CJD Eutin, IPRS, CCRIT, ECPEC, OKI, Universität

**The European
Commission**

Community Force

Community Force

Social Inclusion and Ethnic Networks
in Four European Countries

Final Report

Coordinator of the project:

CJD Eutin
Annelies Wiesner
Albert-Mahlstedt-Straße 20
23701 Eutin, Germany
Phone: +49 4521 706960
E-mail: anne.wiesner@cjd-eutin.de

Project partners:

Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research (IPRS)
Dr. Raffaele Bracalenti
Passeggiata di Ripetta, 11
00186 Roma, Italy
Phone: +39 06 3265 2401
E-mail: iprs@iprs.it

Universität Dortmund
Dr. Barbara Hinding
Fakultät 14
Institut für Psychologie
Emil-Figge-Straße 50
44227 Dortmund
Phone: ++49-(0)231-755-6503
E-mail: hinding@orgapsy.uni-dortmund.de

CCRIT
Research Center on Inter-ethnic Relations
Dr. Istvan Horvath
B-dul. 21 Decembrie 1989 nr. 128
Cluj-Napoca 400604
Romania
Phone: +40 264 597860
E-mail: office@ccrit.ro

Ec-Pec Alapitvany
Dr. Attila Papp
Rakoczi ut 22
1072 Budapest
Hungary
Phone: +36 1486 2850
E-mail: ecpec@ecpec.hu

Responsible project coordinator: Annelies Wiesner, CJD

Authors:
Raffaele Bracalenti , Tim Hagemann, Barbara Hinding, Istvan Horvath, Alessia Mefalopulos, Eckart Müller-Bachmann, Szilvia Nemeth, Attila Papp, Catia-Isabel Santonico Ferrer, Stefania Toma

The sole responsibility for the content of these report lies with the authors. The European Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.

Content

PART I: Community Force – Introduction and National Reports

i) Introduction

Today Europe is characterised by migration flows, partly as a result of wars and famine, partly due to a shortage of work. Most immigrants have become integrated completely over the years, with only history books or surnames giving away their origin.
However, migration entails varied challenges and difficulties for immigrants as well as for the people of the host country. After the Second World War the population of foreigners has grown steadily. In Western Germany, for example, the number of foreign workers enlisted since 1955 has been boosted by the generous offers made to emigrants and by the increasing number of asylum-seekers. In 1960 approximately 2% of the population were of foreign nationality; today the figure is about 10% and in some cities even up to 20%.

The applied proposition of the project **community force** focuses on the productive potential of excluded groups in host societies using this potential to prevent poverty and to overcome exclusion. In this sense the partners of the project want to define the term "community" as something more than the description of the common living together of an ethnic minority or group of immigrants; in fact many of these communities have developed social strategies and ways of organising themselves to support each other and protect their interests beyond local, regional and even national borders. To summarize this in the following report we call these informal structures and units of organisation created by members of a community to support each other "social networks". They exist independently of the social services of the society in which they live. The social networks of the separate communities have devised different approaches and structures for dealing with their situation. These approaches depend on the socio-political structure of the host society, on the way the host society excludes them and on their own interests.

1. Aims and work program
The major aims of this project are to analyse the strengths and qualities of the selected communities within the participating countries with special regard to their social networks. Avoidance of and falling into poverty and social exclusion are the two main factors that we focus on.
At the initial transnational meeting in Eutin, which took place from the 28.10 to the 30.10 last year, the following procedures were agreed on:

- Each transnational partner will select a community.
- They will describe the community (desktop research), selected aspects of which should be described in detail and discussed with representatives.
- They will analyse the communities focussing on their social network characteristics.

The analysis should outline the history of the community - i.e. origins and changes of network structures and self-organisation - emphasising poverty, social exclusion and economic situations. Furthermore factors and strategies should be identified that support (or have supported) avoiding and falling into poverty and social exclusion.
Basic parameters of the host countries and countries of origin, as well as national and cultural particularities, related to the ethnic communities will be taken into consideration.

The research report also provides an overview of previous research results and information on continuing factors or dimensions of poverty and exclusion with regard to the communities respectively.

All results from the first year are published in English in the study "Community Force". This will be available on the Internet for project workers from the homepages of the CJD Eutin and the University of Dortmund, the project coordinators.

This first report contains our notion of "community" and of network research as well as definitions of "social exclusion" and "poverty", the main issue of this project. These notions are followed by the national reports focusing on the situation of selected communities in terms of poverty, social exclusion and networking.

2. The concept of Community

2.1 What is the reason for using the concept of community?

There are various ways in which the set of relationships existing between the members of a group can be described. The concept of community (as well as the notion of social class or ethnic group) has a descriptive value; it captures a possible social configuration, characterized by a certain degree of stability.

The introduction will try to show how the concept of community has progressively lost its connotation of a locally bounded group to acquire a symbolic a-territorial dimension, based on members sharing symbolic values and codes (language, beliefs, norms and practices) beyond the national setting or settings. Communities do not 'need' a specific, coherent and contiguous geographic space to exist (Pries, 2002) but can transcend national borders. In some cases, achieving this a-territorial dimension has coincided with communities gaining a transnational identity (e.g., diasporas, migrant networks). More generally, it can be observed at work everywhere ethnic communities strive to maintain their own distinguishable identity by engaging in a constant dialectic with the majority's cultural and institutional establishments.

The focus on the symbolic dimension of social group development helps emphasize the fact that, on the one hand, the identities of cultural and sub-cultural groups, ethnic groups or migrant networks are always, at least in part, founded on an "elsewhere", on a set of evoked values and codes; on the other hand, social groups' distinctiveness is the outcome of dynamic socially-constructed relationships and interrelated group identities (Cohen, 2000).

Thus, the concept of ethnicity is "constructed" in contact with the host society rather than imported and identities are built "in a complex relationship of imitation and differentiation" (Kepel, 1997, S.50) where dichotomies such as majority/minority, exclusion/inclusion, acceptance/rejection play a relevant role.

The concept of community is closely connected with the notion of ethnic networks that has proved useful in linking the micro (i.e. families) and macro levels (i.e. community systems and subsystems). Networks represent a meso-level concept (Faist, 1997a) cited by Ambrosini, 2005) that helps explain how resources (economic, social, cultural, and linguistic) are exchanged among countries and geographical areas (see Kritz, Lim, Zlotnik, 1992; cited in Ambrosiani, 2005) and how the various groups relate to one another.

Tilly suggests that 'networks migrate' and that 'units of migration' are neither individuals, nor households but rather collectives 'linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience' (Tilly, 1990: 84). The migration process is more commonly seen as a continuous process of 'collective transformation involving the use of old social networks and categories to produce new ones'. Cultural practices are also collectively constructed into new hybrid cultures (Tilly, 1990: 83-84; Vasta, 2004). The representation of group *ethnicity* is deconstructed and reconstructed in order to maximize the opportunities opened in the new environment and adapt to the structural obstacles encountered in the new setting (Kwok Bun and Jin Hui, 1995; cited in Ambrosiani, 2005).

2.2 A brief history of the notion of "community"

Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, (Schleiermacher, 1799, cited by Gallino, 1983)

was the first author to insert the concept of community within the realm of social and behavioural science beyond the purely metaphysical and political theoretical spheres (whereby the community is seen as a super individual and mechanical entity). Schleiermacher defined the community as a set of relationships among individuals directed towards the satisfaction of a common goal. Re-elaborating Schleiermacher's thinking, almost a hundred years later, Tönnies (1888) referred to the community as a *Gemeinschaft*, meaning groups in which membership was sustained by some instrumental goal or definite end (e.g. the family or neighbourhood) as opposed to *Gesellschaft* often translated as society (e.g. the city and the state; Tönnies, 1988).

The rich sociological literature about the concept and theory of Community produced in the German speaking countries builds on Tönnies's parallel dichotomies of community vs. society and organic vs. rational will (that is the driving forces of human social actions). Opposing the two terms society and community, Tönnies, 1944; Kepel, 1997 states that "(…) in the community, (…) [people] remain linked despite the depth of their separation, in society, they remain separate despite the strengths of their links".

Tönnies and later Georg Simmel and Max Weber drew attention to the dynamic aspects of the coming together and interrelating of people in durable and dense configurations focusing on the 'organic' way specific groups of people live together vs. the primitive and mechanical conception of human coexistence. The term community has progressively lost its connotation of the locally bounded group (e.g. village, suburb). The reciprocal exclusiveness of the geographic and social space has been overcome in favour of the idea that in any given society, different communities, each with their own cultural distinctiveness and relative self-sufficiency, can exist and persist. The characteristics of these different groups are no longer seen as necessarily "melting" in the great pot of nations. Now societies are considered as enduringly 'multicultural' or 'multiethnic'. Nation states themselves have been interpreted as "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) founded upon a more or less coherent system of symbolic codes like culture, values, myths etc (Pries, 2002).

With the development of communications and human mobility an ever growing number of communities have been established that can be called "symbolic" or "psychological" and whose members are spatially dispersed. Theses communities are founded on the sharing of common interests, traits, values, beliefs, etc. Contrary to the biological and automatic nature of the relationships within territorial communities, distant relations are characterized by the fact that maintaining such bonds always entails a specific will and a cost, that is a more or less rational balance between incurred costs and expected benefits.

Following an ecosystem approach stemming from the human ecology of the "Chicago School", the notion of community has been progressively replaced by the concept of "human settlement" and "human ecosystem", allowing a more complex and integrated analysis of human groups within different contexts. This does not mean that the concept of community has been superceded. Any human network characterised by a certain durability in time, definable expansion in space and distinctive interlacing ties between their members can be called a community (Pries, 2002). This systemic vision allows the recognition of the interconnectedness of the social, economic and cultural spheres and the interpretation of local communities as components of nested systems, with each specific group located within a broader context. The community can be seen as a social territorial subsystem, a form of social stability inserted in a broader territorial system that "extends from the family to Mankind, crossing neighbourhoods, districts, cities, urban systems (…) Nation States and transboundary regions; each of these socio-territorial entities can be considered, depending on the scopes of analysis, as a community"

11

(Demarchi, Ellena, Catarinussi, Edizioni, 1994, S. 488).

2.3 Migrant Communities

When studying migrant communities some key questions are:

- Where does a migrant community start? Where does it end?
- What functions does a migrant community fulfil?
- What pillars support the establishment and building of a migrant community?
- What is identity based on?

When assessing migrant communities and networks it cannot be overlooked that, on the one hand, there are many different types of migrants and, on the other, the migration process follows different paths.

Various authors have attempted to systematize and describe the complexity of the migratory process. Böhning, (1984 in Ambrosiani, 2005) describes the phases of migration, which starts with single individuals (male) migrating for economic reasons, go on with family reunification and the building of stable and "normalized" communities, and end with the establishment of "ethnic institutions (…) such as associations, schools, shops, religious centres, street markets, meeting points, etc." and with the emergence of "new social actors such as entrepreneurs and civil and religious leaders"(Cited by Ambrosiani, 2005). The immigrant community is intended by the Author as a group of migrants that: 1) have more or less steadily settled in the host country; 2) are fostering new immigration processes in the search for mutual help; 3) are getting organized in the host country in order to pursue their interests and fulfil the needs of the community. Böhning's concept of normalized communities is further expanded by Bastenier & Dassetto (1990) in their theory of the migratory cycle. When new families are created and/or invited to settle in the host country, the demand for health services, housing, educational and social services increases. With the newcomers (chiefly women and minors) a growing relationship with the institutional setting is established. In addition, a different territorial distribution of the population is observed, with the immigrant communities concentrating in some specific areas. According to Bastenier & Dassetto (1990) the foreign population "stabilize" when migrants' children become teenagers, new leaders emerge, new organizations and new relationships with the hosting communities are established.

An interesting theory of migration is one developed by Castles & Miller (1993); (Ambrosiani, 2005). The Authors focus on social networks not only as pulling factors but as a set of relationships that accompany the settlement of new immigrants in the host community. The Castles and Miller model highlights the political and institutional dimensions of the settlement of migrants and the attitudes of the hosting society (exclusion/inclusion, acceptance/rejection). Castles and Miller describe the migratory process focusing on the planned duration of the migration experience and on the direction and flows of material and non-material (e.g. emotional) resources. In an early migration phase, temporary migration of young people is observed as well as relevant home orientation, therefore most of what is earned is sent home in the form of remittances. As time passes stays become more extended, social networks are developed based on kinship and origin and motivated by the need to foster mutual support in the new context. Family reunification coincides with a conscious decision to settle long-term and with a progressive orientation towards the host society; ethnic communities are developed as well as ethnic institutions (e.g. associations, shops, meeting places, professional services, etc.); finally, a permanent stay is chosen by the

migrant population that, depending on the host country public policies and on the behaviours of the native population, can lead to the acquisition of a legal status or to ethnic minorities socio-economic marginalization.

The Castles and Miller model is also at the centre of the concept of "transitional settlement" coined by Kepel (1997) in an analysis of the European population of Muslim origin. Family reunions correspond to a key phase in the settlement process, characterized by the fact that the members of the migrant population "can no longer be defined as 'workers' (for many are unemployed and they include growing numbers of children and women who are economically active) nor as 'immigrants' (for the younger generations were born in Europe)". According to Kepel the "transitional settlement" period corresponds to "various forms of redefinition of identity arising out of both the newness of settlement and the related phenomenon of social exclusion which many members of the group in question claim to suffer. (…) Often this contingent's identities (…) were (…) heavily 'reconstructed' from a synthesis of acquired and inherent elements. (…) These hybrid identities half way between settlement and exclusion (…) are not universally accepted by those to whom they are applied and are still strongly contested among them".

Kepel's analysis of Islamic identities helps by focusing on two important aspects of immigrants' self-definition - as individuals and as ethnic community: At the individual level, self-definition does not occur with a straightforward return to forms of identities held in the country of origin. Identities are "shaped by a process of selection and adaptation of a certain number of features which have proved appropriate to the organization and structuring of the groups in the host country … in a complex relationship of imitation and differentiation with European societies". At the community level, there are intense conflicts "among Muslim associations themselves, among leaders, imams, mullahs, hocas, the laity (…)" on how an heterogeneous population should be brought together to form a single community, what pillars should sustain the group's identity, and who (leader or spokesman) should guide it.

An interesting and well-known analysis of the "fluidity" of ethnic groups' identities is presented by Fredrik Barth, who is the author of a study on group identity in the Afghanistan regions. Barth highlights the degree of variation in the solidity, permeability and disappearance of social group identities and boundaries in different settings and over time". Rather than identify themselves by a large aggregation of beliefs and practices, members of Afghanistan's ethnic groups selected "only certain cultural traits" and made those the "unambiguous criteria for ascription" to the group (Barth, 1998b:119). When individuals ceased living a lifestyle that permitted them to satisfy those key attributes and where there was "an alternative identity within reach" the result was "a flow of personnel from one identity to another" (Barth, 1998b:133).

Individuals belong to various communities at the same time within a complex hierarchy of communities (e.g. the family, the neighbourhood, the Nation of residence or citizenship). Furthermore, their membership within particular groups can expand and contract over time. Yet, it is likely true that only a relatively small group of immigrants (characterized by higher levels of education and professional achievement) can effectively choose between multiple identities and have the capacity to successfully migrate from one to another. While for most members of migrant communities the concept of simplified identities might be more appropriate.

2.4 Ethnic networks as transnational communities

The concept of network builds on the notion of community. Networks represent a meso-level concept that helps describe how resources (economic, financial, cultural, etc.) are exchanged among countries and geographical areas and how the various communities connect with one another.

The theory of Thomas Faist (2000), about a transnational social space, describes migrants' networks using three categories: *"transnational kinship groups"*, *"transnational circuits"* and *"transnational communities"*. Each type is characterized by the specific mechanism connecting the various groups that are part of the network. Therefore, transnational kinship groups are founded on *"reciprocity"* based on the flow of remittance during the phase of temporary migration. Reciprocity in transnational kinship groups represents, according to Faist, a sort of "informal risk insurance" for the family residing in the country of origin. This system works until the rest of the family members have also migrated and stops if the earner returns to his/her country of origin or dies. Transnational circuits are characterized by a continuous *"exchange",* interpreted as a constant movement of people, goods and information between the host country and country of origin. To exemplify this, Faist describes the situation of the "hypermobile Chinese businessmen", who have established their business in Singapore, but reside with their family in the United States to guarantee their children a more sophisticated school education, etc. These entrepreneurs, along with their families, settle in the host country, but carry out their professional activities in other countries constantly moving between one place and another. Finally, the mechanism at work in transnational communities is *"solidarity"*, a concept that is connected to a stable settlement of the community in the host society. Faist describes "situations in which international movers and stayers are connected by dense and strong social and symbolic ties over time and across space to patterns of networks and circuits in two countries" A distinguishable characteristic, in this type of network, is a high degree of social cohesion, founded on relationships based on a high level of personal involvement, empathy and moral commitment, but also on shared beliefs and on a "collective identity". Examples of transnational communities are the diasporas of the Jews, Armenians, Palestinians, Kurds, etc.

Blasch describes transnationalism "as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders"(Wahlbeck, 1998).

Sheffer (1986) describes such multilateral networks as a "triadic relationship", where immigrants move between three main contexts: the ethnic community in the host society, the host society and finally the country of origin.
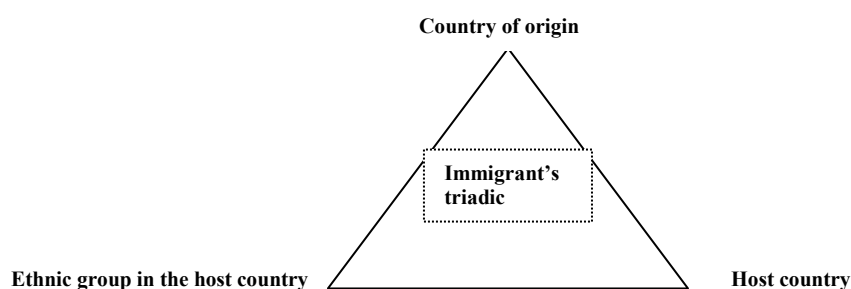
Sheffer (1995) assumes that this "triadic relationship" is a result of a migration movements based on voluntary or involuntary motivations. Within the context of the host country, immigrants tend to maintain their "ethno-national identity", and be cohesive. They tend to organize themselves at community level through ethnic institutions and organisations which they establish in their host countries. They keep ties with their country of origin and establish transnational networks not only with their respective country of origin but also with those countries where relatives may have migrated. Consequently, they are faced with the problem of "dual or divided loyalties" to their country of origin and the host countries.

Massey (1988, S.396) defines migration networks as "sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin."

Kelly's definition of network focuses on network functions. According to the author networks can be described as "groupings of individuals that maintain frequent contacts with each other, through employment relations and family, cultural and emotional connections. Furthermore, networks are complex systems that channel, filter and interpret information, articulate meaning, allocate resources and control behaviours" (Kelly, 2005).

Relevant social phenomena that are often cited with regard to ethnic networks are family and friend connections, mutual help, ascriptive membership, aid and exchange of favours, social norms that promote reciprocity and trust among the social actors (Ambrosini, 2005, S. 81). Ambrosini uses the Chinese term *guanxi*, meaning social relationship or connection and defined as "the ability to build advantageous social relationships, to maintain them and recall them in order to receive help in one's own activity" (Ambrosini, 2005, S.82).

Finally, Ambrosini (2005) points out that the analysis of migrant networks provides useful insights into how social relationships contribute to structuring the economic environment and activities, also highlighting the need for an iterative and dynamic approach based on the recognition of the active role of the social actors and of the formal and informal institutions (also see Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). In this prospective the analysis considers the interconnection between the activities carried out by the migratory networks, the market forces and the public actions and regulations for the reception and orientation of migrant individuals and families. Social actors bend existing rules to maximise livelihood opportunities.

2.5 Modes of conceiving community
The term community is used in a variety of meanings, out of which two major dimensions (that have a considerable relevancy for our project) can be depicted (Anderson, 1991):
- Communities defined by the strength of social contacts of the members. In this case community is understood as a group living in (most of the cases) territorial proximity, delimitated from other groups by the frequency and nature of daily interactions.
- Imagined communities. In this case community is understood as a category of persons representing themselves and/or represented by others as bounded by primordial social relations (mostly because of sharing the same cultural, national ethnic origin).

The major difference between the two categories lies in the manner the sense of group

membership is produced and expressed; they are not necessarily two different modes of communal existence, rather two ideal typical modes of producing a sense of community.

Communities defined on the basis of nature and intensity of social contacts is characterized by:
- enduring forms and institutionalised processes of face to face interaction;
- a considerable frequency of exchanges based on reciprocity[1] - services, goods, that are exchanged not on the basis of their market value, but rather as a result of the self-assumed obligations and as a form of reiteration of group membership (Polanyi, 1944:Chapter 4);
- community is a form of social capital, consisting of a set of relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests of a private nature (Bourdieu, 1986);

Though the term *imagined* is synonymous with unreal, fictional, *imagined communities* represents clearly identifiable practices of producing and expressing a particular group membership. Thus these large communities are "*imagined* just because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991:5). Durkheim conceived that the mode of production of community goes beyond the possibility of group formation resulting from effective face to face social contacts. He emphasized that within large populations social bounds are frequently produced as a result of complex rituals or forms of symbolic communication (as means of expressing or creating attachments to some values). Thus the imagined communities are characterized by:

- an extensive network of communication set apart by the unity of the code of communication, and the centrality of given symbols;
- a set of (public) events constituting public articulation of the community and ritualistic production of community;
- meta-networks (Castells,1996) or networks linking localized communities (networks constituted based on effective interactions) creating a sense of supralocal reality;
- organizational capacity, the ability to mobilize the constituency in order to achieve common goals (increasing the political, legal or symbolic status of a given category) or make pressure to enhance the position of negotiation in various processes of redistribution of various goods (political influence, budgetary or other resources, etc).

3. Summary and conclusions
The concept of "community" that we have adopted here coincides with the idea of "ethnic minority", that is, a minority group settled in a foreign society. Immigration groups develop their own socio-cultural systems. These systems are neither a copy of their country of origin – nor of the host society, but internal activity to support organisation and to keep up the interests of a community. Their occurrence depends on numerous basic parameters.

---

[1] Polanyi differentiates between three major types of exchanges, flow of goods and services: market, redistribution and reciprocity. **Market** is a mode of exchange of the goods and services based on a mechanism of value formation that is independent of the personal relations of the persons involved in exchange. **Redistribution** involves a concentration of resources (commodities or services) to a central authority, which distributes them to certain categories based on criteria decided by the redistributive authority.

Ethnic communities develop strategies of mutual promotion and achievement of interests. They possess, retain and extend their own resources, which may be of material and immaterial nature. Similarly, practices of everyday life, values and norms can be regarded as resources.

Communities feature a more or less complex internal structure, which can cover social, economic, cultural and possibly further spheres. These spheres can exist independently, overlap or be linked with each other. Numerous clusters or nested subsystems can often be distinguished in larger or more complex communities, which may become an additional focus of investigation. Moreover communities, their subsystems, actors and agencies maintain relations with the host society and possibly with their societies of origin as well.

The concept of community refers to self-organisation and internal cohesion of an ethnic minority within a host society. Communities can be described as social networks. In these networks a certain number of actors are connected by formal or informal social relations, the exchange of goods and communication. Network analysis is a method for measuring and interpreting the social organisation of a group and the embedding of its actors (Scott, 2000). It is possible to trace flows of information and exchanges of various resources crossing both regional and national borders. This method does not deal with attitudes or values of the actors involved. It is a relational concept. It focuses on clusters of relations within a group or an organisation, not on individual characteristics. In addition, network analysis examines social structures at a definite time. Therefore dynamic aspects of organisational changes can only be described by comparisons between before and after. There are few theories and methods for analysing developmental processes in social networks.

Since our project focuses on the development of the potential of social networks to cope with poverty and social exclusion, network analysis offers us a chance to specify the self-organisation of communities and to compare different communities and how they have changed at different stages in history. We focus on a functional aspect: which network structures and organisational units are appropriate for avoiding poverty and overcoming social exclusion? Which circumstances lead to successful structures and how can they be fostered?

The following section deals with specific project conceptions of poverty and social exclusion.

4. Social exclusion
The chapter entitled "Social Exclusion" is the main issue with which this project deals. Firstly, we define the term "social exclusion", giving details oft the different aspects and extent of exclusion. This is followed by a definition of the term "poverty", an explanation of various approaches and the different ways of quantifying poverty. In the final part the two terms are brought together with an explanation of how the two affect each other. We would just like to point out at this juncture that poverty is understood to be an aspect of social exclusion.

4.1 Exclusions
Social exclusion is defined as a state that permits only limited participation of active persons in social life. Causes can be found in structural changes from industrial to service societies, global economic changes and social-state abridgements (Bremer,

2004).

Social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon, which can roughly be subdivided into the following four dimensions: economic, institutional, social and cultural.

In this context a certain number of spheres that are interlinked with social exclusion will be presented. Besides work, education, health and living there are political and general juridical conditions involved. In addition a concept of the so-called "Gatekeepers" is mentioned. Gatekeepers may be members of an ethnic community and the society of admission. What they have in common is the power to control access to and exclusion from resources. Landlords and Hocas are two examples.

It is useful to examine objective factors as well as the subjective perspective, including actors who define themselves as being excluded. A decisive point discussing the concept of exclusion is whether we understand social exclusion as a result or as a process. If we understood social exclusion as a result, we would relocate the problem to the ethnic minority itself and it would assume a kind of fateful character. As a process social exclusion moves stronger into the point of view and becomes a topic and a challenge for the entire host society.

4.2 Poverty

Approaching a definition of the concept of poverty it can be asserted that a non-uniform and partly divergent understanding exists.

Starting from the premise that a society is to be divided into poor and non-poor the necessity arises to determine a poverty line. This has led to the development of two concepts of poverty: the absolute and the relative approach.

Absolute poverty approaches, to which the food-ratio and basic-needs-attempt are to be counted, assume the existence of an absolute border of poverty (Krämer, 1997). Below this limit an ongoing access to resources of survival does not exist, which leads to preoccupation with physical subsistence and a satisfaction of basic needs (Petter, 2005). The main criticism concerning this category of approaches is based on a missing comparability of basic needs in an international context. A person, who is defined "poor" in Western Europe, could be described in comparison with a developing country as a person with an above-average standard of living (Seidl, 1988).

Relative poverty concepts have been generated based on this criticism. In contrast to absolute poverty concepts they consider a proportional absence of resources of a population group in relation to the rest of a society. Material deficiencies, which refer to the access to and availability of goods and services and immaterial factors, such as psychosocial status and political/cultural participation are included, which leads to a broader understanding of poverty. Proceeding in this way allows the incorporation of national specifics and developments of poverty. Thus poverty takes into account unequal income distribution, relative deficiency, which includes self-definitions of being "poor" related to a comparison group, political concepts and value judgements.

- Poverty is a changeable and dynamic process that must be discussed depending on living standards of a society.
- With regard to ascertaining poverty due to material factors, income still functions as a comparable quantity. The Head-Count-Ratio shows the relative quantity of poverty within a society, the Aggregate-Poverty-Gap shows the intensity of

poverty among poor members of society.

- Everyone below 60 percent of the median of national income is considered poor with regard to the definition of the EU[2].

In the project "Community Force" persons are classified as poor, who are not able to keep up with common lifestyles of their society.

Therefore we try to integrate absolute and relative concepts of poverty, although we have a higher focus of relative interpretation. This focus is justified by the ability of taking both material and immaterial factors into account when analysing poverty among ethnic minorities. An analysis can occur on the level of individuals and collectives, because both suffer from poverty. Due to the notion of community we will concentrate on collective aspects. At this point it should be mentioned that ethnic minorities suffer from poverty more often and longer, because they are affected by social changes in a more direct way. With regard to labour markets ethnic minorities suffer from the ongoing abolition of low-skilled-jobs.

4.3 Conclusions

Since social exclusion and poverty are so closely connected, it is difficult to treat them separately. Instead of a strict separation, it is useful to be aware of their mutual entanglement and influence. Deprivation of economic resources may lead to a declining participation in cultural opportunities. At the same time a declining income and unsuccessful job-seeking can be related to a low number of social relations/contacts which could give support. Therefore the focus should be on the access to and availability of resources with regard to the aforementioned dimensions and sectors of both phenomena. Together with national differences of which we have to be aware, we agreed to focus on the broader notion "social exclusion" and understand poverty as a process that is closely linked with it.

5. Ethnic self-help organizations: integrative or disintegrative?

5.1 Introduction

In this section we will discuss the question of to what extent migrants' self-help organizations contribute to their integration into a host society. Against this background we shall first define what is meant by "integration", show how it is linked to migration and clarify expressions such as "assimilation" and "disintegration / segregation". In the sub-chapter that follows, we shall define "self-help organization" and this will be placed in context with the historical development of migrants' self-help organizations. Finally, we will bring both terms together, discuss the debate concerning the extent to which ethnic self-help organizations assist in integration, highlight their weak points and justify the approach taken in the Community Force project.

5.2 The term Integration

The word "integration" has its roots in Latin and is derived from the verb "integrare", which more or less means "to make whole", and from the adjective "integer" meaning "untouched" or "whole" (Kobi 1994:71).

---

[2] Bundesministerium für Gesundheit und soziale Sicherung (2001). Lebenslagen in Deutschland – Der 2. Armuts und Reichtumsbericht der Bundesregierung. Berlin

In a general context, integration can be described as "the cohesion of parts in a 'systematic' whole (Esser 2001:1). Consequently a system is made up of several subsystems each being related to the whole system as well as to each other. Furthermore, only when one system stands out as being different from the rest does it become identifiable.

Esser takes things further and differentiates between system integration and social integration. He believes that system integration describes the cohesion of individual subsystems such as, for example, the economy, the education system or religion. Social integration on the other hand is concerned with the integration of actors and their conflicts. Esser emphasizes that, in the context of migration, we are dealing primarily with social integration.

We again meet with the term "social integration" in the writings of Heckmann. He differentiates between structural, cultural social and identification-related integration (Heckmann 2005:1). For him "integration" stands for the "integration of new population groups into existing social structures" and the way they connect with existing legal, social, economic and cultural systems. It is therefore evident that integration always puts the functioning and survival of the whole system to the forefront. In this case, however, not all actors or subsystems have to be equal for the system to be able to function. The recognition of this fact is of great importance when defining the term assimilation. The goal of assimilation is to adapt a minority to the majority (Esser 2001). This entails surrendering certain characteristics to the benefit of the values, the practices etc. of the host society. Other terms used in the discussion about integration are "disintegration" and "segmentation", which represent the exact opposite (ebd.). Her we find a juxtaposition of subsystems and actors who have nothing to do with each other. This lack of relationship is often regarded as a danger for the system as a whole.

5.3 Self-help organization

Defining self-help organization proves difficult, since the scope of this term is not clearly defined. Weiss and Thränhardt pose the question of whether, for example, only voluntary activities or only associations fall into the category of self-help organization (Weiss & Thränhardt 2005:29ff.). It therefore makes sense to go for a broader definition of the term "self-help organization".

It follows that all voluntary formal and informal interpersonal social relationships should be understood as self-help organizations. Over and above this these organizations are pursuing a common goal, which goes beyond private interests. Their goal is the autonomous determination of economic and socio-cultural living conditions.

With regard to the definition of "self-help organization" in connection with migrants, the only difference lies in the people concerned; the definition itself remains the same.

At this point I would like to go into the historical development of migrants' self-help organizations. In the 1950s and 1960s the support and counselling of *Gastarbeiter* and their families was provided by German charities. The allocation of the individual providers was decided on grounds of religious confession. Counselling in legal matters, provision of meeting places and the management of cultural events were the main focus of interest. As a consequence of a "paternalistic character" (Hunger 2002) organizations developed at the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s whose goal was to improve the living conditions of migrants. These groups, however, had no connection with the Church

or state-run charitable organizations. Their founders were mostly dedicated members of the public who formed self-governing groups and societies. At the end of the 1970s the *Verband der Initiativgruppen in der Ausländerarbeit* (VIA e.V.) was formed, an association of groups dedicated to the support of immigrants. This decade can be designated the founding period of many migrant organizations. Furthermore, together with the creation of nationally homogeneous groups, ethnically heterogeneous ones developed too. Initially, workers associations and religious institutions stood in the foreground. With increasingly long periods of residence and the arrival of family members the spectrum of migrant self-help organizations became increasingly differentiated. Over time sport and leisure clubs, professional associations and parents' associations were added to this spectrum. A development of the 1990s was the formation of groups that were formed to give more support to the political interests of migrants.

5.4 Debate and outlook

The two previous chapters were mainly concerned with the central terms of the question to what extent migrant self-help organizations contribute towards integration.

As distinct from disintegration, segmentation and assimilation, integration was defined as a process which keeps a whole system functioning and which, by means of social relationships, has a compensational effect between subsystems and actors. Self-help organizations have moved away from the care of charitable associations towards developing their own initiatives and towards self-government. Their main objective is to improve the living standards of migrants. With both terms explained, the question arises of whether or when migrant self-help organizations can be described as integrative or disintegrative.

The argument over the question of the integration-promoting or integration-restricting characteristics of migrant self-help organizations is a very new and little-researched phenomenon. In most cases the debate is conducted in a strongly polarized and contrary manner. Those favouring assimilation view self-help organizations of ethnic groups as disintegrative. Others, who have a more transnational viewpoint, see the possibility of the simultaneous integration into the host society and the maintenance of intensive links with the country of origin.

The argument probably attracted the most attention and the most intensive arguments in the 1980s, the time of the so-called Elwert-Esser debate. Georg Elwert (1982) and Hartmut Esser (1986) represented the reciprocal poles of the debate. Elwert argued that the integration of actors within an ethnic colony laid the foundations for integration into the host society. Esser countered that the foundation and maintenance of migrant self-help organizations was an individual decision in favour of segregation that leads to (self) exclusion which is "dangerous and could lead to self-ethnicization and restraints on morality" (ebd.).

In an investigation in 1988 Esser, together with his colleagues Diehl and Urbahn divided migrant self-help organizations into two separate groups - "host country orientated" and "country of origin orientated".

This contrasting pair of terms clarifies the main problem of this discourse. The scientific argument was based around simple dichotomies. Little or no attempt was made to combine theories. The result is that we cannot say comprehensively if ethnic self-help organizations contribute to or hinder integration. In addition, very little preliminary

scientific work has been carried out and the data available on the various aspects of self-help organization is minimal. Esser himself observed: "the extent to which the inclination towards the country of origin inevitably conflicts with integration into other areas of life is difficult to say." (Diehl 1998:5).

For this reason it seems sensible to take an approach which attempts to differentiate clearly between forms of self-help organization in the context of migration and to describe their effects on the degree of integration achieved. This entails a departure from rival models and choosing a type of research that is as free from ideology as possible, which, according to the principles of Grounded Theory, leads to new findings. The approach taken in this project, therefore, does not adhere to any universal assumption regarding the integration or disintegration of migrant self-help organizations. Moreover, this project aims to provide a differentiated observation of various forms of self-help organizations and endeavours to discover and explain links between their characteristics, behaviour and integration levels achieved. The next step that we have to take, as part of this method is to establish indicators for integration - disintegration.

References:

Ambrosini, M. (2005), Sociologia delle Migrazioni, Il Mulino, Bologna.
Demarchi, F.; Ellena, A.; Catarinussi, B., Edizioni San Paolo, srl.: Nuovo Dizionario di Sociologia (1994), 3rd ed. (a cura di).

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. Imagined Communities. Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Verso.

Barth, Fredrik. 1998b. "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance." In Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference, Fredrik Barth, editor, pp. 117-134. Waveland Press, Inc., Prospect Heights, IL. Cited by Prof. Christopher Fennell, Theories of Ethnic Groups and the Rigidity of Traditions/Doxa, North American Archaeology Anth. 449, Lecture Notes Fall 2004.
http://www.anthro.uiuc.edu/faculty/cfennell/syllabus/anth449/449anth15.html

Bourdieu, P. (1986). "The forms of capital." Pp. 241-258 in Handbook of
Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, edited by John G. Richardson. Greenwood Press.

Bremer, P. & Gestring, N. (2004). Migranten – ausgegrenzt?. In Häußermann, H. et al., An den Rändern der Städte, Armut und Ausgrenzung, S.258 – 285. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

Bundesministerium für Gesundheit und soziale Sicherung (2001). Lebenslagen in Deutschland – Der 2. Armuts und Reichtumsbericht der Bundesregierung. Berlin.

Castells, Manuel. 1996. The Rise of the Network Society. Blackwell.
Polanyi, Karl. 1944. The Great Transformation. Beacon Press.

Cohen, Anthony P. (Ed.). 2000. Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values. Routledge, London, England.

Dewey, J. (1938). Logic, the thoery of inquiry. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Elwert, G.: Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Binnenintegration? In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 4/1982: 717-731.

Esser, H. (1986): Die fremden Mitbürger. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Integration von Ausländern. Patmos Vlg., Düsseldorf.

Faist, T.: Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture.   Ethnic and Racila Studies Vol. 23, March 2000.

Flick, U. (2002). Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Gallino, L. (1983) Dizionario di Sociologia, Utet, Torino 1978, 2nd ed. 1983;
http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/papers/WP0402.pdf
Policy and Society Working Paper No. 2, WP-04-02 University of Oxford.

Hollstein, B. & Straus, F. (2004). Qualitative Netzwerkanalyse. Konzepte, Methoden, Anwendungen. Workshop auf dem 32. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in München. Abstract siehe auch: www.dgs-

kongress.lmu.de/Dokumente/call%20for%20papers/Ad-hocgruppen/QualitativeNetzwerkan.pdf (23.01.2006).

Kepel, Gilles (1997) 'Islamic Groups in Europe: Between Community Affirmation and Social Crisis' in Vertovec and Peach, eds. 1997, Islam in Europe, Macmillan, London.

Krämer, W. (1997). Statistische Probleme bei der Armutsmessung, Gutachten im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Gesundheit. In: Schriftenreihe des Bundesministeriums für Gesundheit, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.

Petter, B. (2005). Armut und Gesundheit. In Kastner, M. et al., Arbeitslosigkeit und Gesundheit, Arbeitsmarktintegrative Gesundheitsförderung S. 169 - 187, Groß Umstadt: Pabst.

Pries, L. (2002), The Spatial Spanning of the Social Transnationalism as a challenge and chance for social sciences. Paper presented at the International Workshop Transnationalism: New Configurations of the Social and the Space. Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 6th and 7th of September 2002.

Peirce, C. S. (1991). Deduktion, Induktion und Hypothese. In C. S. Peirce & K.-O. Apel (Hrsg.), Schriften zum Pragmatismus und Pragmatizismus (s. 229-250). Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.

Scott, J. (2000). Social Network Analysis. A Handbook. 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Seidl, C. (1988): Poverty Measurement:a Survey. In Bös, D. et al.,Welfare Efficiency in Public Economics, S.73 -140. Berlin: Springer.

Sheffer, G. (1986) in Steven Vertovec, Conceiving and researching transnationalism.

Sheffer, G.: The Emergence of New Ethno-National Diasporas. Migration 28/95-2.

Strauss, A. (1991). Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung. München: Fink Verlag. English version 1987, Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory prcedures and techniques. Newbury Park: Sage.

Tönnies, F. (1947) Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis, pp. 223-231.,The Michigan State University Press. Extracts from Marcello Truzzi, Sociology: The Classic Statements. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 145-154.
http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~lridener/courses/GEMEIN.HTML

Vasta, E. (2004) Centre on Migration, Informal Employment and Immigrant Networks: A Review Paper.

Wahlbeck, O. (1998) Transnationalism and Diasporas: The Kurdish Example. Paper Presented at the International Sociological Association XIV World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, Canada: 3.

ii) National Report Romania

Research Centre on Interethnic Relations
Cluj – Napoca

1. Roma - the origin and historical paths of incorporation

Roma originated in Northern India, migrated during the eleventh century moving westward, reaching Romania by the fourteenth century. Soon after their arrival they where incorporated as slaves within the Balcanic economic system (particularly in Bulgaria and in the Romanian principalities of Moldova and Walachia) mostly as craftsmen, however a significant part of them were used for agricultural work or domestic chores at the residences of the landowners (*boyars*) and at monasteries. The nineteenth century abolition of serfdom involved only a change in juridical status, the subordination and exploitation in economic terms persisted resulting seemingly forever lasting situation of marginality of this category (Achim 2001; Barany 2001; Beissinger 2001; Crowe 1991; Gheorghe 1991). However if for centuries the terms *tsigan* (Gypsy) and *rob* (slave) were juridically and culturally synonymous (Gheorghe 1991), today the term *țigan* regularily evokes marginality and deprivation. Though in Transylvania (a province belonging until the beginning of twentieth century to the Hungarian kingdom) the paths of incorporation of Roma were to some degree differing from the practices of the Romanian principalities[3], however the results much alike the same: the considerable share of this population has access only to rather marginal economic niches.

During communism the attempts to economically and socially integrate the Roma where doubled by overt assimilationist tendencies. However this was a partial success, and for the Roma the major upshot of the transformations occurring in the communist period was the annihilation of an economic system in which a considerable part of them fulfilled specialized task, occupying important niches in the functioning of traditional economy. Thus the economic modernization conjoined with the communist transformations ended up with the transformation of the Roma population in a resource of cheap manual laborers and even if segments of this population were integrated to the mainstream lifestyle and social conditions they rest a visible minority having in some cases phenotypic characteristics making them at risk to face the prejudices of their environment. As marginal categories of a modern economic system they become the first victims of the process of market transition inaugurated at the very beginning of the nineties (Merfea 1991; Pons 1999; Revenga, Ringold, and Tracy 2002; Zamfir and Zamfir 1993).

