand" (Rogers' ongoing research).

A stoic or perhaps 'tough love' approach and a common cultural belief that children are not affected by loss and the death rituals they are involved in as they are 'too young to understand' means that the protective practices of not discussing the deceased or feelings of grief are also extended to children. The misconception that children are too young to understand and do not grieve is contradictory to the needs of bereaved children, as my research findings revealed. Having friends, and someone to talk to, and to be able to talk about the person who had died was the overriding message from the children participating in my research. It was particularly important for them to be able to talk about and remember the person they had lost. Whilst there was a strong acknowledgement of the sadness of loss by the children, it was also essential to *"remember the good things about the person who has died"*, remembering the positive and 'happy' things they had done with the deceased, not just the sadness of their loss (Rogers' ongoing research). Being able to talk about the deceased is important as it provides a strong foundation for the development of a resilient mind set and helps to adapt attachment relationships and to develop and maintain a continuing bond with the deceased (Klass, Silverman, Nickman, 1996, Stokes, 2009). However given the cultural behaviours and protective practice of not discussing grief and a resultant loss of opportunities for children to express their grief, discuss feelings and the person they have lost, such opportunities do not generally happen. This means that bereaved Gypsy and Traveller children are potentially not receiving the emotional support necessary for them to manage their grief effectively thus impacting on their ability to develop resilience and emotional wellbeing.

Children's understanding of death is often underestimated, as their behaviour repeatedly fluctuates between periods of sadness and normative behaviour giving the appearance that they only grieve for a short period of time, in fact children 'puddle jump' dipping in and out of their grief as a coping strategy for understanding and managing their loss (Worden, 2009). This oscillation of behaviour fits Strobe and Shuts' (2010) dual process 'loss and restoration' model of bereavement whereby the bereaved individual shifts back and forth from a loss orientated approach, focusing on the grief and trying to understand the loss, to a restoration orientation focused on the adaptation to change and life without the deceased.

For Children this process of grief, loss and restoration can continue throughout childhood and adolescence as the understanding of loss and death involves interplay of developmental phases and experiences during which the

permanence of the death and loss evolves with increasing cognitive understanding (Ribbens – McCarthy, 2005; Di Cario, 2008). Children who experience grief early in life within a supportive environment of adults who provide them with insight and understanding will have the capacity to cope with grief and loss and will develop emotional strength and resilience (Dyregov, 1999). However if childhood grief is not acknowledged and supported it can become a risk factor potentially leading to complicated grief and mental health problems in later life (Fauth, Thompson, Penny, 2009).

Mental health problems associated with grief are a significant issue for Gypsy and Travellers, particularly for women (Cemlyn et al., 2009; Parry, 2004) as exemplified by this quote:

"Each one of them [bereavements] makes your grief harder to bear because you are already struggling and suffering, it affects your mental health" (Rogers' ongoing research).

Given the high levels of mental health problems (typically anxiety and depression) identified by respondents following bereavements within Gypsy and Traveller communities, it is arguable that parental capacity (the ability of parents to nurture, protect and meet their child's developmental needs) is diminished and that children experience higher stress levels in their early years, perhaps perpetuating cycles of intergenerational mental health problems. Not only is it likely that parental capacity is reduced but that culturally protective behaviours of not discussing grief and loss prevents the acknowledgement of feelings, a practice which is detrimental to emotional development, resilience and children's management of grief.

When parental capacity is debilitated by grief, poor health and in particular poor maternal mental health, parents are less able to meet the emotional needs of their children. This can result in babies and young children being exposed to high levels of cortisol (stress hormone) in infancy which can impede early emotional development and cause long term problems, distorting stress responses in later life (Music, 2011). Consequently, maternal mental health plays a significant part in the development of resilience and the mental health of children, as mothers with poor mental health are five times more likely to have children with mental health related problems and subsequently poor childhood mental health is more likely to continue into adulthood (Meltzer, 2004).

Resilience is determined by the interplay between family relationships and the environment, with relationships and experiences interwoven over the life course and across generations (Walsh, 2006). Hence positive relationships and experiences lead to positive outcomes, but when family stability and relationships are debilitated as a result of stressful life events such as poverty, unemployment, poor health or following a family bereavement, the outcomes can be very different. Although all of the above are stressful life events, a family bereavement is recognised as one of the most traumatic, affecting the stability and functioning of the family which in turn has an impact on the resilience of the family unit and each individual family member (Cohen, Moffit, Caspi, Taylor, 2004)..

Thus the resilience and wellbeing of children and adults are entwined, one cannot be considered without the other, as many factors influencing the life chances and outcomes of adults, including resilience and wellbeing, have their roots in childhood (Allen, 2011; Field, 2010). Consequently early childhood experiences are pivotal to adult life chances just as adults, specifically parents, are fundamental to early childhood experiences, providing the foundations for lifespan development. Thus children's early experiences including the adaptation to crisis and the development of resilience are determined by adult behaviours.

Conclusion.

The role that family and community play in supporting health and wellbeing is

highlighted in Marmot's (2010) discussion of social capital, where he suggests that close relationships between individuals promotes resilience and can provide barriers to exacerbated health risk. In contrast, I suggest however that a lack of inter-generational resilience and learnt responses to grief and bereavement as enacted in the current case, are likely to result in the high levels of grief-related mental health problems experienced by Gypsies and Travellers.

In conclusion the challenges and complexities of Gypsy and Traveller culture outlined above, means that they live with high levels of risk and vulnerability when compared to majority cultures. Whilst, the strong family attachments that should provide the balance in their lives, and which in many ways help them to develop resilience to the hardships of life are important in supporting them through physical and practical struggles, resilience in the face of bereavement (something which is difficult for anyone to cope with) appears to be compromised by the overriding cultural need to protect Gypsy and Traveller family members by asserting stoicism. In doing so such culturally approved learned behaviours risk ignoring the cost of individual emotional health and wellbeing with intergenerational negative impacts.

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PROTECTING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF GYPSY, ROMA AND TRAVELLER CHILDREN LIVING IN THE PUBLIC CARE SYSTEM

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Abstract

Throughout Europe, the public care system exists to protect the welfare of over one million children who have suffered from abuse or neglect or experienced bereavement, disability or serious illness in one or both parents. However, although the public care system is primarily intended to offer children protection from risk and harm, there are some concerns to suggest that it is also being systematically misused to "eradicate Gypsy existence and culture". Cited as a system for state sanctioned control, rather than as a system for effective and safe child care, it is believed that Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children across Europe are being taken away from their communities and placed in public care for no other reason than that they are Gyp- sies, Roma or Travellers. With regard to basic human rights, this is a serious allegation. There are,though, some conceptual tensions associated with this claim. Firstly, little is known about how many Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are actually living in public care throughout Europe. Second, little is known about the carers who look after these children, and third, little is known about the lived experiences of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers themselves.

In an attempt to shed further light on this situation, the present paper summarises the find- ings of a higher degree research study that utilised interpretive phenomenological analysis to uncover the experiences of 10 Gypsies and Travellers who lived in the public care system in the United Kingdom or the Republic of Ireland. Based on the testimonies provided, this paper will problematise the allegation already presented to show that some Gypsy, Roma and Trav- eller children can experience a brief sense of relief when the opportunity to enter public care is presented to them. However, by drawing upon the experiences of those people who were sent to live in residential homes and other transcultural foster care placements, it will explain

why, without carful and competent multicultural planning, theexistence and culture of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children can be made vulnerable to the threats associated with acculturative distress and the experience of absolute social alienation in later life.

Background

Across Europe, thepubliccare system provides a range of services for more than one million children (Petrie et al., 2006), with small group residential care used only when kinship or foster care is not immediately available or compatible with the child's needs or wishes (Thomas Coram Research Unit, 2004). In the majority of cases, children enter the public care system as a result of interfamilial stress or bereavement, disability or serious illness in one or both parents, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse or neglect (Csáky, 2009). Whilst some EU Member States still offer services through institutionalised residential settings (Maluccio, 2006), more alternative family-based care services are being developed (Colton and Williams, 2006) to enable children to grow and develop in environments that are more suitable for their health and social care needs.

Though the primary purpose and function of various public care services aim to protect the welfare of vulnerablechildren, commentators on the historical oppression of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities, indicate that it is also being used for more dissonant reasons. In additionto providing a method to reduce the risks that might usually be concomitant with vulnerability. Some academics suggest that Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are being systematically taken away from their families and placed in public careas a direct result of populist assimilative ideology (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2002). For these children, the public care system is reportedly used to *"eradicate Gypsy existence and culture"* (Liegeois, 1986; McVeigh, 1997; Fraser, 1995; Vanderbeck, 2005), rather than to protect the child from interfamilial distress or an experience of abuse or neglect per se (Okely 1997).

Before moving on to explore this allegation further, it is important to note that people who are frequently homogenised under the terms 'Gypsy', 'Roma' or 'Traveller' actually constitute a rich and diverse group of communities who each go under different names, and often distinguish themselves sharply from one another. Although a fuller exploration of these differences might be useful, any additional detail is beyond the scope of this paper. For readers new to this debate, the book 'Romani culture and Gypsy identity' (Acton and Mundy, 1997) is recommended as an accessible foundation from which to better understand the diversity that exists within a much broader context.

Despite the important differences that exist between these diverse groups of people, all seem to share common experiences, of racism, discrimination, poverty, social injustice (Lane, Spencer and Jones, 2014) including the systematic removal of children into public care (Okely, 1997). Evidence to support the latter allegation has been reported from Czechoslovakia (Guy, 1975); Italy (Mayall, 1995); Austria, France, and Germany (Liegeois, 1986); Norway and Switzerland (Kenrick, 1994); the Republic of Ireland (O'Higgins, 1993); England (Cemlyn and Briskman, 2002); Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia (European Roma Rights Centre, (ERRC) 2011) Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland and Sweden (Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman, 2015). However, substantiating these allegations with empirical data is problematic because, with the exception of government census data in a small number of these countries, minimal informationis available to inform an understanding of the actual number of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller

children living in the public care system. The primary reason cited for this shortage of data is reflected, in part, in the various constitutional privileges which prohibit the disaggregation of ethnicity within a general population (Liga Lidskych Prav, 2010; Waldron, 2012). Taking into consideration historical acts of persecution, ethnic categories are not usually monitored din Europe because of the way that this information has been used in the past to justify hate speech and various projects of ethnic cleansing and social control. Whilst the avoidance of ethnic compartmentalisation might be intended to reduce the opportunities for discrimination, such refrainmental so means that the allegation that the public care system is being used to eradicate the existence and culture of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children could bedifficult prove beyond reasonable doubt (Farkas, 2004).

Within England, however, the Office of National Statistics (ONS) does monitor data on ethnicity. In 2014 they reported that there were 210 'Gypsy/Roma' children and 70 'Travellers of Irish Heritage' children living in the public care system (ONS, 2014a). Although these numbers are relatively small, the data released by the ONS confirmsignificant disproportionality. The figures show, for instance, that the number of 'Travellers of Irish Heritage' has gone up by 250 per cent, and the number of 'Gypsy/ Roma' children has gone up by 425 per cent since 2009. Compared to an increase of just 8 per cent for entire public care population, the numbers presented by the ONS suggest that Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are more likely to be taken into public care than any other child living in England. This of course may not be the case, and until more rigorous statistical evidence is available to indicate the reasons why these children enter into the public care system, this concern may not be verified.