2. Roma the category and the population

In clarifying the size of the Roma population a rather problematic aspect should be clarified: who are the Roma? The formal answer: anybody who identifies himself or herself with this category would be rather misleading due to a variety of reasons. First of all the generic category Roma (more frequently *țigan* in Romanian or *cigány* in Hungarian) is an ethnic label used especially by non-Roma persons to describe and classify a rather heterogeneous population. Within the population identified as Roma by the outsiders a variety of ethnonymes might be used (rudari, zlătari, aurari, ursari, lăutari,

---

[3] For example in the second half of the eighteenth century during the rule of Maria Theresa and her successor Joseph of II attempts to forge more inclusive policies in relation with Roma. These policies though „comprise a textbook example of forcible assimilation" were far more reasonable than the majority of the policies undertaken in the period (Barany 2001:58)

Gabors), that are not to be simply considered as subordinate varieties (clan names) of the more general category Roma.

For example a Gabor Gypsy might accept to be conventionally named as a cigány by outsiders (considering this as an sign of ignorance on behalf of the classifier), however he is defining himself as being a category that is apart from any other category of Roma (not marrying any of them) and in case of official assumption of identity he might identify himself as Hungarian. Or the **lăutari** (professional gypsy musicians) are defining themselves as **ţigani lăutari** in the encounters with ethnic Romanians, however, considering themselves Romanians if compared with other categories of Roma (Beissinger 2001).

As their manner of identification is very situational highly depending on the social context of identification, specialists consider that the official figures offered by census (409.723 representing 1,8% of population in 1992, 535.250 in 2002 representing 2,5%) are by far not reflecting the number of those persons that are considered as Roma by their environment. The estimates of the number of Roma in Romania are ranging from 1,1 to 2,5 million persons, however is generally considered that the Roma of Romania represents the largest Roma community in the whole Europe (Petrova 2003). Demographers making population forecast consider that in 2025-re the number of Roma might vary between reach 2.346.800 representing 11,4% of Romania's 20025 population (Gheţău 1996).

2.1 Social status

Though Roma and poverty are synonymous there is a considerable stratum of economically integrated Roma peoples having a mainstream lifestyle, also a kind of Roma elite composed of a thin strata of civic and political activists, mostly prosperous traditional Roma leaders[4] and the newly born stars of a syncretic however very popular form of musical culture: manele.[5] These exceptions though are notable are statistically rare exceptions, the bulk of those identifying and identified as Roma generally have poor access to economic resources and a precarious social condition: mostly in segregated rural neighborhoods or in urban ghettos (Péter 2005). In the circumstances of an expanding modern consumerism to the rural Romania the demand for the products and services of the Roma craftsmen surviving the communism is heavily decreasing, and the Roma petty traders too have difficulties in cooping with increasing imports of goods from Asia. The Roma living in rural areas commonly exploit either marginal economic niches (gathering and selling mushrooms and fruits from the forests) or are themselves the marginal resources of the local labour market performing for low wages (sometimes for food and clothes) occasional works, largely depending on the non-Roma networks they are integrated in (Péter 2005; Toma 2005).

The Roma from urban areas (mostly unskilled labourers) where the first victims of the Romanian deindustrialization of the nineties: both because being victims of anti-Roma prejudices and because being poorly qualified. Even after the Romanian economy started to recover a considerable part of the Roma living in urban areas hardly find their place: either because during the transition lost their caste, becoming part of the growing excluded minority, either because they hardly fit in the new labour market on the ground

---

[4] Sometimes they exhibit their wealth and status in a rather extravagant manner. There is a self-declared Emperor and a self-declared King of the Roma both claiming to rule not just the Roma of Romania, but from the entire world the self appointed king Ilie Stănescu name himself: The International King of Gypsies.
[5] The stars of manele - though not exclusively - are regarded as Roma, or persons in contact with Gypsy music. However, they are not necessarily emphasizing any link with Roma community.

of the persisting negative Roma public-image (low status minority) and lack of necessarily skills to fit in the expanding third sector (Pons 1999; Rostas 1998).

2.2 Public image: prejudice and discrimination

The stereotypical image of the Roma can be defined as a person being on the way between culture and nature (Stewart 1993). The romantic and benevolent representations are portraying the Roma as the embodiment of a natural freedom, their culture representing a permanent defy of the constraints imposed by social order. However public opinion is dominated by the more negative manner of understanding of the liminality of the Roma, the most frequent attributes of the Roma are: dirty, lazy and thief (Culic, Horváth, and Raț 2000:340-341). On such a ground of a deeply rooted stereotypic images dominating the public representations and public opinion a virulent hate speech (uninhibitedly promoted by politicians and the media) articulated during the nineties (Kenrick 1998), having a decisive impact on the manner how society and the authorities related in relation with Roma peoples. During the nineties the differentiated and unfair treatment of the Roma was a prevalent practice of various administrative authorities or public service providers whom, in order to legitimize their discriminative stances openly evoked the widespread Roma stereotypes (Zoon 2001).

The overt discrimination on behalf of the authorities was doubled by the relative recurrent violent community violence directed against the local Roma communities. According to an inventory made in the mid nineties, between 1990-1995 in 17 open violent conflicts directed against local Roma communities 10 Roma were killed, 295 houses destroyed mostly by burning them (Haller 1995). The ineffectiveness of the judiciary in prosecuting these cases becomes just another example of biased treatment of the generalized anti-Roma stances of the authorities. However within the last ten years no major popular violence against Roma was registered.

Against such a background of officially promoted hate speech and overtly tolerated discrimination is not surprising that according to a survey taken in 2003 a large majority (82%) of Romania's adult population agrees that the large majority of Roma are lawbreaker, a roughly half would support measures that limit the freedom of movement for Roma internally or abroad, and considers that state should intervene in order to stop the demographic expansion of Roma (IPP 2003:37)

2.3 Social Protection Transfers on Roma

Although the Roma are often labelled as "welfare dependent", there is a serious lack of up-to-date statistical data on the role of the state transfers in providing income for the Roma and it is difficult to determine the implications of social policy design on their well-being and relative disadvantage. Still, we can admit that the state transfers failed to alleviate poverty among the Roma. This can be seen as symptomatic for the contradictions between the strong path dependency of policy design, its weak redistributive effectiveness and efficiency, and the political quest of fighting poverty and social exclusion.

During the first four years of transition, almost all social benefits were still conditioned by participation on the formal labour market: the universal child allowance was introduced in 1993 and means-tested social benefits as late as in 1995. Given that the Roma were among the first to loose their jobs, and many of them lacked official documents to apply for social benefits after these had been introduced, the state social protection safety net failed to prevent the deepening of their relative disadvantage.

The next few paragraphs will present shortly those support which had the strongest impact on the wellbeing of the Roma.

2.4 Child Allowance

In Romania, before the Law 61/1993, child allowance was received as an income-supplement for one of the parents (usually the father), conditioned upon his/her working status. There was no means-tested additional support designed specifically for families and children. Given that many Roma were not working or they lost their working status right after 1990, in 1990-93 they were basically not entitled to receive financial support for children. After the implementation of the new law (61/1993) all children were entitled to receive child allowance (not their parents), but all school-aged children were supposed to attend institutions of education in order to receive the allowance. In 1997 (Law 119/1997), families with more than two children were entitled to a supplement to the child allowance. This supplement was not means-tested, it was offered upon request and its value was small and decreased considerably in real terms until 2004, when the laws on child benefits were changed. Now, universal child allowance is doubled by a means-tested component whose values are slightly higher in case of one-parent families (governmental ordinance OUG 105/2003). The third element of universal family support consisted of a birth-indemnity, which was only given at the birth of the first four children. Families with children were also entitled to social insurance benefits such as paid maternity leave and two years of paid parental leave to care for children, but given that these benefits were conditioned by being employed for at least 12 months during the last 12 months many Roma parents were not entitled to receive these benefits. On the absis of the governmental ordinance 148/2005, starting with January 2006 the amount of the universal child allowance will increase for children below the age of two regardless of the parents' employment status.

2.5 Unemployment benefits

With respect to unemployment benefits: the first law on the social protection of the unemployed was implemented in 1991 (Law 1/1991). The unemployment benefit was offered for 270 days, it was earnings related and depended on the length of contribution. The maintenance-allowance was at flat-rate of 60% of the minimum wage in the economy. The actual amount of money received thus was very low, but delivered for approximately two years and three months (nevertheless, conditioned by means-testing). Workers who lost their employment due to strategic restructuring of big state-owned enterprises received compensatory payments (OU 98/1999), aimed to constitute the initial financial capital necessary to start a private enterprise. The ordinance is no longer valid. The legislation on the protection of the unemployed was changed in 2002 (Law 76/2002): the level of the benefit was established at the fix rate of 75% of the minimum wage, ant its period of receipt depends on the period of contribution. There are special programs aimed to facilitate the labour-market reintegration of the Roma such as vocational counseling and job-shops for the Roma.

It ought to be mentioned that Roma persons from rural areas face difficulties in attending these courses for the unemployed because these are held only in the cities and Roma families might not have the financial resources to cover transportation costs.

2.6 Welfare-benefits

The last resort of support, means-tested welfare benefits, were introduced in Romania as late as in 1995 (Law 67/1995 on social aid), and they were supplemented by in-kind

benefits in 1997 (Law 208/1997 on social canteens). In the meanwhile, the situation of many Roma persons, who were among the first to loose their jobs, deteriorated considerably. Both forms of support ought to be financed by the local governments, which led not only to low levels of the benefit and those of take-up, but also to considerable regional disparities. The minimum income guarantee was introduced only in 2001 (Law 416/2001), and social support is financed 20% from the local budget and 80% from the central state-budget. Recent studies reveal that neither the effectiveness, nor the targeting of social aid have significantly increased since 2002 (Grecu et al., 2004; Pop, 2003; Early Warning Report, 2002).

2.7 Alternatives to state transfers

The analysis of the dataset collected within the framework of project Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Transitional Societies, carried out by the Center for Comparative Research of the Sociology Department, Yale University (conducted by Ivan Szelenyi) reveals that in 2000 Romania state transfers reduced only a small proportion of the poverty gap for all households: 15% for both self-declared Roma and non-Roma households, and 18% in the case of households considered Roma by interviewers. Social assistance had a low relative influence on decreasing the poverty gap throughout this period; nevertheless, its impact was slightly higher for the Roma households than the non-Roma households. A bit larger impact was held by state transfers for children and family benefits which benefited relatively more the non-Roma (19.6% relative reduction in 1998, 9.4% in 2000) than the Roma households (13.2% relative reduction in 1998, 8.9% in 2000).

The first National Strategy for Improving the Situation of the Roma was adopted through the Governmental Decision HG 430/24.04.2001, and it had seven main objectives, among which only the last one made explicit reference to the economic hardships of the Roma, aiming at "ensuring the conditions for the equality of chances of people of Roma ethnicity for attaining a decent standard of living" (Romanian Government, 2002). A comprehensive monitoring of its implementation was carried out by the Centre for Resources for Roma Communities Cluj-Napoca and the Open Society Institute Budapest (2004), which presents the difficulties emerging from poor governmental financing and the failure to secure social housing for the Roma, one of the most important steps in fighting their deprivation.

3. Health system in Romania

The changes which occurred after 1989 led mainly to the growing of the unemployment rates, affecting most of the Roma population. Their employment perspectives are still worse. As presented in the previous chapter, the social protection system does not favorize them, and so we can speak about the health services. The Romanian public health system is in continuous change process from the beginning of the 90's. It faced three challenges: 1. it had to maintain its own functioning structure; 2. it had to reduce or eliminate the reminiscences of the former socialist system; 3. last, but not least, to build up a well-functioning public health system.

The health situation of the Roma people represents an issue to tackle with for the responsible organizations in Romania as recent researches' data show that the health situation of the Roma is far behind of the average records. The following factors were identified: the geographical segregation of the Roma communities, the lack of transportation, low educational level of the Roma, lack of financial resources for paying the health services and drugs. Moreover, long-lasting unemployment drives directly to

the loss of rights to state-funded health services. All the above mentioned factors interfere with the substandard living conditions of the Roma: the Roma communities are susceptible to communicable diseases, including hepatitis and tuberculosis.

Thus, the Government and Ministry of Health developed a strategy aiming at the improving of health situation of the Roma people (HG 430/2001). One of the aims of the strategy is to ensure professional mediators between the Roma population and non-Roma health representatives. The mediators must be of Roma ethnicity (Ministry of Health 85/65/13.02.2002). They have to participate in special education programs which are organized and supervised by the County Public Health Directorates. The courses were held by the members of the Romani CRISS Foundation, "Impreuna" Community Development Agency and the "Voice of The Rroma' Association. The mediators are selected by these non-governmental associations.[6] In 2002 168 such health mediators were employed at the County Public Health Services. Together with the Primary Health Directorates they are responsible in organizing health promotion campaigns through public information, immunizations and HIV prevention activities.

A 2002 World Bank report (World Bank no. 23492 – RO) revealed that poor communication between Roma patients and doctors perpetuates stereotypes and mistrust on both sides, contributing to the appearance of discriminative actions on both sides. For example, doctors might refuse providing subsidized medications to Roma patients, and even to refuse any kind of health service by not accepting the Roma on their primary case list, as the Roma are considered high risk patients. Household surveys report shows that Roma who were reported ill were less likely to receive treatment than other population group (RISH, 1998).

4. The State of Education of the Roma Minority in Romania

The position of Roma in education is characterized usually by low performance levels, few transfers to higher type of education, and discipline problems, drop-out and unqualified school leaving. The problem is approached in diverse ways in different countries in terms of policy and practice, depending on the political and institutional contexts and the broader socio-economic structures.

5. Legal Framework for minority education

The Romanian Constitution assures general education to all. The right to equal access to education is set forth in both Law on Education (1995, Art.5) and Ordinance 137 (2000, art. 15 (1)). The state guarantees the right of persons belonging to national minorities to learn their native languages (Ordinance nr. 3638/2001; Ordinance no. 3342/2002, art. 3.; Ordinance no. 3670/2001, art. 4) and to be instructed in these languages. On April 15, 1998, the Ministry of National Education issued an Order no. 3577, which supported with affirmative, real measures the access of students and young Roma to higher education.[7] That year 144 separate places were insured only for the Roma candidates. 85% of the places were occupied (MPI 2001:63). In localities with population belonging to different

---

[6] So far, two possible tendencies were identified regarding the application of the Government's decision. First, when the mediator is chosen from the community, like in Salaj county. In this case, the direct contact between the doctors and community is maintained with the help of the mediator. On the other hand, and this is the case reported in Harghita county, the role of the mediator was subject of controversies and elites' fight. Thus, the task of the mediation was poorly accomplished.

[7] In the same year, the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literature established and authorized the Department for Romany Language and Literature, as a second specialization, ensuring 10 places for Roma candidates. Through the normative act of April 15, 1998 (as well as similar subsequent orders of the Ministry: order no. 5083/26.11.1999; no. 3294/01.03.2000 and no. 4542/18.09.2000) 150-200 distinct places were given yearly for Roma candidates at different faculties and universities from Bucharest, Cluj, Timişoara, Iaşi, Craiova, Braşov, Sibiu, Constanţa, Oradea, Suceava.

minorities or ethnic Roma, the state insures the organization and functioning of education with tuition in the languages of national minorities, partial tuition of subjects in the native language or the study of the native language, the history and traditions of the respective minority. Training of teachers and pedagogues specialized in Romani language and culture began in 1990 with the establishment of three classes for Roma teachers at the Pedagogical schools in Bucharest, Târgu-Mureş and Bacău. This was extended in 1992 at the level of elementary school in two schools. The former Ministry issued norms designed to create a framework for fighting illiteracy (Order of the MNE no. 3633/14.04.1999 and Order no. 4231/18.08.1999). It also established a network of school inspectors for Roma issues in all 42 counties of Romania (Order of the MNE no. 3363/o1.o3.1999 and Order 4219/17.08.1999). In 2001, out of the 40 school inspectors within the structure of county school inspectorates, 19 were ethnic Roma, and 21 do not belong to this ethnic community.

The third strategic program of the Ministry of Education and Research was the formation of Roma teachers to co-opt young Roma as unqualified teachers to work with classes of Roma children as primary school teachers or teachers for the native Romany language. The program was extended to perform the potential Roma teachers of Romany language following the initialization of short-term intensive summer courses.

The fourth strategic program was collaboration with Roma and non-Roma NGOs. The fifth was the elaboration of the instruments of work in schools (syllabuses and textbooks) with the involvement of the Roma teachers.

6. Non-governmental initiatives to improve minority education in Romania
One of the most mention-worthy is the *Open Society Foundation*'s *Education Development Project - Education 2000+*. This project addresses the educational needs of Roma population by facilitating institutional change and building the capacity of Roma people to participate in education and the education reform. In 1999 the Roma capacity building program is made up of different components: support for Roma teachers, educational materials development, vocational training for older drop-outs.

In order to implement the *Program Education 2000+* and to follow its methodology a *General Agreement* (no. 10.173/5.04.1999) was signed between the Ministry of Education and the Open Society Foundation in Romania. Two *Special Orders* of the Ministry of Education (no. 4182/4.8.1999; 4231/18.08.1999) were issued in 1999 and they are related to implementation of the general strategy of the *Education 2000+* program, and of the Roma capacity building strand of it in the pilot regions and institutions.

Another mention-worthy educational program for Roma is "*Equal opportunities for Roma Children through School Development Programs and Parents' Involvement*" (*Centre for Education 2000+, Romania and SLO, National Institute for Curriculum Development, NL, 2002*) This project seeks to provide training and support to administrators and teachers in Romanian elementary and secondary schools in order to change teaching practices, curriculum content, and school organization and operation. It is the premise of the program that these changes will improve the educational opportunities for Roma students in schools, will increase the involvement of parents and the community in the development and operation of the school, and mainly will assist Roma students in building a deeper understanding of their own cultural identity.

7. Poverty and education

Children from poor families are more likely not to attend, or to drop out of school than other children for a range of reasons, including: financial and opportunity costs, imperfect information about the benefits of education, limited choice and poor quality of educational services, substandard housing conditions at home that impede learning and studying, and poor health status. The economic context of the transition has increased the cost to families of sending children to school. The increasing prevalence of both official and unofficial fees for education has threatened the ability of families to send their children to school. These developments have the greatest impact on poor families, who are ill-positioned to pay for additional school related expenses, as well as basic necessities such as clothing and food. Families may require children to work either in the home or outside in the informal sector. The mobility of the casual labourer family is the economic factor that underlies the irregularity in school attendance of these Roma children. The various ethnographic studies[8] confirm that children from Roma casual labourer families are dispersed in the most unlikely living conditions. These could range from huts or farm outbuildings in the fields where their families are working, to improvised camps in the middle of nowhere or abandoned houses in the country. Difficulties often arise in terms of their socio-educational integration. These children come from very diverse backgrounds: they may have arrived from a big city ghetto area or a small village. Their experience, and therefore their perception of school is too heterogeneous for them to be able to adapt to and settle into a new school in the normal way, unless the school is particular aware of these factors. The central problem of the current discourses is related to the advantages/disadvantages of integrated or segregated educational structures for the Roma pupils.

8. Further questions to analyze

8.1 Why social policies are so ineffective?

It is well known that Roma/Gypsy population in Romania (and in the former communist countries) is the most affected by poverty, segregation and discrimination, although in the last few years there were some attempts of the Governments, different NGOs and so on, to reduce the negative effects of the transition on Roma/Gypsy population. These measures have to be seen as a process, so that, the results of these can hardly be spectacular at this very moment. This because taking into accounts the context of transition – these measures must involve changes in all levels of the society: beside governmental-official policies, the civil society's actions, it is important the way interpersonal and intergroup relations develop. While at local levels the social relations between Roma and members of other ethnic groups are described as being conflictual – in the broader sense of the word –, it will be difficult to speak about relevant achievements.

The year 2005 was particularly important as on February 2 was launched of the Decade of Roma Inclusion. The Decade of Roma Inclusion, an initiative adopted by eight European Governments, and supported by the international community, represents an international effort to change the lives of Roma in Europe. The countries who signed this agreement are: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, FYR, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia.

---

[8] See case studies of the Research Report *Educational Measures for the Roma Minority in Romania. The Effectiveness of Integrated and Segregated Education*, CCRIT; CERGE-EI

It cannot be foreseen if this new initiative of the governments will be more successful than previous strategies. We could say – partly learning from previous experiences – that, the success of implementation highly depends on the monitoring mechanism. There is a lack of information regarding the implementation, impact and effectiveness of governmental strategies, although every initiative had an evaluative phase. The evaluation of the implementation of strategies on one hand was realized by internal evaluators, on the other hand, by external evaluators. In both cases we can put under question the reliability of evaluations due to a number of reasons.

First, reading the evaluation reports we can easily remark that great emphasis was put on the legal framework and bureaucratic aspect of the strategies. Analyzing the information we can say that *formally* the implementation of the strategies was successful. As concerns the real impact of it there remained a few unsolved questions. It is their "national" character that stands in front of their successful and effective implementation. The great level of centralization does not let the implementing authorities to define best practices for different communities.

Second, there is lack of reliable research and knowledge on different Roma communities. This lack of information led to concentrated implementation efforts. Combining the centralized and concentrated efforts had an unexpected result: just an irrelevant number of Roma communities and people benefited from these programmes. In case there was more than one initiative, these regularly focused on the same communities (eg. Brazilia in Sălaj county, Romania, Gura Văii in Bacău County, Romania, Cluj in Romania, Jászladány in Hungary). We can thus question the criteria of selection of the sites of implementation.

The third weak point is also related to the centralized dimension of implementation. In many cases the needs of Roma people are also defined on a highly centralized way. This is usually done by persons who had never been before in that very community or communities. In best cases, the development of a strategy involves a great number of mediators.

For example, the Roma members of a community had a representative on local level who is in charge of maintaining communication with local Roma NGO's (if there any) and with local authorities. The local authorities than prepare a proposal, which is sent to the county level authorities and finally to the highest authority in the country. Thus, the process of defining the needs, problems already involves at least 4 mediators in best case. And this is the case of the implementation phase as well.

Of course, it would be difficult to decentralize the implementation of strategies as this would mean the involvement of a higher number of specialists, experts on both national and local level. The lack of specialists in problems of Roma and poverty represents another unsolved problem of the governments and authorities. We have to mention that collaboration between authorities and independent researchers is very rare and usually this collaboration is strictly based on the publications of research results.

One possibility of overcoming the above mentioned problem is developing a more effective evaluation mechanism of the strategies. As I mentioned before the evaluations are realized either by internal experts or by international observers. The internal evaluations are biased on the formal dimension of the implementation. The external evaluation – even if it concentrates on the field – can highlight only the surface realizations of the strategies as evaluations do not emphasize the importance of long-term monitoring based on good knowledge of the communities.

8.2 How Roma communities find alternative ways to survive?

Widespread unemployment has mostly reduced the incomes of Roma families, who are now forced to earn what they can via chance and part-time employment. The uncertain character of these jobs forced the Roma families to develop new strategies and strengthened traditional ones in order to allow them to survive under difficult living conditions. These strategies include reverting to – or learning again - their traditional occupations, remittances, informal credit at stores ("the List"), small trade, chance jobs, begging, economic assistance, and seasonal work abroad or in other regions of the country, maintaining informal relationship with members of the majority group (eg. choosing Hungarian or Romanian godparents for a Roma child). Under these circumstances, it is understandable that the Roma tried to find niches in the secondary economy or creating either formal or informal networks with non-Roma persons or institutions (Toma 2005)

References:

Achim, Viorel. 2001. Cigányok a román történelemben. Budapest: Osiris.

Barany, Zoltan. 2001. "The East European Gypsies in the imperial age." Ethnic and Racial Studies 24:50-63.

Beissinger, Margaret H. 2001. "Occupation and ethnicity: Constructing Identity among Professional (Gypsy) Musicians in Romania." Slawic Review 60:24-49.

Crowe, David M. 1991. "The Gypsy historical experience in Romania." Pp. 61–81 in The Gypsies of Eastern Europe, edited by D. M.Crowe and J. Kolsti. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Culic, Irina, István Horváth, and Cristina Raţ. 2000. "Modelul românesc al relaþiilor interetnice reflectat în "Etnobarometru"." Pp. 253-344 in Relaţiile interetnice în România postcomunistã, edited by N. Lucian and S. Levente. Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturalã.

Gheorghe, Nicolae. 1991. "Roma-Gypsy ethnicity in Eastern Europe." Social Research 58:829–844.

Gheţãu, Vasile . 1996. "O proiectare condiţionalã a populaţiei României pe principalele naþionalitãţi (1992 – 2025)." Revista de Cercetãri Sociale:77-105.

Grecu, M., Şerbănescu, A., Hang, D., Papps, I., Pop, L., Giosan, V. 2004. Evaluation of the Implementation of the law on Minimum Income Guarantee, Ministerul Muncii, Solidarităţii Sociale şi Familiei, Birks Sinclair&Associates Ltd, Durham.
Haller, István. 1995. "Conflict social - conflict intracomunitar - conflict etnic-pogrom?" Revista 22.

IPP. 2003. "Intoleranţã, discriminare şi autoritarism în opinia publicã." Institutul pentru Politici Publice, Bucureşti.

Kenrick, Donald. 1998. "'How Many Roads?'" Index on Censorship - Gypsies: Life on the Edge.

Merfea, Mihai. 1991. Integrarea socialã a romilor. Brasov: Editura Bârsa.

Ministry of Public Information. 2001. Minorities and Education in Romania, Bucureşti.

Péter, László. 2005. ""Romák, szegények, senkik vagyunk". Elemzési kísérlet egy szegény roma közösség etnikai identitásépíto stratégiáiról." Erdélyi Társadalom:25-49.

Petrova, Dimitrina. 2003. "The Roma: between a myth and the future." Social Research Volume 70:111-161.

Pons, Emmanuelle. 1999. Þiganii din România o minoritate in tranziþie. Bucureºti: Editura Compania.

Pop, Luana. 2003. Imagini instituţionale ale tranziţiei. Iaşi, Polirom.
Revenga, Ana, Dena Ringold, and William Martin Tracy. 2002. Poverty and Ethnicity. A Cross Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe, vol. 631. Washington, D. C.

Rostas, Iulius. 1998. "Problemele sociale ale romilor din România." Oficiul Naţional pentru Romi, Bucureşti.

Stewart, Michael Sinclair. 1993. Daltestvérek, a cigány identitása és közösség továbbélése a szocialista Magyarországon. Budapest: T-Twins Kiadó.

Toma, Stefánia. 2005. "„Az én cigányom". Informális gazdasági kapcsolatok cigányok és magyarok között." Erdélyi Társadalom:53-71.

World Bank Report. 2002. Local Social Services Delivery Study. Romania.

Zamfir, Elena and Cãtãlin Zamfir. 1993. Ţiganii - între ignorare si îngrijorare. Bucureşti: Editura Alternativ.

Zoon, Ina. 2001. "La periferia societăţii. Rromi şi serviciile publice în România." Centrul de Resurse pentru Comunităţile de Romi, Cluj.

iii) National Report Hungary

Ec - Pec Foundation
(Silvia Nemeth, Attila Papp Z.)

1. Introduction

The problems in relation to the education of Roma are constantly on the educational policy agenda in Hungary (Radó, 2002). It is because - as all available statistical data prove - that the majority of Romany students cannot succeed in the present Hungarian education system, while the school age population of Roma is increasing fast. The high drop-out and repetition rates also indicate the serious nature of the problem.

1.1 Discrimination against the Roma[9]

Social exclusion and discrimination against Roma in Hungary is widespread and manifests itself in housing discrimination, unequal access to health services, education, employment and lower living conditions. Moreover, the different facets of exclusion often reinforce each other. For example, geographic exclusion in housing may lead to economic exclusion if people are deprived of the possibility to attend mainstream public schools or to find jobs where they live.

The poverty rate of Roma is about 5-10 times higher than that of the non-Roma population. The majority of Roma live in segregated and isolated communities characterised by the accumulation of social and economical disadvantages.

Stereotypes and prejudice against Roma continue to be widespread in Hungary. The so-called majority population opinions on the Roma are formulated along the following stereotypes: they do not like to work, they use their children as sources of income, they are deviant, uneducated, aggressive, follow very different behavioural patterns and they are prone to criminality.

The prevailing concept is that Roma are responsible for their low social and economic standing. A considerable part of Non-Roma population believes that if Roma did more to help themselves their quality of life would improve. The experiences of the past years show that the majority of the society do not realise the problems of the Roma population, are not interested in improving their situation.

Although prejudice is pervasive, non-Roma feel that discrimination is unjust and believe Roma should have equal access to employment, and so on, but not preferential treatment.

1.2 The Roma on the labour market[10]

The primary cause of prevalent poverty of Roma population in Hungary is their reduced employment opportunities. As a result of their low educational level and their overrepresentation in segregated, economically underdeveloped areas that offer scarce

---

[9] Roma in an Expanding Europe: breaking the poverty cycle, www.worldbank.org/roma, Current Attitudes Toward the Roma in Central Europe, 2005 www.osi.hu, Public Opinion Research Sheds Light on Roma Attitudes, www.osi.hu

[10] Discrimination and inequalities in the Hungarian labour market, www.equalnurses.hu, Roma in an Expanding Europe: breaking the poverty cycle, www.worldbank.org/roma, The Situation of Roma in an Enlarged European Union (European Commission, 2004), www.romadecade.org

employment opportunities, unemployment rates and particularly long-term unemployment for Roma are exceptionally high. Their level of employment is about half as high, their unemployment rate is three to five times higher than the corresponding indicators of the non-Roma population.

The skills of the majority of Roma workers do not meet labour market requirements, whereas those Roma who possess marketable skills can still face barriers of prejudice to employment: racial discrimination is a powerful hindering factor of the access of Roma to the labour market.

As a result of the above factors unemployed Roma workers have much fewer chances than non-Roma workers for entering or re-entering the labour market. In such circumstances family allowance and social benefits are the only source of existence for many of them. Whereas in consequence of the long-term nature of Roma unemployment many unemployed workers exceeded the period of eligibility for receiving benefits.

Informal sector activity is also an important source of income for Roma. The types of activities vary widely, from lucrative trade and work in neighbouring countries to seasonal farming, gathering herbs and recycling used materials.

1.3 Health Care of Roma[11]

Among multiple social and economic disadvantages Roma population in Hungary does not have full and equal access to primary healthcare services. Housing segregation of the Roma and racial discrimination in health care system are the main factors behind the exclusion from health services and access to health services of inferior quality.

Many Roma live in segregated communities where public services are restricted or entirely unavailable. Excluding Budapest, 18.6% of the country's total Roma population lives in a settlement without a local GP.

As for racial discrimination, in its most extrem forms manifests itself in denial of treatment of Romani patients by health care providers or in inappropriate treatment.

Beside the unequal access to health care services the social and economic status of Roma population is the factor underlying the serious gap between the health status between Roma and non-Roma population in Hungary. As a result of overrepresentation in the lowest economic strata of the society, poverty, higher exposure to health-related risk factors such as poor living and working conditions and nutrition and low education Roma population shows a very poor health status. On average, the life expectancy of the Romani population is ten years lower than that of the non-Roma. For many types of disorder the Romani population shows a high rate compared to the overall population. The combination of illnesses and the high rates with which they occur can explain the shorter average life span of this population group from the medical point of view.

---

[11] Ambulance Not on he Way: The Disgrace of Health Care for Roma in Europe, www.errc.org
Babusik Ferenc (2002) : Health Status of the Romany Population www.delphoi.hu
Differences in Access to Primary Healthcare - Structure, Equal Opportunity and Prejudice www.delphoi.hu Roma in an Expanding Europe: breaking the poverty cycle, www.worldbank.org/roma

2. Roma in the Hungarian Education System[12]

According to recent research findings (Havas-Kemény-Liskó, 2002) 15% of the Romany pupils do not continue their studies after the primary school, while 57% of those who participate in further education go to vocational schools and only their 20% learn at secondary level. 2% of Romany students study in higher education (Kóczé, 2002). These data do not indicate that all the students who enter secondary education stay there and finish their studies successfully. The drop-out rate among Romany students is much higher than among Hungarian pupils. Although in recent years the drop-out rate has decreased in the primary school, it increased in vocational schools and in secondary level education with a final examination.

The reason for this situation is of complex nature. While analyzing its causes focusing on questions of interethnic relations, minority and human rights, and equity in education cannot be neglected. If we concretize these phrases language and social disadvantages, inappropriate pedagogical practice, problems related to learning motivation, discrimination, the generally bad relationship between schools and parents, the inappropriate content of Roma education program can be mentioned. The different combinations of these reasons can vary in every community (Radó, 2001).

Using various techniques of in-class discrimination, operating segregated classes, or teaching Romany pupils in Roma-dominated, segregated schools, sending non-disabled students to special schools for disabled or exempting Romany children from going to school by declaring them private students are the most common institutional practices for "solving" the problem. These techniques are not only of highly discriminative nature but studies (e.g. Reger, 1978) clearly show that no matter how well-meaning it is, long-term segregation simply does not work, re-integration of students with time becomes more and more difficult.

2.1 Problem description

2.1.1 Nurseries and kindergartens

Sociological studies show that Romany children usually start their educational "career" with a serious drawback and their lag is increasing during the period they spend in formal schooling (Radó, 2002). This drawback originates mainly in the fact that the knowledge collected in a Romany family is incompatible and mostly unusable within the boundaries of the "white school". So it would be the role of the kindergarten to make the two value-systems get closer, and prepare the child for his/her school-career but a considerable proportion of Romany children do not attend kindergartens. According to the representative research conducted in 1993-94 (Kemény-Havas-Kertesi, 1997) 40 % of three-year-olds, 54% of four-year-olds and 72% of five-year-olds were registered members of kindergartens. 72% seems to be quite a high rate but it should be noticed that at the age of five nursery education is compulsory in Hungary, because this is a preparatory phase for schooling. So it means that more than 20 % of children did not fulfill their obligations. The research data of Havas-Kemeny-Lisko in 2000 show a more positive picture. Only 6,5% of the sample of 1774 Romany parents reported that their children did not participate in school-preparatory education, while 88% of five-year-olds took part in it (Havas-Kemeny-Lisko, 2002). Researchers feel the need to highlight that

---

[12] Chance for Integration. (ed. Silvia Nemeth). OKI, 2005, Budapest.

being registered members of a kindergarten does not automatically mean that they visit it regularly. Statistics show that only every second child is a real participant.

2.1.2 Primary education

In 1993-94 90 % of the whole 15-year-old or older population finished their primary education by the end of the eighth year of schooling as set in the law. According to the representative research on Romany students conducted by Havas-Kemény-Kertesi (1997) revealed the fact that only 44% of the 14-year-old Romany children did so. If we take those pupils into consideration, too, who finished their primary education not on time but later, we can say that 77% of Romany teenagers own a primary school-leaving certificate. So nearly 25% of Romany children cannot continue their studies at a secondary level. The proportion of those who finish their primary education has increased since 1993 but very often there is no real, utilizable knowledge behind their performance. Statistical data collected by the Hungarian Institute of Educational Research (Havas-Kemény-Liskó, 2002) show that educational segregation of Romany pupils has increased in primary education since 1990. In 1992 every 12th or 13th Romany child (7,1%) learnt in an institution dominated by Roma. Nowadays this is true for every 5th or 6th pupil of Romany origin (18,1%). Considering the research data it can be substantiated that there are 126 primary schools with Roma majority in the country. 40% of all pupils of primary schools of Romany origin attend these schools, while only 6,3% of non-Romany children attend such schools.

2.1.3 Secondary education

According to research findings (Liskó, 2002. p.17.) two thirds of Romany pupils finish their primary education by the age of 16, while 14-15% of them finishes it by the age of 18. 85% of those students who finish the primary school in their lower age enter secondary educational level. Students gaining primary certificate at special schools can continue their studies at institutions of special vocational training.

The proportion of Romany and non-Romany students participating in secondary education can be seen well by examining the following table:

	Roma (in %)	Non-Roma (in %)
do not continue studies	14,9	3,2
special vocational training	9,4	3,2
vocational training	56,5	36,8
secondary school with school-leaving exam	15,4	38,1
grammar school	3,6	18,4

Table 1. Proportion of Romany and non-Romany students participating in secondary education (Liskó, 2002, p. 18.)

So 57% of Romany students continue their studies at vocational schools, while 19% of them go to secondary or grammar schools ending with final examination.

At the grade of 9 and 10 the 50% of Romany students drop out, which means that only 32% of them enter 11th grade. It can be supposed that dropping-out is also continuing in this grade, so the proportion of those who finally finish their secondary education is about 24%.

According to statistical data and research findings the majority of Romany students of the upper secondary level study at institutions of vocational training, and Havas-Kemény-Liskó's data show that this regards to Romany parents, too (Havas-Kemény-Liskó, 2002, p.33). The majority of responding parents, who own secondary qualification, had taken part in vocational training.

There is no consensus concerning the function, requirements of the grades 9 and 10 of vocational schools, the function of the examination of public education, the frameworks and financing of programs preparing for vocational education in grades 9 and 10 of vocational schools. In grade 9 of vocational schools the proportion of failures and drop-outs is very high. A part of the teachers work according to secondary schools requirements. Students are unmotivated, parents do not understand what this school is for, and they believed their children would get vocational education. Local governments maintaining these schools operate the grades 9 and 10 according to the 'remainder' principle, forcing schools to organize classes of 30-35. In the marketed in-service teacher training system there is no appropriate supply of courses on the methods serving the support of those who drop behind. Especially high is the drop-out rate of Romany students in the grades 9 and 10 of vocational schools, thus this educational phase cannot be regarded as an organic element of inclusive school, either.

In the vocational education grades of vocational schools students with different previous qualifications are trained for qualifications that give various opportunities to them. The competitive trades of commerce, services, electro-technology, woodwork, light industry can be studied after completing grade 10, the majority of trades of metal industry, agriculture, food-processing, chemical industry, construction, construction material industry can be learnt in two years after the successful completion of grade 8. The majority of Romany students of 16 or more years of age can only choose from among the latter trades. Especially narrow are the opportunities for Romany girls, as the majority of trades in commerce, services, light industry that are chosen by girls in Hungary can be studied only after the successful completion of grade 10.

In the last 3-4 years the erosion of vocational schools has continued. Today this institution is the school of "the rest", the least advantageous quarter of the pupils of a given year attending them. The unsettled conditions of grades 9 and 10 further damage the motivation of students. Due to low salaries a major part of vocational trainers are old, burnt out, and also unmotivated. Thus on the one hand the vocational school is unsuitable for inclusion, nor does it provide such opportunities and perspectives that would ensure that exacting educational policy and minority policy take them into consideration while defining the scenes of integration.

The only initiative in the last four years for introducing second chance-type programs is the catch-up training regulated in 27.§ (8) of the Act on Public Education, which would provide opportunities for the students not being able to get to the former primary schools for adults to enter the vocational year of vocational schools. Its name came from 27. § (7) of the Act on Public Education of 1996. To avoid misunderstandings it would be worth naming it "vocational school integration program". This regulation made it possible that practically each pupil can study all traditional trades. Influential representatives of public education policy, however, did not accept the positive discrimination element of catch-up training, i.e. the regulation that those of over 16 years without a primary school qualification are allowed to learn the functional elements of the closing stage of primary education that are required for starting vocational training. The conditions of starting to learn a trade have changed as well and according to present regulations catch-up education makes it possible for the student to enter vocational training if it prepares for

the exam of the given year of primary school, i.e. it takes the role of the former evening primary schools for adults. Catch-up programs have been launched in about 20 schools, the number of participants is less than 400.

2.2 One of the main problems – Segregation

There are four common types of segregation in the education system:
Segregation between schools, segregation within schools, special schools and Romany children as private students.

2.2.1 Segregation between schools

The development of segregated Romany schools is closely related to segregation in housing - the schools reflect local ethnic divisions, so there is a strong link between the institutional segregation of Romany children and their isolated places of residence. The reasons for this are twofold, caused by economic problems and the prejudiced attitudes of non-Romany parents.

In the 1990s a process of spontaneous migration took place, when the proportion of Romany population significantly increased in small settlements located in the poorer regions of the country and in the deteriorating quarters of bigger cities. Non-disadvantaged families tend to move out of such areas mainly because of decreasing work possibilities, and the lack of proper infrastructure, so the proportion of non-Romany students at local schools radically dropped. When due to the migration process the number of Romany pupils started rising in the schools, prejudices begin to work, and even some of those non-Romany families took their children out from the school, who did not move away. Havas-Kemény-Liskó (2002, p. 59) examining 192 schools found that in the case of 28 educational institutions it was clearly indicated that although the given school was the only one in the given village or town, most non-Romany children living there were sent to schools located in different settlements. Romany parents being discouraged by the costs of traveling and/or unaware of the importance of school-choice mostly chose the school nearest to their place of residence, supporting the development of ethnically segregated schools.

It has to be emphasized, that the schools of the ethnically segregated settlements are usually in a poor condition, thus providing no incentives for more affluent families to keep their children in these institutions.

The non-Romany parents' efforts of separation can also be successful because schools receive state subsidies according to the number of children they teach. This means that schools have to fight for children and, as a result, they try to gain parents' appreciation, they help creating Roma-free schools. As the Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (Ombudsman-report, 2001. p. 42) points out "the local governments and the schools often give in the pressure coming from the local non-Romany population and play an active role in creating such situations ". In addition to this, due to the normative per capita support provided by the state for the purposes of minority education), schools and local governments (as their owners) are interested in organizing different forms of minority education in order to increase their income.

There are two basic forms in which such education may be organized: the educational institution may qualify either as an "educational institution participating in minority education" or as a "minority educational institution". However, there are no clear-cut criteria as to what constitutes an "educational institution participating in minority

education". From the case law of the Minorities Ombudsman, we can conclude that an educational institution may be regarded as such if its deed of foundation contains reference to tasks related to national or ethnic minorities and if the school receives normative per capita support for minority education from the state budget (Ombudsman-report, 2002, p.298-299.).

The head of a minority educational institution may only be appointed and removed with the approval of the concerned minority self-government, whereas no such requirement is needed in the case of heads of educational institutions participating in minority education. The approval of the minority self-government is required for both types of institution with regard to – among others – the following: the establishment and closing down of the institution; the amendment of its scope of activities; the adoption and amendment of its budget; the assessment of the professional activity conducted in the institution; the approval of its rules of operation; the approval of the institution's educational program or pedagogical program, and the assessment of the implementation thereof.

2.2.2 Segregation within school

Due to the per capita support system of education, schools (and local governments as their owners) are interested to have as many students as possible[13]. Therefore, to prevent the above described 'emigration' of non-Romany children from schools where the proportion of Romany children starts to increase, some schools set up a class system making the segregation of Romany pupils possible. There are three basic forms of class segregation:

- special remedial classes, usually with a lower requirement level, poorer educational work and a disproportionate number of Romany pupils;
- special faculty classes offering extracurricular education (e.g. language teaching, advanced mathematics, etc), usually reserved for non-Romany children; and
- classes set up by misusing the institution of "Roma minority education".

The 2000 research by the Institute for Educational Research examined the proportion of Romany children in remedial and special faculty classes at the 192 surveyed schools. It showed that while the proportion of Romany pupils was 45.2% in normal curriculum classes, their percentage in mathematics faculty classes and language faculty classes amounted to 16.2% and 17.5% respectively. In the light of the above it shall also come as no surprise that their proportion was 81.8% in remedial classes (Havas, Kemény, Liskó, 2002).

There is also strong evidence that segregation is in part institutionalized by the misuse of funding for special measures for Roma education. Before the significant amendments of late 2002, state funding was available to local governments on an 'ethnic per student grant' basis to establish special classes for the Roma in the framework of so-called "Romany minority educational programs". The program was supposed to contain two elements: strengthening the children's Romany identity on the one hand and a catch up element on the other. In his 2000 report the Minorities Ombudsman bitterly summarized his main experiences concerning Romany minority educational programs: "We would not like to fall into the error of exaggerating generalization but we must say that in several

---

[13] In terms of Annex 3 Point 20 of Act LXII of 2002, the state support for public school education for grades 1–4, 5–8 and 9–13 is HUF 187,000 (USD 813), HUF 194,000 (USD 843) and HUF 240,000 (USD 1043) per pupil/student respectively.

cases the local governments – in cooperation with the schools – only organize Romany minority education to obtain the supplementary normative support and exploit this form of education to segregate the Romany pupils in a – seemingly – lawful manner" (Ombudsman-report, Budapest, 2001., p. 50).

A fundamental problem of the per student grant financing is that the amount of the grant, destined to reach the desired goal, is difficult to be determined (Varga, 1998), furthermore, the financing system is unable to manage the school specific cost differences. Moreover the cost differences are negatively correlated with the size of the schools/settlements, and the ratio of the disadvantaged within schools. Therefore the education of the disadvantaged would be more expensive per student in small settlement schools. The per-student grant financing is not able to handle such differences.

Another problem consist of the above- mentioned misuse of funding. If the aims of the financial assistance are not clearly defined, there are no incentives for the local governments to use the grant for the given purposes[14].

Children may be placed in separated remedial classes within "normal" schools on the basis of the expert panel's opinion (in the case of the child's slight mental disability) – detailed description of the expert panel's work is in Special schools section - or on the basis of the opinion of the educational advice center if the child is not mentally disabled but finds it hard to cope with school due to learning or behavioral difficulties, or other problems with fitting in.

With – theoretically – strong parental involvement, the expert panel conducts an examination and in its expert opinion it may conclude that the child's mental disability is of the extent that it does not require attendance in a special school, however, completely integrated education is not recommended either. In such cases the child may be sent to a normal school, where special remedial classes are organized.

Similar to the activity of expert panels, the procedure conducted by educational advisory center is also legally safeguarded against abuses. The examination may only be launched upon the parent's request, or his/her consent. These legal guarantees cannot fully prevent misuse: remedial classes are also often used to justify segregation of Romany pupils. The legal guarantees do not take the limitations of parental involvement into consideration. The parents of the Romany children relegated to the special class did not make use of their right to remedy. It is obvious that due to their educational disadvantages and restricted assertive abilities, the majority of Romany parents find it difficult to utilize the legal safeguards. Therefore, the provisions pertaining to the professional supervision of educational institutions at the local and institutional level are of outstanding importance.

Supervision can be initiated by the local government and the minority self-government at the local level, and the owner of the educational institution (most often the local government) has the right to initiate supervision at the institutional level. The possibility that the local minority self-government may request supervision is very important as the Minorities Ombudsman points out – "the local government is often counter-interested in a professional supervisory procedure" Ombudsman 2000, p. 54.). It is often the local government that we find behind discriminatory educational practices, whereas the right to

---

[14] Although theoretically special learning groups for the disadvantaged would mean greater per student costs, recent evidence shows, that schools educating disadvantaged children do not spent significantly more on education, than those, who do not. (Liskó et al.)

initiate professional supervision could provide minority self-governments with another useful instrument in acting against segregation.

2.3. Special schools

Romany children go to special schools in a proportion that is much higher than their proportion among school-aged children. The percentage of Romany children increased in special schools from about 25% in 1974-75 to 42% in 1992 (Data of the Ministry of Culture and Education, MCE', 1993). Due to the rules of data protection, no official statistics are available after this date, but numerous sociological studies have dealt with the issue. A 1997 survey involving 309 special schools estimated the percentage of Romany pupils to be over 40% (Radó, 1997), whereas a 1998 survey in Borsod-county showed over 90% of students attending schools with special curricula to be Roma (Loss, 2001). According to Havas, Kemény and Liskó (2002), about every fifth Romany child is declared to be mentally disabled. Most experts agree that a good number of Romany children attending special schools are not even slightly mentally disabled and are only relegated to such institutions due to the negligent failure to take into consideration their specific socio-cultural characteristics and owing to – conscious or unconscious – discriminatory considerations (Ombudsman-report, 2000. pp. 236–238.).

The reasons for sending these children to special schools are usually articulated according to the following: due to socialization defects in the family and to insufficient kindergarten attendance, children are socio-culturally disadvantaged and, as a consequence, they are unable to study at the same speed with the other children, so they require the use of special pedagogical tools and methods, within the walls of a special school or a remedial class. In practice, special schools and special classes generally mean low expectations, low-level teaching and segregation, due to which catching up with the others becomes impossible. Teaching in Roma-dominated or in a special school is a low-prestige job accompanied by more than the average work and less than the average sense of achievement. Most teachers do not regard this kind of work as a challenge and they are often ill-equipped to handle it, which leads to a contra-selection of teachers. As a result of the contra-selection the proportion of teachers having no degree at all is much higher in special schools and in special classes than elsewhere. Research findings show that in those schools where the proportion of Romany pupils is over 75% the average of unskilled teachers is 30,8%, and at schools with Romany students with less than 25% this percentage is 17,4 (Liskó, 2001, p. 25.).

The selection of children sent to special schools is made by an expert panel, a selection committee by the request of local schools and kindergartens. Where doubts emerge about the ability of students to cope with normal school, the 'expert panel' examines them for possible attendance at a 'special school', intended for children with physical or mental disabilities with lower requirements for pupils. Children remain at these schools until their abilities are considered to be sufficient for elementary education, and may continue through the auxiliary system throughout primary level, with practically no chance of continuing to secondary schools afterwards. Roma are disproportionately represented at both the testing and selection stages (Interview, November 2000). ECRI[15] reports that "such channeling, which in principle is carried out by an independent board, is often quasi-automatic in the case of Romany children" (ECRI (2000) 5, par. 31.). Every child who did not go to kindergarten has to be examined.

As we described above Romany children go to kindergarten in much lower proportions than their non-Romany peers. While the importance of kindergarten attendance is

---

[15] European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)

emphasized by many and research (e.g.:Havas, Kemény and Liskó, 2002) shows that in the case of Romany children there is a strong link between regular kindergarten attendance and school success, it is difficult to measure the direct effects of kindergarten attendance to school success, since it is viable to suppose that children whose parents consider regular kindergarten attendance important have a different family background from those whose parents might even be late to send their children to school.

The other reason for Romany children ending up in special schools is that experts examining children still use measures that are inadequate to decide about the abilities of children socialized in poor and/or minority families.

If the child goes to kindergarten it is the nursery teacher's task to establish whether the child is suitable for school attendance. If he/she believes that the child has some physical or mental disabilities that would pose a problem in this respect he/she shall contact the parent and suggest that the child has to be examined by the expert panel on rehabilitation. If the child does not attend kindergarten, his/her suitability for school attendance shall be established by the educational advisory center. If the educational advisory center comes to the conclusion that the child is physically or mentally disabled it shall suggest to the parent that the child has to be examined by the expert panel. If doubts about the child's capacity to cope with "normal school" emerge in the course of school education (if the child has learning, behavioral difficulties or problems with fitting in), the educational advisory center conducts a preliminary examination.

The expert panel examines the child and prepares an expert opinion. The expert opinion shall – among others – include the statement of disability, the description of the facts supporting this conclusion, a conclusion on whether the child shall attend a special educational institution or may participate in integrated education, and a list of those educational institutions where – taking into consideration the panel's conclusion concerning the learning capacity of the child – the child can fulfill his/her educational obligation.

The procedure is based on parental involvement. As a reaction to the indications concerning the disproportionate number of Romany children in special schools, a Decree regulating the work of the expert panels was amended in 1998 and 2001 with the aim of strengthening the role of the parents in the process. At present the parent's most important rights are the following:

- Upon the voluntary request of the parent, in the course of their examination the educational advisory center and the expert panel shall take into consideration the special linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of children belonging to minority groups.
- The examination of the expert panel shall be launched upon parental request or with parental consent.
- If the educational institution believes that the child ought to be examined by the expert panel, it contacts the parent and suggests the child's participation in the examination. The reason for the suggestion shall be communicated to the parent.
- If the parent consents, he/she shall sign the request for expert examination, which is then sent to the expert panel by the educational institution.
- the examination of the expert panel may not be started in the absence of the parent, unless the parent's whereabouts are unknown or he/she is permanently prevented from attending the examination. (The parent is obliged to participate in the examination.)

- the expert opinion of the expert panel shall contain a warning that if the parent does not accept the opinion, he/she has the right to request the competent notary for a review of the opinion.
- the expert panel informs the parent of the possibilities in accordance with which the child may fulfil his/her educational obligations. From among the educational institutions suggested by the expert panel it is the parent who chooses the so-called "designated" educational institution.
- The parent shall be informed about the contents of the expert opinion. A copy of the opinion shall be handed over or sent to the parent. In the course of the information process, the parent's attention shall be drawn to the fact that the implementation of what is included in the expert opinion is only possible if he/she agrees and his/her consent is verified by his/her signature. The parent's attention shall also be drawn to the fact that if he/she disagrees with the contents of the expert opinion, he/she may initiate its amendment by launching a public administrative procedure with the competent notary.
- If the parent agrees in writing with the expert opinion, the expert panel sends it to the designated educational institution.

Besides parental involvement, a further guarantee against potential mistakes in the procedure is that in the case of students with slight mental disabilities the expert panel shall review its opinion one year after its initial decision, and then in every second year until the child reaches the age of 12. After this time the review shall be carried out every three years.

2.4. Romany children as private students

A relatively new method of separating problematic Romany children has evolved recently: declaring them private students and exempting them from going to school. Private students must be exempted from all class attendance and the private students fulfil their educational obligation by taking exams at the end of each semester before an independent panel.

There are two ways in which a child can become a private student, depending on the parent's choice, the child's educational obligation may be fulfilled by school attendance or as a private student. The other case is when the child has some kind of disability, learning or behavioural disorder, and the expert panel decides that he/she shall become a private student. In the former case it is the parent's obligation to prepare the child for the exams, whereas in the latter, this obligation remains with the school.

In 2001 the Minorities Ombudsman started receiving complaints claiming that in some schools the parents of "problematic children" are persuaded to request that the child be declared a private student. Sometimes parents are even threatened that they either do so or the child will be sent away from the school. Therefore, the Minorities Ombudsman requested the Ministry of Education to introduce safeguards that may prevent such abuse. In accordance with the request, Ministry of Education inserted a new provision which claims that if the parent claims that the child wishes to become a private student, the school's principal shall request the opinion of the local child care service within three days, which shall respond within 15 days.

In his 2002 report the Minorities Ombudsman states the following: „In spite of the amendment, we still receive complaints from this field. The local government, the school and the childcare service usually stand on the same side. Numerous complainants

claimed that the childcare service [...] contributed to the pressure from the school and the local government with its consenting opinion. The reason behind the phenomenon is to be found in the often helpless situation of the Romany parents and in the approach that can only handle differences through the means of segregation" (Ombudsman-report 2002, p. 127.).

References:

Ágnes Székely, Background Review of Previous Policies, NIPE, manuscript, 2003.
Ambulance Not not he Way: The Disgrace of Health Care for Roma in Europe,
www.errc.org

Angela Koczé, Roma hallgatók a felsőoktatásban, (Romany students at univeristies)
manuscript, NIPE, 2003.

Babusik Ferenc (2002): Health Status of the Romany Population www.delphoi.hu
Beszámoló a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségi jogok országgyűlési biztosának
tevékenységérõl (2002): január 1. – 2002. december 31. (Report on the activity of the
Parliamentary Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, 1 January
2002 – 31 December 2002. Hereinafter: Ombudsman-report, 2002). Országgyűlési
Biztosok Hivatala, Budapest, 2003.

Beszámoló a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségi jogok országgyűlési biztosának
tevékenységérõl (2000): január 1. – 2000. december 31. (Report on the activity of the
Parliamentary Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, 1 January
2000 – 31 December 2000. Hereinafter: Ombudsman-report, 2000). Országgyűlési
Biztosok Hivatala, Budapest, 2001.

Beszámoló a nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségi jogok országgyűlési biztosának
tevékenységérõl, 1999. január 1. – 1999. december 31. (Report on the activity of the
Parliamentary Commissioner for the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities, 1 January
1999 – 31 December 1999. Hereinafter: Ombudsman 1999). Országgyűlési Biztosok
Hivatala, Budapest, 2000.

Chance for Integration. (ed. Silvia Nemeth). OKI, 2005, Budapest.
Current Attitudes Toward the Roma in Central Europe (2005): www.osi.hu,

Data of the Ministry for Culture and Education (hereafter 'MCE'), 1993

Differences in Access to Primary Healthcare - Structure, Equal Opportunity and
Prejudice www.delphoi.hu

Discrimination and inequalities in the Hungarian labour market, www.equalnurses.hu,
Elizabeth Lorand, Preface, 2001, in: Susan Rona, Linda E. Lee, School success for
Roma children, Step by step special schools initiative, Interim Report, OSI, New York,
2001.

Gábor Havas - István Kemény - Ilona Liskó, Cigány gyerekek az általános iskolában
(Romany children in primary schools) Oktatáskutató Intézet, Új Mandátum Kiadó, 2002.

Ilona Liskó, Cigány tanulók a középfokú oktatásban (Roma students in secondary
education), Új Pedagógiai Szemle, 2002/11. p. 17-40.

Interview with an official at the Office of the Ministerial Commissioner for Educational
Rights, November 2000.

Irén Vágó, Óvodai intézményrendszer, óvodai nevelés az ezredfordulón, (Pre-school
institutions and pre-school education at the turn of the millennium). Új Pedagógiai
Szemle, 2002/12.

István Kemény István – Gábor Havas – Gábor Kertesi, Országos reprezentatív vizsgálat 1993-94. (Representative research) MTA Szociológiai Intézetének beszámolója. In: Vajda Imre szerk. Roma szociológiai tanulmányok – Periférián. Ariadne Alapítvány, Budapest 1997.

Júlia Varga, Oktatás-gazdaságtan, (Educational economics). Közgazdasági Szemle Alapítvány, Budapest, 1998.

Katalin Pik, Romák és óvodák, (Roma and kindengartens) http://www.romapage.hu/tudomany/index.php?kozep=tan021.htm,

Péter Farkas, A roma fiatalok és fiatal felnőttek versenyképes szakképzésésnek jogszabályi feltételei (Legal condirions of competitive vocational training of Roma youth and young adults). (NIPE manuscript, 2003).

Péter Radó, Developing Policies for the Education of Roma Students, manuscript, p. 6. Péter Radó, Jelentés a magyarországi cigány tanulók oktatási helyzetéről (Report on the education of Roma students in Hungary), National and Ethnic Minority Department, 1997.

Péter Radó, Roma education policies in Hungary, p. 43-62, in: Christina McDonald - Judit Kovács - Csaba Fényes, The Roma education resource book, OSI, Budapest, 2001.
Public Opinion Research Sheds Light on Roma Attitudes, www.osi.hu

Roma in an Expanding Europe (2004): breaking the poverty cycle, www.worldbank.org/roma,

Roma in an Expanding Europe (2005): breaking the poverty cycle www.worldbank.org/roma,

Sándor Loss, Egy csapásra, Roma gyerekek útja a speciális iskolába, (The way of Romany children to special schools) www.romapage.hu/tudomany/index.php?kozep=tan077.htm, 2001.

Silvia Nemeth-Zoltán Hermann- Dániel Horn-András Kádár-Attila Papp Z. – Ágnes Székely: Guidelines for abolishing segregated education of Roma pupils. Policy Note, 2004. In: Chance for Integration. (ed. Silvia Nemeth). OKI, 2005, Budapest.

The Situation of Roma in an Enlarged European Union (European Commission, 2004): www.romadecade.org

Zita Réger, Cigányosztály, "vegyes" osztály - a tények tükrében. (Gypsi classes-"mixed classes" in the light of facts). Valóság 21 (8): 77-89.

iv) National Report Italy

IPRS, Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research, Rome
(Alessia Mefalopulos, Raffaele Bracalenti)

1. Introduction

The new global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models (…) nor is it susceptible to simple models of push and pull (in terms of migration theories).
A. Appadurai 2002

The fast changes of the "globalized era" demand a new interpretation of the world. Anthropologists and sociologists have in turn re-adapted old concepts or coined new expressions in order to describe it. Auge's "non-places", Giddens' "disembedding", Geertz's "world in pieces" and Appadurai's "ethnoscapes", just to mention a few, are all attempts to define this complexity.

Although it can be easily recognized that each of these definitions has a meaning, as intended by the authors, that is unique and cannot be conformed to fit any of the others, it is also clear that all these concepts are rooted in the common idea of *mobility* as a shared standpoint. We may say, in Clifford's words, that contemporary social sciences began "from the inescapable fact that Westerners are not the only ones going places in the modern world."[16] It is mobility (of people, as well as of ideas, images, goods, etc.) that makes "closed" concepts such as "identity", "culture", "nation", etc., sounds totally useless and no longer suitable to describe and understand today's world.

It is precisely because mobility is such a core issue in contemporary society that immigrants, along with refugees, tourists, "and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree"[17]. This is what Appadurai's "ethnoscapes"[18] refer to, meaning by this concept "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live". Central to ethnoscapes, as well as to mediascapes[19] and to ideoscapes[20], is the concept of *deterritorialization*, defined as "one of the central forces of the modern world" in which "commodities and persons are involved in ceaselessly chasing each other around the world."[21]

Deterritorialization is what makes perhaps the most relevant difference between the "linguistic minorities" of Italy and the migrant communities in the country. The lack of

---

[16] Clifford, J. "The pure products go crazy". Introduction to *The Predicament of Culture*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1988
[17] Appadurai 2002
[18] The suffix "-scape" is used by the author to indicate a multi-dimensional quality, susceptible to look differently according to one's angle of vision. (Appadurai 2002)
[19] Mediascapes are defined as providing "large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and 'ethnoscapes' to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of 'news' and politics are profoundly mixed" (Appadurai 2002)
[20] "Ideoscapes are also concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (Appadurai 2002).
[21] Appadurai 2002

historical ties with the territory they inhabit exposes immigrants to a greater risk of marginality and poverty. At the same time, deterritorialization can become a resource too. In some cases, instead of fading away into a vacuum, immigrants converted the former ghettos in which they used to live into quite fashionable "ethnic" neighbourhoods that became important centres of trade, exchange and sometimes of innovation. European cities such as Paris and London are clear examples of this. Accordingly, it is logical to expect similar changes in forthcoming years for countries with a more recent immigration history, such as Italy and other Mediterranean countries in Europe. From this perspective, research on migrant communities becomes extremely challenging, for it involves the analysis of how they organize themselves in order to achieve integration and to avoid marginality and poverty.

In this sense, Italy stands out as an ideal laboratory, given the extreme heterogeneity of its "ethnoscapes". It was precisely for this reason that we decided to focus our research on a migrant community in Italy in order to investigate how the potential within such a community can convert into tomorrow's resources within the complex landscape so effectively depicted by Appadurai. The choice of the Moroccan community was due not only on its being among the most numerous and oldest national groups in Italy, but also on several other qualitative indicators that seem to suggest that the community's networks are extremely alive, as well as controversial. In addition, the Moroccan community is one of the few immigrant communities in Italy today with regards to which it is possible to speak of a second generation.

1.1 The history of minorities in Italy

The 1948 Italian Constitution recognizes the presence of *linguistic minorities* as specifically referred to a few groups that have been present in Italy for centuries and are identified as having their own culture and language. Article 3 of the 1948 Italian Constitution states that, "All citizens are invested with equal social status and are equal before the law, without distinction as to sex, race, language, religion, political opinions and personal or social conditions", while Article 6 grants special protection to linguistic minorities by means of a special law. The co-existence with the mainstream society has never led such historic minorities (namely Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovene, Croatian, Franco-Provençal, Friulan, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian) to create any significant conflict. Instead, as a result of the complex internal and external developments following 1945, some of these groups have been able to take advantage of their acknowledged heritage (linguistic, as well as cultural and geographical). The French-Provencal community in Val d'Aosta and the German-speaking minority in Trentino Alto Adige, for example, have been given an extensive set of rights within a specially designed regional and provincial framework of autonomy that grants the two minorities full self-government. More recently, in 1999 a Framework Act on the *Protection of Historic Linguistic Minorities* was enacted guaranteeing all recognized linguistic minorities in Italy legal protection for their languages and cultures.

Although those groups defined as *Historic Linguistic* minorities have been the only minorities that Italy has acknowledged for a long period, more recently Italians have experienced a different type of "minority". In fact, in concomitance with the 1973 worldwide economic crisis and as a consequence of the traditional destination countries in Europe closing their borders to foreign immigrants, Italy started to become a destination country for foreign immigrants, along with other Southern European countries that had formerly been identified almost exclusively as a source of manpower for richer countries all over the world. Although historically Italy's transition phase from an

emigration country to a destination country is generally ascribed to the year 1973,[22] it was not until the late 1980s that foreign immigrants were "discovered" as a new, but already significant presence in the country. From then on, in addition to the former and more official term *linguistic minority,* which continued to be used in reference to cultural and linguistic minorities with Italian nationality, the expression *ethnic minority*, borrowed from the anthropological disciplines, was adopted to describe foreign communities generated by the migratory flows that crossed the Italian borders from the '70s onwards. The narrow, discriminatory borderline between the older, official *linguistic minorities* protected by law and the new communities of people coming from other countries was therefore drawn along the line of "nationality". In political debates, in the media and soon afterwards in the common language as well, the term "ethnic", adopted from anthropology and borrowed from more complex societies such as the United States, began to be used to describe these new minorities. However, as many authors[23] have emphasized "ethnic identity" is a "selective construction"[24]. In other words, it is a relational term that consequently cannot be understood on its own but only in opposition to certain forms of "otherness"; this invention (seen in other settings as well, such as during colonialism in Africa) has the main aim of emphasizing diversity, often in conjunction with the need to organize diversified access to resources[25]. In Italy, the term "ethnic" can be found in references to different forms of art (music, literature, cinema, etc.) and products (clothes, jewellery, etc…), as well as identified with specific, often fashionable sites (ethnic shops, markets, bars/restaurants, etc.), but it is also extensively used as a broad synonym for "exotic".

In selecting the specific group that we targeted for our research, we have chosen *national origin* as a benchmark for delimiting a community of people. In fact, nationality often plays a central role in determining the routes and modalities of the migratory paths as well as in influencing the settlement process in the host country. While *ethnicity* is a rather "risky" category to apply to a minority since, as mentioned above, it is quite an arbitrary concept often conveying outsiders' views, *nationality* can be seen as a more rigorous benchmark, in that it essentially refers to certain features considered to be "objective" both by people who belong to that community and by those who do not. For example, a passport is one such objectively perceived feature. Passports are an example of such objective features. However, although the criteria for delimiting the benchmark "nationality" may appear to be clear and evident, they are far from self-explanatory. Thus, in explaining why and how we chose *nationality* as a benchmark for selecting our target group, we think it useful to review the meanings and the limits of this category first.[26]

What does "nation" refer to?

- "A named human population which shares myths and memories, a mass public culture, a designated homeland, economic unity and equal rights and duties for all members" (Smith 1995)
- "… An imagined political community…" (Anderson 1983)

---

[22] 1973 is in fact the first year in the country's history in which the balance between emigrants and immigrants is in favour of the latter.
[23] See Fabietti 1998 for a particularly keen discussion of this subject.
[24] "The identitary feeling, once it is being produced in terms of self-identification within a certain group, has a "performative effect", meaning that it immediately instigates images, representations, reactions which reinforce and confirm diversities" (Fabietti 1997)
[25] "Diversities are being emphasized, constructed, invented, whenever the point at issue is access to resources" (Fabietti 1997)
[26] For this report, we have deliberately excluded the debate on nationalism, as well as on the historical building of the nation and on the difference between State and Nation. We considered these issues to be too complex for adequate consideration here and feel they have been thoroughly addressed elsewhere.

- "… A human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself" (Guibernau 1996)
- "(Nationality is) …the legal bond between a person and a State and does not indicate the person's ethnic origin". (The European Convention on Nationality; Strasbourg, November 1997).

It is interesting however to notice that, when speaking of migrants in a foreign country, the commonly accepted association of "nationality" is with "identity". For example, passports (one of those "objective features" linked with the idea of nationality) are generally acknowledged as the "identity detectors" of an individual, yet in reality only reveal the individual's "official" identity. The question therefore is: are there other elements that one can assume to be derived from nationality?

For the purposes of our research, we can attempt to define *nationality* using a combination of both the descriptions mentioned above as well as those listed below:

- Shared origins from a certain *geographical area* delimited by national borders (not always, e.g. the descendants of Italian emigrants, who perceive themselves as Italians despite being born and growing up in another country);
- A shared *language* (though this does not always apply, for example, in the former Yugoslavia and in many Latin-American countries, where many different indigenous languages are spoken within the border of one "nation");
- A shared *culture*, meaning a shared set of formal and informal norms, practices and beliefs, including religion (again, this is not always true, e.g. Latin American countries where as many as thirty diverse peoples can live within the same national borders);
- A shared *institutional system* and bureaucratic machinery.

Of all the features listed above, only the last one seems to refer *exclusively* to the idea of a "nation". It can therefore be assumed as a common denominator for delimiting the imaginary borders of what we have identified as the *nationality* benchmark (although other features, among those mentioned above, may be involved as well). In fact, from a very practical perspective, the national institutional system and the national bureaucratic machinery are what make the real difference among the various migrant communities in terms of eligibility for entering the host country or for prolonging one's stay there (e.g., documents and requirements may vary substantially according to nationality). The national institutional system creates its own channels and modes, both formal and informal, which all migrants have to consider in the moment when they are making the decision to leave as well as along their migratory and integration paths once in the host country. This holds true for both "legal" and "illegal", or undocumented, migrants. For example, formal agreements between governments (such as the one made between Italy and Libya) trace a "legal path" and at the same time an "illegal path" for migrants. The option to turn to the national embassy and/or consulate regarding personal "official" identity (e.g. passport loss or expiry) or in case of emergencies (e.g. war in the host country) represents one more example of how such "significant ties" are inevitably created in a community's network according to nationality, and are thus shared by all people belonging to that national group.

1.2 Migrant communities

In Italy today, to speak of minorities according to the criteria of nationality essentially means to target the *immigrant communities*. From a certain point of view, migrant

communities are the ideal representatives of the *g-local* culture. On the other hand, as migrants they "import" concepts such as identity, nation, etc., while they themselves unknowingly contribute to subsequential deconstruction of these terms as well. Moreover, as long as they are labelled as "immigrants", they are seen as a minority group and must face and cope with the risks of discrimination/exclusion and with the challenge of integrating themselves within mainstream society. Therefore we ought to ask, in accordance with what we wrote above: how does nationality affect the community's vitality and potentials, its ties and its networks? Does nationality influence other informal channels (e.g. migratory chains, informal communication and information channels, etc.) accessed by the community, and if so, to what extent? Does nationality effectively contribute to changing the potentialities of an immigrant community and the integration paths of its members?

Accordingly, shifting our attention from the outsider point of view (what enables us to identify each migrant community using the *nationality* benchmark) to the community's *insider point of view,* we might ask: do members of such a community identify themselves as belonging to one single nation? Or is the network within the outline of the national benchmark further disassembled into multiple networks, thus suggesting that other issues (such as language, religion, etc.) might be assigned the core criteria for self-identification?

The last question is particularly interesting, in terms of network analysis since it can shed light onto the ties existing within a migrant community. Thus more questions arise: are such ties managed exclusively by the community (e.g. through Moroccan associations); are they co-managed with outside actors as well (e.g. Mosques attended by members of numerous immigrant communities); or rather are they managed by external actors exclusively (e.g. schools and hospitals in the host country)? The answers to these questions can also shed light on the ways in which migrant communities organize their resources, as well as on the strategies that have been devised in order to overcome the risks of marginality and poverty.

When analysing the *effects* that the potentialities of a minority community might have within the context of majority society, it is essential to first identify the pre-conditions that determine what kind of potentials a community has since these conditions are likely to also influence how the potential is applied. In other words, we should make an effort to distinguish the community's social capital[27] from the external conditions that can play an important role in facilitating or impeding the success or marginality of the community itself.

Legislative and social protection measures set up by the mainstream society are among the primary conditions that can heavily influence the way in which a certain minority can "use" its social capital. For example, the set of rights that members of the Moroccan community, and all other migrant communities, have access to is strictly linked to the acquisition of Italian citizenship. According to Italian immigration law, the acquisition of Italian citizenship is still based on *jus sanguinis.* Though there are some exceptions[28] the

---

[27] Sandra Wallman (2004) defines social capital in the following terms: "…It is neither a network of contacts waiting inert, like money, to be hoarded or spent or invested, nor is it the automatic outcome of people with something in common getting together. The piece missing from both definitions is the meaning which people (…) put into the web which links them. Specifically, the missing piece is trust. (…) Trust has to be invested to convert connectedness into social capital".

[28] There are roughly three main categories of such exceptions: a) *children born in Italy to foreign parents*: they are allowed to apply for Italian citizenship when they turn eighteen years old and before they turn nineteen, *if* they are able to demonstrate they have resided in Italy since birth; b) *foreigners married to an Italian national* can obtain Italian citizenship after three years of marriage if they are able to demonstrate they have resided in Italy for at

procedures are neither quick nor easy and there is no guarantee that they will be successful. Active political participation with the right to vote as the core of democratic jurisdiction, is only granted to Italian nationals. This holds true for both political (national) and administrative (local) elections, although there is currently a political debate in sway regarding the possibility for foreigners to participate in local elections after five years of residing in the country.

Access to social protection and economic benefits available to Italian nationals - such as maternity benefits, welfare benefits, child allowances or unemployment benefits - is also strictly linked to the status of the individual as an immigrant. Although most forms of social protection are open to both EU and non-EU nationals, applicants are required to have a Permanent Residence Card[29] issued by the Italian government as a prerequisite to accessing the benefits.

2. The Moroccan Community in Italy

Together with the Albanian and the Romanian communities, the Moroccan community represents one of the largest national minorities in Italy. Furthermore, the Moroccan community is one of the oldest immigrant settlements in the country (immigrants from Morocco were among the first economic migrants to come to Italy) and can be considered today as being permanently established in Italy. Two indicators above all help measure the status of the Moroccan community: the number of females, which recently grown to be over 40% of the total community; and the significantly large number of second generation children of Moroccan origins attending Italian schools. Additionally, one less typical indicator, although not less significant, is particularly notable with regards to the Moroccan community: the large number of Moroccan associations currently existing in Italy. Within the extremely heterogeneous though still recent nature of immigration in Italy, the Moroccan community thus represents an exceptional case - exemplary and controversial at the same time - and a challenging target group for our research on community potentials and on the strategies devised in order to overcome poverty and marginality.

In the case of Moroccans it is interesting to observe that nationality is often counterweighted by religion as an identification criterion. As a result, the specific features of the Moroccan community disappear and they are only seen as part of the wider group of Muslims. Among Muslims, the Moroccan community is indeed the largest national group in Italy today.

Although in recent years nuclear families are in constant growth in Morocco, they are still a minority. This growth is the consequence of a multiplicity of factors ranging from the reduced size of family houses in urban areas, to the drastic social changes brought about by the new 2004 Family Code (*Mudawana*). The extended family, a feature typically ascribed to Arab culture and preserved through the years despite the acculturation process that occurred during French colonization (1942-1956), maintains its fundamental role as the core of Moroccan social structure. The extended family represents not only an informal network where individuals are guaranteed lifelong protection, but also an extended set of (mostly unspoken) codes and rules where nothing is left to chance (for example, families always designate someone who is expected to take care of an orphan or a widow in case of the death of a male family member). Within

least six months before marriage; c) *length of stay*: foreigners can apply for Italian citizenship if they are able to prove they have been residing continuously in Italy for at least 10 years.
[29] The Permanent Residence Card is the document authorizing foreigners' residence in Italy for an open-ended period. In order to obtain it, one must prove that she/he has been legally residing in Italy for 6 years at least, that she/he has a regular employment, and that her/his monthly income is above a certain fixed amount.

this network, women play a key role. Therefore, when investigating the potentialities, the resources and the strategies of the Moroccan community in Italy, it is important to consider the centrality of the extended family as it is predictable that individuals migrating will symbolically bring this core function with them and they will re-shape it, distance themselves from it or create new trans-national networks to keep it alive.

2.1 Historical background and geographical distribution

Migration flows from Morocco to Europe started in the beginning of the sixties in response to the request for manpower in European countries. The Moroccan government supported and enhanced emigration[30] until the seventies when some of the major destination countries in Europe began to adopt restrictive migratory policies. This shift caused a change in the composition of Moroccan immigrant flows: while the first emigrants were primarily illiterate farmers dislocated from their land (Rif, Sous) as a result of the post-colonial Agrarian Reform, the later flow was mainly composed of urban (Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Agadir, Marrakesh etc.), often educated young males. Unlike their predecessors, whose destinations were mostly "traditional" destination countries in Europe such as France, Belgium and Holland, the "new generation" of Moroccan migrants gradually started to head towards countries in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf.

Considering all recent emigration from Morocco, four historical phases are identifiable in the migratory process from Morocco:

i)   individual male migration (1960s-1970s)
ii)   family reunification (from the 1973 oil crisis till mid-'80s)
iii)   migration for seasonal employment (till the beginning of the '90s)
iv)   "illegal" (undocumented) migrants[31]

Despite these various migratory phases, emigration from Morocco is characterised by a constant flow, particularly towards countries such as Italy and Spain whose geographical proximity and higher "benevolence" towards foreign immigrants could encourage the existence of a type of "commuter-migration".

According to official data from the Moroccan government, around 2.5 million Moroccan citizens (8% of the whole population of Morocco of 31,689,265) were residing out of the country in 2003, the primary destination countries being France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Italy.[32] In the same year, there were 227,940 Moroccan immigrants in Italy.[33]

In Italy, the first flow of Moroccan immigrants was predominantly made up of male migrants coming from rural areas in which extended families comprise the core of the social structure. Soon after arrival in Italy, these migrants worked mainly as street sellers, in the building industry or in seasonal agriculture. This was facilitated by the lack of

---

30 Montanari, R., "Integrazione possibile? L'immigrazione musulmana in Italia tra diritti ed esclusione"

31 Khachani, M., 1998. Migration from Arab Maghreb countries to Europe: Present situation and future prospects. Forum 5 (1) maggio.

32 Leichtman, M. A., 2002. Transforming Brain Drain into Capital Gain: Morocco's Changing Relationship with Migration and Remittances. The Journal of North African Studies 7(1):109-137.

33 Mainly coming from the mountain area of Agadir and from the central farming Province of Beni-Mellal. The Province of Beni Mellal has been strongly characterized by land disputes and inequalities in land tenure, which in turns contributed to the growth of a very high rate of population living in extremely poor conditions, although this Province is considered as one the most fertile regions in the country. This, in turns, contributed heavily to determining migration of labour force from the area and dependence from the money transferred from abroad of the rest of the population.

restrictive measures targeting street trade as well as by the lack of rigid migration policies. These first immigrants generated a series of migratory chains[34], partly fostered by the idea that it was possible to "make a fortune" in European countries. The scope of this migration, however, was largely economic and temporary. Only recently, following a slow and difficult integration process, have Moroccan citizens residing in Italy started a process of sedentarization, giving way to family reunification with the arrival of women and children.

As mentioned above, the number of Moroccan citizens residing[35] in Italy has been growing constantly, increasing from 117,487 in 1996 to 194,617 in 2000 and reaching 294,945 in the year 2004 (see Figure 1).
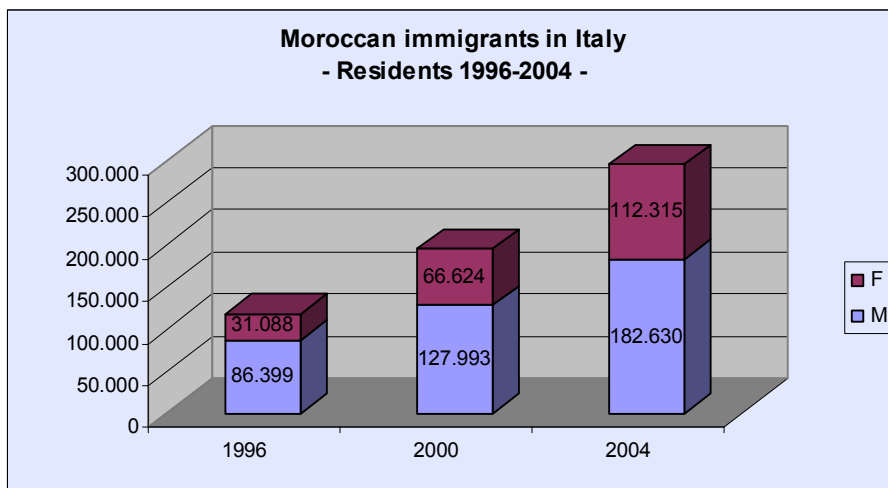
Figure 1

The most interesting aspect of such growth, though, regards the female proportion, which grew from 26.5% in 1996 to 38.1% in 2004, thus giving way to a better balance between the two sexes within the community – an indicator generally regarded as very significant in terms of the integration process within the receiving society, in that it indicates that a sedentarization process is under way. Figure 2 illustrates the growth of the number of females within the Moroccan community.

---

34 Dal Lago A., 1994. Tra due rive, la nuova immigrazione a Milano, Franco Angeli.
[35] The data on the legally present foreign population in Italy come from two sources: the Ministry of the Interior and the National Register. The *Ministry of the Interior* maintains the data regarding numbers and types of *permits to stay* issued each year. However, minors of 18 years age are not issued individual permits to stay and consequently the data provided by the Ministry of the Interior do not include minors. Minors appear instead in the data provided by the *National Register*, which counts the number of foreign citizens who register themselves as residents in the towns, although it is not compulsory for foreigners to register themselves and as a consequences these data, too, may be underestimated.

**Moroccan immigrants in Italy
- % Females 1996-2004 -**
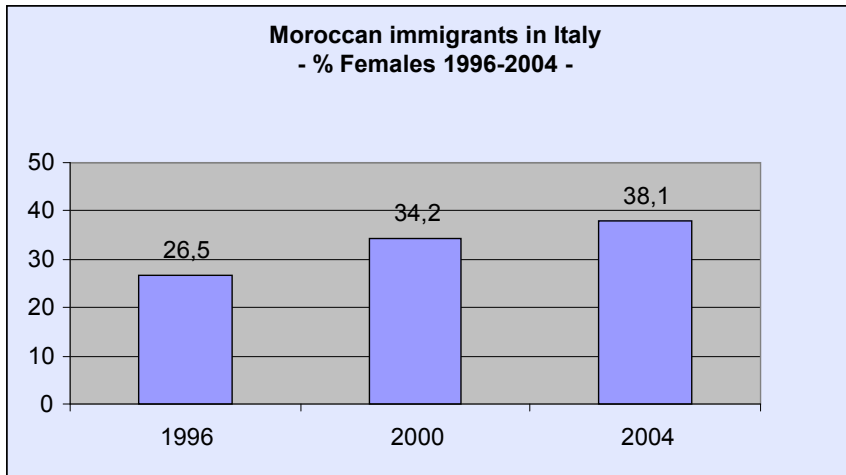
Figure 2

With regards to the geographical distribution of the Moroccan community in Italy, the northern area of the country seems to confirm its status as an immigrants' preferred destination area - a choice primarily based on the working opportunities found there. In 2004, 217,659 Moroccan citizens were residing in the north of Italy, 40,603 in the centre and slightly less, 36,683, in southern Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia. That is to say, almost three out of four Moroccan citizens in Italy live in northern Italy.