Elsewhere in Europe, data shows that in 2014, 186 'Traveller' children were living in public care in Northern Ireland. Against, whilst an apparently small number, that survey confirms that 'Traveller' children represent the numerically largest ethnic minority group living in public care (ONS, 2014b). Further evidence is also available from independent field research carried out in Bulgaria, Greece, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Sweden (Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman, 2015; ERRC, 2011) each showing that Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are disproportionality over-represented in the in public care system.

In brief summary, the available literature indicates that Gypsies, Roma and Travellers are being taken away from their families and communities at a disproportionate rate. However, the evidence which could be used to explain this disproportionality remains largely anecdotal. This includes the concerns already cited. In order to consider the claim presented at the outset in further detail, it is also important to try to understand where these children live once they enter the public care system. This must include any reported evidence to indicate that cultural continuity is being provided and that opportunities to maintain biological links to families and wider kinship networks are being achieved.

Looking after Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children

While the legal frameworks are slightly different in each EU Member State, they all allow for children to enter the public care system directly from home, and require government departments,or nominated organisations, to provide appropriate support for children according to their circumstances. This also includes the duty to ensure that the care being provided enables the child to experiencecultural continuity (Barn, 2012). Although good work is being reported to empower Gypsies, Roma and Travellers to become foster carers in the Republic of Ireland through the Shared Rearing Service (O'Higgins (1993) and elsewhere

tain their own sense of identity and separateness from one another is not represented in this government policy.

(see Schmidt and Baily, 2014; National Federation of Gypsy Liaison Groups, 2014), this progress is slow and infrequent. For all the good intentions of the various child care directives, it is reported that the duty to establish and maintain cultural continuity rarely extends to include Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children (Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman, 2015). For example, rather being provided foster placements with suitable Gypsy, Roma and Traveller carers, these children are often sent to live in transcultural placements, with carers who are not Gypsies, Roma or Travellers. At worst, these children living in some EU Member States can also be 'sentenced to a life in institutionalised care' because there are no suitable Roma cares, and potentialnon-Roma carers refuse to care for Roma children (ERRC, 2011:66).

Whilst transcultural foster placements can lead to better outcomes for some (see Brown et al., 2010), research carried with Black and Asian children (Barn, 2010; 2012; Mylène and Ghayda, 2015) highlights how an experience of loneliness and isolation, including a sense of not belonging, can become a defining feature of a child's journey through the care system. As a direct result of cultural isolation, O'Higgins (1993: 178) has shown Irish Traveller children living in transcultural placements in the Republic of Irelandhad experienced acculturative distressand difficult transitions into adulthood:

'Traveller children growing up in care develop the settled values. Their only contact with Travellers is with their own parents who are frequently angry and powerless at the dominant culture, which has taken their children. Under these circumstances, a positive experience of a Traveller family life is frequently lost to these children. When they attempt to establish an independent life, they have been prepared for the settled way of life and have little positive sense of themselves as Travellers, but find themselves ostracised by the settled community and treated as Travellers and outsiders. This 'limbo' existence easily leads to 'isolation, alienation and a drift into a culture of alcohol, drugs, and offending'.

Reflecting on these findings in a later study, Pemberton (1999) points out that the 'limbo' existence being referred to by O'Higginsprovesthat Irish Traveller children are unable to manage the experience ofliving in, or leaving care easily. She reports, for instance, that of the fifty-six Irish Traveller children who left care in the Republic of Ireland between 1981 and 1988, less than ten appeared to have managed the transition from state care to independent living with any degree of success. 'Thirty-five', she reports *'had spent time in jail, for offences often involving serious alcohol abuse, violence to others and robbery'* (Ibid: 179).

Similar findings have been presentedmore recently by Kelleher et al., (2000) and the ERRC (2011). Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman (2015) also show that various public care services in Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden and the UK, are all failing to validate or demonstrate genuine positive regard for the specificcultural needs of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children. These concerns are also comparable to the reported experience of Black, Asian and minority children who can also experience acculturative distress as they attempt to make sense of transcultural care settings (Mylèneand Ghayda, 2015). Consideredconjointly, all of this research suggests that that unless cultural continuity is maintained, the risk of cultural assimilation, or worse, the risk of complete 'ethnic cleansing' (Hawesand Perez, 1996), may be unavoidable.

This brief discussion has indicated that institutionalised care and transcultural placements can cause acculturative distress for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children as a direct result of cultural isolation. However, there still remain some basic conceptual problems with theconcerns that the public care system is being systematically misused to 'eradicate Gypsy existence and culture'. Whilst discriminatory perceptions have been reported to justify the removal of

Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children from their kinship networks and communities (Vanderbeck, 2005), it is also clear that for the most partthe experiences of people who have lived in care as children themselves has not been studied in equal depth.

The research

The following sections of this paper summarise the findings of a larger higher degree research study that was conducted between 2008 and 2012. It utilised interpretive phenomenological analysis (Smith et al., 2009) to uncover the lived experiences of Gypsies, Roma and Travellers who had resided in the public care system as children. In order to advance some understanding of the lived experiences of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people, the author of the current paper established the basis for a systematic inquiry. Following ethical approval, the author wrote a letter to 433 local government authorities in the UK as part of a systematic purposeful sampling procedure. The letter requested permission to interview the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children who might be living in the care system within their jurisdiction. In response to that initial letter, 3 authorities replied to say that there were no Gypsies, Roma or Travellers living in care in their area. No response was received by the other 430 agencies.

Although there may be a number of reasons to explain the strikingly low response rate, the author decided that the initial approach was ineffective, so implemented a snowball sample instead. This later decision enabledpeople to become involved in the study via independent referral from various independent and Charity based Gypsy, Roma and Traveller organisations. Whilst this sampling method did not seek to include Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children for ethical reasons, it did include adults who had lived in care as children. As the snowball sample was widely focused, the study was not geographically based or limited to a prescribed location. Nor was it restricted to a specific Gypsy, Roma or Traveller group.

Between 2008 and 2011, the snowball sample identified 19 people who had lived in the public care system in the UK and theRepublic of Ireland. However, after an initial discussion about the aim of the project with the author, 9 people explained that they did not want to participate in the research as it might make them remember parts of their life that they preferred to forget. Basic information on the 10 people who did take part in the study is presented in Table 1.

Interviews were conducted in English at a location of the interviewee's choice. To enable full participation, and in direct response to the requests of each person who took part, the study's data collection methods included semi-structured face-to-face and telephone interviews, blogs, reflective letters, poems, and song lyrics all informed and guided by the same research schedule. The research strategy applied the same methods and research questions in the UK and the Republic of Ireland.

Table 1 Information regarding the people who took part in the study

Pseudonym name	Length of time in care	Age	Accommodation before care	Placement Type	Ethnicity	Geographical location of placement	Approximate dates of care experience
Mary	17 years	40-50	Trailer Roadside	Residential Home	Irish Traveller	Republic of Ireland	1970s – 1980s
Helen	8 months	30-40	Trailer Campsite	Residential Home	English Gypsy	Scotland	1980s
Ruth	5 years	20-30	Trailer Roadside	Foster Care	Irish Traveller	England	1990s
Josephine	Adopted as a baby	30-40	Trailer Campsite	Adoption	Showman	Hong Kong but moved back to England at the age of 18	1980s
Peter	11 years	18-20	Trailer Campsite	Residential Home	Irish Traveller	England	1990s - 2000s
Michael	3 years, then adopted by Traveller carers	20-30	Trailer Roadside	Foster care	Irish Traveller	England in foster care then Adopted in Ireland	1990s
Laura	4 years	30-40	Trailer Campsite	Foster Care and Residential Home	Irish Traveller	England	1980s
Lisa	15 years	20-30	Trailer Campsite	Foster Care with Traveller carers	Irish Traveller	Republic of Ireland	1990s - 2000s
Emma	16 years	18-20	Trailer Campsite	Foster Care with Traveller carers	Irish Traveller	Republic of Ireland	1990s - 2000s
Sarah	13 Years	18-20	Trailer Campsite	Foster Care with Traveller carers	Irish Traveller	Republic of Ireland	1990s - 2000s

Findings

The testimonials provided by the 10 people who took part in the study revealed that Gypsy and Traveller children can often enter into care as a direct result of domestic abuse, substance misuse, neglect or concerns regarding parental capacity. Whilst seven people described social care intervention as representing a welcomed form of protection against these experiences, it is crucial to understand that the lack of sensitivity afforded to their cultural identity whilst in care, resulted in further rejection and cultural displacement. Reflecting on these experiences as adults, each person who was sent to live in a transcultural placement explained that although their pre-foster care experiences were traumatic and gruelling, their journey through care was far worse.

In order to support the brief summary of the experiences that were described in the original higher degree study, reference will be made to 'A Dynamic Model of a Gypsy and Traveller Child's Journey through Care'. This model has been designed specifically to represent the six key stages that the 10 people who took part in the study described as they made sense of their journey through care. Sharing some conceptual similarity with the Berry's (1999) model of acculturation, it uniquely shows that the key difference between cultural assimilation and cultural consistency for these 10 people was located in their experiential and interpretative encounters within the transcultural placement.
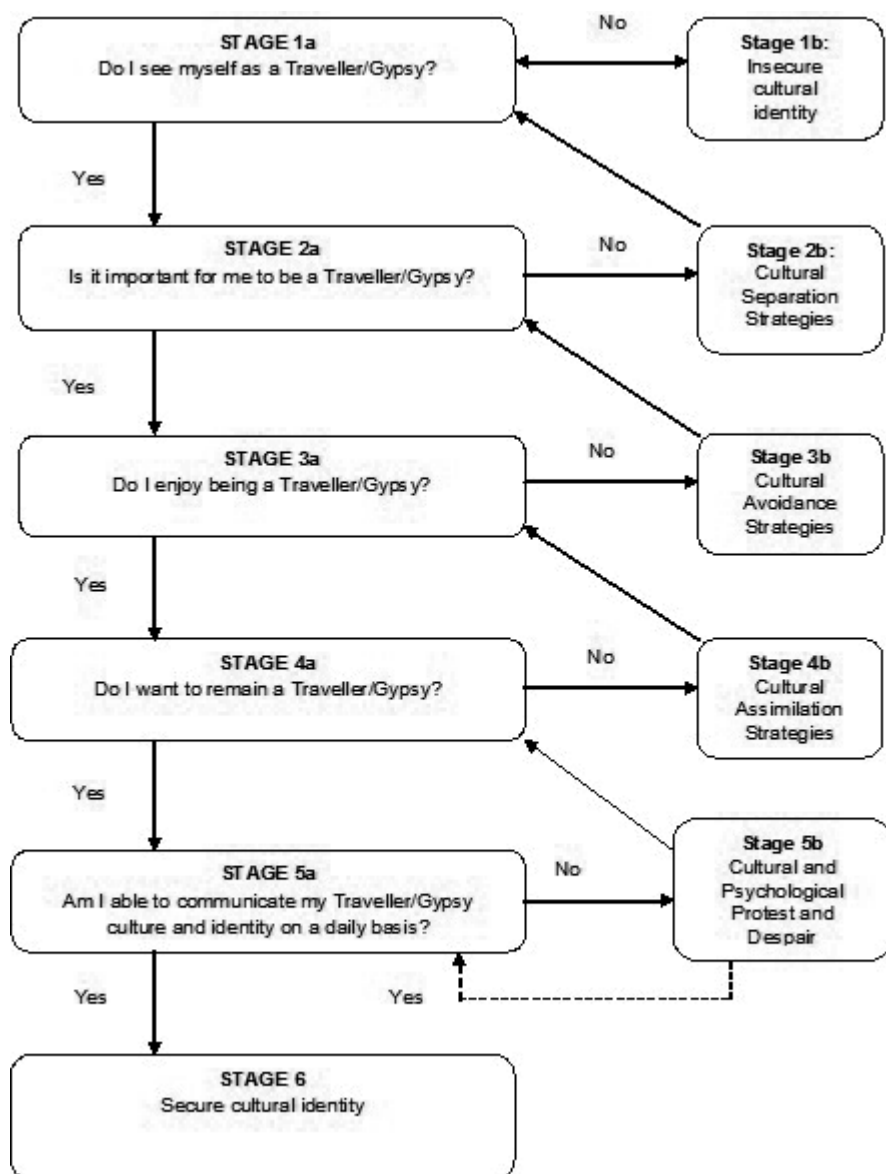