**Moroccan immigrants in Italy
Geographical distribution - Year 2004**
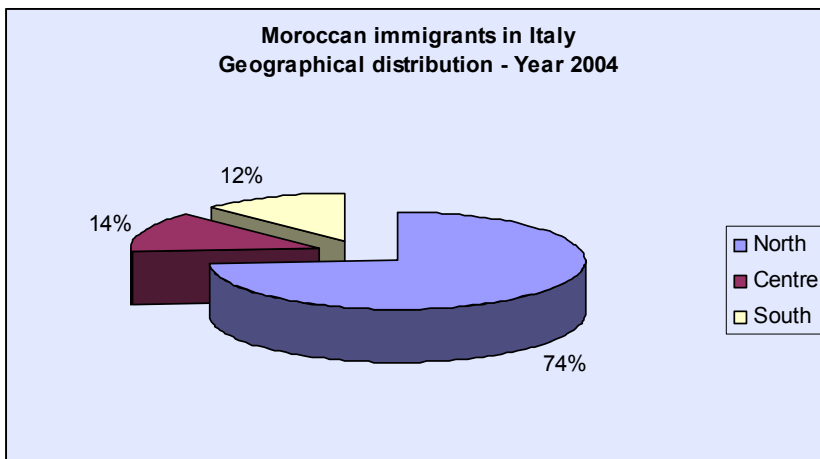
Figure 3

However, it is interesting to highlight that, despite absolute values varying so much between the North and the rest of the country, no consistent difference can be detected regarding the female rates. In 2004, female Moroccan immigrants residing in Italy represented 39.0 %, 38.6% and 31.7 %, respectively in the North, the Centre and the South, of the whole Moroccan population residing in Italy (Figure 4), thus suggesting that the integration process of the Moroccan community is not limited to the northern regions.

Moroccan immigrants in Italy
% Females - Year 2004

North	Centre	South	Italy
39	38,6	31,7	38,1
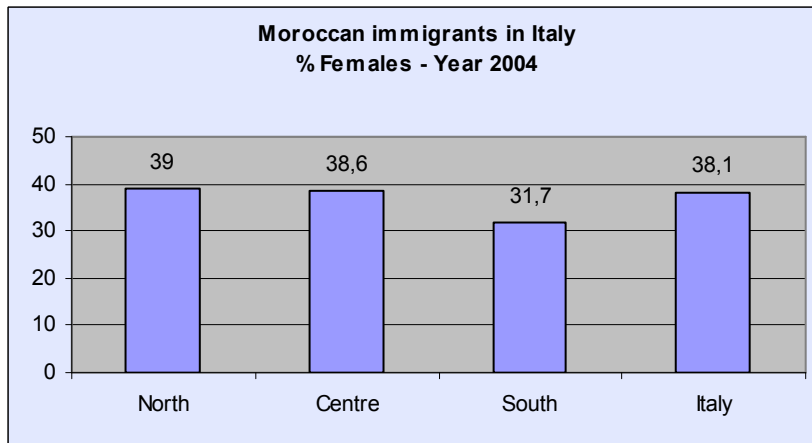
Figure 4

However, despite the general data depicting an homogenous picture, an insight within each specific local context displays greater heterogeneity. Very interesting data emerge, for example, when considering the data referring to Rome, Milan and Turin, three of the main cities in Italy. Figure 5 illustrates such heterogeneity: in 2004, Moroccan citizens residing in Milan represented 6.5% of all foreign migrants, while in another northern city, Turin, Moroccan citizens comprised 18.4% of the migrant population – almost three times more Milan's rate. Such a difference between two cities in the same area during the same period confirms the importance that migratory chains have for new migrants. Turin has a longer history of Moroccan immigration and thus the migratory chains have had more time to establish and facilitate immigration. The difference between the two cities suggests the need for further investigation of the functioning of such ties and of the community's network as a whole.

Moroccan Immigrants
% on total foreign population - Year 2004

Rome	Milan	Turin	Italy
2,0%	6,5%	18,4%	12,3%
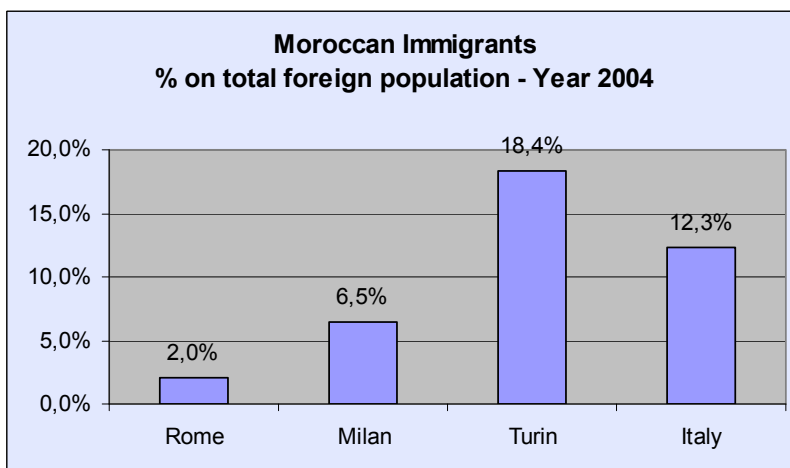
Figure 5

One more contradictory datum emerges when comparing the two Northern cities with Rome. In fact, despite the small size of the Moroccan community compared to other migrant communities in Rome (2.0 %), the community's composition shows that the capital city is far from being considered a mere "transit city" by Moroccan immigrants. A glance at the gender composition of the Moroccan community shows a higher female rate in Rome (41.6%) compared to Turin (39.2%), Milan (36.3%), and even to the national average (38.1% - Figure 6).
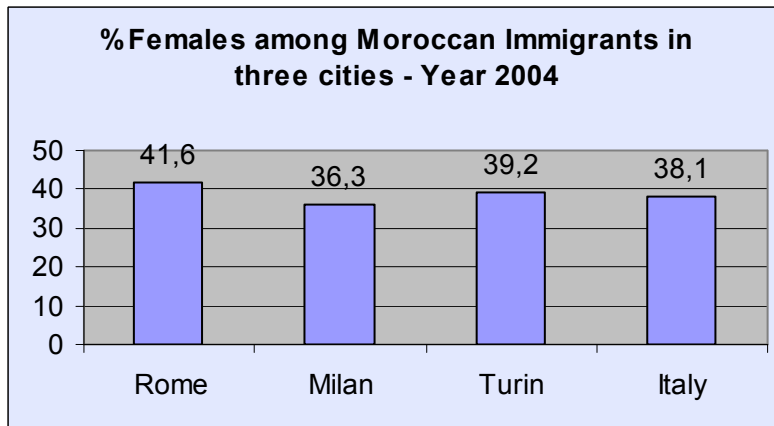
Figure 6

This fact reminds us that smaller numbers do not necessarily imply more precarious and less stable immigrants. However, statistical data clearly suggest that Moroccan women do not arrive solely as wives or mothers as part of family reunification, thus contradicting common stereotypes on Muslim women. A glance at most recent data available on Permits to Stay indicate that almost one out of three Moroccan women are in Italy for employment reasons (Figure 7).
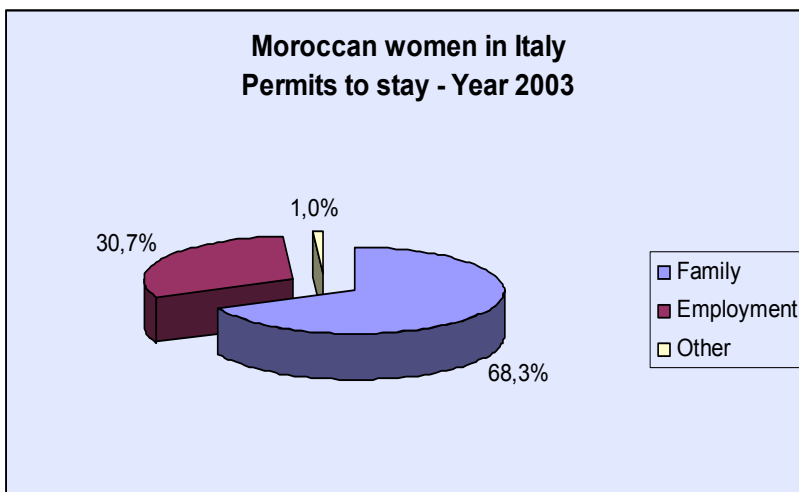
Figure 7

Our research on the Moroccan community in Italy will focus on the local realities of Rome and Turin as our targets for field research. Our choice is grounded on the attempt to describe as clearly as possible the complexity and richness of the social texture of a migrant community. The contradictory data reported above appear quite challenging under this perspective.

2.2 Employment
Moroccan immigrants stand out for their level of self-employment and entrepreneurship. According to official data of the Italian Ministry of the Interior, among Permits to Stay for Employment issued to Moroccan citizens (72% - Figure 8), the rate of permits issued for self-employment has grown constantly in recent years in nineteen out of twenty regions.
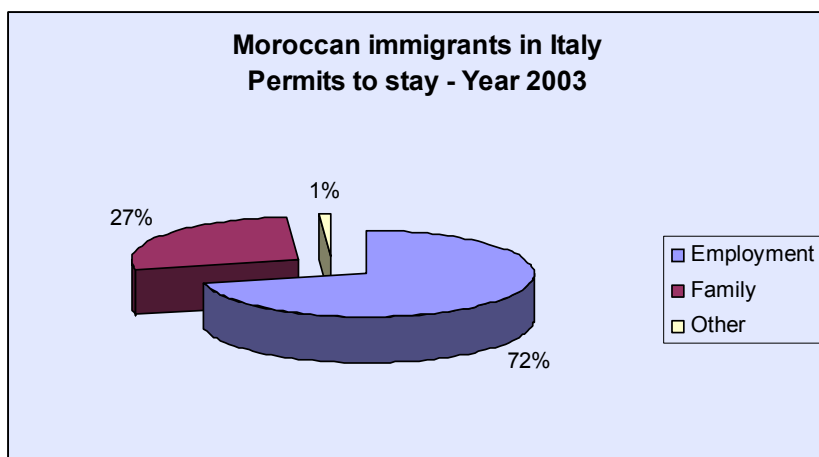
Figure 8

Comparing the rates of Permits to Stay for Self-Employment issued to the largest national groups residing in Italy, it can be easily recognized that Moroccan nationals have one of the highest rates[36] (14.8%) and are second only to the Chinese (20.5%) - a national group whose entrepreneurship is largely known in Italy and elsewhere - and to Senegalese (17.1%), who mainly work as street sellers (*Figure 9*).
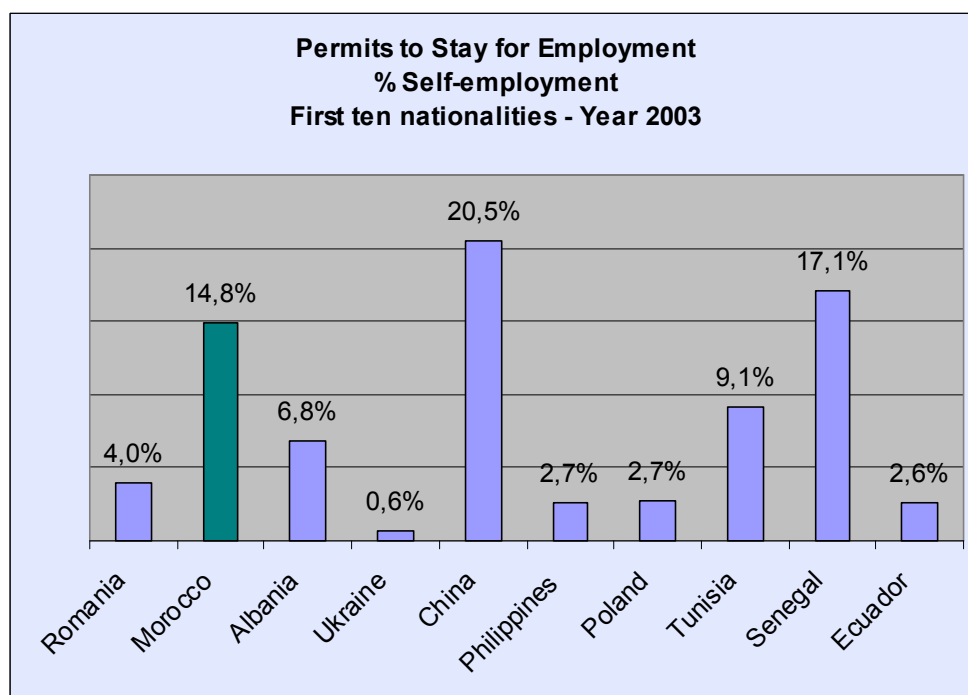
Figure 9

The figures on Moroccan immigrants are even more striking if we consider individual enterprises[37] (*Figure 10 and 11*). Moroccan-born citizens owned 35,312 enterprises in year 2005, followed by the Chinese with 22,865 enterprises and Albanians with 16,778. The individual enterprises owned by Moroccan-born citizens represent 17.5% of all enterprises funded by a foreign-born citizen in Italy in 2005, but it is even more interesting to highlight the growth that occurred in the period 2000-2005, during which

---

[36] The other rates of all Permits to Stay for Employment issued to Moroccan citizens in year 2003 are: 80% subordinate employment and 5% search of employment.
[37] "Individual enterprises with foreign-born owners". Source: Unioncamere-InfoCamere (Chamber of Commerce)

time the percentage of foreign-owned enterprises owned by Moroccan-born individuals nearly tripled (increased by 189.2%).

Figure 10

The main business areas of such enterprises are, firstly, trade and selling activities (26,684 enterprises), followed by building (4,751), transportation (1,866) and manufacturing (1,092). Moroccan-born citizens' enterprises working in the agricultural area are very scarce (only 113).
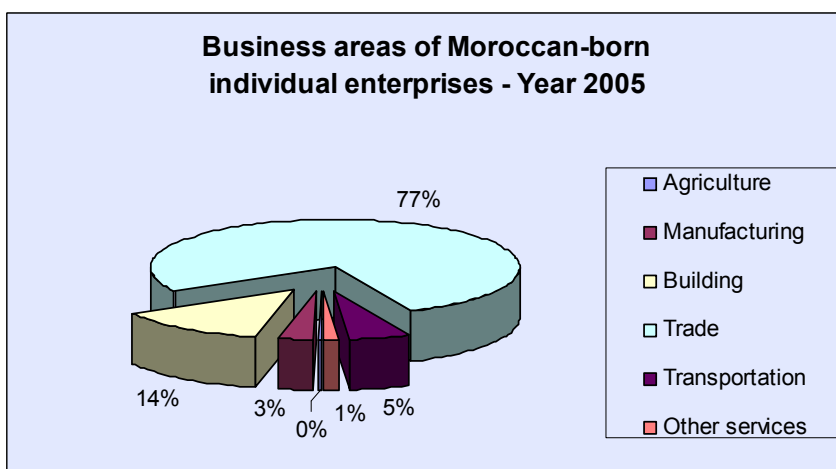
Figure 11

2.3 Health and access to the Italian Health Care System

One more indicator generally regarded throughout the literature on immigration as significant for the integration process concerns access to the host country's health care system. According to the few official data[38] available, Moroccan immigrants' access to the Italian Health Care System is rather satisfactory, with more than one individual out of five (21.5%) having been hospitalized in the year 2000. Such a percentage is one of the highest among the largest immigrant national groups in Italy (*Figure 12*) and is second only to immigrants coming from former socialist countries in Europe (ex-Yugoslavian

---

[38] Source: Italian Health Ministry

countries, Romania, Albania), who are supposedly more accustomed to relying upon a national health care system.

Hospitalization %
First national groups - Year 2000
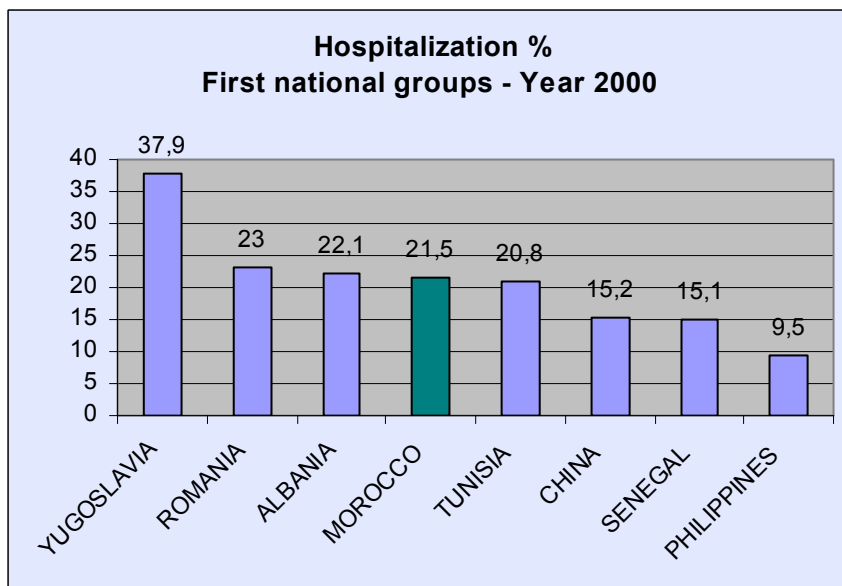
Figure 12

It must be mentioned, however, that the data related to hospitalization also includes "irregular"(illegal) immigrants. In fact, according to Italian law, foreign citizens who have entered the country illegally or whose Permit to Stay has expired, and are therefore not residing in the country legally, may access the national health care system should they find themselves in need of medical care. In such cases she/he will be assigned a personal card, renewable after six months, containing an identification code and her/his own medical history in Italy, but not her/his personal data. Although such a system is supposed to guarantee full anonymity to irregular immigrants and thus encourage them to ask for medical assistance in case of need, many immigrants fear that the contact with public health institutions would reveal their illegal presence on national territory. As a result many irregular immigrants prefer not to ask for medical help.

Cultural barriers represent another major obstacle to immigrants in accessing the national health care system. This is especially true for immigrants coming from non-western countries, or from countries with a strong healing tradition parallel to the institutionalized health care system. This is a particularly delicate issue for immigrant women coming from such cultures who are perhaps less likely to access national health care during pregnancy or for other female specific exams. The data on the high rate of hospitalization among the Moroccan community acquires particular relevance in light of these considerations as it appears that Moroccans access the national health care system to a greater extent than one might expect. It should be noted however, that the figures are not broken down by gender and do not include out-patient services.

2.4 Education
According to the most recent data provided by the Italian Ministry of Education, some 361,576 non-Italian pupils attended classes in Italian schools in year 2004/05. Out of these, 52,191 were of Moroccan origin - that is 14.4% of all foreign pupils, which is second only to Albanians.

A glance at the historical trend of Moroccan pupils' presence in Italian schools during the last decade shows a trend in constant growth (see the figure below[39]).

Moroccan immigrant pupils in Italian schools since 1995
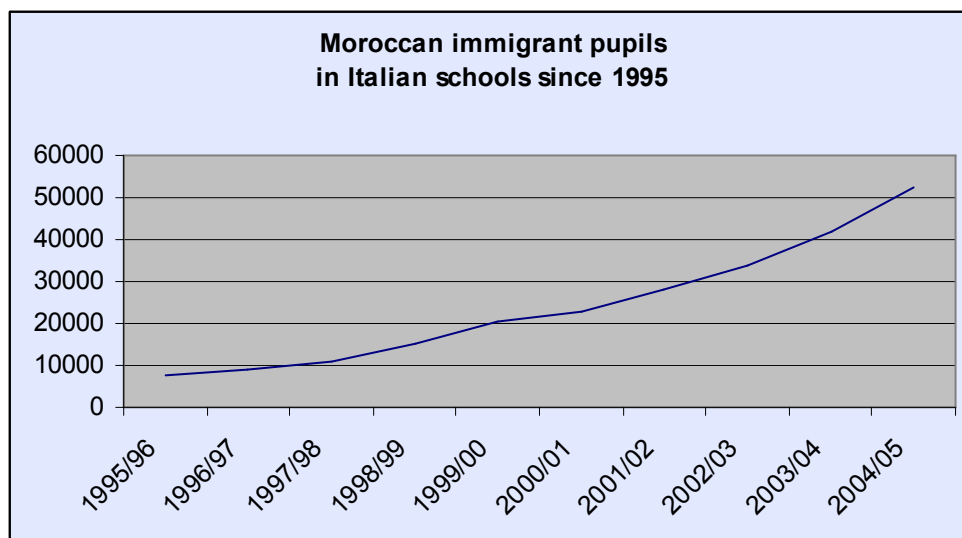
Figure 13

Females make up 44.6% of Moroccan pupils, which is not far from the average among foreign pupils of 46.9%. However, the percentage of females amongst Moroccan students decreases in secondary school to 42%.

According to a study conducted by IPRS on school success among foreign pupils in southern regions of Italy,[40] almost four Moroccan pupils out of ten have experienced at least one transfer during their lifetime. While such transfers frequently occur within the same area in Italy, in many cases they refer to the migration trip from the home country. This indicates that many Moroccan pupils begin attending Italian schools at an age when socialization has already begun (e.g., they started school at home). While research is lacking, the high presence of Moroccan born students in Italian schools in the south, who immigrated *after* having started school, suggests that the current generation of Moroccan youth in Italy may present challenges to the school system and larger society that would not be present amongst second-generation students.

Although these findings cannot be applied to the whole national territory, due to the limited sample and geographic area, the data reported above seem to confirm the commonly held picture of Italy as a country split in two – the North and the South – with southern regions representing a "transit area" for most immigrants who spend some time there before heading northwards,[41] where there are more job opportunities.

While a direct comparison is not possible due to the lack of similar data referring to northern Regions, it is nonetheless interesting to highlight some findings from more recent research[42] on foreign pupils in southern regions, that focuses on secondary

---

[39] Source: Italian Ministry of Education
[40] IPRS – Azione di Sistema per lo Studio dell'Immigrazione nel Mezzogiorno. *Successo scolastico e percorsi di integrazione degli alunni stranieri nelle Regioni del Sud.* Longitudinal research still under implementation, Unpublished project document
[41] The North of Italy is generally considered as the wealthiest area of the country, with a higher labour demand.
[42] IPRS – Azione di Sistema per lo Studio dell'Immigrazione nel Mezzogiorno. *Approfondimento sugli alunni stranieri nel Sud alle scuole superiori.* Longitudinal research still under implementation in eight Provinces of two Regions of Southern Italy. Unpublished project document

school pupils[43]. The picture emerging from this research is that of Moroccan students who are largely influenced, or "encouraged", by their parents in making the decision to continue going to school (after the so-called "obligatory cycle"): while 56% of all foreign students made the decision on their own, only 44% Moroccan students did so. The great majority of Moroccan students (78%) state that they are "satisfied" with the decision taken.

Language – one of the most significant factors in the integration process – is a considerable barrier for many Moroccan youth; while only 14% of Moroccan minors admit that language represent a serious obstacle to their full integration, 47% state that they have not encountered any language barrier at all, either with friends or at school. This suggests that while language is not an obstacle for nearly half of the population, more than half do experience language as an obstacle to active participation in school. The fact that the majority of the respondents (66%) state that their mother tongue is the only language spoken at home is an indicator that schools are particularly important for language instruction.

As far as socialization is concerned, 37% (the great majority males) state they socialize with their Italian peers and 26% socialize almost exclusively with Moroccan peers.

The level of parental involvement in their children's school activities presents itself as an indicator of the attitude within the Moroccan community in regards to schools, but may also be a consequence of parents' language barriers. Only 37% of Moroccan pupils state that their parents regularly attend all meetings with teachers, while in the remaining 63% cases, students' parents either meet their children's teachers sometimes, or not at all.

2.5 Unaccompanied minors and deviancy
When speaking of the Moroccan community in Italy, one must mention the phenomenon of unaccompanied children – a relevant phenomenon in Italy, which is too often connected to criminal activity.

The presence of "foreign unaccompanied minors" - that is, minors without a parent or other adult guardian - constitutes one of the most critical elements of current international migration. When analysing the foreign minors present in Italy, it is essential to consider foreign unaccompanied minors since they represent one of the most numerically and socially significant sections of this population. The exponential growth of the phenomenon of these unaccompanied minors is a problem that in recent years has come to concern all the European Union member states, although Italy has been particularly affected by this phenomenon so that it has become an emblematic case that required the adoption of more specific and effective intervention.

Although the number of unaccompanied Moroccan minors reported remained fairly stable in 2004 (1,602 in June 2003, 1,639 in 2004), Morocco is still one of the countries from which the greatest number of unaccompanied children arrive, representing together with Romania and Albania – the other countries largely represented among unaccompanied minors - about 70% of all reported unaccompanied minors.

In 2002, Moroccan minors charged with a crime represented 18.4% of all foreign minors charged with a crime – not far from the percentage for adult Moroccan citizens (17.3% of

---

[43] By "Secondary schools" it is intended here levels 9-13 (age 14-18) of the Italian education system, comprising different typologies of high-schools (i.e. scientific studies, classic studies, foreign languages, arts, etc.) as well as of more technical and vocational schools.

the total number of foreign citizens charged with a crime in the same year[44]). For both unaccompanied children and adults, Moroccan immigrants have more charges for criminal activity than any other foreign community (note that these are counts and not rates). Far from suggesting a deterministic view, this data may be taken as a significant indicator of one type of migratory pattern for Moroccan emigrants in which illegal immigration (alone or in conjunction with other criminal activities) is frequently regarded as the only possibility to leave the country. This is of particular relevance for unaccompanied children[45], whose migratory experience is frequently enabled by and connected to extended family present in the host country. The unaccompanied minors are subsequently inserted in a kind of criminal ethnic network.

Both the regularity of the migratory flow and the stabilization of migratory path can be factors that reduce the risk of criminal behaviour, as demonstrated by the fact that foreign minors who are citizens of countries who have more recently begun to migrate towards Italy are more at risk of coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. In fact, though we do not have the data for 2003 on minors charged with a crime, the preliminary data suggests that there was a drop in the number of Moroccan and Albanian minors charged with a crime, while there was a rise in the number of minors charged with a crime, who come from countries with a "younger" migratory history, such as Moldavia and Romania.

2.6 Discrimination

As far as we know, research on discrimination against Moroccan migrants in Italy has not been conducted to date. However, an interesting research was conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO)[46] on discrimination against migrants in access to employment. Although the research aimed at measuring discrimination against migrants of any origins, Moroccan migrants were chosen as representing all migrants. Thus, the research was conducted on one group of young male first-generation Moroccan immigrants, particularly in semi-skilled and low-skilled jobs in which competition between Italian and Moroccan applicants can realistically be assumed. To this end, three sectors were investigated (manufacturing industry, construction and services) in three large cities (Turin, Rome, Naples). The results show an overall net-discrimination rate of some 37 per cent - meaning that in more than one out of three application procedures regular migrant workers were discriminated against - which is similar to the rates found in other European countries such as Belgium, Germany, Spain and The Netherlands. Thus, according to this study, Moroccan migrants in Italy experience discrimination on the grounds of their actual or perceived nationality, colour, religion, "race", or ethnic origin. All these cases add to more "objective" disadvantages, such as inadequate education and training, scarce access to employment networks, non-recognition of qualifications gained abroad and inadequate command of the host country's language.

Another interesting study was conducted by the Committee Against Racism[47] on discrimination against immigrants in access to housing. Individuals pretending to be foreigners of various origins replied by telephone to offers of accommodation advertised in newspapers or by real estate agents. Sometimes, owners and agencies openly stated that they did not want to let to foreigners. In many cases, however, they were told that the accommodation was already let, while it was available in subsequent phone calls to

---

[44] Source: data from ISTAT, processed by IPRS
[45] See final document of Project: *InTo: Inside the Outsiders: Deviant Immigrant Minors and Integration Strategies in European Justice Systems.*
[46] ILO. "La discriminazione dei lavoratori immigrati nel mercato del lavoro in Italia", International Migration Papers, 67-I
[47] The research was conducted in Turin in 2000.

Italians. This illustrated that there was a high rate of discrimination against foreigners in access to housing.

2.7 Qualitative indicators related to the community's vitality

Speaking of a minority community and of its level of insertion within, and integration into the majority society, it can be extremely helpful to take a look at less-objective indicators that can nonetheless be significant for the quality of the life of the community. This includes associations, access to and production of information, mixed marriages, amongst other indicators. In this report, we will define them as "vitality indicators".

2.7.1 Associations

Funded with the aim of mediating between the community and Italian institutions, associations among Moroccan immigrants constitute an unexpectedly vital picture despite the fact that, as Moroccans themselves state, associations are not a "habit" in Morocco. A study conducted on this issue in a Region of Northern Italy[48] highlighted some of the features characterizing Moroccan associations:

- Moroccan nationality as the first condition for admission
- Vertical management (particularly in associations that have been in existence for 5 years or more)
- Extremely precarious financial and logistic conditions
- Scarce activities and low involvement of the local community
- Fund-raising through public initiatives, such as fairs, ethnic festivals, etc.

It is interesting to note that many interviewees attributed the community's infrequent participation in the activities of such associations to the Moroccan community's aversion to any "collective dimension" in activities occurring outside the extended family. Nevertheless, Moroccan immigrants can today rely on the newly-formed "Confederation of the Moroccan Associations in Italy" (*Confederazione delle associazioni marocchine in Italia*), which consists of some 125 associations funded and managed by Moroccan immigrants all over Italy.

It is interesting to notice that, among the main objectives of the *Confederation of the Moroccan Associations in Italy*, the issue of integration with/within the Italian society is not the top priority. In the words of its president, Ms Souad Sbai[49], the main objective of the Confederation is instead to fight the influence of Islamic centres, which are considered to be extremist and in contrast with the laic principles of the Moroccan community and regarded as "dangerous" for Moroccan youth. The second objective of the Confederation is to fight for the rights of women in Moroccan society and in accordance with the new Moroccan Family Code approved in 2004. As far as the Italian context is concerned, the main issue the Confederation intends to address is that of citizenship rights, with particular regards to children of Moroccan origin born in Italy who, according to current Italian legislation, do not automatically acquire Italian citizenship.

---

[48] Borri, S. "Le reti associative dei cittadini marocchini residenti in Lombardia", in *Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine.* UE Research Project Final Report, 2002
[49] Beckar M. "Visibilità zero. Intervista con Souad Sbai" in *Una città* n.129, 5-2005

2.7.2 Mixed (interracial) marriages

According to the XIV Italian General Population Census (2001), mixed marriages between Italian and Moroccan citizens are consistent only in the case of a Moroccan man and an Italian woman. Such a case represents in fact the highest percentage (6.6% or 3,125 marriages) of mixed marriages (Italian and non-EU national) according to 2001 Census and it can be regarded as indicative of a successful integration process. The opposite case (Moroccan woman-Italian man) is not even among the top ten types of mixed marriages. However, one can expect that the prevalence of this type of mixed marriage will increase as the population of migrant Moroccan women grows (especially if this group includes women who are coming for work rather than for family reunification).

2.7.3 Access to information

Al Maghrebiya, a monthly magazine in Arabic addressed to immigrants coming from the Maghreb countries and particularly from Morocco, has been distributed all over Italy since 2003. The magazine contains news regarding the home countries as well as the migrants' communities in Italy; it provides updates on laws and other events related to migration and thus represents a valid source of information for many migrants. According to its editors, *Al Maghrebiya* has a circulation of 20,000 per month.

3. Moroccan immigrants in Italy: *one* community?

The existing literature on Moroccan migrants in Italy depicts a minimally cohesive and extremely heterogeneous community. According to the interviews carried out for a study in northeastern Italy[50], Moroccan migrants depict their own community as lacking strong ties of "solidarity" among its members.[51] This insiders' view of the network characterised by rather weak informal ties seems to be confirmed by the opinion of a social worker in an adult prison in the city of Verona. According to this interviewee, Moroccan inmates are condemned and marginalized by their own community as well as by Italian society in general.[52]

Dal Lago and his co-authors[53] highlight how, particularly in the case of the Moroccan community, the migratory experience is characterized by such a high degree of mobility and by so many different types of migratory plans that it would make more sense to speak of a "Muslim" community, rather than of a specific "Moroccan" one.

The ties with home-country, along with the rest of the extended family, including those members who emigrated to other European countries, are maintained throughout the year. Many Moroccan emigrants who have settled down in Italy return to Morocco at least once a year on holiday. This journey is generally undertaken by the entire nuclear family residing in Europe and represents a means for every member to maintain his/her roots with the country of origin.

Many of the findings presented in this report on the Moroccan community can be extended to other immigrant communities – and indeed the experience of migrating, or

---

[50] Bertani, M. *Comunità e integrazione: marocchini, cinesi e ghanesi nella provincia di verona*. 1998-1999. University of Padova, Unpublished degree thesis
[51] To validate these words, a couple of saws were reported as examples by the interviewees: "If you see two people together, be sure that all weight will be on one's shoulders"; and "Two snakes hardly live in the same hole".
[52] As mentioned by the same interviewee, the most frequent reaction observed in the Moroccan community with regards to Moroccan inmates is something like: "They did wrong, they pay"
[53] Dal Lago, A., Barile, G., Galeazzo, P., Marchetti, A. *Tra due rive. La nuova immigrazione a Milano,* Franco Angeli, Milano, 1994

the memory of such experience, constitutes a "special" feature of any migrant community and should therefore not be forgotten when studying it.

Obviously, the Moroccan community has its own peculiarities as well. One of the reasons why we decided to focus on the Moroccan community is that it is one of the oldest migrant communities in Italy, thus allowing researchers to study a relatively "stable" community. This means that the community is established to the point that it is possible to identify resources available within its imagined and/or real borders and focus on the strategies developed in order to overcome the risks of poverty and exclusion – the core issues of our research. This, however, was not the only reason for choosing the Moroccan community. The findings reported in the above pages illustrate some of the peculiarities that make this community so interesting within the context of immigration in Italy.

As a comparison, the Philippino community is as old as the Moroccan community. Nevertheless, the two communities have taken significantly different paths and play very different roles in mainstream Italian society today. The Philippino community, characterized by Catholicism and the predominance female immigrants, has taken a "discrete" path with women working inside private houses and in most cases even living with their employers' families. In contrast, the Moroccan community pays the price of being part of the larger Muslim community with all the consequences that this implies following the events of 9/11. As Muslims, Moroccan citizens are paid an exaggerated amount of attention by ordinary people as well as by the media – and such attention is generally uni-directional, portraying Muslims in a negative light. The type of insertion within the local labour market provides more evidence of the different integration paths followed by the Philpppino and the Moroccan communities in Italy. While Philippino migrants have the certainty of dependent, domestic work, Moroccan migrants passed from being engaged in very precarious jobs – such as agricultural seasonal employment and the building industry – to the risks and the challenges of self-employment. From this point of view, the Moroccan community apparently shares more features with the Albanian community in Italy. Nevertheless, migratory flows from Albania have known a much more tumultuous history than Moroccan immigration and it has always been characterized by a balance between the two sexes.

Despite the numerous differences within the Moroccan population, which is made up of multiple faces and personalities, a pattern amongst Moroccan immigrants in Italy is evident although the community can by no means be said to be as homogenous as is generally believed by mainstream Italian society. Statistically, some of the features characterizing the Moroccan community are quite worrisome - e.g., criminality among adults and minors, with the main crimes being associated with drug dealing; poor school performance among second generation children at Italian schools; and the continuous phenomenon of unaccompanied children. However, some other indicators shed a much more "constructive" light on the overall picture of the Moroccan community. The entrepreneurial talent characterizing Moroccan immigrants and the great number of associations funded by them, just to mention a couple of the issues discussed in the present report, represent just a few examples of extremely interesting features, especially when considered within the framework of the integration strategies and active participation in the mainstream society, that can be ascribed to the Moroccan community. For all these reasons we consider the Moroccan community to be a particularly challenging target group for our research on the power of a community's social networks and strategies for overcoming the risks of poverty and exclusion. The Moroccan community in Italy not only shares the difficulties that immigrants often encounter, but also embodies traits that can help it overcome these difficulties and gain a solid foothold within Italy society as productive members.

References:

Anerm, El Sur, Punto.Sud, Coopi (eds), Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine. UE Research Project Final Report, 2002.

Appadurai, A. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" in Featherstone, M. Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity. London - Thousand Oaks - New Delhi, SAGE Publications 2002.

Augé, M. Non luoghi. Introduzione a una antropologia della submodernità. Milano, Eleuthera 1993.

Beckar M. "Visibilità zero", in "Una città" n.129, 5-2005.

Bernadotti, Megale, Mottura. Immigrazione e sindacato. Stesse opportunità, stessi diritti. IV Rapporto. Roma, Ediesse 2006.

Bertani, M. Comunità e integrazione: marocchini, cinesi e ghanesi nella provincia di verona, Degree thesis, University of Padova (Unpublished) 1998-1999.

Borri, S. "Le reti associative dei cittadini marocchini residenti in Lombardia", in Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine. UE Research Project Final Report, 2002.

Borri, S. Sacco, V. "Le donne marocchine in Lombardia", in Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine. UE Research Project Final Report, 2002.

Clemente, P. Sobrero, A.M. "Contemporaneità ed identità. Materiali per un'etnografia del movimento", in Clemente, Sobrero (eds.) Persone dell'Africa. Roma, Cisu, 1998, pp 1-21.

Clifford, J. "The pure products go crazy". Introduction to The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1988.

Dal Lago, A., Barile, G., Galeazzo, P., Marchetti, A. Tra due rive. La nuova immigrazione a Milano. Milano, Franco Angeli, 1994.

Fabietti, U. "La fabbrica delle nazioni. Etnia e processi idenitari: uno sguardo antropologico" in Bollettino della Società Letteraria di Verona, Verona, 12-1997.

Fabietti, U. L'identità etnica. Storia e critica di un concetto equivoco. Roma, Carocci Editore, 1998.

Featherstone, M. (ed.) Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi. SAGE Publications, 2002.

Formisano, C. "Istituzioni, associazionismo e mediazione culturale: la rete sociale di supporto dei cittadini marocchini residenti in Campania", in Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine. UE Research Project Final Report, 2002.

Geertz, C. Mondo globale, mondi locali. Cultura e politica alla fine del ventesimo secolo. Bologna, Il Mulino, 1999.

Giddens, A. Le conseguenze della modernità. Bologna, Il mulino, 1994.

Guibernau, M. Nationalisms. The Nation-State and Nationalism in Twentieth Century. Cambridge, Politi Press, 1996.

Held, D. Global Covenant. The social democratic alternative to the Washington Consensus. Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004.

IPRS. InTo: Inside the Outsiders: Deviant Immigrant Minors and Integration Strategies in European Justice Systems. Final Project Report, Unpublished.

IPRS, Azione di Sistema per lo Studio dell'Immigrazione nel Mezzogiorno. Successo scolastico e percorsi di integrazione degli alunni stranieri nelle Regioni del Sud. Unpublished project document.

IPRS, Azione di Sistema per lo Studio dell'Immigrazione nel Mezzogiorno. Approfondimento sugli alunni stranieri nel Sud alle scuole superiori. Unpublished project document.

Khachani, M., 1998. Migration from Arab Maghreb countries to Europe: Present situation and future prospects. Forum 5 (1) maggio.

La Cecla, F. (interview) "Città indigene. Ma chi sono i soggetti dell'innovazione?", interview edited by P. Molinatto, in Animazione sociale, 2-2001.

Leichtman, M. A., 2002. Transforming Brain Drain into Capital Gain: Morocco's Changing Relationship with Migration and Remittances. The Journal of North African Studies 7(1):109-137.

Montanari, R. "Integrazione possibile? L'immigrazione musulmana in Italia tra diritti ed esclusione".

Mora, M. "Discriminazioni istituzionali", in Bernadotti, Megale, Mottura. Immigrazione e sindacato. Stesse opportunità, stessi diritti. IV Rapporto. Roma, Ediesse 2006.

Smith, A. Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era. Oxford, Polity Press, 1995
Sorensen, N., N. "Migrant Remittances as a Development Tool: The Case of Morocco". Migration Policy Research, Department of Migration Policy, Research and Communications, Working Papers Series n. 2, 2004.

Vermeren, P. "Il miraggio di Schengen", in Le Monde Diplomatique, Italian Edition, June 2002.

Vitello, M. "L'immigrazione marocchina in Italia" in Il migrante marocchino come agente di sviluppo e di innovazione nelle comunità di origine. UE Research Project Final Report, 2002.

Wallman, S. "Network Capital and Social Trust: pre-conditions for good diversity?". Draft prepared for ENGIME Workshop No. 5, Athens, January 19th/20th 2004.

v) National Report Germany

CJD Eutin / University Dortmund:
Hinding, Barbara; Müller-Bachmann-Eckart; Wiesner, Anne

1. The Development of the Turkish Community in Germany

1.1 The first Turkish "Gastarbeiter" (guest workers) in Germany

The first foreign employees - the so-called Gastarbeiter - came to Germany in the early 1970s, as the economy boomed and the influx of skilled workers from the GDR diminished as a result of the erection of the Wall between East and West Germany. In 1961 there were 500,000 unfilled vacancies, with only about 180,000 Germans registered as unemployed at the end of the same year. Consequently, a series of recruitment agreements were made in quick succession with Italy (1955), Greece (1960), Spain (1960), Turkey (1962), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Sen, 1994). Foreign workers were only supposed to come to Germany from European countries (at the time Turkey was not recognized as a European country at all) and the German authorities were rather sceptical of recruiting Turkish workers. (Jamin, 1999). Whereas Turkey saw itself as benefiting economically from sending workers to Germany, the decisive factor for Germany agreeing to a recruitment agreement was Turkey's status as a NATO partner. The Turks were faced with worse conditions than other countries, however. In order to avoid their being permanently employed, Turkish workers were restricted to two years' residence, those wishing to work in Germany were subjected to medical examinations on grounds of protecting the German population from "epidemics" and even family members were forced at first to remain in Turkey. Only the fears of the German employers, concerned about losing well-trained workers, brought about a revision of the agreement with Turkey in 1964, with the discriminatory clauses being removed.

Whereas in 1962 15,269 so-called Gastarbeiter came to Germany from Turkey, the number of migrant workers entering the country reached it peak in 1970 with 123,626. Up until the ban on recruitment in 1973, 866,677 Turkish workers had entered the country. The total number of Turks living in the FRG in the same year was 910,525.

When worker migration began in the early 1960s, the majority of Turkish workers intended to stay in Germany for a few years only and save enough money to enable them to later establish themselves in their native country. Many of them were aged between twenty and thirty, initially from rural, still somewhat feudal, regions, who had moved to urban, industrialized areas in Turkey before emigrating to the industrial countries of Western Europe. Since the intention was to stay for just a short period, neither the German government nor the migrant workers themselves took any steps towards any long-term integration e.g. by means of learning the language, discussion of ethnic and cultural identity, promotion of contact between ethnic groups etc.

When they realized that their savings over the planned three to five years would not be sufficient for building a future in Turkey, where the economic situation during the 1970s had become even worse, the contractors stayed in Germany; their families joined them there in increasing numbers after the recruitment ban of 1973. They left their workers' accommodation outside the towns and moved into cheap flats in socially deprived areas within towns. As a result, streets and entire quarters with large foreign populations

emerged in West German cities[54] (Sen, 1994).

1.2 Heterogenization of the Turkish population and anti-foreigner talk

Recruitment and the subsequent arrival of migrant workers' families led to a strong presence in Germany of people with a Turkish heritage. The fear of foreign infiltration was fomented by xenophobic headlines in the media. The German week magazine "Der Spiegel" (1973) quoted in a headline: "The Turks are coming - save yourself if you can".

The recruitment ban was the beginning of a screening strategy designed to stem further immigration into Germany, without, however, achieving the desired aim: in 1975 child allowance was reduced for children not living in Germany.

This only went to serve as a further incentive for family reunification. Furthermore, it was decided that relatives who had entered the country after 1 December 1974 were for the time being no longer allowed to work at all.

The social structure of Turks living in Germany changed at the end of the 1970s, and became more heterogeneous. A marked polarization between extreme right and radical left-wingers led to a tense political situation in Turkey and to a strong influx of (left wing) political refugees into Germany. As a consequence, the size of the Turkish population in Germany rose between 1978 and 1981 to almost 400,000. (EFMS, 2001). Between 1979 and 1980 alone, indirectly related to the military coup of 12 September 1980, the size of the Turkish population in Germany rose by 200,000.

At the beginning of the 1980s people were talking more harshly about foreigners, a topic which also dominated election campaigns. In 1981, as part of a restrictive policy on foreigners, the right of migrant workers' relatives to join them in Germany was restricted.[55] Due to the introduction in 1982 of a payment for those returning to their country of origin, and an even more restrictive policy on foreigners the number of Turks living in German went down from 1,580,000 (1982) to 1,401,932 in 1985.

In this period there were increasing numbers of attacks on foreigners: in 185 two Turks were murdered by skinheads, and in 1988 again skinheads set fire to a house inhabited predominantly by Turks, killing four of them.

The renewed influx of (political) refugees from Turkey in the mid 1980s (mainly Kurds, as a consequence of the war between the PKK and the Turkish army in East Anatolia) resulted in the calls for repatriation and screening of the "Gastarbeiter" being replaced with a xenophobic discussion about abuse of the asylum laws. Slogans such as "the boat is full" and the non-acceptance of Germany as an immigration country persisted until the end of the 1990s. The immigration debate was then reopened due to the internet boom and the necessity to open up the German jobs market to foreign workers.

The reform of the nationality law of 1 January 2000 shows that Germany has, in the meantime, become fundamentally accepted as an immigration country. The new law has done away with the idea of nationality being based purely on descent and includes elements of birthright (Jus Soli).

Under the new nationality law children of foreign parents receive, on certain conditions, German citizenship at birth. The children who do so may not at first retain the non-German nationality of their parents.

Those aged between 18 and 23 have to decide between a Turkish and a German

---

[54] Cf. re the history of Turkish migration

[55] Only children under 16 were allowed to join their parents in Germany. Spouses were only allowed to join their partner after the partner had already been in Germany legally for 8 years.

passport. In 2000 and 2001 almost 80,000 children of foreign parents received a German passport (Özcan, 2004). The reduction of the naturalization period means that, in general, immigrants have claim to naturalization after eight years.

1.3 A few facts and figures

At present a total of 7.3 million foreigners live in Germany.[56] Turkish nationals, with approximately 1.9 million or 26%, form the largest national group. About 600,000 people of Turkish heritage have been naturalized since the 1970s. Even though Turks in Germany have a migration background on account of their families, not each one is him/herself an immigrant: about 680,000 of the Turks living in Germany were born in the FRG. Turks therefore belong to the largest group of foreigners/migrants in Germany. On 31.12.2004 a total of 1,764,318 Turkish nationals were registered in Germany, of whom 1,150,367 were born abroad and 613,951 in Germany. At the same time the total number of foreign nationals was 7.3 million (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2005).

This corresponds to 8.9% of the overall population and this figure has remained more or less constant since 1997: according to the Federal Ministry of the Interior 7.37 million foreigners were resident in Germany on 31 December 1997, of whom almost 2.11 million were Turks.

Records show that in 2003 49,774 Turks came to Germany as immigrants; 36,863 Turks left Germany (immigration surplus + 12.911). (BMI, 2004). The number of children leaving Turkey to join their parents in Germany went down in 2003 in comparison with the previous year from 5,638 to 4,136; in 2000 and 2001 this figure had increased. In addition, the Turks formed by far the largest group (29%) of those applying for visas to allow their spouses and families to join them in Germany. (BMI, 2004)

Turkish migrants are the most disadvantaged compared with other migrant groups, above all with regard to their structural integration or placement on the employment market. They are relatively often employed as unskilled or semi-skilled labour, are far less likely to have higher school or professional qualifications and are much more likely to be unemployed than Germans or people from other foreign backgrounds. Matters concerning the integration of people of Turkish descent will be examined further under the rubrics "education", "employment", "health", "discrimination" and "housing situation".

1.4. Associations and networks

The development of the Turkish community in Germany goes back over a fifty-year history and has steadily grown both in terms of size as well as complexity (Blaschke, 1996). Since the labour migration of the 1950s and 1960s, and the subsequent arrival of family members, the requirements and characteristics of the community have been continually growing and changing. In the beginning, the appropriation of Turkish foodstuffs and the practice of religious traditions stood in the foreground. Later came women's groups and educational and cultural organizations (Blaschke, 1996).

The first foreign workers from Turkey mainly worked as coal- miners, within the iron and steel industry, the building industry or the automobile industry. Women mainly worked within the electronic and textile industry. The work was hard, badly paid, without

---

[56] Note on terminology: *foreigners* is used in the legal sense - people who are not German nationals. *German-Turks* signifies people who have a German and a Turkish passport (dual nationality, multi-nationality). *Migrants* goes further and applies either to people who have a migration background themselves or have family with same, including relatives born into so-called second or third generations in Germany, "Migrants" can also be nationalized people from a non-German background. *Immigrants* are people who have actually themselves entered Germany to take up residence.

promotion opportunities and sometimes dangerous. Lodging was very often in in-house community accommodations, where a few people had to share one room. Zaptcioglu (2005) reports about the foreign workers' first years of living in Germany: Cooking was forbidden in almost every kind of accommodation. Like in the staff canteen the "asylums" provided community food, at the beginning often without respect to the Turkish habit of eating. The Turkish foreign- workers lived very sparingly in order to be able to send as much money back as possible. Therefore it was very annoying that fees for meals and laundry were taken from their salary every month regardless if these services were engaged. The supervisors were heavy-handed and there were no opportunities to be alone with relatives or with the opposite sex. A lot of them spent their leisure time at stations. Stations and their surrounding soon became meeting points and places to exchange information for the Turkish employees. Due to the great numbers of foreigners they wouldn't strike out. More meeting points evoked in public parks and other undeveloped areas. After some time some community accommodations permitted the installation of rooms of prayers, which were also attended by Turkish who didn't live there. But the Germans still remained a world on their own, they couldn't understand and just perceived the outside.

The small salary – a Turkish employee became less for the same work than a German – terminations perceived as arbitrary and a lot of unpaid long hours were the main cause for the dissatisfaction in the beginning. The workers – at that point without any language skills – were completely helpless regarding the contact with employers, administrations, doctors etc., so that they often were taken advantage of. Although some were members of a union, their hopes were disappointed. Here and there some workers gathered together to fight for better living and working conditions. The "society of Turkish employees in Cologne and surroundings" founded in 1961 is said to be the first Turkish society in Germany (Zaptcioglu, 2005). The society should give the Turkish employers a voice and provide its members with support regarding the commerce with administrations, employers etc. It acquired more and more members soon. In the Ford factory it achieved the installation of an own kitchen for meals without pork meat.

The initial unison was soon abolished. The workers divided due to political and cultural divisions. The first mosques societies and culture societies were founded, as well as the first Turkish restaurants. In 1968 the first umbrella society was established under which several employee societies were gathered ("Turkish socialists in Europe", later "FIDEF", which was turned in 1987 into "Federation of the immigrant associations from Turkey", abbreviated "GDF"; Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 2004).

With more relatives and further newcomers coming over at the beginning of the 70s the needs changed. Through the import and production of Turkish food and other objects of daily use new work places were created. The several religious groups established their own places of prayers and community rooms. Societies were founded for people coming from a special area or city, furthermore culture and sport societies were established. Hunger (2005) counted 2001 more than 11.000 Turkish societies, which were registered in the country's register of associations. Most of them were founded in the 90s. The classification according to the purpose of the association reported that the majority, 23%, was founded to serve religious purposes. Sport societies and societies whose purpose is to provide a meeting place for people from a certain region in Turkey are represented by 15% each. Culture societies make up to 14% and social societies 12% of the whole body of societies. A lot of other societies, e.g. student, senior or political societies have a subordinated role in quantitative terms.

Subsequently more and more societies came together within the various confederations. The Centre for Turkey Studies names in his report at least 18 (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 2004). They differ according to their aim and

political orientation. Most are religious and/or political in nature. There is however also an umbrella organization of parents associations, cultural centers and teacher associations. All told, self organizations within the Turkish community cannot be restricted to the religious aspect. Today there are organizations and societies for academics, businessmen, professional groups and sportsmen, as well as political groups (Blaschke, 1996).

The diversity of migrant organizations leads to a strong interweaving of networks, which makes it difficult to access them and analyse the types of support they offer. As a result of this, "Community Force" does not consider a "community" to be a closed and regionally isolated system, but a system in contact with the host society and the country of origin that takes part in an exchange process. A kind of "bridging function" is often assigned to ethnic self-help organizations, which exists between migrants, Germans and Turkey (Gaitanides, 2003). At this point we shall turn to the functions fulfilled by self-help organizations for individuals and the community. In this respect reference is made to a list by Gaitanides (Gaitanides, 2003). He emphasizes the initial support for newly arrived migrants, the maintaining of cultural capital, the possibilities for self-realization of the individual and self-help possibilities, representation of interests, contacts for communes, the filling of gaps in supplies, and a position of multipliers on the collective level. Fijalkowski and Gillmeister's study to examine the function of ethnic self- organisations (1997) found out that societies are appreciated among the Turkish population, especially in situations of need. They are regarded as helpers, especially with the focus on questions concerning school and education and administrations. Furthermore they support the link to the ethnocultural community and the personal network. A general criticism is that migrant organizations are financially disadvantaged and are held in low esteem in German society and in politics (Blaschke, 1996 & Gaitanides, 2003).

2. (Discrimination in) the education of young people with a migration background

On 3 December 2003 Frau Marieluise Beck, representative of the Federal Department for Migration, Refugees and Integration, introduced the documentation of the meeting of experts entitled "The advancement of Migrants in Secondary Education up to Age 16" with the following words:

> "A society's innovative abilities are decisively dependent on the level of qualification and the educational background of the population. The results of the PISA and IGLU studies have made us aware of the dependence of educational success on social background and have shown us that the educational potential of children and young people with a migration background is not exhausted. This lack of equal opportunities impedes the integration process and is unacceptable for a country of immigration like Germany. (…) Above and beyond compulsory schooling, education must include the possibility of gaining a professional qualification. This also means that even more opportunities for access to professional training schemes, to preparation for such training schemes and to the assistance which forms part of these schemes are required for young people with a migration background" (cf. Representative of the Federal Department for Migration, Refugees and Integration - Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2004, p. 5f.).

2.1 Conditions of high unemployment figures
Young people of foreign origin are much more often affected by unemployment than

young Germans. For years the unemployment figures for foreigners have been twice as high as those for Germans. Correspondingly, considerably fewer youths and young adults of foreign origin still do not have formal professional qualifications. They are much more likely to be employed as unskilled and semi-skilled workers (cf. Representative of the Federal Department for Foreign Citizen Issues - Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002). There are essentially two conditions in the lives of young people with a migration background which we must see as being responsible for their high level of unemployment: firstly, the high proportion of those who leave school without qualifications, and secondly, the constant and in recent years ever increasing proportion of those who do not take up professional training.

Results of empirical studies (cf. among others: Jeschek, 2001a, 2001b; Granato, 2003) confirm that many youths with a foreign background[57] do not rise above the status of semi-skilled or unskilled worker. This applies as much to the second and third as to the first generation of immigrants. The group mainly affected by unemployment are these semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Unemployment is in most cases pre-programmed for young migrants who have not completed a professional training course. This circumstance is also due to a profound change in the structure of the economy: unskilled and semi-skilled workers are now far less in demand than qualified workers. A drastic reduction in jobs for semi- and unskilled workers is envisaged for the future.

With regard to their integration into the employment market, young people with a migration background represent a particularly big problem. Many migrant youths without decent school qualifications - but also some with a secondary school-leaving certificate (Hauptschulabschluss) - are forced to look for unskilled work. If the parents are affected or threatened by unemployment, young members of the family are put under pressure to find work, which in almost every case is unskilled, as quickly as possible in order to hold the family together financially.

For foreign youths a lower level of professional qualifications does not only lead to problems with integration into the labour market. At the same time - from the sociological perspective - social integration is made harder, since the low-level jobs on the labour market lead to a low level of acceptance in society. "Above and beyond this, there is the fundamental danger of the perpetuation of the social underclass in our society" (cf. Representative of the Federal Department for Foreign Citizen Issues **-** Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002:193).

2.2 Poor School Qualifications

The situation concerning education and vocational training for Turkish youths in particular has clearly improved since the end of the 1980s. In the first half of the 1990s they enjoyed a higher level of school qualifications and more participation in vocational training than in the 1980s. Since the second half of the 1990s the trend towards a more positive participation in education and vocational training among young people with a migration background - in particular Turks **-** has taken a stark downturn. The numbers of youths with a migration background who took part in vocational training schemes sank steadily up to 2002. Compared to their German and other non-German pupils and trainees Turkish contemporaries in particular had and still have a long way to go before they catch up.

Young people with a foreign passport still rarely achieve a high level of vocational

---

[57] Very few statistics and very little empirical research exist on the population group "adolescents with a migration background" or "adolescents with a Turkish background". The figures and percentages given in the following paragraphs refer extensively to a section of these groups. That is to say to foreign adolescents or those with a Turkish passport, since sufficient statistical information is available on them.

training. According to the PISA study, the reasons for this are their poor knowledge of German and the manifold low level of education of their parents. Adolescents "who come from a family where the parents were both born in Germany are much more likely to go to a school higher than a *Hauptschule* (= secondary modern) than those of comparable age who come from a purely immigrant family. The relative chances of going to a *Gesamtschule* (= comprehensive) are approximately twice as high, to a *Realschule* (= secondary school leading to intermediate qualification) about 2.6 times, and to a *Gymnasium* (= grammar) about 4.4 times as high" (Deutsches Pisa-Konsortium, 2001:374).

An up-to-date 10-year comparison shows the indicated discrepancy to exist throughout Germany, where almost half a million children with a foreign passport went to a secondary school. They are however not as successful as German children. Thus every fifth pupil at the *Hauptschulen* has parents with a foreign passport, and at the *Gymnasien* however only one in twenty five:

10-year comparison showing schools attended by foreign children

	School Year 1992/93	As Percent of Pupils	School Year 2002/2003	As Percent of Pupils
Intermediate School Level indep. of Type	28,674	7.3	33,320	9.5
Hauptschulen	217,99	20.0	202,471	18.2
Realschulen	74,059	7.0	87,505	6.8
Schools with several courses of education	842	0.2	9,538	2.2
Integrierte (Integrated) Gesamtschule	49,153	11.2	65,684	12.4
Gymnasien	83,228	4.1	90,237	3.9
Total	453,755	8.4	488,719	8.1

from: Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Institute of the German Economy in Cologne), iwd Heft 5/04, S. 3

The cause of poor performance at school of children with a migration background is regarded almost without exception to be their poor command of German. According to PISA "neither the social situation of immigrant families nor the distance between them and the majority culture are as such responsible" for the disparities of their disadvantaged position at school. "Of vital importance is much more the command of the German language at a level appropriate to their current course of education. For children from immigrant families competence in the German language is the decisive hurdle along the course of their education" (Deutsches Pisa-Konsortium, 2002:199).

2.3 Low level of participation on vocational training courses by adolescents with a migration background

The chances of young people from migrant families of doing an initial vocational training course and improving their prospects as regards professional integration have not been improving in recent years. On the contrary, for some time the proportion of young people with a foreign background on vocational training courses has either been stagnating or declining (cf. Granato, 2003:31).

"Only a relatively small proportion of young foreigners", as already established by the Institute of the Germany Economy in 2000, "has been integrated in the vocational training system." Then whilst around two thirds of German adolescents complete an apprenticeship only 37 percent of their foreign counterparts did so in 1997. It is obvious that many foreign youths and their parents are not sufficiently informed about the opportunities available to them as part of the German "Dual Vocational Training System" (Practice at a company and theory at a college) (cf. Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft: iwd, 4/2000: 4).

In the ten-year comparison foreign youths complete an apprenticeship less often than their German contemporaries. In 2002 they accounted for just 5.3% of trainees - much fewer than in 1992 when a good 7% of apprentices were foreigners. The quota of Turkish youths is particularly low, whereas Portuguese, Spaniards and Italians placed more value on vocational training (cf. ebd.).

The 2005 Report on Vocational Training of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research also substantiated the fact that the participation of young people with a migrant background on vocational training courses is low (6.1%) and even lower than in 2004 (6.5%). (cf. Berufsbildungsbericht, 2005:89).

Adolescents with Turkish nationality at 38% formed the largest group of trainees with a foreign origin. The number of young Turkish nationals living in Germany who participate in training courses has been declining for years:

Number of Trainees				
from:	2001	2002	2003	Difference 2001 to 2003 in %
Turkey	37,165	33,171	30,033	- 9.5%

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office)(2004): Time series from series 11, Series 3; Vocational Training

The table show clearly a continuous trend towards a decline in the participation of young Turks in vocational courses since 1994: between 1994 and 2003 almost 13,000 fewer young Turks completed vocational training. What must be taken into consideration in this respect is the unavailable number of naturalizations of young people without a German passport and the fluctuating - but by no means declining - birthrate in families of Turkish origin. This fact, which appears to distort statistical analyses should be compensated for in that "the number of foreign adolescents is rounded down as part of a cleansing of population statistics (…), so that from this point in time onwards figures cannot be compared with those of the previous year." (Representative of the Federal Department for Foreign Citizen Issues - Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, 2002:193).

2.4 The current position on the training market: still tight

The economy is still in a crisis and it is generally becoming harder for young people to find a training place. This does not just apply to those with only average school qualifications, but also, and in particular, to disadvantaged youths, who have poor or no school qualifications at all, and/or for the most varied of reasons, are not ready for a vocational training course.

The task of offering as many places as possible to those suitable for and seeking a

training place could once again not be fulfilled in the 2004 and 2005 training years. The forecast for 2006 was just as bleak. The market place for training places in the current training year is tighter than ever: up to the end of September there were 49,500 young people still without a place. Barely half of the young people who registered at the *Bundesagentur für Arbeit* (BA), the Federal Employment Agency, were given a training place straight away (cf. the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12.10.2006: 23).

The balance sheet of the articles of apprenticeship of the *Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung* Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB) shows that for the 2004 training year the number of applicants still without a training place with a company by the official deadline of 30 September 2004 had risen by 9,561 to 44,567. Another 48,712 applicants, who had found temporary solutions in schools, on vocational preparation courses, in jobs or in other alternatives expressly, upheld their desire to find a place in the following training year. There are therefore almost 100,000 young people who are not provided for (cf. BIBB, 2005:3f.).

Since for years it has not been possible to provide all applicants with a place on a company training scheme, an increasing number of them are turning to alternative solutions to the classic Dual Training System. The number of those applicants who have had to turn to alternative to the classic form of vocational training has been increasing continually for years:

Year	Vocational Training	Turning to Alternatives
2001	52.3%	47.7%
2002	48.9%	51.1%
2003	47.0%	53.0%

Source: *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (Federal Labour Office) 2004

Thus by 30 September in the training year before last only 47% of all applicants (not only those who left school in 2003, but also those who had already been looking for a training place for one or more years) were able to start a company training course. The other 53% found work (10%), went to a *Berufsfachschule* (=technical college), went on a one-year vocational foundation course, or vocational preparation course (10%), stayed on at mainstream schools or *Fachschulen* (schools specializing in particular subjects), found other personal alternatives (armed forces, community service, moved away, etc. 5%) or were unoccupied or unemployed (11%) (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit: Presseinformationen 2003, Nr. 58).

2.5 Final Observation

Young people of Turkish origin are still a long way away from having actual equal opportunities in the areas of education and vocational training. Today, these children and adolescents must be actively supported by the *Jugendberufshilfe* (Youth Employment Assistance Department), so that in future the state and society do not only feel the results of deficient training through a strain on the budget.

Foreign youths - and especially those from a Turkish background - are particularly affected by the difficult and tight situation on the vocational training market (cf. *Berufsbildungsbericht* (Vocational Training Report), 2005). They have to apply to a market with a shrinking number of training places with future prospects. Poor results at school, an insufficient command of the German language and a low level of education all lead to this low level training place quotas which, in turn, appear to be responsible for unemployment. Young people with Turkish origins - as with other adolescents with a

migration background - are therefore forced much more often than Germans to work in a labour segment with poor working conditions, low income and greater risks than the majority of qualified jobs.

Compared with native Germans, youths of Turkish origin are also disadvantaged even if they have been to a German school and gained corresponding qualifications. The improvement of educational prerequisites does not necessarily improve the chances of finding an attractive training place (cf. Szydlik, 1996; Boos-Nünning/Karakasoglu, 2005).

3. Employment

This chapter begins with the general employment situation in Germany then goes on to deal with the situation of Turkish migrants, in particular in Berlin.

Firstly, we shall outline the development of unemployment in Germany and the trend underlying it. Following this, we shall compare unemployment levels in Western and Eastern Germany and highlight differences, also with regard to the individual federal states. We shall then concentrate on foreign unemployed persons, an East-West comparison and unemployment of foreigners in Berlin. Later, using data from 2004, we shall look at the labour market situation of Turkish migrants in Berlin, before looking at the background of this situation. At the end of this chapter we shall summarize the central results and state the intentions of the "community force" project in this context.

3.1 The population as a whole

The employment market situation in Germany continues to worsen. In 2000 there were still fewer than 4 million unemployed. In 2005 the number of unemployed rose to over 5 million for the first time. Currently (March 2006) there are just under 5 million unemployed Germans (cf. Federal Employment Agency - Bundesangentur für Arbeit, 2006a).

This amounts to an unemployment quota for Germany as a whole of 12.0% (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006b). There are, however, clear differences between Eastern and Western Germany. The average unemployment level in the West is 10.1%, in the East 19.3% (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006b).

Figure 1: unemployment levels (overall) - East compared with West (own graph)
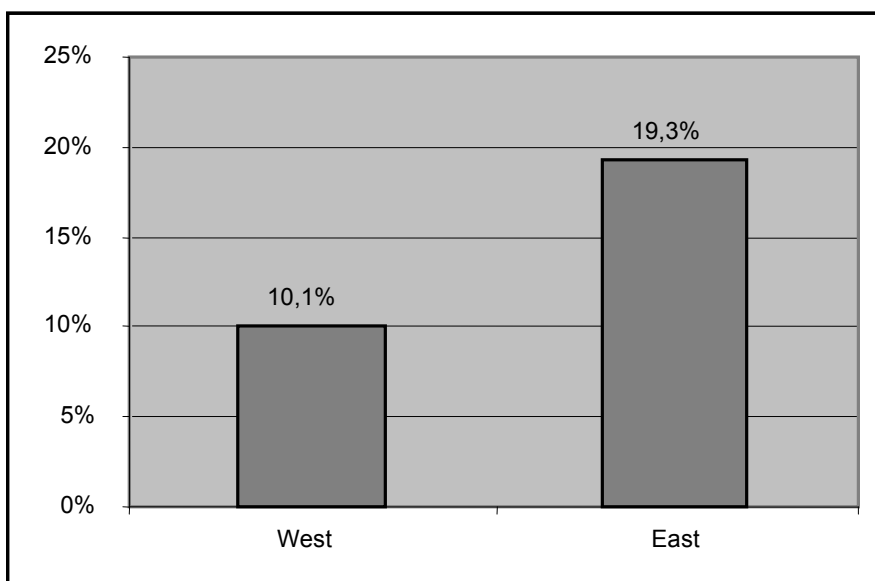
If we look at the levels for the individual states, the differences between East and West are even clearer. The six East German states occupy the last six places. Compared with the state of Baden-Württemberg, which has a quota of 7.1%, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in the East, with 21.6%, is nearly three times as high. Berlin is in fifth place with currently 310,000 unemployed (18,5%) (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006c).

Figure 2: unemployment levels according to selected federal states (own graph)
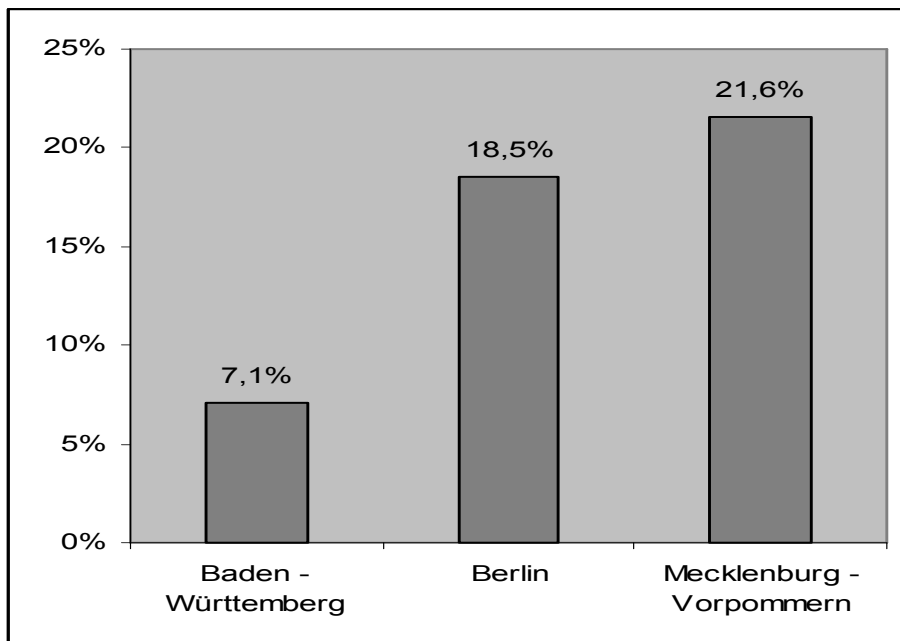
The word "unemployed" refers to the so-called "civil labour force". Under the heading of "civil labour force" fall all employees subject to the payment of social insurances (medical insurance, retirement pension etc.) including trainees, part-timers (€400 basis jobs), civil servants (excluding soldiers), the self-employed and the jobless. In addition, these people are registered at the labour exchange/job agency (cf. state office for statistics - Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 2004).

3.2 Migrants / foreigners

If the situation for job-seeking Germans has become worse over the last few years, the situation for foreigners has become much worse. In March 2006 there were approximately 690,000 unemployed foreigners in Germany (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006d). This amounts to 25.8%, a figure almost twice as high as for the population as a whole. Of the 690,000 unemployed foreigners, 600,000 were registered in the West and 90,000 in the East. One the one hand, this stark discrepancy between the two figures is accountable to the low population level in the East, and on the other to the low number of foreigners there. These unemployment figures, however, tell us a lot more. If the unemployment figure of 24.3% in Western Germany falls within the average for the country as a whole, the figure for Eastern Germany is far higher than it (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006e and 2006f).

Figure 3: foreigner unemployment figures (total) - Comparison (own graph)
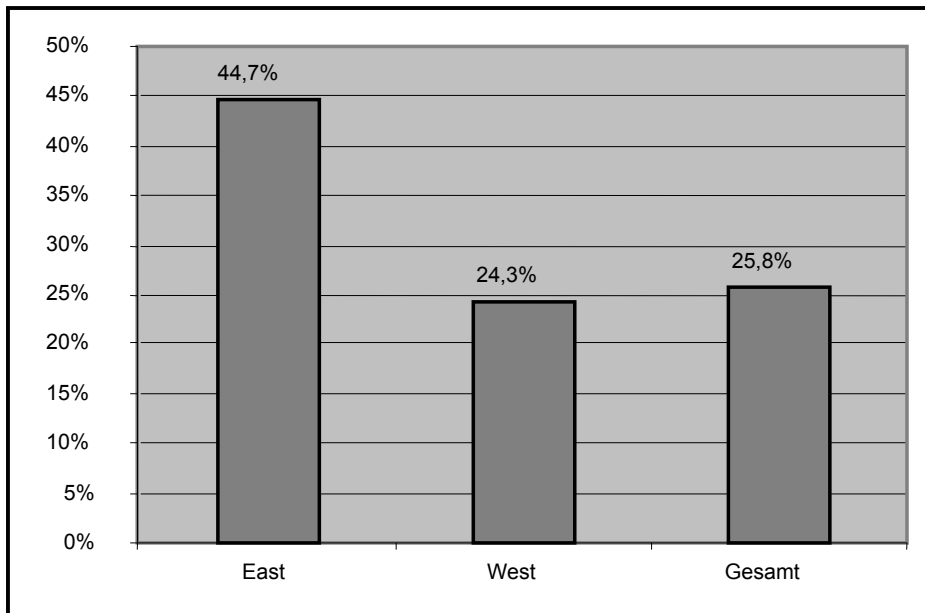
In March 2006 there were about 60,000 foreigners, 44.1%, without work (cf. Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2006g). This accounts for 2/3 of all foreign unemployed in Eastern Germany. Almost every second foreigner in Berlin is therefore unemployed.

3.3 Turkish migrants in Berlin

The available data in this area refer to 2004 and according to them 146,000 Turks were living in Berlin in that year. Out of a total of 438,500 foreigners this is equal to around one third of all foreigners and 4.3% of the population as a whole. The figure of about 33,000 unemployed Turks (of the146,000 Turks 76,000 were defined as "non civil labour force" and taken out of the equation) means that 47% of Turks in Berlin were registered as unemployed (cf. Statistisches Landesamt, Berlin, 2004). The majority of the Turkish population live in Kreuzberg (22,900), Mitte (44,800) and Neukölln (26,300) (cf. Statistisches Landesamt, Berlin, 2004). Compared with the data from March 2006, it can be established that the Turks in Berlin make up 50% of the foreign unemployed in Berlin and more than a third in the Eastern as a whole. At 47.0% the employment level and therefore the risk of being without work is 32 to 3 percent points higher than the "level of unemployed foreigners ".

The reasons given in the literature for the poor situation of Turkish migrants in Germany with regard to the labour market are recurrent, but relatively brief and empirically poor. For example, H. Adam attributes the recruitment of poorly qualified applicants in the 1960s and 1970s to a poor school education, poor professional qualifications and possible discriminatory exclusion mechanisms of the German employment market (Adam, 1994:60-77).

3.4 Summary

The situation on the employment market in Germany has in general become worse over the last few years. The number of unemployed people rose by around a million between 2000 and 2005. There are also marked differences between West and East and between the federal states. Consequently the risk of unemployment is almost twice as high in the East as it is in the West. This risk becomes even higher when a person is foreign. The

Turkish population has the worst chances of finding work; their unemployment levels are two to three percent points higher than for foreigners in general. Turkish migrants in Berlin are particularly at risk of unemployment. According to the literature, the reasons for them being placed in this poor position are poor school and professional qualifications, as well as possible discriminatory mechanisms on the labour market. The "community force" project aims to analyse these aspects and suggest what measures could be taken to reduce the extent to which foreigners are placed in this poor position.

4. Health

The German health system is based on the so-called solidarity principle. Except for a few exceptions all employees are required to pay contributions into the Statutory Health Insurance Fund, whereby the employer pays 50% of the contributions and the employee 50%. People with a higher income exceeding the contribution assessment ceiling may take out private insurance instead of paying into the state system. Children and non-working spouses are automatically insured via family insurance. The essence of the solidarity principle is that the contributions of the healthy cover the needs of those in need of help, the sick, the old, or those who are not in the position to carry out gainful employment (*Bundesministerium für Gesundheit* (Federal Ministry for Health), 2005). Due to the steady increase in the age of the population the basis upon which the German health system is financed has been thrown out of balance. The consequences of this are cutbacks in services and the raising of contribution levels. An intensive debate about the reform of the health system is currently taking place (Bundesministerium für Gesundheit, 2006).

Due to the fact that all citizens receive support from the unified community (health system) there are no formal differences in medical services for migrants. Upon closer inspection we see that differences do exist that are connected to problems with communication, the perception of illnesses and migrant-specific medical conditions (Razum et al., 2004). Poor linguistic competence, especially among the first generation of immigrants, leads to manifold problems when trying to explain medical complaints, diagnosis and treatment. Furthermore, there are gaps in the information about health provision and preventive measures, since multilingual versions of information packs are not widely available. The way illnesses are perceived is a cultural thing (ebd.). The German system is strongly orthodox and scientific. Migrants often have another way of perceiving and interpreting their illnesses. This causes difficulties for German doctors who do not understand the illnesses, assess them wrongly and endlessly refer the patients on (ebd. & Richter, 2001). Certain physical and psychological illnesses can be brought on by the migration process. Moreover, health provision is not taken up when migrants fear losing their jobs on the grounds of their status. Evidence exists that Turkish migrants suffer less from diseases of the heart, but are more susceptible to problems with the stomach. When taking some medicines, Turks suffer different side effects from those suffered by German patients. In addition, the vaccination rate among migrants is lower and the mortality rate of mother's higher (Razum et al., 2004).

All of these factors have lead to a change in the topic "migrants and health". An ethnomedical centre has been set up in Hanover (Ethnomedizinisches Zentrum, 2006), intercultural competences are part of the curriculum of medical training courses, the illnesses and diseases suffered by particular migrant groups are investigated, and increasing numbers of personnel with a migration background and relevant language skills are being appointed in hospitals and care institutions. Berlin offers a wide range of Internet services and projects, predominantly in Turkish, which inform about the health system and deal with matters specific to Turkish migrants.

5. The perception of discrimination by Turkish immigrants

Further important aspects which have a bearing on the integration process are discrimination and experiences of discrimination. It is evident that, above all in the case of discrimination against Turks, that the climate of integration has become worse. This is particularly true for those looking for employment and housing and when dealing with authorities and official institutions (such as the police and the courts) and at the workplace.

Due to the prospect of returning home and their supposedly limited period of residence in Germany, the first generation of *Gastarbeiter* was and still is rooted in the country of origin and has a much stronger sense of belonging to the culture there. Their cultural and ethnic identity has not been called into question, and neither have they themselves, nor the host society demanded any kind of integration. Moreover, they have accepted their underprivileged status in the host society and perceived only low levels of discrimination, since the situation was supposed to be a temporary one and they would be rewarded with a raising of their status in their country of origin. In their minds the friends and relatives who had stayed in Turkey represented and represent still a reference group, with whom they compare favourably, particularly with respect to the level of affluence. Furthermore, whereas acquaintances and relatives of the first generation of *Gastarbeiter* in Germany also belong to this reference group, the host society, however, does not. In this respect, it is no surprise that the first generation, in spite of very low levels of social opportunity, hardly feels disadvantaged and also has a lower perception of discrimination. Cultural identity was also less of an issue due to their intention to return home - the first generation regards itself considerably more "Turkish" than the second generation. The desire to hold onto this identity, both for themselves and for their children, can be seen as a clear reason why the first generation sought segregation.

The "objective" situation, as with the subjective state of mind, of the second and third generations is clearly different from the first generation. They are developing a different understanding of their place in German society and a different, stronger kind of self-assurance than the first generation. For them, a return to Turkey - if a consideration at all - represents an ideal and hardly a real option any more. Young immigrants, since they are more aware that their stay in Germany is log-term, have other aspirations regarding the acceptance of their culture and their status in German society, as part of which they would like to be accepted. They are much less rooted in the culture of their country of origin, but retain some roots there, because the family is still responsible for providing them with values and standards. At the same time, the values and standards of the host society are disseminated at school and adopted by adolescents either consciously or unconsciously.

As the intention of immigrants of the second and third generations is to stay permanently in the host country, it is neither the society in the country of origin, nor the immigrant population that forms the reference group, but the local adolescents and adults. Compared with them, however, the majority of immigrants are greatly lacking, and this in spite of the considerable differences between their social opportunities and those of the first generation. This can lead to an increased perception of discrimination and a feeling of being disadvantaged, especially when ethnic origin is held responsible for individual or institutionalised discrimination. Segregation and the associated concentration on one's own ethnicity can bring about a change of reference group. It is then the society of origin or sub-society that becomes the measure for comparison, and no longer those of the same age in the host society. An increased perception of discrimination can also result in discrimination being attributed to external circumstances.

The second generation is much more diverse than the first. There are well trained and well educated immigrants with good employment prospects, and there are young poorly trained immigrants whose employment prospects are minimal. There are those who seek contacts in other ethnic groups, and those who stick to peer groups from their own ethnic background. There are groups that to a large extent have adopted the values of the host society and feel that they belong there, and those who explicitly adhere to the values of the country of origin and feel either that they belong there, or in some cases, nowhere at all.

There are those who feel discriminated against and marginalized, and those who feel that their aspirations are subjectively fulfilled. There are those who feel strongly motivated towards segregation, and those who do not want to be cut off from the rest of society.

Last but not least, the way people react to their environment also contributes to the formation of their identity. Immigrants (especially Turks) are still perceived by the majority in society as "aliens" or "temporary guests" and it is not a rarity for them to be "shut out" by society. Cultural differences are regarded by both sides as relatively great, since each has a different religious tradition, and each religion has a large bearing on the formation of each culture. Even adolescents stress the differences between themselves, rather than what they have in common. Adolescent immigrants are often confronted with subtle forms of rejection and xenophobia, but also occasionally with direct and open hostility and ultimately with violence, which also unsettles those who are not directly affected.

As already mentioned, the second and third generation differ from the first with regard to a feeling of belonging in Germany. Together with a greater degree of confidence and other demands for the acceptance and tolerance of their culture in Germany, the younger generation has more contact with the German population. These factors could be the reason for them possibly being more likely to perceive individual and institutional discrimination than the first generation of migrants.

There are also informative differences between Turks and Turkish-Germans in Germany. A survey carried out by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V., 16.11.2006) of Turkish immigrants and Germans of a Turkish origin in Germany shows that nationalized Turks identify themselves very strongly with Germany. In addition, half of the Turks in Germany feel that they have strong ties to Germany.

It is possible that the high degree of identification felt by nationalized people to Germany and the lessening feeling of alliance to the country of origin can be traced back to the decision to become nationalized. The same study shows that half of the Turks in Germany believe that the Turks in Germany should contribute to defending Germany in the hypothetical case of an attack by a "Muslim" country. In addition, 80% of those Turks questioned judged Germany to be a fair, or at least partly fair social state under the rule of law. In contrast, the German population views its own social structure far more critically; almost half regard it as "unfair".

Compared with 13% of the population of Turkish origin who said that they shape their lives completely around their religion, 30% per cent do this "to a great extent". We therefore witness some very unambiguous tendencies: amongst those questioned, there was a predominantly positive picture of Germany's state and social structure. The results give no clues to any Islamic or anti-democratic tendencies. A study by the *Zentrum für Türkeistudien* in summer 1999, for which 1,000 Turkish migrants in Northrhine-Westfalia were interviewed, revealed that experiences of discrimination in their day-to-day contact with Germans (when shopping or with the neighbours) was as high as 20%. More than a third of those questioned, however, felt they were treated unequally when looking for accommodation, at work on training schemes and when looking for work, therefore in areas where they were in competition for scarce resources. Young migrants experience

far higher levels of discrimination than other age groups in competitive areas such as the employment and housing markets and when dealing with authorities. (Sauer, 2001). The *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* (German Youth Institute) survey of foreigners met with the same results. (Weidacher 2000).

With regard to discrimination, the *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* found similar figures among foreign Turkish youths aged between 18 and 25. (Weidacher 2000). 49% view themselves as being discriminated against on grounds of their nationality and 35% because of their religion. Here too, the younger age group perceived a higher level of discrimination than other age groups. Young Turks felt themselves particularly discriminated against at school or at work, and in their local neighbourhood.

6. Exclusion on the housing market

Since Park et al. (1925) described urban change processes in the 1920s as a competition and a struggle between demographic and cultural groups for the resource of space, their spatial separation and the socio-spatial segregation in towns and cities have become the norm.

Thus urban space is a place where social and cultural differences are reflected by spatial distance. Whereas Park (1925) still regarded this segregation as a way reducing or avoiding conflict, later, in the course of the investigation into immigrant integration, the theory was formed that spatial separation is equated with social separation, therefore representing an indicator for a lack of integration. In this respect it is often assumed that immigrants dissociate themselves from the host society, without, however, this being a reflection of the German population (Kapphan 2001).