Figure a: A dynamic model of a child's journey through care

Where cultural assimilation was described, the model symbolises the cyclical struggle that people encountered as they attempted to maintain some sense of cultural identity. It is important to note that those people who recalled the contrasting experience of kinship care in the Republic of Ireland recalled the same six stages, but because their cultural identity was maintained by their Traveller carers, they were able to move more quickly through the six stages that those living in transcultural placements found themselves caught up in.

Seeing the self as a Traveller or Gypsy

Justifying the inclusion of stage 1 of the model, each person explained how their early childhood experiences of being a 'Gypsy' or a 'Traveller' had reinforced their cultural identity, and created an indelible imprint which cemented an understanding of how their cultural identity was unique. Each remembered how they were taught to be separate from, and suspicious of, wider non-Gypsy or Traveller influences:

"Growing up we soon learnt that Giorgio people hated us. They hated us and they hated our culture." (Laura)

Reflecting on these lessons, each person remembered that when they were removed from their families and placed in a transcultural setting, their sense of identity became acute. Instead of feeling safe, each person described the experience of being in a hostile environment which they felt encouraged the need to conceal their Gypsy or Traveller cultural identity so that, as shown in stage 2b, any cultural difference did not make them targets of racism:

"The kids at my new school picked on me because of my [Irish Traveller] *accent. I told my foster family, but they didn't care, so I thought, oh well, I won't speak with an accent anymore that way no one will know I am a Traveller. I wanted to make the Traveller me invisible."* (Ruth)

The sense of cultural isolation brought about through cultural dislocation led each person to question those principles which composed their cultural identity whilst engendering a great deal of social and emotional confusion. As a result of these complex dilemmas, each person reported the cultural deprivation and social uncertainty that they encountered as they attempted to search for an object of cultural familiarity that could inspire an investment in permanence. For each person placed in institutionalised care or transcultural settings this object of familiarity did not always exist:

"You weren't allowed any contact with your parents, your family or phone calls or anything. It was hell." (Helen)

Whilst the experience of cultural separation and loss being described may be typical for those children living in transcultural and transracial more generally (Mylène and Ghayda, 2015), it is important to point out that the object which the Gypsies and Travellers who took part in this study were searching for was not. Whilst some children living in care are able to recognise, with some level of familiarity, their own cultural identity (even if this is the more general act of living in a house), Gypsy and Traveller children, particularly those used to living on sites, encampment, or even close knit communities, remain in a space and place characterised by confusion linked to a complete sense of cultural displacement:

"I got back [from school] *to the foster house and watched telly. I remember having chewing gum in my hair from the girls at lunchtime, I saw Kylie Minogue on the telly, and I decided that I was going to be like her. I suppose I just wanted to feel normal and I went upstairs* [and] *cut my hair....* (Laughing) *fuckin idiot aren't I. Anyways, it didn't work and [the girls at school] called me all the more. I had made a right job of my hair all sticking up all over the place, but from that day, I decided that I am who I am and that's the way it is. A Traveller through and through* (laughing) *I found out that I fight good as well. Me Da would have been proud."* (Laura)

As Laura explains, transcultural placements compounded the pressure to become culturally assimilated. The effect of this

perceived social pressure became manifest in a behavioural strategy which inspired a need to seek proximity and a feeling of acceptance within the new social context (stages 2b, 3b, and 4b). Yet over time, as Laura articulates, she, like other people who took part in the study, began to feel guilty for abandoning her culture. In order to overcome the feeling of guilt, each person described an obligation to maintain their Gypsy or Traveller identity in any way they could (stages 2, 3 and 4):

"I was a bold [naughty] child. I didn't like them [potential foster carers], I was bold. I wouldn't do as they told me. I had no interest in what they wanted me to do. There were times when I could have [left the institution and] gone to live with a foster family. I met with a lot of families. I remember one family that I could have lived with buying me a large dolls house. All the other children were jealous of me because they said the doll's house was so beautiful and the carers told me that was very lucky to have such a wonderful foster family, but I smashed [the doll's house] up. I smashed it up and no one could understand why. But I know why. I never wanted to live in a house; I never wanted a dolls house, I never wanted to be settled, I never wanted to be like them, the idea of that was alien to me. They were trying to take away my Traveller identity. But they weren't able to. They weren't able to." (Mary)

Summarising the experiences of each person who experienced the threat of cultural assimilation, Mary described how her ideological commitment to a Gypsy or Traveller identity reduced her preparedness to accept cultural change, and increased her resilience to undermine the conventions associated with the new in care experience. For eight other people, the determination to remain a Gypsy or Traveller justified the inclusion of stage 5 in the model. However, because people wanted to communicate their culture on a day to day basis but were unable to, the acculturative distress that this experience caused (stage 5b) became manifest in what they described as aggressive behaviour:

"I didn't do anything that the carers wanted

me to do. I feel bad about it now because I used to give them real trouble. I think that I must have been restrained every day. But I thought that if I did what they said, I would become like them." (Peter)

For three others, self-harm, emotional and social isolation became the common coping mechanism:

"When it all got too much and I started to cut myself and I refused to speak, no one helped me… They didn't know the pain I felt in my heart from not knowing who I was, from being, from being (sobbing) from being treated like animals, worse than animals. No one cared about me as a Traveller." (Mary)

In each example, each person explained that their attempt to maintain and communicate a Gypsy or Traveller identity (stage 5) was labelled with broader racist stereotypes. Instead of responding to this behaviour with empathy, each recalled how their carers attempted to achieve control and enforced cultural assimilation in more extreme and abusive ways. In spite of the challenges presented, people explained that the ability to survive in care whilst experiencing cultural severance, abuse, neglect and displacement was only the beginning of a much longer personal fight to maintain a secure Gypsy and Traveller cultural identity.

The impact of rejection

Despite individual attempts to demonstrate resilience against the threat of cultural assimilation, the six people who took part in the study explained that when they were old enough to leave care, and reintegrate into their Gypsy or Traveller community, they were often marginalised by their own kinship networks as a direct result of living with non-Gypsy/Traveller carers. As they had grown up in care away from their culture and community they were seen to be contaminated by non-Gypsy/Traveller influences. For this reason, some explained that they were unable to marry, and were instead positioned as outsiders to the rest of the community.

"When I left care, I tried to get back in with my family. My Uncle and Aunty took me on

and let me live in their Trailer for a while. When we went to fairs and that, all the boys would all look down at me and call me dirty. They knew that I had been in care and they all thought that I was like a Gorgio girl. That I had been having sex, that I had been to nightclubs and that I had taken drugs. You see, the Gorgio people look at us and see what they think are Gypsies. The same way the Gypsy boys looked at me and saw a Gorgio girl. Because what they have seen on the television, and that, they think that I am dirty, and because of this, no man in his right mind would marry me. If someone did, they would be outcast." (Ruth)

In contrast to Ruth's testimony, four other women explained that were able to conceal the fact that they lived in care as children, so as to experience some sense of community inclusion (stage 5). However they also reported that the need to hide the truth about their childhood has been a significant factor in their ability to enjoy and experience positive emotional well-being (stage 5b). Despite surviving a journey through care that was enabled by a firm commitment to an internal ideology of what a Gypsy or Traveller woman should be (stages 1, 2, 3 and 4), they remain as adults alienated and shamed by their own communities because of stereotypical assumptions about the type of people they became whilst living in the public care system. Due to cultural gender expectations, each woman felt that they have never been fully supported to overcome the feelings of complete cultural abandonment and isolation, or the childhood sense of loss and confusion which continues to haunt them to this day:

"In my soul there is a hole that nothing can quite fill.
I've searched across the miles, for me time has stood still.
I'm still that convoy member, Travellers across the land.
We have morals and we're Christian, our loyal moral band.
We believe in freedom, in love and light and hope.

Even though I keep searching, I cannot sit and mope.
I have these precious memories and future happy dreams.
So, one day I hope to find my kin, and then my life begins!" (Josephine)

As this poem shows, feelings of cultural rejection can be particularly evident during adulthood. Here the risk for care leavers is that they grow up to feel that they are not a part of any community because they lack all sense of cultural connection. Interestingly, this poem was shared by a woman who described herself as a 'Showmen', an occupational group of people who are not currently recognised as a specific ethnic minority group. However, as Josephine shows, her sense of identity as a 'Showmen' far outweighs any legal definition which might be used to validate her own sense of self and culture. Further justifying the inclusion of stage 5b in 'A dynamic model of a child's journey through care, this poem shows that where a person's felt identity is not nurtured, a cyclical pattern of social and psychological protest and despair can be encountered. As the identity and culture of Gypsy and Traveller children living in public care can be neglected, this poem shows how they can be left searching for a sense of belonging well into adulthood. When this driving need or sense of belonging is not fulfilled, Gypsy and Traveller care leavers can be at risk developing an insecure cultural identity which locates them outside of both the dominant society and the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community. Ultimately this sense of loss leaves people feeling alienated and unwanted by the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community, thus potentially eradicating their culture (stage 1b) in the same way that Liegeois (1986), McVeigh (1997), Fraser (1995) and Vanderbeck (2005) describe.

A secure cultural identity

Set against the themes that have been described, four people who took part in the project were able to describe positive experiences of living in the public care

system. Without exception, theopportunities to move through the six stages of the model were enabled by the experience of being placed with kinship carers within the Gypsy and Traveller community. The extract taken from a group interview with three sisters below shows that the experience of being fostered within the Gypsy and Traveller community can significantly reduce the prejudices and stereotypes that can be associated with children who lived in care more generally.

"The best thing was that we were sent to live with Traveller carers. I was not worried about making an idiot of myself and because they were Traveller carers we could talk to them and do whatever… (Lisa) *Yeah like we didn't have to act different like. We were who we were. Going to a settled* [non-Traveller] *carer would be hard because they knew nothing about our culture so we would have to tell them about it and they didn't always understand…* (Sarah) *Yeah, it was like they could look after us properly and we could be who we were. That's good in one sense because they can help you. Settled carers make sure that you're healthy and that fed and the like, but Traveller carers look after the way you feel…"* (Emma)

The sense of cultural continuity described here was clearly able to strengthen and nurture a resilient attitude to the experiences of separation and loss which came as a result of being taken into public care. Each person who lived in a kinship placement made constant reference to their cultural identity with a level of clarity, consistency, stability, and confidence in their own sense of being (stage 6). As each described their secure cultural identity, they were also seen to have more consistent self-beliefs, and were less likely to portray a change in their self-descriptions over time. In contrast to the tensions faced by Travellers and Gypsies living in transcultural settings, the association between a secure cultural identity and self-esteem always derived a positive attitude toward the self. Here the act of placing Gypsy and Traveller children with Gypsy and

Traveller foster carers was described by each person as enabling the transition into and out of care to be much safer and much more successful.