The arrival of foreigners led to clear changes on the housing market in German towns and cities. In West Berlin, but also in other German cities, however, they preferred to move into old buildings in inner city areas which were destined either for demolition or renovation. At first they were regarded as "interim" tenants who would only live there until the commencement of restoration work (Kapphan, 2001). However, this did not prove to be the case. Today, the proportion of foreigners in these areas often exceeds 30%. According to the Berliner Sozialatlas of 2003 (Senate Administration for Health, Social Issues, and Consumer Protection, 2004) the social structures of these districts (Kreuzberg, Wedding, Tiergarten) are the worst in the city. This means that these not only have a markedly high proportion of foreigners, but also large numbers of people in receipt of social benefits, high unemployment levels and many people on low incomes etc.

Kapphan (2001) ascribes the concentration of foreigners (predominantly Turks, but also including many Germans of Turkish descent) in these areas to the restricted opportunities for foreigners on the housing market. He counters the argument of lower rents by underlining the fact that, as a rule, immigrants pay more for comparable housing than German tenants in these areas (Kapphan, 1995). More often than not immigrants are therefore unable to choose where they want to live freely, but can only find accommodation where they will be accepted as tenants, that is to say where there is no demand from Germans able to pay higher rents.

A social element also plays a role here: people learn from friends or acquaintances about soon to be vacant properties. This also contributes to the influx of further immigrants of the same nationality. Combined with the fact that from time to time other residential areas receive little interest from the German population, this mechanism frequently leads to a concentration of immigrant groups of different nationalities in their own different quarters.

The influx of foreigners results in social downgrading for the residential area. Subsequently, those German residents who can afford it move away. The area becomes poorer and the local Turkish communities run the risk of being cut off from "official" German society. For, as unemployment rises, the opportunities for making contacts diminish and the area, in which as a rule all goods and services are provided by compatriots is suddenly a more attractive area in which to live.

References:

Adam, Heribert: „Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Einwanderungspolitik und Multikulturalismus in Kanada und Deutschland. Leviathan. In: Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften. (1994). S.60 – 77.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen (2002): Bericht über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin und Bonn.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen (2002): Bericht über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin und Bonn.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (2004):Förderung von Migrantinnen und Migranten in der Sekundarstufe I. Berlin und Bonn.

Blaschke, J. (1996): Förderung von Selbsthilfegruppen und Selbsthilfeorganisationen in Immigrantenmilleus – Erfahrungen aus der Berliner Praxis. Berlin: Berliner Institut für vergleichende Sozialforschung.

Boos-Nünning, U. /Karakasoglu, Y. (2005): Viele Welten leben. Zur Lebenssituation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund. Münster: Waxmann.

Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (2003): Presseinformationen 2003, Nr. 58.

Bundesministerium des Innern: Migrationsbericht 2004.

Bundesministerium für Berufsbildung (Hrsg.) (2005): BWP 1/2005.

Bundesministerium für Berufsbildung (Hrsg.) (2005): BWP 1/2005.

Bundesministerium für Gesundheit: Die Gesundheitsreform, 2006.

Bundesministerium für Gesundheit: Ratgeber zur gesetzlichen Krankenversicherung, Stand April 2005.

Der Spiegel, No. 31, 31 July 1973.

Deutsches Pisa-Konsortium (Hrsg.) (2002): Pisa 2001. Die Länder und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Vergleich. Opladen: Leske + Budrich Verlag.

EFMS (European Forum for Migration Studies): Migrationsbericht 2001.

Ethnomedizinisches Zentrum: Startseite, 2006. http://www.ethno-medizinisches-zentrum.de/, Zugriff: 19.10.2006, 08:05.

Gaitanides, St. (2003): Selbsthilfepotenzial von Familien ausländischer Herkunft, freiwilliges Engagement und Selbstorganisation von Migranten - Struktur, Funktion, Förder- und Anerkennungsdefizite. In: Zeitschrift für Migration und Soziale Arbeit, S. 21-29.

Granato, M. (2003): Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund – auch in der beruflichen Bildung geringere Chancen? In: BIBB (Hrsg.): Integration durch Qualifikation.

Chancengleichheit für Migrantinnen und Migranten in der beruflichen Bildung (S. 29-48). Bonn.
http://www.die-gesundheitsreform.de/index2.html, Zugriff: 19.10.2006, 07.55.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (2000): Informationsdienst der deutschen Wirtschaft 4/2000.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (2004): Informationsdienst der deutschen Wirtschaft 5/2004.

Jeschek, W. (2001a): Integration junger Ausländer in das Bildungssystem verläuft langsamer. In: DIW-Wochenbericht 66 (22), S. 408-418.

Jeschek, W. (2001b): Die Integration junger Ausländer in das deutsche Bildungssystem kommt kaum noch voran. In: DIW-Wochenbericht 68 (29), S. 466-476.

Kapphan, A. (2001): Das arme Berlin. Sozialräumliche Polarisierung, Armutskonzentration und Ausgrenzung in den 1990er Jahren. Dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Özcan, V. (2004): „Aspekte der sozio-ökonomischen und sozio-kulturellen Integration der türkischstämmigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland".In: „Die Situation der türkischstämmigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland", Gutachten im Auftrag des Sachverständigenrates für Zuwanderung und Integration". Berlin.

Razum, O. (2004); Gieger, I.; Zeeb, H. u.a.: Gesundheitsversorgung von Migranten. In: Deutsches Ärzteblatt, Jg. 101, Heft 43, 22. Oktober 2004, Seite A 2882-A 2887

Richter, E. A. (2001): Mangel an kulturellem Verständnis. In: Deutsches Ärzteblatt, Jg. 98, Heft 51-52, 24. Dezember 2001, Seite A 3421-A 3422.

Sauer, M./Goldberg, A.(2001): Die Lebenssituation und Partizipation türkischer Migranten in NRW, (Hrsg.) Vom Zentrum für Türkeistudien, S. 110 ff., Münster: Lit-Verlag.

Sen, F./Goldberg, A. (1994): Türken in Deutschland. Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen. München: Becksche Reihe.

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006a):
http://www.pub.arbeitsamt.de/hst/services/statistik/000000/html/start/gif/b_et_alo.shtml
(Access 18.04.2006, um 11:20 Uhr).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006b):
http://www.pub.arbeitsamt.de/hst/services/statistik/000100/html/monat/200603.pdf
(Access 18.04.2006, um 11:20 Uhr).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006c):
http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BL
(Access 18.04.2006 at 11:25 p.m.).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006d):
http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=D&dbtyp=0&typ=D
(Access 18.04.2006 at 11:25 p.m.).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006e):
http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BGW&dbtyp=1&typ=WO
(Access 18.04.2006 at 11:25 p.m.).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006f):
http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BGO&dbtyp=1&typ=WO
(Access 18.04.2006 at 11:30 p.m.).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006g):
http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BA&dbtyp=3&typ=BL
(Access 18.04.2006 at 11:30 p.m.).

Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2005:
http://www.destatis.de/basis/d/bevoe/bevoetab10.php

Statistisches Landesamt Berlin (2004): „Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 1991
bis 2004".

Süddeutsche Zeitung (2006): 50 000 Jugendliche ohne Lehrstelle. Nr. 235, vom
12.10.2006

Szydlik, M. (1996): Ethnische Ungleichheit auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt. In: Kölner
Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 48 (4), S. 658-676.

Weidacher, A.(2000): (Hrsg.): In Deutschland zu Hause. Politische Orientierungen
griechischer, italienischer, türkischer und deutscher junger Erwachsener im Vergleich –
DJI Ausländersurvey, S. 10. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

PART II: Two Case Studies on Roma Community in Hungary and Romania

1. Introduction

The present report tries to shed light on the social and institutional processes underlying the persistence of deprivation and risks of social exclusion in the case of the Roma population in Hungary and Romania, despite of several national and international programs aimed at tackling their relative disadvantage. It starts with a review of the most relevant current reports on the situation of the Roma. The core-part of the report presents the results of case-studies on Roma communities, anthropological research and social policy-analysis. Instead of stating clear-cut policy recommendations, the concluding part discusses the major shortcomings of current policies: lack of coherent monitoring systems, irregular and shallow consultations with national and international experts, lack of sensitivity to local-level problems when formulating macro-level policies, which delays the emergence of local-level solutions coming from grass-root organisations and community actors.

2. Overview of recent reports on the Roma in Hungary and Romania

Romania and Hungary participate at the joint international effort to find solutions to the persistent problem of Roma discrimination and poverty: *The Decade of Roma Inclusion,* organized by the Open Society Institute Budapest, The World Bank and the European Commission. Both countries developed national strategies for improving the situation of the Roma, and expressed their commitment to protecting minority rights and fighting poverty and social inclusion during the process of European integration.

In Romania, the formulation of the new *General Plan of Measures of the National Strategy for the Roma* (2005) was based on the conclusions of the 2005 report commissioned by the Romanian Government National Agency for the Roma and the World Bank: "Roma Social Mapping. Targeting by a Community Poverty Survey" (Sandu, 2005). At the level of territorial administrative units, representatives of local government and persons either in charge of Roma or supposedly having a good knowledge of these issues at the local level (e.g. social workers) where asked to fill in a questionnaire[58] together with Roma persons from the given community. Only compact Roma communities with at least 20 households were surveyed, and the questions concerned three dimensions of deprivation: accessibility to community, infrastructure, and income (Sandu, 2005: 13). The conclusions of the report reveal that 120 out of the 848 investigated communities were deprived on all three dimensions (i.e. approximately 20%). In 91% of the cases, key-informants considered that the lack of employment was one of the major problems of the community, and 89% reported that the community faces lack of income. In 76% of the rural communities and 69% of the urban communities social aid and occasional work constituted the main sources of income (Sandu, 2005: 14-20).

The 2005 report *Public Policies for the Roma: 2000-2005* (Sandu, 2005) offers an overview of the recent institutional and legislative developments with respect to the specific problems of the Roma, their representation at the level of the institutions of the local and central government, the patterns of collaboration with non-governmental

---

[58] The acronym of the survey is "ProRomi" and the full report, including the questionnaire, can be accessed at http://www.anr.gov.ro/html/studii_si_publicatii.htm

organizations. The report also presents what can be considered "achievements" and obstacles that need to be solved further in the collaboration between various stakeholders in the problem of improving the situation of the Roma in Romania.

A detailed analysis of the implementation of the first *National Strategy for the Roma* (2002) was undertaken by *Resource Center for Roma Communities* (2004), who draws attention to the fact that the program is considerably underfinanced, and there is a scarcity of personnel to fulfill the roles of local experts on Roma issues and mediators for Roma communities.

Milcher and Zigova (2005) investigate the impact of social policies on the "self-reliance" of the Roma (based on comparative surveys of the UNDP in the Bulgaria, the Czech Rep., Hungary, Romania and Slovakia) and draw the conclusion that "social transfers do not always offer sufficient incentives to be active and become self-sustainable. In light of our empirical analysis, the countries studied might wish to explore the option of increasing the minimum wage, rather than decreasing the amount of social transfers" (Milcher and Zigova, 2005: 12). It should be noted that the authors find that, as compared to the other countries, in Romania state transfers provide only a modest contribution to the overall income of Roma households and it is superfluous to affirm that they create disincentive for work. In Hungary, the welfare system is more generous, especially due to the fact that family benefits are not tied to previous employment status, as it was for a long while in Romania (the legislation will change the beginning of 2007).

In 2004, the UNDP carried out the most comprehensive survey on the living conditions of the Roma and majority populations living in close proximity to the Roma in Eastern Europe. The report points out that, in Romania, 69% of the Roma live below the international poverty line, as compared to 22% of the majority. In the neighboring Hungary the corresponding figures are only 8% versus 5%, whereas in Bulgaria 51% versus 11%. With respect to educational qualification, the situation is similarly worrying across the region: only 13% of Roma persons aged 12 or above have complete primary education in Romania, and only 10% in both Hungary and Bulgaria. Bad health is aggravated by the fact that most of the households cannot afford to buy the prescribed medication: 77% of Roma households and 42% of non-Roma households in Romania declared that they cannot the treatment, and the figures were just as high for the other countries in the region, with the notable exception of the Czech Republic. (see UNDP, *Vulnerable groups in Central and South Eastern Europe,* Bratislava, 2005. http:// vulnerability.undp.sk, [October 2006]).

All reports highlight the persistence of socio-economic deprivation and risks of social exclusion, despite of the positive developments in terms of legislation and institutional structures both at the local and the central-governmental level, asserting that progress is slower than expected.

4. *Empirical part, Hungary*

5. *A case of a Roma community: Tiszabura*

The aim of the present empirical research is to describe the nature and "survivor techniques" of a socially disadvantaged Roma community. In order to be able to reveal these, it is necessary to analyse not only the inner mechanisms of the community but also the relationship between community members and formal institutions of the village. The relationship is influenced by several factors: the attitude of the teachers, local characteristics, the material and cultural characteristics of the parents (family), and the school's social and economic environment.

6. *Research methodology*

In order to be able to give a proper description of a community and form recommendations our study relies both on conversations with different acting characters within formal and informal settings.

During the research in informal setting we conducted semi-structured interviews with community members, opinion-leaders, with Roma entrepreneurs and with the leader Roma self-government. In formal setting we conducted semi-structured interviews with employees of the local authority, the municipality of Tiszabura, with the director and deputy director of the local primary school, with teachers, leaders of the working groups at the junior and upper classes, the official responsible for child protection, the teacher of development, the leader of the quality insurance working group, the OOIH coordinator for the region and two principals of nearby settlement's elementary schools. As background material we made analysis of the school's methodological program and observations during the school's classes. After recording these interviews, we used the *edge-coding* method to do the content analysis and take the information apart into thematic units. During the analysis we summarized these thematic blocks. The quotations that we use in the analytical parts reflect the characteristics of the spoken language, and for data protection and research ethical considerations we use these interview fragments without indicating the subject's name.

We would like to especially emphasize that during the analysis we primarily build upon the recorded interview texts. As researchers, we are not authorized to control each item of every assertion, which obviously does not mean that we fail to pay attention to possible contradictions between certain opinions. Further on we make every effort instead to identify particular ways of speech, narrative constructions, if you please, which – according to our expectations – would help both for us and our readers to better understand some events.

The aim of the last phase of the research is to sum up our findings in a form of a country report, and provide recommendations.

7. Main findings

7.1. The settlement

Tiszabura is located in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County and its population is estimated at 2,770 residents. The settlement lies 10 kilometers from the Tisza Lake to the South, 13 kilometers from Abádszalók and 20 kilometers from Kunhegyes. These neighboring settlements challenge the local elementary school for two different reasons. Firstly, Tiszabura is located in the same small region as the above-mentioned two settlements. Secondly, parents of non-Roma origin prefer to send their children to the school in Abádszalók instead. While the representation of the Roma population at the settlement is around 60%, interviewees estimate this proportion around 80-90% at the school.

The village's mayor is of Roma origin, the majority of municipal government board members are also Roma and the settlement has Roma minority self-government too. Many of the school's teachers hold this opinion about the cooperation with the leadership of the village:

„My boss, she has a good relationship [with the mayor], we [the teachers] basically have no relationship with the municipality board of the present composition".

There is a separated Roma settlement in the village where people mostly live in so-called "szocpol" houses. Concluding from the narratives, it highlights the social stratification of the village that only the poorer Roma remained at the Roma settlement, those who were more mobile have moved into the village "of their own volition". Though, there are some Roma families who "were moved" because their houses had previously collapsed. They were not moved into the houses of Roma people but to those that had been abandoned by "original inhabitant families from Tiszabura". These "inhabitant" non-Roma families left for plain existential and in no way ethnical reasons:

„(…) citizens fled, there were no job opportunities, they didn't [flee] because of the Roma but because there were no job opportunities".

Therefore, the ethnic structure of the village show that poorer Roma people live ("outside") in the Roma settlement while wealthier Roma people, those who were moved in and the non-Roma who remained live "in" the village. None of the interviewed people mentioned sharp ethnic conflicts though people in the village know which the few families are who chiefly live from thefts. But they – allegedly – steal from Roma too, so conflicts about them can by no means considered as "Roma issues":

„No, there is no such thing as Roma issue. So it's not a Roma issue if there is a conflict, but there are five families whose members go to the courtyard of an old woman and steal the hen from them. (…) but it's also a problem of the Roma because they also steal from their courtyard so it is the problem of that five families. This village used to be different (…) these Roma went into the courtyard, whitewashed our walls, worked in the vineyards and on the fields. (…) So this is not a Roma issue,

there are some families but I guess it is the same among workers too that there are five families they dislike at the housing estate."

From the point of education the biggest problem is probably caused by the shortage of rooms at the kindergarten in Tiszabura. Though the enlargement of the kindergarten has recently occurred there are still many parents who cannot send their children to the institution. There are roughly 150 children there, but there would be claims to far more spaces. While it happens at other settlements that kindergarten education of Roma children fails to come about because of the parents, in this case the inadequate number of rooms causes the biggest problem.

Since there is not enough space at the kindergarten they had to and still have to adapt the organization of education to these circumstances. The kindergarten has implemented some sort of selection process in which the more well to do children (both Roma and non-Roma) get put into separate groups, and these groups are very likely to further remain at the elementary school as well.

7.2. Informal setting - The local community of Tiszabura

We can reconstruct the description of the Tiszabura local community's life based on the telling of our interviewees. Our interviewees are not only representatives of organisations, we tried to find people who are not a formal spokesman of any local institution, still they are considered local opinion leaders. We have to take into consideration by all means that we have identified these formal leaders through official representatives, this quasi signals that the two spheres are not sharply separated, they participate together in many activities, and they are partly tied by cousinship, which already foreshadows the loyalty of the informal opinion leaders. First we present the discussions conducted with informal leaders, then we move to analysing the opinion of the representatives of the local system of institutions.

Three of the interviewees can be considered informal leaders; two of them do not live in the Roma settlement (any more). However, one of these persons operates a store in the settlement, he qualifies as local entrepreneur and informal leader because besides the store he is engaged in "informal labour exchange", supports the local football team and has a decisive role in other community activities as well.

The interviewee living in the settlement is a local spokesman, a local "factotum", who has a strong opinion regarding the life of the local community, and his opinion often gains a hearing by the locals. Our third "informal" interviewee is a relative of the mayor of Roma origin, they know each other from childhood, he comes from the settlement as well, close relatives of him still live there but he himself "moved in" to the village already.

Based on the three discussions **four** major topics unfolded through which we can gain a comprehensive picture about the everyday life of the village, and within that of the Roma community living in the settlement, in a segregated way.

7.2.1. Everyday life in the settlement

The settlement is a segregated zone of the village. According to our interviewees there are approximately 110 houses here, 500-550 people live in these, out of which 300 have

voting rights. Although the roads are surfaced, the condition of the majority of houses is pretty poorish at first sight. The public utilities are not entirely solved either, not all households are connected to water, electricity and gas. The mayor's office is currently trying to assist with this social handicap:

„If one goes out to the gipsy settlement here by us, one can see many people walking to the fountain with bailers and cans in their hands. Not all homes have it [water connection]. Either because they could not pay for it, or because they did not have money to pay for the connection. Now the whole thing is fine from the point of view that the mayor's office has become here an owner of the waterworks again, and then they do not connect the water pipes for such unrealistic prices as they connected it some time ago, so that they connected the water pipe for almost 50 thousand Ft. Now it is below this and there is a possibility for being able to pay this in rates. (…) Now we should make an attempt with the gas as well at some level. So with a system similar to this, we should develop such a system."

Our interviewees relate positively to the mayor of the village, the reason for this is on one hand his activity performed for the benefit of the village and the settlement, on the other hand his Roma origin. As a matter of fact the two causes interweave, strengthening each other and this positive relation is manifested on the level of remedying the settlement's problems as well, and asphalting the streets is attributed to him. This brings with it a sort of hope, an optimism based on the Roma origin:

„Oh, we are very, very pleased [with the current mayor]. Well, last year we also got along very well, because he did the road. Which is very important."

„Because now we have a gipsy mayor, that is a mayor of Roma origin, so the Roma have much-much more possibilities, I tell you."

Those living in the settlement are labelled "those out there", which implies the existence of a social distance between the Roma in the village and in the settlement. "Those out there" live under more poorish conditions compared to those in the village, and they see one of the main reasons for this in the mentality of those living there:

„In my opinion the approach itself is wrong, the approach, views of life of those out there. Otherwise there are differences, evidently, even out there there're some who make a little more effort, who like to have order around them and who also do something for it. And there are some who don't care for anything anyway, and then they are the way they are."

In the settlement there are a disco, a bar, and a grocery store operating as well. In the narrations the grocery store is presented as a real success story that has not only a service function, but a social organisational force as well, and is categorised as a good example for Roma-Hungarian relations working out luckily.

„And then my money got together, and I had such wealthier relatives who did help… I had this room transformed at a dead bargain. Back then there were still one or two small stores here in the village. I have opened, and they got to like us [very much], we did behave the same way and I can not even behave differently, because I was born here, I live here."

The store's supply is adapted to the needs and financial situation of those living there, and its operation takes into account the "pulsation" of the settlement, in the mornings only children leaving for school are served:

„People like to come here, because the store is not an expensive one."

„I can sell all candy. (…) There's hardly candy above 100, 200 Forints, and among the cold cuts I can't really sell high brands. I adapted myself to the people. I use to bring such cheap pariser and such cheap things."

„They use to, they use to, of course [to come out from the village]. Because this is open Saturdays and Sundays as well. And they use to come out from the village as well. Hungarians use to come out as well."

This last quotation is a good indication for the contrast between village and settlement: "village" is where mostly the "Hungarians" live, while the Roma – who are poorer compared to Hungarians – live in the settlement. However the store as an interethnic meeting interface bridges over these borders due to its cheapness and opening hours, therefore people from the poorer layer of the village visit the store as well. The blurring of social borders makes the ethnic borders fade as well.

Besides the fragile social security our interviewees often related about the poor health condition of themselves or those living in their surroundings. These medicalisation problems are not only severe on their own, but also indicate the close interdependence between social insecurity and the situation of healthcare, i.e. we can not understand the situation of those living in the settlement, if we do not take into consideration their health status.

„Both my parents are dead. My little brother passed away 4 month ago. He had cancer. My little brother was sick of cancer. I am declared invalid because I had a hart attack, lung embolism. (…) My husband is declared invalid because of his leg, but they don't find even today, what the problem is. He was in the hospital. His leg is swelling. Even his shin swells so much that it is about to tear apart. It is swollen so hardly. Whatever we do with it, it doesn't help him."

7.2.2. World of labour, subsistence issues

The majority of those living in the locality fight with subsistence, existence issues, and the unemployment rate is very high, this affects Hungarians and Roma as well, although according to some opinions the latter are hit more heavily:

„I think the unemployment [in Tiszabura] must be surely 70-75 percent. Among Roma I think it is even more."

If the unemployment rate is so high, one can rightfully ask the question, how those living here can make a living. Is there some sort of local "leading" sector, or rather what kind of possibilities for income sources do they have besides the due social allowances? We already mentioned the outstanding role of the store in the life of the settlement, but the telling of our interviewees outlined that the operation of grocery

stores is considered a "leading sector" in the life of the village – not with a high profit though.

„Here in this small locality I could generally say that the grocery stores are those who can make a living. The store fulfils one's everyday needs, so to say on the level of foodstuff, and they can make a profit out of this on a certain level. And that's not some really big profit."

Based on our interview we have not gained profound knowledge regarding all stores of the village, but in connection with one of the stores operating in the settlement an extensive market system of small entrepreneurs has been outlined: sales people and occasional, mobile salesmen show up in the settlement at points in time known by the interested locals (e.g. the store owner), and perform an informal market research, i.e. they collect the buyers' preferences from the local store owner. In accordance with the collected demands the mobile salesmen deliver the goods next day to the store owner. It is important that they sell only to the store owner and only en-gros; they don't sell en detail because the local market is dominated by the store owner in the strict and figurative sense of the word as well. The local store owner passes on the goods in small lots and since he knows well the local conditions, he uses a margin that the consumer community of the settlement can bear. It's interesting that the Roma appear only at the end-user link of the system, until then they are practically not present. Although no ethnical characteristics show up in a manifested way, in a latent way we can still experience an ethnical rupture in this small entrepreneur system: on the distribution, "supplier" side the predominant players are the "Hungarians", while on the end-user, consumer side there are the "Roma".

„ [The mobile salesmen] come from very far, Eger, Szolnok, they come from Kunhegyes as well. Generally it used to be that he comes once in two weeks. (…) Of course it's always like he unloads the goods, he writes the invoice. They give specifically to the entrepreneurs. They don't give just so to the people (…) There was not one single Roma among these mobile salesmen. Where I use to go, they like me there, too. I tell you, they never make me feel that I am Roma. (…) It is so, that for example the sales guy comes down on Monday, and on Tuesday they bring the goods. Or for example the sales guy comes down on Thursday, and on Friday they bring the goods. They deliver for example frozen meat from Törökszentmiklós, too. But generally meat delivery is twice a week."

Another profitable success sector – however, just like in the case of operating grocery stores, it affects in reality only a few people – is the agriculture.

"Maybe there would be here the agriculture. There are some who are engaged in this. There are more families who could acquire a little land over long times, because they were in the farmer's cooperative back in the communism, they took out land, have privatised to themselves, some land came up for lease etc., so they bought it, they could acquire 4-5 hectares of land. They sow potatoes, tomatoes in it, and trade with it. They became original producers. So this is approximately what you can deal with in this small village."

Besides the two mentioned activities that provide income (operating grocery store and agriculture) the inhabitants of the village make a living of occasional, temporary

activities mostly belonging to the domain of the black and grey economy. According to our interviewees these activities are the "onioning" (i.e. cleaning onions), "appleing" (picking apples), "pearing" (picking pears), "potatoing" (picking potatoes), "peppering" (picking pepper), and hoeing. From the discussions we also get to know how these activities are organised:

„The entrepreneur brings down the onion and unloads it [on one of the settlements streets], and tells us that it is, let's say, ten-and-something Forints per kilo, and those who are here distribute it to the people and then it is enough for 30-40 families. And then they clean it in a day and a half, and then they earned 5-6000 Forints on this. And it is like this almost every day. Then they take it away, measure it off, pay for it on the spot, and they bring the next one. Now it lasts for two months already, and they say it will last for three other months, but this is uncertain."

„Well, for example this hoeing now and such things, these are regular. And there are many who for example go to entrepreneurs. There's a lot of them. They have a small booklet [where they track how much they worked]"

„They go appleing, they go pearing, they go potatoing, they go peppering, they go to work two-three days, [then they stay at home], after two days they go again for two-three days."

Besides seasonal work the unemployed inhabitants of the locality usually also participate in public work financed by the local governments. In the Hungarian social security system the time worked by persons servicing activities of public utility counts as employment time, i.e. based on this – depending on other conditions – they will be entitled to unemployment aid. Yes, but the wage provided by the local government usually doesn't exceed the minimum wage, therefore it is not worth financially for the one potentially servicing activities of public utility to take on work at times when a higher income can be acquired from seasonal work. This way a specific scheduling, alternation of seasonal and occasional work evolves:

„Last year it happened that 120 families have been working at a given time. And surely 60 families from the gipsy settlement and for a period of six months. People demand that they should not be hired [for local government work] in the summer, because they earn so much in the summer that it's not worth for them to work here for the local government. And then it is so that a lot of people work in November, December."

Local government work usually means manual work tied to the locality:

„They used to dig gutters, reap, keep parks in order, reap the specific places of the local government, fix the fences, and similar things."

We could draw the conclusion from the former things that for those fighting with everyday living issues it isn't simple to provide their subsistence. However, according to our interviewees this isn't so, despite appearances. One "indicator" for this is that there is hardly any homeless in the village, or rather there's only one, but even his situation is "solved":

„Generally, how should I say, those who want to make a living here, can. I don't say you can live like a rich or like a store owner. Here in Tiszabura knowingly [i.e.: it's not a coincidence that] there's no homeless. Everybody has siblings here, even that one homeless has."

The previous quotation foreshadows that there is a sort of "informal social net" that provides some kind of protection for the community members even amidst the quasi adverse existence circumstances. Cousinship ties have an emphasised importance among the informal relationships. However, the settlement is so much impounded that in its community life the informal ties of mutual assistance go beyond the cousinship ties.

„They help out each other here, because there's no money, that's the problem. The unemployment allowance is too small as well."

Everyday subsistence problems have a double consequence: on one hand they pass on the poverty, the culture of poverty (it turned out from narrations that it used to happen that children didn't attend school because of the hectic labour possibilities of the parents); on the other hand they nurture specific desires, one might say tamed down middle-class desires.

The first big dream is finding a stable workplace, where you have a "monthly fix", i.e. a regular monthly salary. It is interesting, however, that two interviewees – completely independently from each other – thought of an almost similar sum as "monthly fix" that could solve the everyday financial problems of their families.

„A secure job, that's the most important, because that's what you could build on. So I actually always said to my other colleagues that if one had a normal, secure workplace, the salary wouldn't need to reach the stars in the sky. But let's say if one has 80-100 thousands secure money, then starting from there those problems that can come forward every day – that I don't have anything in my pocket right now, so what should be now, to whom I should go and ask, what should we do, what should be – those are solved."

„I go to every home; I ask who wants a job. I tell them that they [will] come home every evening. Because that's what they said. I tell them. Well, my son is the first, I already know that. Well, my husband is now 50% invalid, he can't bear it. I will try it for that sake, too, I will try that job, they say it's not difficult. And you have to do such little thingies in the factory. We should go there. That person, that man said that one can have that 70 thousand, 80 thousand Forints each month. Then it's not 20 thousand Forints. It would be better already. You would have something to draw on. I was planning to let in the water next year. This also …costs Forints …but that money is still scarce …very scarce. Very scarce."

The dreams built on the insecurity of subsistence reflect very much hands-on modern values. These are all related to the "material", the infrastructure, among these outstanding places are occupied by the car, the faith in manual work, which is naturally associated with the urge to improve the vocational training for the youth.

„I'd like a nice car. (…) It shouldn't be an old car. For example we had a look at a Suzuki Ignis. What should I say, it's a family car, it's not big, that's true, but it's a good little car, it's not expensive. There's only one problem with it, that they'd give [the credit] for ten years, and that's a terribly lengthy time. So we live from one day to the other, and well, now today we have a work contract until the beginning of 2008, but what will happen afterwards? If there's no more tender, what can one do? Then I can't say that I take out the money from the safe, from the family cash register, then I pay for the car and it will be somehow. This is not possible, it's obvious. So I don't really dare. There will be a somewhat older car, that we will buy probably, but first we should gather so much money, that we can pay [the advance payment], then we'll get it out, then we'll see."

An example for praising the manual work:

„We tried to place back things into the old rut, to manual force, (…) because you can save quite a lot with that. For example a mixer truck can bring concrete for 27 thousand Forints a cubic meter, which is a huge sum. We can produce it by hand, for ten thousand a cubic meter."

The importance of vocational training, learning suggests on one hand the possibility of ascension, on the other hand it merges with the evolution of the infrastructural environment:

„Vocational training is very important by all means. Because if we send an unskilled worker to the locksmith workshop, he will surely not weld the iron there. There are such works, as for example the maintenance works, that have to be performed in offices or in privately owned real estate as well. Because if two square meters of rock flour fall off the wall, that has to be repaired, or if something needs to be painted, a painter is needed there. (...) This [vocational training] is important by all means, and to be actually skilled in it, not just to post somebody there for example, who gets along all day next to a half barrow of mortar."

„So today's youth should be like, those who now attend primary school, so I'd try to stimulate them to learn by all means, because that's the basis for everything, I think. And then I'd try to help them, so that the homes they live in become a little more comfortable by all means."

The faith in modern values is well symbolised by the fact that out of the approximately dozen streets in the village two of them give back the catchwords of modernity: „Evolution Road", „Progress Street"[59]. The „Evolution Road" is by the way one of the four streets in the Roma settlement, which can be interpreted as the expression of a sort of hope in the future, but if we take into consideration that the naming is usually a task of the local government, it may happen that in fact we can identify here a trace of the cynicism of the former (often anti-Roma, prejudicial) local authority.

7.2.3. Social assessment of the formal system of institutions (including the school)

We can witness a strong optimism regarding the assessment of the local official institutions. On one hand this is related to the already indicated fact that the informal opinion leaders are tied to the current local leadership with multiple threads, but on the

---

59 The other streets were named after Hungarian historical personalities (e.g. Széchenyi, Dózsa György), but there is a Lenin street as well.

other hand can be related to the methodological challenge that in an interview situation the interviewee tries to present himself/herself and his/her own environment to the stranger (the researcher) in the best possible light.

Knowing all these it is still remarkable, that inquiring about the assessment of three important institutions and their representatives we have experienced that besides the current positive relationship this has been exactly the opposite recently and in the past.

The current mayor (and because the village lives in communal informality:) and his family, his father are girdled with a high degree of sympathy, contrary to the former deputy mayor who did behave frequently in a prejudicial way:

„That's sure, in Tiszabura, if it weren't for the Farkas[60] family, we would be way down."

On the contrary, the following opinion has been formulated about the former deputy mayor and his family:

„Oh, he was out in the settlement one time, when this sewer was made (...) He came out, behaved priggishly, then I went there, I told the women not to talk to him, because he hates us so much, (…) he wants to segregate us. It was so. He wanted to segregate us by any means; he wanted that we should have no business in the café already at 9 o'clock (...). Well, now we can go in where we want at 9 o'clock, I think. (...) So he is very much racist. And his wife, too, who works in their own pub. (…) And she used to lie that her window was broken, which is not true. She kicks it in herself. For herself."

A similar contrast can be read out towards the persons providing local health services, too: the former doctor wasn't good; there was much trouble with her, while they are very pleased with the current one:

„Seven years maybe, that's what he told me, he's here for approximately seven years now. He wasn't accepted in Tiszalök, but they want to take him back now, but we don't let him go, because we are very pleased with him. He's a very good doctor. We couldn't possibly get a better one. (...) He pays very much attention to the patients, he cares for the children, too, when there's no paediatrician. Well, that's what we still need, a paediatrician who stays permanently here."

The following has been said about medical practices in the past:

„There was a doctor here, who was here. Well, she was just coming to us, but for what? That didn't care for the children; instead she has come to beg. She entered a home, sat down, talked a lot, and said that she would need eggs and she'd need this and that and so on. It was horrible. (…) Well, that was everything but not a doctor. For example she hospitalised us when the baby was 8 months old. And she said its ear is aching. Well, I said, don't say that, that its ear is aching, I'd notice that. Well, it turned out that the problem is completely different, they did even ask, what kind of doctor do you have?"

And the same logic applies on the level of assessing the school, too. The picture is somewhat more diverse here: old days (20-30 years ago) seem nice, the school of recent times seems weak, while the present is hopeful again, because a new director has been appointed to the institution in the meantime.

---

60 The family name of the current mayor.

„Well I think back then they were harder, they did demand the curriculum itself much more, much more. So I start on that way, what I learnt here, the basics, for me that was so much sufficient even in the vocational school, that I didn't even have to learn much to have 3.7-3.8. So what the teacher told besides that, during the class, was enough to actually make it… It was good. Those times, how should I put that, teachers were much harder, and then the perception at the children is now different, too, the relations between the teacher and the child are much different. I'd rather say the children are very much let loose."

„We have a new director; I take notice that this director approaches things somehow differently, completely differently."

7.2.4. The actual community force

Previously we have more or less gained a picture about a few decisive segments of the everyday lives of Roma in Tiszabura, and we have sensed that the assessment of local institutions is more and more positive as we are nearing the present.
If we want to get an answer for the question „What organisational forces operate the local community?", based on the facts so far we can mention the role of the store, the existence of the informal social net, the organisations operated by formal institutions (participation in tenders, projects), and the positive attitude and assessment of the mayor.

Based on our discussions it is important to further mention two more institutionalisations: football and village guard. Football has been mentioned several times as organisational force, not only in the present, but also in the past, i.e. in the childhood of the interviewees.

„We have a pretty good, close relationship, but I tell you, really, we have been playing football together for 12-13 years, whenever we could, at school, everywhere."

Football as an organisational force creating identity is important in the present as well, one of the local store owners senses the community resources laying in it, and senses the importance of managing success; therefore it is important for him to support it as well:

„We are in the county third and we have won ten out of ten. And then I support those footballers. I am the sponsor as well."

Another locally organised institution is the so-called village guard. The village guard is a locally organised "police", i.e. an institution that handles minor offences of the community members in a self-regulatory way. In small localities, where the official police – if it exists at all – can operate only with a small headcount, the village guard is recruited from the community members, and can provide a more effective informal and formal control, law enforcement.

„There are here two-three families about whom we know for sure that they are stealing. But since there's the village guard, this has been reduced very-very much. This village guard exists since 2003. (...) There are such master village guards, there's approximately 5-6 of them, I'm friends with them, they give out their numbers and if there is anything

inside the village, they are there within two minutes. And it already happened that they caught a man right when he was stealing."

7.3. Formal setting - Institutional actors: Some relations of the school's inner life

In 1982 the Public Educational Center was established in Tiszabura, containing four institutional units: the elementary school, the kindergarten, the community arts center and the library. Almost 400 children attend the school of which 50, requiring special education; participate in studies of different curriculum in a separate building. Of those, 89 that study the normal curriculum were declared to have troubles with some particular abilities. Though because of data protection considerations there are no precise figures about the proportions of Roma and non-Roma students, our interviewees had it that approximately 90% of the school's pupils are of Roma ethnic origin. This means 2-3 non-Roma students in every 20-25 member classrooms.

There are 9 classes in the junior school: 2 first year, 3 second year, 2 third year and 2 fourth year classes, and also 9 upper classes: 2 classes per year except the 6th where there are 3 classes.

The teaching staff consists of 36 teachers but the management of the school considers it insufficient: they claim that the school would need 49 full-time employees. Of the staff, 10-11 teachers work in the classes with special curriculum. The composition of the staff can be regarded as stable nowadays and the fluctuation is rather low. It is so despite that people we asked believe that teachers are under-paid because they work with disadvantaged children and this requires a more intensive employment from their part than working elsewhere in different circumstances. Some of the interviewees also say that many teachers feel overburdened as well, for they have 27 classes a week. This overtaxing or the conscious of it might result in some kind of a "duty-which-has-to-be-done" approach that is refusing the professional participation in extra works and projects, which might eventually result in teachers' "burn out." Professional challenges emerging in the school or its environment might turn into formalities in the end:

„We may be told what [the meeting] would be about and for whom. We go there and think that's all we need to do. … Who cares? We must do it, there is a task and we do it right. So, who is the boss there or what picture he paints we don't really care."

The teaching staff used to be characterized by the presence of non-qualified teachers but this phenomenon seems to have ended by now primarily because by some kind of conscious local work they managed to find the new supplies, and further because they also managed to attract teachers from over the country borders mainly by providing them with official quarters. We can find teachers of Roma ethnic origin in the staff: a kindergarten teacher, an education assistant for the handicapped and a free-time organizer. Most of the teachers teach their own subjects, but some classes (polytechnics or the foreign language) are taught by those without degrees. For instance, the ex-Russian teachers now teach Hungarian Literature or work as educators for the handicapped.

There is minority education in the school as well and they also plan to have art courses. The latter, they do in partnership with an elementary school from the county capital they belong to the same educational association with. The school is a member of the School Association of Kunhegyes of whose programs they regularly attend to. But as we previously said the judgment of this participation vary among different workers of the school: it seems as if these different opinions indicated the existence of an inner

opposition. While the present leadership of the school believed the attendance in these different projects to be good we also met opinions that questioned the credit and the importance of such experts' meetings.

„This hocus-pocus that is now going in the field of education because I dare to say it is hocus-pocus: what job is done it's all the same, what matters, is that should be written down. So all these upset my stomach and I mean it. There is a different way I think about what a decent work is."

The junior-upper school and school-parents relationships are both characterized by informality. In the earlier the institutional way of communication does not happen. The school's contact with the parents has a "village like" nature after all the parents may meet the teachers day by day on the street. One of our interviewees, who perform a methodological special service, added that he always contacts the parents if a "problem occurs". Briefly: the school's connections to the parents are featured by traditional and informal ways.

But these connections cannot supposedly be too efficient in case of the disadvantaged parents since the majority of children who leave the school in the afternoon get in an environment that represents very different sets of values than what the school does. If there is a big distance between the school and the parents, the distance between the children and the school will remain. Some like after recognizing that, there were different grownup training programs in civil initiatives but these usually depend on grant applications so maintaining their continuation is occasional. Options within the contact with parents may not be fully utilized by the school since their relations—as we above said—are restricted to celebrations, traditional and informal ways.

It has been previously told that the school also has education for students who need special schooling and around 50 children are concerned. The people we questioned feel that its mainly good for the parents for their children can receive the adequate training locally. Neither it is rare that parents want their child to go to the school if their older one had been going there before.

One of the people we asked said that parents of these children are also mentally retarded and they had also received this sort of education (that has been existing since 1966). The school recently renovated the separate building where children receiving special education go and people widely thought about it as the "dead stock", but the renovation of the place may change this view(!). The representation of Roma and disadvantaged people in this system of schooling is even higher but a replacement from here to the regular form seldom happens. Even if does, it won't bring a unique success since the number of children having problems with their particular abilities are many, any these classes lack motive power too.

7.4. About the pedagogical methodology used in the school

We examined the school's methodological work within three different procedures: firstly, we got an insight to their work through the interviews. Then we studied their educational program by document analysis. Finally, we made our study more comprehensive by evaluating our experiences at the in actu school class' visits.

Concerning the methodology used in the school we also found some breaking between the opinions among the school's management and the teachers at junior and upper

classes. While the leaders assert that the project method is wide spread at the school and they also use Step by Step elements and differentiated education, the interviewed teachers in charge tell that they seldom use cooperative methods and far more than half of the classes are held in the traditional frontal way.

Teachers do not have a unified terminology for different methods but particular opinions about them sometimes. But these opinions do not only vary about the methods but their implementation as well. We may say that from a methodological point of view every teacher does what he or she pleases:

„Everybody chooses one [method] so there isn't a worked out or compulsory. Everybody develops his or her own methods. But there is trouble if a colleague does not have a method. We're sort of a band in disorder".

One of the teachers for instance believes that differentiated education is a task for the child:

„Yes, in the bigger part of the class I must use the frontal method because otherwise I cannot convey factual material, then they differentiate how much of it they can memorize."

The following was also told about group work:

„I don't really like group work. For group work one should have some culture of labour but in this class culture of labour has not developed."

About the importance or inevitability of frontal work the following was articulated:

„Frontal work is probably a little bit more than half of the class but it has to be like that and I explain why. (…) in most of our children's case—and I am talking about our school—they lack reading skills that would be required to reach good results by individual work or cooperative studying, they don't understand words or expressions that must be used. Therefore we cannot really use it or at least not with all the syllabus."

Giving a summary to what has been told about different teaching methods we may conclude that while junior schoolteachers are freer to use methods that differ from the traditional ones there is a bigger resistance against these at the upper classes. It is also interesting that when refusing to use these more recent educational practices teachers give explanations in which they primarily shift the responsibility onto the children by saying that their human material does not allow them to use such methods. Some sort of circularity emerges: Teachers of the upper classes implicitly blame their colleagues at the junior classes by saying that they have failed to develop certain skills of pupils which should be carried on at upper classes or what they could build upon. At the same time, the management of the school is trying to make the majority of teachers sensible to modern methodology but it is still a question when their efforts will have a detectable impact on the everyday education work:

„The grant last year had a great output in organizing the effective process of learning which was transported here from Pilisborosjenő and 16 of our colleagues participated at that course. Then the BGR [internal caring system], which we also brought here, and 14 of our teachers participated at. We studied the project method at the Soros self organizing Roma school and brought that method here as well not only implementing it here but also at the classes with alternative curriculum."

7.5. Integration at the school

After we got a short insight to some major relations at the school and its surroundings we should examine what they mean by school integration in this medium and how they try to implement integrated education within the OOIH (National Network of Educational Integration).

Since the estimated representation of Roma pupils is 90% in this school and the number of disadvantaged is also very high, our key question is what we can mean by integrated education at all. We previously emphasized that in many respects there are remarkable differences between teachers' opinions about methodology issues but there is one aspect of school integration in which there seems to be a joint agreement: teachers of the Tiszabura elementary school identify integration practice with the elimination of previously existing classes in which pupils used to be grouped together on the basis of their skills and the creation of so called "mixed" classes. But the harmony within the school's working collective ceases at this point—we might say—primarily because they don't agree in adjudging whether this practice is good or not, necessary or not and why they should reshape the classes in that way at all.

Let's see first how the story of the formation of these new mixed classes appears in the shade of the narratives. The previous practice at Tiszabura was that they already established separate groups at the kindergarten though shaping these groups did not happen on the ground of the students' skills but were chiefly in connection with the parents' social background:

„ (…) groups were not established along skills indeed, [and] not along whether the group was good or bad, but poor kids whose clothing were stinky or lousy they got into one branch."

This way the shaping of groups practically resulted in the existence of a fully Roma, and a mixed group in which non Roma children and supposedly children of more well to do Roma parents got together. Kindergarten groups were carried on at both the junior and the upper school: one of the parallel classes was attended by students who passed for better, the other was considered the catch—up one (in case of three classes the catch—up one was marked with C).

„In the previous years there was a class that included children with good abilities and settled family backgrounds and there was a catch—up class in which mostly disadvantaged children got and those who had weaker skills."

The educational work was also different in the two classes as if they had worked with other methods and expectations:

*„The rate was slower in the other class. I'd rather put it this way: **there** [in the weaker class] work was slower, they had to use different methods or they had to explain everything many times, giving more material ready-made to the students. **Here** [in the better class] there is an opportunity for more individual work, or the student could prepare and practice at home, I don't really know, in some subjects, that was the difference."*

The two classes, or the "A and B classes" as our interviewees usually called them, were differentiated first on social basis then the process was further "assisted" by the

approach of the teachers. In the quote above we highlighted the words "**here**" and "**there**" because these seem to indicate some sort of nostalgia from the interviewed persons' part as if they happily recalled the memories from the times when these classes existed. This is explicitly said at one place:

„I had an extremely wonderful class, I have to say, the better class, this is also true, the parents were extremely attentive regardless to whether they were Roma or not."

The contrary between the **here** and **there** reveal some sort of rejecting distance-keeping: the "**there**" (B class) where it used to be hard to work and which failed to provide a real sense of achievement and the "**here**" (A class) where it was pleasant to work and the teacher got positive feedback: "Here" it was possible to "make a good progress" with the children. Truly, as one of our questioned people asserted it wasn't even possible for everybody to show great improvement in every subject in the better class either:

„[in the A class] maximum 20-30% of children were Roma. I still attended to a group, the 7th and the 8th grade was one group and those who performed better got into a separate group. But this was not perfect either because – for instance – I wasn't really good at Math but I went to the better group so it caused me plenty of difficulties. Those who performed better went to the good group, those who did worse in the other."

Life spans at the local school give a perfect example of the curves how social discrepancies suddenly turn into differences in personal abilities – all assisted by the school.

„Say fifteen-sixteen years ago (…) a class of 20 pupils contained fourteen Hungarian children and six Roma. But interesting enough, those six children were not chosen because they were brighter but back in the kindergarten the nurses had already put that six next to the Hungarians, who were cleaner. These Roma children very often fought their ways to the mid-field of the class by the end of school which means that they took over Hungarian children of weaker abilities. In the same time, only because someone was dirty or lousy, the nurse put them in the worse group and they stayed together, not all of the students with good abilities from there could fully utilize what they had because learning was not a fashion there."

The A and B classes, therefore, diverged from both social and ethnic aspects and the complexity was further increased by the different abilities but to what extent, opinions vary again. What is certain: most of our interviewees said that the B class was always considered as the worse, where there might have been one or two non-Roma students as well but after all they were "Roma classes":

„There were non-Roma at our catch-up classes too as they also appear at the special curriculum classes now so when the previous leaders of this school established these classes they indeed tried to select on the grounds of abilities."

„Generally the B used to be the worse and the proportion of Roma was higher but it is not true now because there are so many of them now, that it would be impossible to establish a separate class for them."

On the occasion of the quote above, we return to the question of the local school's interpretation of integration. From our conversations, we concluded that school integration at Tiszabura means that classes that were formed along fractures of the social background and the joined ethnic origin and skills are mangled. That's all very well but the representation of Roma is pretty high now (around 90%) therefore establishing

mangled classes by no means ensure that Roma and non-Roma children are represented at the same degree. As the result of the high proportion of Roma students the mangling, which used to be identified with integration practically meant that non-Roma children were put in two different classes. In figures, 2 out of 4 non-Roma pupils at the upper-school were sent to other classes (and as we may suspect from the untold reference in the quote below there might be some teacher-teacher conflict in the background of this decision):

*„In the two fifth grades (…) two teachers didn't want their children to get to teacher X, so they registered them in another class that contained the "**common Roma**". So because of this, the four Hungarian kids, two here and two there, so that is integration."*

The above marked term "common Roma" may indicate the possibility that despite the number of Roma growing in the school, class arrangement seems to include some form of selection. Providing that there are the pejoratively sounding "common Roma" we can assume that there are Roma who are classified in a different category, who on the local level do not belong to the "Roma plebs" but to a higher social class. All these seem to show that even besides the growing proportion of Roma at the school the selection along social and family background is possible.

Another relevant opinion fails to mention the above indicated conflict between two teachers and being politically correct also denies the selecting role of social background but raises our previous key-question: What do they think integration is in Tiszabura? For if the number of Roma is high then the idea of "common education" may receive a particular pro-minority meaning:

„Some of my colleagues also have their children educated here, there is a class where two of the children are of our colleagues' and the others are Roma. There are disadvantaged and less disadvantaged among Roma (…) They are so sweet, those two kids singing the Roma Hymn together with the others, so they understand each-other pretty well."

Though according to the current legislation, the claim to integrated education and its normative support is not bound to the proportion of Roma pupils but to the disadvantaged status. Therefore, the school does not have to mind the proportion of Roma but the number of disadvantaged pupils after all.

„Not all the Roma pupils are disadvantaged and not even every children in the special class are (…) if we consider the parents' graduation too because for instance child protection support does not fully coincide with what we consider as a disadvantaged status (…) then the proportion of disadvantaged children is around 70-75%."

Our previous statement that while establishing school classes some other inner selection mechanisms still prevail beside the increasing proportion of Roma students can be supported in a different way as well. One of the teachers we questioned says that roughly 25% of his students can be seen as disadvantaged. If we compare this number to the figure of the quote above referring to the entire school (70-75%) we might easily suspect that this proportion is not the same in each class so in any case we could find a class that is qualified as "better" in this respect, a class where the number of disadvantaged children is below the average.

If that sort of selection mechanism lives or lived on then it is not surprising that to our questions concerning school integration we frequently get the answer that the school had

previously been doing "the same". This *déjà vu* kind of narrative about the question of integration reappeared many times:

„The education of disadvantaged – primarily Roma- children has determined the profile of this school ever since I can remember. So this situation naturally characterize kindergarten too (…) to increase the chance for disadvantaged children to catch up was the aim of the kindergarten. Even before the [base school] competition this was one of the major tasks."

„This practice of the catch-up class was against my will, so I tried to stop it, the really bad and the good classes and that there wasn't a positive example."

„Do you want me to tell how old this integration is? This is not new at all; it had worked like this before. Furthermore, there were classes with slightly the same abilities and there was some good in each of them when I started to teach at the beginning of the 70's. There is nothing new under the sun in education and those who are now called the integration mentors have not discovered any miracles because we have been doing it for a long time."

„We were doing the same thing years before only it didn't have a name. So we haven't introduced many innovations. (…) If we say integration we chiefly mean the integration of disadvantaged children, but our school has this specialty that there are many children with particular ability disorders. So they are not mentally handicapped but having difficulties in learning. They are also here integrated in the elementary school."

Somehow, in a paradox way, when interpreting the term integration the opinion that this practice would require a different approach emerged several times. The contradiction is rather glaring because the interviewees told that this education practice is something they had been using previously so the question may arise why it is necessary to change the approach and what the additional value of the base school status could be.

Undertaking the practice of integration, in other terms establishing mixed classes made teachers face new challenges. To cease the previous classification on ability basis and to create classes along the prescriptions of the declared and claimed normative support would require such in-class educational differentiation by which teachers would be able to near every student to the same distance. But conversations show that mangling classes is not only opposed by teachers but by children themselves too:

„ (…) [children] in the sixth grades are less good, they have been mixed and didn't get used to each other, they find it hard to accept each other to this very day and there are personal antagonisms as well (…) The A and the B classes were mangled, the stronger and the weaker class there and this has not been working properly to this day."

„So much that these children couldn't make friends with each other that a kid from ex-class A wouldn't sit next to his mate from ex-class B because he is lousy and this one is not willing to work in the same group with that one."

Here the cyclical events that we have already mentioned re-emerge: The teachers cannot handle the mixed classes and (hence) they blame their professional failure on the children.

7.6. The school as integration base institution

We can see that for most of our interviewees integration primarily means the liquidation of the previous ability-based classification but we also frequently meet the opinion that actually the school once had the practice of integration before. We also highlighted the idea that although the selection among students is said to have ceased, some signs give the impression that there is indeed some sort of internal way of differentiation among classes.

In 2004, the school became the base institution of the National Network of Educational Integration (OOIH) and as such the regional engine of integrated education that should be the institution that provides the methodological background to others. The base institution's official status also meant – among others – that the teachers of the school should have regularly attended to IPR trainings at which they learn about new methodological elements. The work of the base institution is assisted by regional coordinators and advisors.

Summing up the different opinions referring to the OOIH base institution, status highlights the communication gaps within the school the best. It is obvious that the implementation of integration practice, the establishing of the integrated classes or organizing the participation at the methodology training courses are all the responsibilities of the school's management:

" (…) principally we used to put the emphasis on skills development and at the beginning it was hard to make a difference between the two terms because integration is integration and what I thought to be important is to get my colleagues acquainted to skills development first, because somehow it is the task of the management to form the integrated classes."

„As far as I can see a lot depend on the headmaster's influence in everyday issues. I don't know what is going on at the courses and what's not but if you take a look at everyday issues you can tell the most."

But according to our experiences, the base institution status only exists in the heads and concepts of the members of the school management. In better cases, teachers of the school politely answer that they have heard about it but any questions asking for further details about the OOIH or the IPR remain without an answer. Therefore the "project language" that is spoken by the leadership and the network correspondent and the shifting of practicing teachers who "don't know" diverge within the school.

Here are two quotes referring to the so-called project language whose central element is the idea to change teachers' approach which – according to many interviewees – would also be accessible by "methods used by the education of the handicapped":

"So we designed a good many trainings and courses [in the project] to be really prepared and more informed about this field because as I already said we were not up-to-date enough at individual skills development. We had a goal and it was approved by the colleagues, as I said, in 1998 we wanted this to be but on the everyday level it didn't work out as it could have. All these trainings our colleagues attended in large numbers, everybody at something, there were people who went to many of them, in here also and they liked to go. I have to emphasize that it also changed the approach of the majority of teachers, the majority I say because there are many elderly colleagues whose approach we cannot modify."

„There is methodology. There are very many new methodological elements that have had to be passed to these colleagues since we started. (…) Since I am here, I try to shape the attitudes too because the essence of the education of handicapped is the totally different methodology, there are many [elements] closer to the child or with some action in its centre, because the handicapped child can also be taught to everything it might only take a little longer and you have to go down to his level. In here you have to do the same with those children who –so to say – don't bring any bonus."

And here are some answers to our questions concerning the OOIH and the IPR:

„I heard about it [the OOIH], but that's all. (…) I don't know who runs it (…) I heard something about it. Please, don't ask me what I heard about it, it is a custom, the management usually tell us about it but don't ask."

„The small regional coordinator? I cannot say anything about it because I don't know what his duty was, what his task was, so I don't know. He must have done something only I didn't see. (…) The regional coordinator? I have heard about him too, I know he exists but I didn't have an insight to his scope of duties either. (…) IPR? System of Integrated Education? I don't know about it, maybe there was something but I don't know maybe I should know this?"

„My work-relationship is not with them [the OOIH], so why should I care? They can say anything but I have to sort things out here, here in the institution, so who sits at the wheel there we don't care because we hear so many names anyway we would anyhow forget so we are not adorers. See, they come and go these teachers won't remember, there were many people I could list the names in vain they wouldn't know who was who and it will go too."

If the OOIH is so unfamiliar within the institution, so for the teachers of the school that we interviewed, we can rightly ask how the school managed to "get" this grant at all? What is the previous history of the OOIH at Tiszabura? We managed to find out already that the practice of integration means that the previous classification classes of social basis (that –as we see - shifted into classification on ability basis) were mixed.

The interviews revealed that one of the teachers in leading position was in charge with the management of the grant's arrangement and he – by the way – "is in the national circulation" bringing the "news about" the application himself:

„This very colleague who is a dedicated teacher of handicapped children was into some sort of grant, and attended different trainings in the country and therefore they were in the circulation and he took some teachers with him, heard about this opportunity and he brought the news of it. I myself watch calls for grants on the Internet continuously, the grant-watch sites everywhere, if there is a possibility. I add in brackets why: because Tiszabura – where we are now – is a settlement heavily stricken by unemployment and the municipal government, even with their best will fails to provide the school's education with the support that we want and consequently since 1995 we have made every effort to grab available grant opportunities and further develop our work from these supports, these innovative grants etc. We often have problems with maintaining our present activities as well."

The above-mentioned colleague who "brought the news" about the grant application, told the following about the preparation and participation at the OOIH project:

„This practically started in 1996 when I became professional advisor to the County Advisory Office dealing with the topic of the transition from kindergarten to school. (…) Even when I was an advisor I built up several relationships, I had many lecturers and I organized several trainings generally in the topic of particular ability disorders, because it became clear to most people after the legislation in 1996 that there are other kinds of disabilities, which is not the best term, but we, teachers of handicapped children used to know about it before only nobody believed us. This was the direction of the applications I started to write so I have been doing it since 1998 approximately and that's how I found the grant application of the Soros Foundation which was a call for Roma self-organizing schools so then I gathered the staff together. Five persons had to be included. A vice-headmaster, a junior-school teacher, a senior-school teacher, someone from the Roma community, someone from the Roma minority self-government and someone from the child protection or the public health service. So I got these people together and everybody was into it and that's how I got in closer relationship with the alternative schools and different methodological things. When Tibi was at the Soros Foundation, we had many conversations with them about this school integration that was only a plan at the time. And with Judit and Tibi we had it that the quota of integration should not be 50% but a little bit higher. We even wrote a petition (…) and we got the answer and they indeed increased the quota and that was the starting point that we were trying to apply for the base school status."

This quote documents some crucially important elements to calls the attention. Firstly, there is a person who chiefly deals with grant applications at the school and he is the "grant application manager". Secondly, this person possesses professional relationships all around the country through which not only he can receive current information but – according to the narrative at least – he became some sort of shaper of the national education policy's certain segment. With such a lobby potential it seems rather rational that the school became member of the OOIH base institution network in the first round.

The theme of the quota for the applicable integration normative support appears in another interview as well. One of the leaders of the Tiszabura elementary school's partner institution in the small region told a story which is built on similar logic (professional relations and active participation at national professional meetings) with the slight difference that since almost 100% of their students are disadvantaged they couldn't apply for the integration normative support:

*„Both the Tiszabura elementary school and we are members of the small region association and the school league. Now I think we will go in different directions after rowing in the same boat for so many years. We were rowing in that boat till that moment … so till Balatonkenese where Soros had a three times five days training we both attended and Viktória Mohácsi was talking about integrated education as a proposal yet. Then the story was about that only those schools can apply for the normative support that have the proportion of Roma and disadvantaged children under 50%. So the idea started with this 50% and the real number is pretty high and even there I told it wouldn't work out. And besides that I told it in words too **we** wrote a letter to Viktória Mohácsi there in Balatonkenese that this proposal was wrong like that because exactly those schools that undertake Roma children and walk in those shoes through no fault of their own would not be able to apply for that normative support. And I had some 30-40 schoolmasters who signed this letter. (…) We didn't make suggestions to the percentage of the quota that's exactly why we increased this percentage. Since we have 100%. And finally I can say that we dug this out for others but we still don't have the chance."*

Here we would like to confirm the statement we made at the beginning of this study that as researchers, we are not entitled to check every item of what has been said. We treat it as a narrative fact that the workers of the school maintain vital professional relationships with persons appointed for shaping national educational procedures. In our interviews we often met argumentations which build on some kind of external legitimacy and often speak about expertness in professional organizations of Hungary. References were made not just to prominent persons but institutions such as the OKI, the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and the University of Szeged.

The integration base school status also indicates the task of providing services. To our question concerning how this function of providing services was implemented one of the management members said:

„My interpretation for services is that we are here to ensure that children have a good time in the school and get, so we make every effort to give them what they need and parents to accept this sort of service and the maintainer [of the school] to be satisfied with our activities as well."

According to the quote above we may risk saying that the school has a different interpretation of the integration base school status than that is articulated in the OOIH's concept. As far as the OOIH's concept goes the base institution should be a provider of education methodology services but the above cited answer – though it may be valid for an integration base institution as well – rather uses the language of the Comenius project thus reflects ideas of the quality development. This, we might explain by saying that the quality development process the school had previously started succeed since the school identify their success of activities with reference to the satisfaction of their inside and outside partners, but we can also say that their existence as integration base institution has not presented its own common useful language. This is not surprising though because as we've seen either about education methodology or about the term integration many interpretations live in parallel. Furthermore, the term integration has not even been defined for the maintainers of the national network (regional, small region coordinators, advisors):

„Integration was not defined like that. It was not said what integration was. Or at least I can't remember that."

If there is not a unified set of terminology it is natural that concrete activities marked by these terms should vary. As we saw integration practice in Tiszabura meant that they ceased the traditional classification and shaping of classes built on social background and abilities. Within the project they implement this practice at the kindergarten already but some signs suggest that the new way of organizing education also enables that kindergarten groups – which already met the new integration requirements – to remain:

„I can say that last year we really had problems in making the first and fifth years' students meet these requirements. We had to use questionnaires to select among kindergarten exiters so the parents agreed on their data to be used indicating their school graduations, how they get child support so we created the first classes on these grounds and formed three fifth grades out of the fourth years. We also had to pay attention not to have A, B and C classes because the C first class had a catch-up year and the catch-up class had always been indicated with letter C. So then we used colours in the first and fifth year calling them red, blue and green groups. That's how I thought but I knew it was all the same whether we indicate a class with A and B or colors. This year, so in the 2004-2005 year I had a much easier job because it was now obvious for

the kindergarten that we were an integration school and we even shaped the kindergarten groups that we could take them because they met the requirements."

It is visible that the utilization of the normative support has a feedback on the formation of kindergarten groups that (again) are established in a way they should remain in the elementary school. Thus the integration normative became a tool, which the school management is trying to use providing that its internal mechanisms do not change in a big degree. As the result of its restricted financial sources the school becomes a constraint applicant trying to get every outer grant application and meet their formal requirements in the first place.   Different calls for proposals though may represent slightly different sets of values whose general impression on the school might not be fully positive. Tiszabura has an example of this: Many of our interviewees mentioned the grant proposal which they successfully handed in to the Public Foundation of Handicapped aiming to assist the innovations of segregated schools. Therefore, the shortage of financial sources creates the kind of grant application culture that chiefly aims to bring money to the school at any costs. These sorts of activities of the school management might be seen as beneficial though this sort of management can only be successful if the institution has some basic values they consider as solid. Otherwise may we experience great grant-seeking activity or educational "fuss" the lack of characteristic objectives undermines even the right efforts of the best will.

7.7. Some conclusions

Our case study has some important lessons. First, we faced the fact that, – may we say logically – since the term of integration is not clarified, the integration attempts can also manifest in different ways. At the Tiszabura elementary school they identify the practice of integration with "mixing" the classes, which had previously been shaped on the grounds of social background and differences within the abilities of children. But mangling in itself cannot be successful because teachers could not handle the conflicts among children. Another part of the teachers who work with disadvantaged children could rightly say that they had been doing the same before "only it had a different name then". All these also reveal that if any kind of education organizing is not supported by the appropriate education methodology preparation the original objectives fail to succeed.

Educational integration, despite all honest goodwill, became only one "project" among others: An opportunity that brings extra money to the school. This also explains why the attempts of integration got stuck on the management level of the school and neither the common terminology referring to the integration nor the intention to carry this practice on have emerged within the teaching staff.

The school is bound to think in "projects." This might be seen as something positive, however, in Tiszabura's case it is obvious that they are determined to participate in projects that radically contradict the idea of integrated education.

8. Empirical Part, Romania

9. Informal networks and economic integration of Roma in multiethnic communities

9.1. Presentation of the locality and the Roma of Nuşfalău

9.1.1. Historical-demographic perspective

Nuşfalău is situated in Sălaj County in the North-Western region of Romania. From an ethnic point of view, Nuşfalău is a mixed locality. According to the 2002 Census, there are about 4174 Hungarians, 650 Gypsies, 647 Romanians, 36 Slovaks, 4 Germans. The 650 Roma represent 11.78% of the total population of the village.

The Gypsies of Nuşfalău live at the margins of the locality in three more or less compact neighborhoods. Brazilia neighborhood is the largest, comprising about 75 buildings, where 134 families live (circa 542 persons). The Brazilia neighborhood was established in the '30s. It was initially separated from the rest of the village by the river Barcău. The interviews revealed that local authorities had decided to move the Roma neighborhood to a certain distance from the village. Gradually, the neighborhood was surrounded by the houses of the newcomer Hungarians and Romanians, but there is still a clear delimitation between the Roma's community and the others'.

The other neighbourhood is called Bakos. Bakos is a mixed neighborhood from an ethnic point of view. Hungarian and Romanian poor as well live there. The last and smallest community includes apx. 26 persons. They live on the "Tóni telep" near the locality's railway station, but very far from the center of the village and from the other Roma communities.

We have data about the presence of the Roma in Nuşfalău beginning with 1820. 3 Roma appear in the tax registers of that year. In the XIX century we can see a growth in the number of Roma population in Nuşfalău (1840: 28; 1848: 36). One and the most important factor is an economical one. Beginning from the XIVth century Nuşfalău is the most important trade center of the Barcău region due to the establishment of the Bánffy noble family in the village. Starting with 1471 the village wins the right to organize four national trades every year. At the end of 1899 was opened the railway between Şimleu and Marghita. The railway helped to the enlargement of the markets of the village, which attracted more and more participants. From 1899 the village has the right to organize 6 trades. The above mentioned factors has contributed greatly to the creation of favorable economic conditions for the population of the region, therefore it became attractive also for the Roma.

The Roma of Nuşfalău used to be, as elsewhere in Transylvania, serfs of the local aristocrat. Here they were employed by baron Bánffy as brick-makers and as stable men at his horses. Some of them were employed as land-workers on his domain as well. At the beginning of the XXth century we can find in Nuşfalău two independent aluminium-metalworkers, seven blacksmiths; they probably were also Roma.

Due to the prosperity of the area the Roma found a lot of opportunities for employment around the Hungarian's economic activities. In 1900 a brick factory was opened by the Jewish community, where the Roma were employed to do the hardest work. In 1930 the factory enlarged its activity and started to produce mainly for export (outside the closest vicinity of the county: to Hungary). Independent Roma continued to produce bricks for local needs. The agriculture was also in expansion. The landlords replaced the previous crops cultures with vegetable and fruit which were more profitable in the new context. Again, most of the Roma found chances to work on the farms. Some of the Roma women were employed for domestic works, around the households of the Hungarians being paid only in food and clothes. Because the Roma historically were not landlords, they were constrained to do whatever the local Hungarians offered them.

9.1.2. The socialist period

In 1950, the basis of Agricultural Cooperative („Új Élet"/"New life") was set up. In this first year, 98 poor families had joined the cooperative. Thus, the Agricultural Cooperative began its activity with a total of 300 ha of agricultural land. All the properties of the local baron were nationalized. The process of collectivization lasted more than 10 years, until 1962. At the beginning of the 80s a socialist farm for cattle breeding was set up taking almost half of the collective land. An independent socialist enterprise (SMA) of agricultural machines was also built in order to serve the CAP. During this period, other private properties were also nationalized: the Darvas industry, the brick-industry, and so on. Due to the new regime's rural development strategy, new houses for the new residents of the locality were constructed on the local baron's former properties. This was the occasion for some Roma families to move out of Brazilia. In these years, we can observe a strong migratory tendency from Nuşfalău to the region's new industrial towns: Oradea, Zalău, and Timişoara. This tendency was lower in the '60s and the early '70s, when we can observe a (inverse) tendency due to the new administrative changes in the region. Nuşfalău became a commune, and the population of the nearby villages tended to migrate to Nuşfalău in hope of finding better living conditions. After that, in the late '70s and '80s, the migratory tendencies became again more marked, in this case towards foreign countries: Hungary and USA at first. At the beginning of the '80s, the communist regime's politics became more severe: the social, political, and economic control became more rigorous, the industrialization and urbanizing process more marked, and thus a strong rural-urban migratory process began.

This process led to a lack of labor-market in the locality. The shortage was balanced by cheap Roma labor-force being integrated in the agricultural work. In addition, the Roma themselves participated in this migratory process. Some of them were looking for brick orders in different regions of Romania. Others worked in industry and constructions in the region, or they participated in seasonal agricultural jobs in other regions of the country. For several months a year, they were granted accommodation and meals, thus they had the chance to set aside money for the winter. This amount of money was just enough for the households' bare necessities. The Roma of Nuşfalău had to look for other sources of income in the locality to supplement their income. These practices were transmitted from generation to generation, as the Roma children participated as well.

Due to their low educational level and the lack of proper qualification, they never had the possibility to find ways out from this precarious situation in order to improve their living conditions.

The above is characteristic of the majority of Roma from Brazilia community.

The Roma community of Bakos shows different characteristics. The spatial segregation of the Bakos community is not as marked as that of Brazilia, which is strictly separated from the rest of the village. Bakos, although likewise situated on the outskirts of the village, is near to the main national road, and more visible. Furthermore, Bakos is more a mixed neighborhood, as the Roma families live next to Hungarians and Romanians, who are poor too. This proximity of Roma with other ethnic groups has somewhat influenced the mental images of the villagers about their way of life. Even though they are poor, poorer than their Hungarian and Romanian neighbors, we can observe major differences between the Brazilia and Bakos communities. Their houses are larger, they have kitchen gardens near their houses, and sometimes they plant flowers in front of their houses. This is not common in the Brazilia settlement.

This difference was characteristic in the socialist period as well. Due to the higher level of education and their more positive image among the Gadje, the Roma of Bakos had more steady jobs in the industry. Those working in the Cooperative received land, perhaps the most unproductive, but this helped them enough to produce their daily necessities. Due to this relative stability displayed by the Roma from Bakos, their image became more positive in the narratives of the Hungarians than that of the Brazilians, and this difference still exists.

9.1.3. The period of transition in Nuşfalău

The beginning of the transition period in Nuşfalău is strongly connected with the abolition of Agricultural Cooperatives, the CAPs. The CAP represented the main source of income for the poorest of the village. On the one hand, it assured a relatively regular, but low income. On the other hand, as the land was the "no man's land", stealing did not represent a moral problem.

> *"…from here, from there, from everywhere they (the Roma) stole something. For them, it was obvious that the Cooperative is a place where they can take away anything from. But not only for them, others, too…The Hungarians, the Romanians did this. And this cannot be considered theft." (L.J., Hungarian man, aged 56)*

Though there are no empirical investigations that deal with the question of quality of life before 1989, we can approximate the differences via the interviews taken in the village. This could not be an objective evaluation as we lack any related information; it is rather a subjective reconstruction of the life-quality evaluation via the viewpoint of those who experienced life under the communist life-style. If we reconstruct the strategies from the narrated life-stories, we must take into consideration two methodological problems: stories of the past are presented as facts, though these are opinions and subjective interpretations of the past; the strategies became products, while in fact they are processes.

Almost all interviewed persons declared that their life was easier before 1989, although they gave different explanations.

"We ate better under Ceausescu's regime…it was better then…now…it (the money) isn't enough even for two days…we have chickens, ducks." (Roma woman, aged 40, Brazilia)

"So, there was enough work for everybody. Nobody had real reasons to cry. If a Gypsy was sitting in the ditch, he was picked up…Go to work! And they had to work, but they didn't receive food, no… they were paid in money" (Roma man, aged 63, Brazilia)

"Before '89 their life was better. In the summer they went to Salonta, Arad, Timisoara to work there on the state farms, and they earned enough…(…)There they had accommodation, food, they didn't have to deal with these problems. When they came back to the village in the autumn, they came with a lot of money saved from their work, but it is true that they spent it very quickly." (Hungarian women aged 64)

After 1989, in the first wave of restructuration of the economic units, the majority of the Roma families lost all the certain income sources, while other possibilities in the new structures did not occur.
In the case of the Roma from Nuşfalău, social and economic exclusion is worsened by spatial segregation.61

After the implementation of the Law 18/1991 concerning the land-reprivatization, the Roma have not received land. According to the Law one could receive land if he or his forefathers used to hold land prior to 1949. But they have never been land-owners. Another prescription of Law stipulates that one could receive land if was employed in the CAP (the socialist farm) for minimum three years, if there is enough land at the disposal of the local redistribution commissions. The Roma were consequently ignored by these committees, though a number of them had worked at the CAP's farms.

Being deprived by their previous resources (salaries and in-nature payments) and landless the Roma turns once again toward their traditional crafts.

9.2. Methodology

The present research has a descriptive-exploring quality through which we will present several Roma/Gypsy communities. First of all we made a description of the localities; we identified the demographic characteristics of the localities and the chosen Roma/Gypsy communities and also the changes of these trying to find an explanation for it. Besides that we tried to give a historical perspective in order to construct the broader context of the research. We gathered data mainly from archives, but we also made some interviews with persons that were "competent" in offering some guidelines in tracing the history of the local community.

The basic methods are based on qualitative data collection techniques (participant observation, informal and un-structured/semi-structured interviews)[62].
Specific problems: After the presentation of the first Preliminary Report we have organized a meeting in order to discuss the first results of the field work; to share the

---

[61] About spatial segregation see: Jencks, C.; Peterson, P. E. (1996) pg. 28-100 (Is the American Underclass growing?)
[62] This report represents a part of the more detailed research report entitled: "Survival Strategies, Economic Integration and Changing Lifestyles of the Roma Population in Romania" and it was financed by the Open Society Institute under the program Roma Culture Initiative Project Code G3099 in 2003-2004. The fieldwork was carried out in several Transylvanian localities in Salaj county, Maramures County, Bacau county by Fulpesi Gyula, Neagota Bogdan, Peter Laszlo, Troc Gabriel and Toma Stefania. During 2005 and 2006 the fieldwork was repeated several times in Salaj county by Toma Stefania.

experiences of the field and the problems what the members of the researcher group met in the field with; to continue the designing of the research questions according to the field experience. One of the main questions of these discussions was if we should or not supplement the qualitative methods with semi-quantitative methods, in order to gather more data on the researched communities. We considered that a statistical approach would be also very useful, particularly because considerable part of the research focus on the issue of poverty in these communities, and a combination of the two methods would give us a more reliable image on the degree of the poverty (or wealth). On the other hand we considered it very useful due to the fact that the first outcomes of the research confirmed us, that the poor Roma (and not only them) people have a specific strategy of surviving, which of course could be detected using qualitative methods (participant observation, in-depth interviews, life-stories and so on), but it requires a longer period of participation in the lives of the communities. On the very first stage of the fieldwork it was clear that the Roma use a complex network in their every-day life, through which they secure their resources for living. We considered that a detailed and complex analysis of these networks would help us to give a deeper understanding of the used strategies.

At the beginning of the conducted fieldwork our intention was to identify and analyze the main surviving strategies of the Roma at the two selected sites. In order to accomplish this goal, we have used different methods. (In fact we tried to put the triangulation techniques into practice). The fieldwork began in January and May 2003, and it was repeated in summer 2004, and summer and winter of 2005. It was grounded on participant observation, complemented with interviews and statistical data analysis from local councils and other sources. In addition, after the "grand and small tour observations" and the conducted interviews, we have decided to put those results into a larger social context. In order to get a clear picture about the relationship between the surviving strategies and the milieu in which the daily routine takes place, we surveyed the researched households using the network perspective.

Our conducted work can be divided into two different major parts: the fist one is quite invisible, which means the previous study of the bibliography and the inquiries into similar studies and research results. Some previous fieldwork and participant observation defined as „hanging around" to our accommodation at the research field, with the context and the actors. This zero level study was necessary to me, as the very first step of participant observation seeking to gather elementary information about the site: about various aspects of life inside the community, as formal institutes and networks (local government, school, church, civic associations, if any) to locate the potential key informants and especially data and to make connections. This first step allowed us to realize „what's really going on inside the site" and helps us to recognize and (re)formulate constantly the main problem. This part has not spectacular results, but we think is crucial for the success of our work. After spending some time at the sites we focused on the proposed issue in three different stages.

1. To see and understand the nature, type and proportion and dynamics of the researched community, to identify the main forms of everyday life, in which the surviving strategies are embedded.
2. To study the surviving strategies as actions.
3. To study the surviving strategies embedded in social networks and resources, as well as the relationship between the Roma and non Roma.

Our basic findings based on the qualitative data collection techniques (participant observation and frequent informal interviews) showed that the practiced strategies has high connections with the informal social networks inside the community. That's why we

applied the classic Fischer model to discover the "channels" of social capital – social connections, and trust, reciprocal material transactions and change of other forms of resources– which is necessary to put into practice the strategies. In Nusfalau we made structured and semi-structured interviews with the representatives of authorities (mayorality, Police station, churches, representatives of different associations and political parties, educational institutions and healthcare institutions) and with the Hungarian, Romanian and of course, with the Roma population of the localities.

9.3. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Roma population in Nuşfalău

9.3.1. Health

One of the most striking problems of the Roma after 1989 is losing the health security system which before 1989 used to provide them a safety net. In 2002 only twelve Roma were recorded as being consulted in the healthcare unit in Nuşfalău. One of the reasons is that in late '90s the national health system was drastically reorganized. It was removed most of the subsidies for drugs (with the exception of the pregnant women and children). One cannot consult a specialist without the reference of the 'family general physician', but when enroll to the family doctor one should provide a proof of his/her earnings or unemployment benefits and most of the Roma lack any kind of proof of official income. One cannot be hospitalized without the proof that he/she pays the healthcare taxes. In the current administrative system this can be paid only if one is employed, has unemployment benefits or is retired. If the person fails to prove this, he/she has to pay all the expenses of hospitalization.

As presented previously the Roma of Nuşfalău are excluded from those structures that would provide them a minimal participation in the social security system. The only possibility for them in this context would be to use the offers of the private clinics. But the costs of a treatment at these clinics are very high even for those who have a decent and regular monthly income. The Roma have to find alternative ways to somehow enter the health system. The most frequent practice is to go to the emergency departments where they could be treated momentarily.

Between 1992 and 1995 the health situation of the Brazilia community was relieved to a certain extent with the help of the Medicines Sans Frontieres. After they left the village the poverty related diseases (tuberculosis) increased dramatically and became a concern for the entire village. The Reformed Church in alliance with the above mentioned Dutch Foundation started a program in April 2000 which aimed at hospitalizing the 11 children and persons over fifty paying for the drugs as well. Another health program was launched which proved to be the most longevive. The core issue of this program is reproduction and prenatal education for women. A high-school educated Roma woman from Bakos community with the help of a specialized nurse is doing this work in the community, but her activity has diversified over the
time. The doctors in Nuşfalău usually ask for her help to convince the Roma of Brazilia to regularly go for consultations.

Among the most frequent diseases those related to poverty tend to predominate. Many people are registered with chronic diseases (hart disorders, asthma, chronic hepatitis, chronic bronchitis, rheumatism, and ulcer). Alcoholism seems to be one of the important

causes for the big rates of these diseases. Children suffer mainly of dystrophy, chronic anemia, digestion illness, chronic bronchitis.

9.3.2. Housing

The houses of the Roma in Nuşfalău are built from unburned bricks, without foundation. They are plastered with clay and covered with tiles or chipboards. The main room of the house is the kitchen which frequently serves as hall as well. On the sides of the kitchen there is one room or – rarely two. The source of heating is the kitchen's stove. The center of the house is clearly the kitchen, where the only table is situated. This is the "public" part of the house where people from the community have unrestricted entrance. Nevertheless, in the less overcrowded families, and among those with a better status, one of the side rooms serves as "guest' room. Usually this is the room where the most valuable furniture and objects are exposed. This is called the 'clean room". In this room we can find also toys, but as our field experiences showed, children are not allowed to play with these. These toys are just exposed.

From the total of 75 dwellings only 17 are connected to the electric network. They were connected very late - in 1997 – with the full financial aid of a Roma association from Bucharest ("Împreună"). Those who are legally connected allow the other to "borrow" from them, using a complicate system of precarious installation that is deployed on the ground.

The Brazilia district is not connected at the sewerage, running water and telephone system. The water source is a big problem for the community and it still represents a threat of its inhabitants. The major problem was and still is the infiltration of the polluted water of the swamps in the wells that are in use. The Medicines Sans Frontieres made efforts in 1993 to solve the water problem. They paid for digging two deeper wells. These are functioning today as the more reliable source of household water for the community. As the problem of polluting still persist the Roma of Brazilia do not use the water of these wells for drinking and cooking. People choose to go to the other two wells in the village, which is far from their settlement.

In 1997 with the financial help of a Dutch Foundation the local Association of the Roma started a new program for building ten social houses for the Roma of Brazilia. The project aimed at using the brick-maker skills of the Roma for their own profit. Those who agreed to become the member of the association had the possibility to prepare the bricks and to help the professional team to build the houses. All the additional material as well as some basic furniture and household necessities were provided by the Dutch Foundation.

9.3.3. Property

When comes to property issues there is not much to say for the case of Brazilians. With the exception of the personal goods and of the things and tools they gathered during time around the households they own almost nothing. As I have shown before, they have not received land during (re)-privatization. The land where their houses are situated is public property (it is owned by the village community and it is administrated by the local council). This land used to be a part of the local aristocrat domain. During socialism this land was used as a part of the socialist farm land-stock. After 1989 a part of it was allocated for ownership to the village peasants – to those who used to have land before

collectivization, land which from different reasons could not be given back – while another part remains public domain.

The lack of land property is, among other factors, one of the reasons why the Brazilians didn't improve their houses during socialism. There is an exception, in what concern the land property around the house, made by those who recently moved in the new-built houses. When the Dutch foundation negotiated with the local council the condition in which they would give their financial aid to the construction project they asked the council to sell them the land for construction. When the project was fulfilled, the foundation donated the land to the Roma community. So, the ten families who live here have somehow a different status. However, while they own the houses with legal paper, the land belongs to the Roma association.

In respect with housing conditions there is a big contrast between the Roma from Brazilia and those from Bakos. The later have proper houses, many of them built following the local Hungarian pattern. Every house has its "privacy", having its own enclosed courtyard, well and annexed buildings. They are the legal owners of the houses and of the land around it, which very often include a small vegetable garden or even a larger plot.

In Nuşfalău, the economic activities of the Roma are closely interrelated to the principal economic activities of the majority. To see exactly which activities of the Roma are, we focused on the relation between Roma and other ethnic groups, what are the main characteristics of these relationships. In the following sections we will describe how the Roma are perceived by the majority population of the locality.