Discussion

Asummary of the experiences of Gypsies and Travellers who lived in care as children has enabled this paper to reveal how the experience of transcultural care can have long lasting and harmful implications. In addition to the challenges that many minority ethnic children living in the public care system can face (Barn, 2012; 2012), this study has shown that Gypsies and Travellers can experience direct forms of discrimination in placements which donot respect, recognise or support their culture and identity. It also began to problematise the concern regarding state sanctioned assimilation (Liegeois, 1986; McVeigh, 1997; Fraser, 1995; Vanderbeck, 2005) by showing that some people recalleda sense of relief as they were taken into careand only began to resent this action when they encountered hardships associated with acculturative distress.

Reflecting on the testimonies provided, this paper has shown that Gypsies and Travellers living in care are able to demonstrate resilience against certain acculturative pressures including the pressure to assimilate. However, people who lived in transcultural placements as children can experience further cultural isolationand rejection as they stand accused by their own communities of being contaminated by non-Gypsy or Traveller influences,despite taking every possible step to avoid this.

It is in regard to these findings that the ethnographic research by Okley (1983), which incorporated the structuralist notion of cultural identity, developed by Levi-Strauss (1966; 1970) and Douglas (1966), resounds. Okley's (1983) suggestion that a Gypsy, Roma and Traveller cultural identity must be kept separate from, and uncontaminated by, the symbolic representation of non-Gypsy/ Traveller influences, is crucial in the augment against the use of transcultural placements. As

explained by those who attempted to maintain a sense of symbolic separation between cultures and ethnic values as children, being a Gypsy or Traveller on a biological basis was not always enough to ensure continued cultural inclusion within Gypsy or Traveller communities. For this reason it is now clear that whether government departments intended to 'eradicate Gypsy existence and culture' or not, the use of transcultural placement can certainly increase the risk of acculturative distress and social alienation in adulthood.

Limitations

Before moving on to consider what implications these findings have in practice, it is first important to recognise that the testimonies presented in this paper represent historical experiences of the public care system. They reflect the experiences of people who lived within in the care system between the 1970s and 2000s; they do not include the views of those living in the care system more recently. Whilst significant changes have been made to the foster care system in the last few decades, it is also important to understand that the experiences being described here are consistent with more current concerns (Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman, 2015; Schmidt and Baily, 2014). Therefore to suggest that the testimonies included in this study are not representative of contemporary practices, serves only to place over optimistic faith in the structure and organisational context of modern public care services which continues to fail the majority of children who live within it (Christiansen et al., 2013).

It is also important to recognise here that the study was not able to ascertain the views of Roma people. Despite being included in the original sampling strategy, no Roma came forward between 2008 and 2013 to register their interest in participation. However, by triangulating the findings presented here with research published by Brunnberg and Visser-Schuurman (2015) Eurochild (2010); ERRC (2011); Mulheir & Browne (2007);

Schmidt and Baily, (2014) and UNICEF (2012), it could be argued that the key themes are transferable to this group of children. As there is minimal guidance for foster carers and social care workers working to support Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children, the recommendations presented below will reflect the testimonies provided by those people who lived in the public care system as children and will be written to include Roma children wherever possible.

Recommendations

The findings presented in this study suggest that the most obvious way to reduce the cultural isolation and distress experienced by Gypsy, Roma and Traveller living in the care system is to place them with appropriate kinship carers in their own communities. For this recommendation to be realised, social care agencies must acknowledge oppression and take proactive steps to meaningfully engage with Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities, both collectively and individually. Here, fostering and adoption services should also consider specific efforts to recruit foster carers and adopters from Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities, either through consortium working or individually (if they have sufficient demand or reason to justify this). However, even though this recommendation reflects an ideology for best practice, it is clear that this proposal, including the wider development of projects like the Shared Rearing Service in the Republic of Ireland (O'Higgins 1993), is not going to be developed by government organisations in the foreseeable future. Whilst domestic populism continues to portray Gypsy, Roma and Traveller cultures as the primary objects of concern throughout Europe (Steward, 2012), the disproportionate representation of these children and the continued use of transcultural placements may be inevitable.

Arguably, the more realistic opportunity for service improvement is for independent fostering providers and voluntary adoption agencies to consider the feasibility of setting

up specialist services to recruit assess and approve foster carers and adopters from the Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities. The problem with this recommendation is that any service of this type is likely to take time to develop and will only be able to operate in limited jurisdictions. In order to respond to the specific needs of these children in the immediacy, therefore, it is essential that social workers, foster carers and all others actively involved in the day to day care of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children are able to value the importance of anti-discriminatory practice and cultural competence.

Consistent with the advice of Jackson and Samuels (2011), the culturally competent approach to the support of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children must be affirmed as a minimum requirement for any effective care planning. This must involve direct involvement in the milieu of the birth culture. To reverse the effects of cultural isolation, emotional abuse and neglect, this requires further development and refinement of that understanding, including opportunities for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children living in care to experience pride in their own cultural identity. When these things are not provided, the allegations listed at the outset of this paper could be substantiated within the pretext that the public care system can produce the conditions needed to achieve cultural assimilation on an individual basis. Culturally competent care planning for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children must be about aiming to maximise cultural continuity. This means that, wherever possible, kinship networks, schools and friendships should be maintained, as should contact with family members and the child's wider community where this is appropriate. Not only is this essential in terms of reducing the risks associated with long-term emotional distress, it also reflects the need to ensure that children understand that although they cannot live with their birth family, this does not imply a criticism of the wider Gypsy, Roma and Traveller community of which they are a part:

"You have to accept who people are and where they come from. You can't try and change people it is wrong." (Ruth)

This brief testimony shows why it is also important to ensure that transcultural carers are able to reverse the effects of acculturation by learning about the child's culture. Any failure to respect the child's culture and kinship networks will have an adverse impact on their global development. As shown in this study, if the increasing numbers of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children living in care do not feel that they belong within their transcultural placement, they will most likely reject it, and the carers who are looking after them.

Culturally competent practice should also aim to ensure that children develop the skills required to function across and within both the transcultural setting and the Gypsy, Roma or Traveller community:

"When I was around other Travellers. I knew I was different. I had the smell of the institution on me. I was losing my accent. I wasn't allowed to wear Traveller clothes anymore and that I was losing my Traveller culture and identity... You didn't understand when you went home. You didn't know your family. You had to relearn the Traveller culture. I was bringing home certain settled values and then was making a fool of myself in front of my family." (Mary)

As shown here, the need to prepare people for transition out of public care is essential. Gypsy and Traveller women in particular will be required to cope with and overcome the rather unique social challenges associated with the fact that they were brought up by non-Gypsy/Traveller carers. This preparation is essential if child wishes to integrate more independently into their own community as an adult.

At all times it is important that multicultural planning is embedded in the praxis of culturally competent care and not carried out in a way which could be construed as tokenistic. Incorporating the advice given by the Ross-Ryaner (2008) there are clearly several techniques which can be employed by foster cares and social care workers

when working to promote a positive Gypsy, Roma and Traveller identity. Some of these techniques are included in Table 2.

• Interacting and participating with Gypsy, Roma and Traveller culture, community events such as horse shows and sales, storytelling events, films, and plays that are written by, and include Gypsy, Roma and Traveller talents
• Providing a talking day, or evening, which enables the child to talk about their own families, cultures, lived experiences, hopes dreams and aspirations
• Promoting positive Gypsy, Roma and Traveller role models such as sports people, artists, actors, community leaders. Finding out who they are and showing a keen interest in them
• Showing pictures and articles that reflect a positive view of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller and discussing these with the children
• Maintaining a life story book which includes family photos, records of achievement, holiday memorabilia, letters and any other items which could be used to provide the child with a recordable memory of their life
• Putting up posters of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller of art around the house
• Accessing Gypsy, Roma and Traveller learning materials, including storybooks and websites
• Listening to Gypsy, Roma and Traveller music
• Watching documentaries about Gypsy, Roma and Traveller cultures and talking to the child about the accuracy of them
• Encouraging schools to commemorate the International Holocaust Remembrance Day and other important events
• Liaising with community representatives to organise opportunities to visit community members to learn about Gypsy, Roma and Traveller cultures
• Facilitate Gypsy, Roma and Traveller art and craft projects such as making paper flowers, flags, music and jewellery.

Table 2: Advice for foster carers and social workers planning multicultural care plans and placements

The techniques needed to promote a positive Gypsy, Roma and Traveller identity will be of most value where they take place in an environment where carers help the child make their own meanings about their heritage, and are sensitive about not 'imposing' a culture onto a child. A culturally competent carer should be able to reflect with the child about the main differences between a Gypsy, Roma and Traveller and majority community culture, and about what this means to the child in their care.

The final recommendations to be advanced here is for the commissioning of further research which can examine the social care needs of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children and families, and the public care experiences

of this group of children using a much wider methodology. This research should also provide government organisations with solid evidence to enable them to develop a specific local policy, setting out how they will meet the needs of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children and families in their area.

In order to establish a fuller understanding of the over-representation of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children living in public care in Europe, EU Member States must begin to disaggregate the ethnicity of children living in public care. Unless this is achieved, any knowledge of the number of kinship carers who might be needed to look after Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children will be lost to the homogenisation of diversity. The

clear caveat, here,reflects the continued oppression of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people throughout Europe (Stewart, 2012) and their reported reluctance to engage in state sponsored censuses (Traveller Movement, 2013). It is essential, therefore, that any disaggregation of ethnicity ensures a high level of transparency. In all cases, Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people must be assured by government and non-government organisations that this data is only being sought to improve their situation, rather than to disadvantage them or oppress them in any way.

Conclusion

The testaments included in this paper hold out the hope for a developed understanding of some of the unique challenges that Gypsy and Traveller children living in the public care system can face. Most crucially, this paper has shown that whilst social care intervention can be described as a welcomed form of protection against the experiences of abuse and neglect, culturally incompetent practices and insensitive care planning decisions can amplify feelings of rejection and acculturative distress. By highlighting the experiences of those people who were raised in transcultural placements as children, this paper has been able to show, therefore, that whilst the pre-care experiences of some people was traumatic or gruelling, the subsequent journey through the public care system was far worse.

While this paper has suggested that effective care planning for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children might only be achieved through kinship care arrangements, it has also indicated that where this is not possible, there remains an urgent need for professionals to spend time with the child to listen and talk to them, as any reasonable parent should. In all cases, this requires a shift in emphasis which sees Gypsies, Roma and Travellers less as objects of concern, and more as culturally proud and resilient children, who might be

losing their identity, their sense of cultural pride, their customs, and their distinct way of life. As shown by research contained in this paper, paying (more) respectful attention to the heritage and lived experience of these children in the future is one important way to reduce the devastating impact of unwitting decisions that could eradicate Gypsy existence and culture.

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TODAY'S CHILDREN ARE TOMORROW'S PARENTS INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

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