9.4. Status. Interethnic Relations

Within this topic we will analyze the interactions between the Roma communities and the majority population.

The romanticized image of the Roma

We can still find a romanticized view of the Roma, mostly among the old Gadjo. They still remember the great Gypsy musicians from Nuşfalău, who were well-known both in the country and abroad. The Gadjo remember the traditional occupations of the Roma from Nuşfalău: musicians, brick-makers, smiths. The strong solidarity of the Roma is positively mentioned in almost every case. The respect and attention of the younger Roma towards the elder is another positive feature, besides the care that the Roma show towards their children.

In the narratives of the Gadjo, these images are valid for the entire Roma community in general, without differences between a Roma from Brazilia and one from Bakos. But the subjects declared that these Old Gypsies already belong to history. Such Roma do not exist nowadays. Only the poverty and misery remained constant; even if there are musicians in the community, they have no money to buy new musical instruments, and anyway the greatest musician has died, and the others cannot even be compared with him.

"Gypsies are lazy" – about the Roma's attitudes toward work

The romanticized image of the Roma is constructed on ethnic-cultural categories. The other existing images are constructed mainly on socio-economic categories. The characteristics of these images are: low social and economic status, dishonor in interpersonal relations, negative attitude towards work, and social parasitism.

Since the Roma can hardly be seen involved in permanent jobs, the Gadjo consider this as an ethnic feature of the Roma: they are work-shy. The Roma are blamed for their precarious and marginal economic and social situation.

The Gadjo of Nuşfalău has different representations about the Roma from Brazilia and those from Bakos.

"The biggest problem for our locality is represented by that (Gypsy) community where aprox. 350 persons live. Their attitude towards work and life is pretty negative. They have already spent on drinks yesterday what money they will get today. They don't think about anything. (…) They learn from each other that particularly untidy way of life all the time, they are born in this life, and they continue to live their lives this way." (Official, Hungarian man)

If the Roma from Brazilia are responsible for their poverty, the only fault of the Roma of Bakos is to be born poor.

They are different; their attitudes towards the population of the community, work and life in general are totally different from that of the Brazilian Roma. The Roma of Bakos wants to work, they can work, they have the sense of land and property, but they are unable to find a permanent workplace, because "the Gypsy is Gypsy".
This expression – if said by a Gypsy – means that they are conscious about the stereotypes of the Gadjo, and it is an ironic expression of the relationship between Gadjo people and Roma, while at the same time it seems to be an allusion to the historical deprivation of the Roma.

These differences between the two Roma communities still exist because of the objective, visible differences between them. Moreover, we can say that, from the point of view of the Gadjo, living side by side with Hungarians and Romanians means that the Roma have interiorized the other ethnic group's moral values and lifestyle. Therefore, they have become more integrated in the economic structures of the Gadjo. Although the Brazilian Roma have participated in these structures for a long period, these activities were never considered economic activities. It was obvious and natural that the Roma are there when somebody needs their work. For example, although the Roma women provide mushrooms and woodland-fruits for the village, the Gadjo say: *"yeah, big deal picking up fruits; you go to the woods, you take a walk, and you get money for this nothing"*.

Not all the Gadjo share these representations. Those living in the neighborhood of the community proved to be more tolerant, more understanding, and helpful and their stereotypes are not as strong as the ones of those living in the other part of the village.

"These Gypsies steal"

In Nuşfalău there has never been a serious conflict between the Roma and Gadjo. If there were any conflicts, these were within a group and not between different groups.
The biggest problem of the Gadjo is that the Roma steal. The Gadjo explain the problem of stealing by the Roma's propensity to do so. In the period of socialism, this problem

was not so evident, because they did not steal from a private property but from a "no man's land". As it was a "no man's land", even the Hungarians and Romanians stole. After the restitution of land to the former owners, and the former socialist land became private property again, the stealing practices of the Roma became more evident and visible and thus more intolerable for the proprietors.[63] Theft from a household is severely punished. The guilt is transposed on the entire Roma family, so that from this point on extending the generalization on to the entire community is not so difficult.

"They ate, drank, and they left" – The social parasite image of the Roma

The image of social parasitism of the Roma is reproduced every time that social supports are sent to the community. As the scarcity of money is tremendous, many Roma usually decide to sell the goods received. The fact that the Roma do not "respect" the received support legitimizes the Gadjo's stereotypes.
The representations are always constructed in terms of inferiority and superiority. This hierarchization is likewise duplicated between the Roma of Bakos and those of Brazilia. The Roma of Bakos uses exactly the same stereotypes and exhibits the same attitudes towards the Roma of Brazilia, Boghiş and Valcău. Roma from Bakos consider the Roma of Brazilia as dirty, uncivilized, thieves, alcoholics, lazy and so on.

9.5. Poverty. Sources of income. Survival strategies.

From the previous paragraphs we can infer that the Roma of Nuşfalău have considerably limited possibilities or chances to apply for a workplace in the formal economy of the village or the nearby localities. The numbers of those Roma who are full-right employees are very small and irrelevant. Most of Roma are unemployed. For most of the families the only regular source of money is the CAP-pension of the elderly and the children's allowance. The Roma have developed a large scale of economic activities in order to „survive", and some of these activities could be labelled as regular informal economic activities, nevertheless none of these activities can guarantee a regular income for the families.

The local families employ the Roma. The system of employing Roma is a complex one. Almost every Hungarian or Romanian family has employed a Roma person (or family) to carry out domestic work arround the household. Among other strategies of the Roma to cope with their situation I would mention the making of bricks (the traditional workcraft of the Roma in Nuşfalău), the illegal commerce of chemical substances, the commercialization of non-financial aids, entertainment, gathering wild fruits, mushrooms, processing wall-nuts for the neighboring wealthy Roma community of Boghiş.

In the following paragprahs we will try to describe and to analyse two of the survival strategies of the Roma. At first sight the presence of the institution of godfatherness among the Roma and Gadjo of Nuşfalău seemed to be just an „innate" characteristics of this historically peaceful multiethnic community, but later this proved to be just the surface. The second strategy, called „the List", is also a constitutive element of the survival strategies of the Roma, though in this case not the Roma are the initiators of it.

---

[63] After the dissolution of the farms they have not received land during privatization, even if the ex-employed of the farms were entitled to on the basis of the law 18/1990. The law stipulates that a person who was working continuously for a period of three years in the socialist farm could receive land (if there is enough) even if she/he hadn't had land in possession before collectivization. Of course, the land was never enough and the Roma inhabitants were not helped fill in the application forms for entitlement.

Finally we will focus our attention on the problem of trust which is the connecting element of all informal strategies and through which we will be able to understand better the chracateristics of the relation between Roma and Gadjo.

9.5.1. Godfathers

In Nuşfalău there is a tradition by which the Roma seem to cross the ethnic border and reduce the social distance between Roma and Gadjo. It is not unusual for a resident of Nuşfalău to become the godparent of a Gypsy child. The reasons that lead a non-Gypsy citizen to become engaged in such a relationship are either due to human feelings or a transitional mood: a not at all rare phenomenon.[64]

According to Blau, real godfatherness can exist only between two equal persons or families and the scope of this relationship is that the child may have a spiritual father. If the persons belong to different social categories, then the quality and the essence of the relationship is different from the real one.[65] The main difference can be caught in the power-relations between the actors. Roma prefer seeking a godfather outside their community because through this they aim at linking the family to a strong clientele relationship in which, via the security that this relationship with the godfather brings, they can feel confident about asking favors – always paying the favor back, either through work on the agricultural land or with other services.

Actually, this probably forms the Roma's strongest communication link to the society at large in Nuşfalău. The institution of godfatherness can be understood as a strategy of a well-defined social group to survive. One determining factor of survival is that a person or a household should have all the possible social ties they could need in their economic or social ascent. This institution is based on reciprocity. The core issue of this relationship is neither the economic action itself, nor the reciprocity of gifts, but the reduction of social distances. Still, we should not lessen the importance of the economic aspect. The existence of a Gadjo godfather represents a relatively stable factor in the lives of the Roma. If the relationship is stable, it is more likely that the godfather should hire his godson's family for work.

The institution of godfatherness has been interiorized in such way that the interviewed persons could not give answers to the direct questions regarding how they choose the godfather. In case of „real godfatherness", choosing the godfathers depends on the quality of the relation between the actors: this relation must be friendship, must be characterized by mutual trust or by the reciprocity of possible advantages earned through these relationships.

In a fundamental article Gouldner defined the concept of reciprocity as a "mutually contingent exchange of benefits between two or more units" (1960: 164). He also stressed that in relations which can be described as reciprocal the involved parties had rights and duties which went beyond merely "complementary" ones. In this view, reciprocity constituted a general principle of mutual dependence and recognition of a shared moral norm: "You should give benefits to those who give you benefits" (1960: 170). Nevertheless, the most interesting point of Gouldner's analysis is from the point of view of our study is his emphasis on the "disruptive potentialities of power". According to

---

[64] See: Tarrow, S. G.: *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967, Legg, K.: *Politics in Modern Greece*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969, Nikos Marantzidis, George Mavrommatis: "Political Clientelism and Social Exclusion. The Case of Gypsies in the Greek Town of Sofades". In *International Sociology*, December 1999, vol. 14(4), pg. 443-456, Sage Publications
[65] Blau, P. (1964) pg. 22

his observations he concluded that the manifest presence of power relations between the parties concerned determines the nature and quantity of the benefits exchanged. Thus, he proposes a continuum which begins with exchanges involving equal benefits and ends with those in which one party receives nothing in return. This last case was associated by Gouldner with exploitation which is a strongly disruptive practice in society since it violates commonly shared and universal moral values. In other order of ideas, in social relations where reciprocity is the defining pattern the idea of social cohesion is reproduced. This idea was further developed by Bourdieu (1980) was to develop later.[66]

In Nuşfalău, none of these conditions are fulfilled. Roma are not friends of the Gadjo; as we can see, the Gadjo do not trust the Roma, and their relationship can be described only in terms of client-patron. However, almost every Roma child has a Hungarian godfather (and of course, the „real godfather" is Roma).

"I worked here in the village in the pub and….at that time many Gypsies were coming there. Because what they earn today, they drink it till night….and so…so we met, we talked. If they helped me, I paid them, because I had to pay them for the work. After that they asked me if I would like to be the godmother of their child. And I asked myself, why not?...We still keep in touch. That family (from Brazilia) is very decent. For example, if I need help for a work, I call them, so it is worthwhile for me and for them also."
(Hungarian woman, aged 35, village)

"We are neighbors, we understand each other very well, I liked her very much. They called us, we liked them, so…I liked the way they behaved, how they looked, everything….She is educated, cultured." (Hungarian woman, aged 38, Bakos)

This practice can be interpreted on three dimensions. First, it might be an economic action through which the Roma gain access to more financial resources. Second, the fact that the Hungarians usually interpret the institution of godfatherness in traditional terms (see Blau on real godfatherness) this relationship allows the Roma to make use of it gaining little material advantages, such as some gifts. Thirdly, this kind of relationship has a latent function: that of transgressing the social distance. Yet, this does not mean that the social distance between the Roma family and the Gadjo is reduced. This relationship is displayed in the face of other people. The fact that the child of a Roma family has a Gadjo godfather means that this family is not like other Roma; they are honorable.

As we have seen before, the Gadjo have no informal relations with the Roma. Their interactions are limited to economic relations. The institution of godfatherness, the only one that can be interpreted as informal, gained a new interpretation among the residents. Even if initially the Gadjo accept this relationship by virtue of an ethic and religious consciousness, this relationship is gradually redefined in terms of informal economy. This way, the institution of godfatherness became a more subtle form of economic relation between Gadjo and Roma, or, in some cases, a consequence or condition of the same.

9.5.2. Informal credit

In the previous section we have seen how the Roma use the institution of godfatherness to gain access to work, income and material resources for surviving. Respectively, these

---

[66] Gouldner, A. W. (1960): The norm of Reciprocity: A preliminary Statement", In: American Sociological Review 25 (2).; Bourdieu, P. (1980)

relations also represent a reference in establishing contacts with other persons whom the Roma will be able to make up an additional client-patron relation.

In this section we will focus our attention to another survival strategy of the Roma population of Nuşfalău which neither can be categorized as singular nor representative only for the rural Roma population as it was documented also in poor urban areas.

Poverty and lack of money forces many Roma to buy food and other products on credit. This interest-free informal credit system is called "the list" because shop-keepers write down all the products they sell mentioning also the exact data of payments. The fixing of the data is let on the behalf of the buyers as they know exactly the data of receiving money. At the beginning of this practice, the shopkeeper were the one who settled the data of payments, but this proved to be ineffective as it gave occasions for misunderstandings, which led to distrust on behalf of the shopkeeper. Being forced to continue his familial business – as the single source of income – he had changed the policy of his business and decided to go by his customers. His clientele is formed mainly by Roma.[67] Contrary to the expectations, his business is one of the most developing among the others in the village. One of the explanations could be that he has a stabile circle of customers. The Roma buyers are faithful to him and make their payments in time because if they loose his trust they lose almost any access to basic necessities.

For some of the inhabitants the existence of this list is the ultimate sign of poverty. But – as we have seen – this was the sign of trust beneath poverty. Even if the written forms of contracts are considered as a sign of missing trust and the informal monitoring, in this case we have to remark the risk that these entrepreneurs assume. Trust is the only way they can minimize the risk they take.

Patricia Landolt and Aljandro Portes gives example of the controversial relation between social capital and entrepreneurial spirit: "Tight social networks can also undermine business initiatives. Often, family and friends beseech initially successful entrepreneurs for support. The social capital of the petitioners consists precisely in their right to demand and receive assistance from fellow group members. But in the process, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz has shown in his studies of Bali, promising economic initiatives fail to accumulate capital and turn into welfare hotels…."[68]

This is not the case of this small shop in the village. The unwritten rules of "the List" make this business flourishing for the patron and a real "God's present" for the two poor Roma communities. The shop is in fact formed by two rooms. One room is the Gypsy bar. This place is attended mainly in the afternoon mainly by Roma man. It is a modest room where Roma man can drink some alcohol and smoke while they are discussing businesses. In fact it has the function of a communication knot (there are more in the village). The first room is the grocery. This is the women's and children's place of meeting. They are not really allowed to enter the pub.

---

[67] The business is set up the family's house. This building is situated between the neighborhood of Brazilia and Bakos, on the main road. Although the store has customers from the majority population also, mainly Roma forms its clientele. This could be also interpreted as a latent form of discrimination, as the interviews revealed clearly that the Hungarians and Romanians do not prefer to attend the same public places as the Roma. Thus, the shopkeeper has to build his business on the poor population.

[68] Aljandro Portes and Patricia Landolt: The Downside of Social Capital, In: The American Prospect, no. 26 (May-June 1996): 18-21, 94. On: http://epn.org/prospect/26/26-cnt2

The power of List can be felt in both rooms. One who wants to enter the Pub has to pass first the grocery where is "the List". Only those who were accredited to be creditable can drink or smoke on credit. In the grocery they can buy on the list only the basic necessities of the household: potatoes, flour, margarine, bread, soap, cigarettes, alcohol, sugar, pasta.

The shopkeeper will sell products on the list basis only he or she has faith in the buyer – thus a permanent clientele can be secured.

9.5.3. Trust

In terms of economic relations, trust is the basis of every relationship. In case of formal relations, trust is also formalized. It is legalized by contracts and underwriting. In case of informal relations, the formality was replaced by verbal formulas, which are considered a part of cultural expressions. Those who are unable to conform to these norms are declared potentially suspect. This is what happens in the relation between Roma and Gadjo in Nuşfalău. The Gadjo legitimize their distant attitudes towards Roma as a group referring to the lack of trust.

The social distance between Roma and Gadjo depends on the level of trust. A Gadjo has no trust in a Roma from Brazilia, except if a Roma is a day laborer at his/her family. However, credit goes to the Gadjo if the Roma becomes trustworthy, as "you have to know how to talk to them, if you respect them as persons, if you help them, they will return this to you".

Every relationship between Roma and Gadjo functions on the basis of a set of non-written rules. Living and acting according these rules the trust between them is guaranteed. But if happens that a Roma break the commonly accepted rules he/she will be severely sanctioned. Thus one can lose the only source of income: for example working as day-laborer for a Hungarian family. The subject of the sanctions is not only that person who has lost the trust; moreover, the sanctions are extended to the whole Roma family stigmatizing each and every member of the family irrespective of their previous relation.

The Roma of Bakos are represented in a positive way and the Gadjo show a higher level of trust towards them, at least on a discursive level. However, this discourse materializes in positive attitudes or in reduced social distance only in a few cases.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the different dimensions of the representation of the "other".

We could identify three dimensions in Nuşfalău: the image of Roma from Romania in general, the Roma of Nuşfalău in general, and in relation with persons of Roma identity.

The Hungarians, comparing the ethnic situation in their village with that of Romania, consider that their village has a model-value. The people of Nuşfalău have not experienced interaction with other Roma groups from other regions of Romania. They know about Roma in general from the presentation of mass media - which is never neutral and presents the Roma of Romania mostly in negative terms. Their experiences with Roma however are different. The minor swindles of the Roma from Nuşfalău cannot

be compared to the criminality of other Roma groups. Nevertheless, in the local context, these swindles became the community's biggest problem.

The third dimension is that of interpersonal relations. It is interesting that the existing stereotypes applied in the context of the whole community are not applied in interpersonal relations.

Finally, "my Gypsy" is trustworthy, hard-working, civilized. Yet, the social distances and the behavioral intentions exhibited in interpersonal relations correspond to those of the entire community (the second level). The Gadjo avoid close interactions with Roma. Of course, there are exceptions; in case of economic relations, the number of interactions is very high. The presence of Roma in a formal institution also increases the number of interactions (e.g. teacher in the local school). Nevertheless, these interactions highlight again that the main feature of the relationships is power. The Gadjo wants and has the power to control the Roma's access to local resources.

10. Education of the Roma in a Rural Community

10.1. Introduction

The position of ethnic minorities in education is generally a major cause for concern for those involved at all levels.[69] Their position is characterized usually by low performance levels, few transfers to higher type of education, and discipline problems, drop-out and unqualified school leaving. The problem is approached in diverse ways in different countries in terms of policy and practice, depending on the political and institutional contexts and the broader socio-economic structures. Deficiencies in the education system contribute to massive social problems, like illiteracy and exclusion from labor market entry for many. Educational attainment and labor market are strongly connected, and low attainment in the educational sector may easily lead to precarious positions in the labor market. According to T. H. Marshall[70] educational policy influences future market processes by extending and improving qualifications useful in the labor market.

Conceptually and empirically the separation of the spheres of education and social policy induces deficits at national level. At the level of European integration the English tradition was absorbed and education as well as social security are both seen as part of one policy sphere and thus are no longer conceptually isolated from each other. [71]

In general, the experience of European Roma pupils is one of a climate of exclusion and segregation within the schools themselves. This does not usually take the form of explicit ethnic segregation, but rather, it is expressed as a type of segregation justified by a variety of arguments of an academic, pedagogical, linguistic, ecological or social nature. The stigmatization of the Gypsy/Roma child is a constant, as the only thing the schools do is reproduce the already existing widespread social and cultural stereotypes found in the broader society.

---

[69] Reid, I. (1997): Inequality and Education in Britain in the 1990s: a diagnosis and prescription, In: Research in Education, 57, pg: 12-24
[70] T. H. Marshall (1964): Citizenship and Social Class. Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Essays, pp. 65-122
[71] Jutta Allmendinger, Stephan Leibfried: Education and the Welfare State: the four worlds of competence production, In: Journal of European Social Policy, 2003, vol. 12 (1): 63-64

10.2. Methodological description[72]

Our *research objectives* were:

- to gain statistical data on the situation of the education of the Roma population (segregated schools, mixed schools, human and material resources);
- to offer a detailed image of segregated and mixed schools using emic and etic approach;
- to offer a detailed image on the accessibility of adequate education for Roma children;
- to determine a synthetic perspective about the Roma education in general;
-

The proposed *methodology* was a complex one:

- secondary data analysis on quantitative data
- primary and secondary analysis of qualitative data
- observation
- interviews
-

Stages of the research during 2004/2005 and 2005/2006:

- developing the research questions;
- identifying the possible difficulties and ways of avoiding them;
- identifying the relevant bibliography on the issue of education of minorities, particularly on the education of the Roma in Central-Eastern Europe;
- establishing first contacts with relevant persons, actors in the field of education;
- establishing first contacts with teachers, officials, parents and children on the field;
- re-formulation of the research problems after the first field visit;
- field work;
- primary analysis of the interviews and research data;
- re-visiting the field, verification of the data;
- final analysis

10.3. Difficulties encountered during fieldwork

Our research regarding the analysis of Roma education was hampered mostly by the total lack of quantitative data. We were not able to find any accurate account, neither at the local authority level, nor at the level of Roma organizations reliable data even on the demographic data on the local Roma communities. In some cases, there were limited information about the events and processes that determined settling of the Roma in the locality. This is the reason why in this case the data on the history of the Roma is re-constructed from the collective experiences and collective representations of the local population.

Another factor that questions the reliability of the statistical data regarding the Roma is the "situational identity-defining". The answer to the question "Who is a Roma?" is often

depending on the context and the interaction situation. In everyday life ethnic classification frequently means a social category: whoever is poor and squeezed out to the periphery is considered Roma.[73] Under these circumstances it is questionable if quantitative analysis based on statistical classification and self-definition of Roma could interpret those dimensions of the daily realities which determine the social rules of cohabitation. For example, in Nusfalau there is only one Roma teacher in the secondary school according to interviews taken to Romanian and Hungarian teachers. In fact, that teacher does not identify himself as Roma. He always declares himself as Hungarian.

Based on similar considerations we could not examine the quantitative aspects of Roma education either. During socialism and in early nineties the nationality was not recorded as a separate variable in educational statistics. The only indicator of the ethnic affiliation was the language of teaching, which is absolutely irrelevant for Roma population because the Roma language classes were almost inexistent, as nowadays as well. Nowadays, the variable of nationality is being registered as education data but as we could have seen the inclusion process is highly depending on the social situation of parents, on the ethnic perception of the person who is dealing with the registry and on the level of development of ethnic self-identification of the person. Thus the ethnic inclusion process seems to be multidimensional, beginning with the judgment based on the colour of the skin through institutional embeddedness and social integration, to the complex socio-psychological aspects of conformity and labeling. A further analysis concerning the role of the institutional Roma education in determining the patterns of ethnical inclusion would be very interesting.

Due to the quantitative deficiencies mentioned above, our analysis adopted mainly an anthropological approach.

The second major difficulty encountered during fieldwork was caused by the over-mediatisation of the Roma communities, particularly those living in Nusfalau and Cluj-Napoca. Over the years, journalists, politicians, social workers and researchers have been constantly present within the communities. In this context the community members have developed techniques meant to help them gain profit from the situation, as a complementary source of income.

10.4. Data on education in Nuşfalău; History of education in Nuşfalău

The documents of the Reformat Church's archive shows that the first educational institute in Nuşfalău began its activity in 1600 with one teacher in two classes. This was named the "village school". The local church maintained another school until its closure in 1878.

In 1868 the law prescript that for the 6-12 old children attendance is compulsory. Besides that every commune had to set up the bases of "people's education institutes". The ratio of this law was that the initiators of the schools have to take into account the specificities of the village and to include into the educational program those professions which are characteristic for that region. This usually was agriculture.

From year 1897 it begins its activity the "state people's school" with four teachers and 207 enrolled children at the beginning of the school year. In 1899 it was established the agricultural school. According to the 1910 census the total population of Nuşfalău was

---

[73] At this point we agree with Peter (2004) who argues that in context of reduced circumstances and fight for bounded resources, the ethnicity becomes a social category, the extreme poverty generates ethnicity.

2501 out of which 310 children were of age 6-11. In school register of the same year shows that 265 children were enrolled in school, and 222 graduated the year. The National Statistical Office 1910 on county level recorded 240 general schools. 133 were Romanian schools, 103 were Hungarian schools and 1 German. There were 340 teaches in the county, 19325 pupils enrolled, and 5588 pupils who did not attended regularly the classes. We can only make speculations on the data of the registers as they differ from year to year. In the censuses there are no ethnic categories. Sometimes it appears the mother tongue as differentiating people, but we did not find data on Roma at all. We can only guess that they represent a part of the "other" category, but these "others" could be Slovaks or Jewish as well. Accordingly, the schools registers are not as much help as well. Until the 20's children were registered after their family provenience.

School year 1876/1877

	Boys	**Girls**	**Total**	**Agricult urer**	**Manufa cturer**	**Admini strative**	**Others**
I. grade	23	2	25	17	5	1	2
II. grade	18	6	24	18	2	-	4

The main structure of the taking in evidence has not changed during the following years.

School year 1910/1911

Grad es	Tota l	Agricul turer	Serf	Daily worke r	Manu factur er	Shop- keepers	Bar- keepe rs	Other s	Admini stration
I.	53	33	7	-	7	2	3	1	-
II.	67	40	11	6	4	1	3	1	1
III.	49	24	10	7	4	2	-	2	-
IV.	46	32	4	-	3	2	-	3	2
V.	30	22	2	-	1	1	3	-	1
VI.	20	6	4	-	5	3	2	-	-
Total	265	157	38	13	24	11	11	7	4

In the agricultural school there were three classes. There were supposed to be enrolled 123 children (69 boys, 54 girls), but only 99 were enrolled.

During World War I the schools were closed. Most of the documents were destroyed, only a few registers remained untouched.

In 1920 the population of the locality is 2810. The "village school" becomes state general school following the Trianon Treaty. Beginning with school year 1919/1920 Romanian children are also allowed to attend school. This year there are already two schools in the village. The state school had begun its teaching activity for the Romanian children with three classes with 32 children. The other school was entirely Hungarian and it functioned within the reformat Church.

During the 20's the number of the enrolled children is continuously growing, fact that made clear that the school – which functioned in an old building – needs a new building. In 1936, after years of construction, is finished the new school building. It was a difficult task for the people of the village to support the construction of a new building as at the beginning of the 30's the village faced a severe economic crises which is also reflected in the school registers. In school year 1933/1934 out of 274 enrolled children only 188 attended the classes more or less regularly.

In 1937-1938 two new factories started its activity in Nuşfalău thus more than 200 persons gain the possibility to get employed. This year the number of the enrolled children grown to 491, out of which 372 attends the courses of the state general school, 81 children attend the reformat religious school and 24 were already enrolled in a high-school or professional school. It was documented that this year 60-62% of the children enrolled in the 6th or 7th grade has graduated school.

In 1940 – as the direct consequence of the Vienna treaty – the Romanian classes were dissolved and the children who wanted to continue their studies were redistributed in the Hungarian classes.

The school reform in 1948 has brought drastic changes in the organization of education as a whole with deep consequences. The religious schools were closed and pupils were redirected to the state based schools. The attendance of classes became compulsory, although even the basic necessities were not provided. The most important was that out of the 8 teachers only one had graduated university. During the 50's the different schools were unified. It was elected one school director. During the 60s the number of the specialized teachers grew significantly, it reached 65%. In 1964 it was finished the new school building.

Nowadays the schools are functioning in these two buildings.

One of the envisaged tasks of the school reform was to reach the 100% enrollment of the school-aged children. By declaring education as compulsory the school administration could not reach this dream-percentage – partially due to the growing number of the Roma children in the village. Thus they developed a differentiated program special created for the Roma children. In 1949 was established a Roma school in Brazilia community with four grades. One teacher was employed to teach the Roma pupils. There did not remain any documents about the 17 years of activity of this school. We could only rebuild from interviews the story of this school. It was mostly considered as a "black point" in the eyes of the officialdom, thus the local organizations tried to better the situation of this school. The local women's association organized charity events to gather clothes for the Roma children. They also cooked. The Roma school was closed in 1966.

During socialism many of the Roma had no permanent residence in the locality. Children attended different schools (when they did) in different years and were very often in the situation of changing the teaching language, depending on the majority population in the locality where their parents worked.

10.5. Educational Institutions in Nuşfalău

Nuşfalău, as a commune (Romanian administrative unit compassing a center village and two or three other villages in its vicinity), has all level of educational institutions, less theoretical high school and university level education. These are: one unit state pre-school, one elementary school, one secondary school and one professional high-school. The closest theoretical high school is in Simleul Silvaniei, a small town which is 9 km far from Nusfalau. All four institutions are mixed from ethnic point of view. In every institution there are separate classes for the ethnic Hungarians and Romanians, but no classes for the ethnic Roma. The Roma children are enrolled either in the Hungarian classes either in the Romanian. The only segregated educational institution is a pre-school for the Roma children in Brazilia community but this is not a state institution.

10.5.1. The pre-school

There are 5 groups of children in the pre-school. Only one of these groups represents the Romanian section. 29 3-7 years old children are enrolled in this group, out of which 13 are of Roma ethnicity. The Hungarian section compass four groups as follows: 3 years old children, 4 years old children, 5 years old children and 6 years old or older children.

The building of the pre-school is right in the historical center of the village, in one of the buildings of the Banffy baron. The building was restored recently and two years ago was built a hygienic unit as well near the old building. The pre-school has a courtyard also. The interior seems well-equipped and adequate for the purposes. The supplies are pretty old and used. The pre-school does not receive funding to re-new the supplies, toys for the children. All they have was donated by different Foundations and Churches.

10.5.2. The elementary school

The building of the elementary school is also situated in the center of the village in an old, restored building, with a big courtyard. The hygienic unit is outside of the building on the most farest corner of the courtyard. The building and the interior seems arranged, but the furniture is old. The arrangement of the benches reminds the old, socialist structure which enforces hierarchy. The table of the teacher in is the front of the class, the benches of the pupils are arranged one after other in lines. During our visits to classes we could see, that the Roma children seats are always on the back of the class.
The walls of the classes and corridors are decorated with pictures, photos and paintings of the chidlren.

The elementary school has 12 classes: 4 at the Romanian section (I-IV grades), and 8 classs at the Hungarian section (two classes by grade). The rooms are not enough for parallel program, thus several classes has program in the afternoon (from 12 o'clock to 16 o'clock).

10.5.3. The secondary school

The secondary school is again in the center of the village. The structure of the classes is the same as in the elementary school: two Hungarian classes per grade and one

Romanian class per grade. The building is new – as compared to the other educational buildings. The number of rooms are less than the number of groups, thus children have also afternoon programs. The school is well-managed. They have several brother-schools in different countries, especially in Netherlands. Clubs, contests, exhibitions are organized in every period of the year. The library and the laboratories are well equipped especially if we take into considerations the scarce resources of the school. The head of the school considers that the only possibility for the school and the children to survive and to be able to show up some results is to find additional financial resources. Thus, in 2005 in collaboration with the Local Council and the mayor of the village applied for an educational Phare program in which are implied all educational institutions, less the Roma pre-school which is not a state-financed institution.

10.5.4. The professional high-school (SMA)

The professional school is 3 km far from the village on the former land of the state farm. It is far the poorest institution in Nusfalau. They have 8 classes of IX-XII grade, one Hungarian and one Romanian class for each grade. The Romanian compulsory education last until the Xth grade when those who want to continue their studies have to pass an exam. Those who graduate the Xth grade receives a qualified worker diploma, those who graduate the XIIth grade and have the baccalaureate receives a professional high-school diploma. The school put a great emphasis on the practice of different professions: for boys for example electricians, for girls dressmaking.
Pupils are allowed to practice in different workshops.

The school has a dormitory under its administration. The financial support was given by a Dutch Foundation.

10.6. Enrollment in Hungarian or Romanian Classes

Though generally speaking there weren't and aren't any conflicts in Nuşfalău that we could call as interethnic conflicts, we could identify a subtle conflict even when we are speaking about the enrolment of children in Romanian or Hungarian language classes.

It is the parent's decision to choose the language of education for their child. Hungarians could choose the Romanian language education if they consider that it is for the best of their children to manage better the official language of the country.

The Roma of Nuşfalău speak three languages: Romani, Hungarian and Romanian with no qualitative differences. People learn simultaneously all three languages in their early childhood as they realize this need in the everyday communicative situations with the majority.

The conflict is generated by the number of the children enrolled in a class which is prescribed by the Law. The number of school-age children in the village is decreasing year after year, thus a number of educators and teachers have to face the problem of unemployment in case the number of children is lower than the legally established. In order to maintain at least the number of children enrolled in school the teachers have to "fight" for pupils. The decisive factor is the enrolment of Roma children. For the Romanian language classes is extremely important to convince the Roma parents to

enroll their children in the Romanian language classes, although during the interviews they did not mentioned this aspect.

"This is the decision of the parents. We can not influence them. Every parent decides where to enroll his child. We don't have a word to say in this issue. Generally speaking, they enroll their children in the Romanian language classes. And less in the Hungarian language classes." (teacher at the Romanian language class, II. grade)

"There are more Roma children on the Romanian section, because the pre-school teachers have this propaganda. She, the Romanian pre-school teacher. To have their job, because if they don't …they won't have the four classes, they lose their jobs. These are the problems. When we have problems, we also fight for them. We have to fight for them….So, to have the four classes. When I came here, there were two teachers. After a while have come one more, now we have four. This in 15 years, let's say. So…and because of the Roma children they have their jobs. And to be honest, we as well. Next year we will have two first grades, but after that only one. The number of children is decreasing, so for years now on we will have only one first grade. .if we won't be able to gather the Roma children…and we can't…" (Teacher at the Hungarian language class, III. Grade)

The enrolment of the majority of Roma children in Romanian language classes can save the jobs of the Romanian teachers, but it gives them another basic problem: that of the quality of education.

"Yes, less parents enrol their children in the Hungarian classes, although there would be better for them. They could learn more easily, because the Romanian language classes are generally smaller, speaking about the Romanian children, and thus the Roma children represents the majority in these classes, and the poor teacher hardly can maintain the discipline among them, because they are not attentive. They have to do a hard work, because they have 9 Roma children and three or four Romanian children. And they have to practice separately with each of them, on different levels, because the Romanian parent maybe expects a higher level from his child…" (Teacher at the Hungarian secondary school, VII. Grade)

10.7. Pre-school education

Every interviewed teacher underlined the importance for the Roma children to attend the pre-school institution ("grădiniță"). They consider that pre-school education is of highly importance for the children for at least three reasons:

1. they can learn the basic behavioural patterns and can socialize with other children;
2. during pre-school education are developed the basic skills for the learning process;
3. children learn how to concentrate on a single problem for an established period of time (discipline)

"It counts enormously if they attend pre-school. They began to socialize with other children, this is very important, and anyway, they will have the basic vocabulary. Their vocabulary is very poor …thus for they school is very difficult. But graduating the pre-school education is far easier. Because they already have a set of knowledge, you also have where to begin form. And at the pre-school is much more easier the learning

process, you learn by playing, by imagines, so …you can see the difference" (Romanian teacher, elementary school)

The number of Roma children who are enrolled in the state pre-school is not significant as compared to the number of children who should be enrolled. The educators receive the data on the 3-7 years old Roma children from the medical dispensary at the end of every school-year in order to prepare the educational program for the next year. According to the estimation of the director of pre-school, maximum 10% of the Roma children enroll every year. Parents – as in the case of the elementary school – prefer to enroll their children to the Romanian groups. Besides the low levels of enrolment, the attendance is another striking problem of the educators. During my last visit in the pre-school only two of the Roma children were attending the classes.
The educators gave two explanations:

1. the backward mentality of the parents and their hostile attitude toward pre-school education;
2. the so called "Gypsy grădiniță" in the Brazilia community. (we will present it in detail later)

"It would be great if first the parent could make a step forward. They would have a base for comparison, because now, that he goes or does not go to work, they once have something to eat, the other day they don't have anything, this not a solution. The one who has a stabile job or at least would look for it, would see the difference, that yes, I can apply for the job, I have 8 grades…they could have the opportunity to see what means not to have some education…" (Director of the pre-school)

10.8. The "Gypsy grădiniță"

The "Gypsy grădiniță" is coordonated by the local Roma Foundation and it is totally funded by the "Împreună" Foundation from Bucharest.

The building of the "grădinită" is situated in Brazilia community in one of the 10 buildings which were constructed several years ago by the same Foundation.

Only Roma children from the Brazilia community are enrolled there, though it was envisaged for all the Roma children from Nuşfalău. Nevertheless, the spatial position of the kindergarten determines who attends it. It is far away from the other two Roma communities. We can also say that the spatial factors are not the only one which influences the decision of the parents to enroll their children in this kindergarten. During our fieldwork we could observe a strong classificatory struggle between the different Roma communities. Those living in Bakos in relatively better financial situation identify themselves as the true, hard-working, clean gypsies in contrast with those living in Brazilia who are dirty, lazy and thieves, thus parents from Bakos would not like that their children mix with those in Brazilia.

There is one Romanian educator working in the kindergarten. The program should be daily of four hours, but there is no regularity in the program. Sometimes children receive a couple of week vacation, or even more, depending on the finance of the Association or the spare time of the educator. Courses are held also irregular in the morning or in the afternoon, but there are initiatives on the behalf of the teachers and representatives of the Ministry of Education to move the program totally in the afternoon. This initiative came from the local teachers and the representatives of the state-funded kindergarten,

as it was considered that the overlapping of the program in the two institutions negatively affect the number of Roma children enrolled in the state kindergarten.

The initiative of setting up a Roma pre-school was strongly welcomed on both sides. Teachers and also parents consider that by according special attention to the Roma children of Brazilia the parents as well could be educated in a way.

The conflict between the state and the Roma pre-school came from the program of the later. While it functioned in the morning parallel with the state institution, the problem was that they "steal" the children from the state institution, although the statistics on enrollment did not change significantly. After the visit of the representative of the school inspectorate from the county center, the program of the gypsy pre-school was changed. The program was moved from the morning in the afternoon, and parents were asked to send their children to the central pre-school because there the enrollment is compulsory. Those who wish have the possibility that after the official program send their children to the Gypsy pre-school. Unfortunately, these changes did not bring significant changes as parents from Brazilia choose to send their children only to the Gypsy pre-school.

The number of the children enrolled in the Gypsy pre-school is changing. The pedagogue on her way to the building of the pre-school have to pass through all the community, thus she can pass by those families who have young children. After the program she goes home with every child one by one.

 "The truth is that they do everything there, from washing, eating, absolutely everything…from mother, father,….but it counts a lot…yes, I know her…She walks from family to family, she gets the children on their hand, takes them and wash them, put their clothes on them, and….but for them it counts a lot…" (Elementary school teacher, Romanian section)

The program of the Gypsy pre-school was changed, but the conflict remained. Now, the representatives of state education contest the effectiveness of this form of education and the professionalism of the pedagogue.

"it's not about that she doesn't care about them, or something…I have no idea what can she do there when she has children of different age…but the biggest problem is that they doesn't let their children to the state gradinita, they don't socialize with other children, and when the child come to school he comes from the wood. Because they get used only with their kind…And they aren't used with the program. The gradinita has also a kind of program; even it is shorter than in school….." (Elementary school teacher, Hungarian section)

"According to the law they are not allowed to do this, it should function only in the vacation period, and only with little children….no, no way, she has no specialization, she wouldn't have the right to work with them" (pre-school educator, Hungarian)

10.9. Extra-curricular activities. Involvement of the Roma children.

The elementary and secondary school is well prepared to organize extra-curricular activities for pupils. Teachers organize clubs, theatre, dance events, sport events, painting exhibitions. The courtyard of the school is arranged, teachers together with the children are taking care of the vegetables and flowers, organize trips in the region.

Teachers try to involve most of the children – including the Roma children – in these activities, but these activities are not compulsory. It depends on the children's field of interest which activity or club does he/she participate.

Most of the Roma children participate at sport events – boys play football – and different theatre or musical events. In these activities the Roma children are very good, and like it very much.

"We went to "colindat" and the Roma children also came, and we went also to their house…they invited us inside, and they were very glad. They like it. But not everybody. Those from Bakos mostly, because they were there…we received some money it is enough to organize a trip. And what remains…it depends…" (Elementary school, Romanian teacher)

They put a great emphasis on the importance of including Roma children in different extra-curricular activities. These activities can work as a motivating factor in attending the regular courses.

"They are integrated in the community, from the very beginning we had this policy…you can also present a poem, you can also sing a song, definitely we work with them, otherwise the strangers does not accept them, and we have to handle this problem. To socialize them. We have to appreciate what they are doing to convince them to come to school. To give them some importance" (professional school, Romanian teacher)

"On the Children's Day, or in winter on Saint Nicholas, we used to buy some little things to our children, and on 8th of March is a very good feeling to receive from our Roma children some flowers. They always buy flowers for us. …(….) For example, when we organize something, they also come…or in the Church, they come, and present a poem…no…" (secondary school, Hungarian section)

10.10. Relation with the parents. The importance of involving parents in the educational process.

On the school level the parents are actively involved in the extra-curricular activities of the school. In specific cases parents can decide together with the collectivity of the teachers in issues concerning the administration of the school. Parents elect representatives in the Association of the parents. The Roma community does not have representative in this Association.

Heads of classes have to organize regular meetings with the parents. When the data of the meeting is established, the teacher write a notice in the card of the pupil, and the parents have to sign it, showing that they know about the meeting and that they will participate.

The Roma parents used not to participate at these meetings. The head of the school recognized the importance of communication with the Roma parents, but had to find alternative ways to maintain contact with them. Teachers are asked to talk with the Roma parents if they meet them on the street, or at work. In special cases, when children miss two or three days of courses, teachers have to visit that family. It is a specific rule of the school that every day during the long break (20 minutes) teachers meet the head of the school in the teachers room to discuss the "problems of the day", including the problem of the missing children.

Our overall conclusion is that Roma parents do not participate in the formal structure of the school, but on informal level the contact is maintained continuously. This is not as difficult to realize due to the fact that – as presented in the previous chapters – the Roma

are daily workers at the Hungarians or Romanians, they sell goods in the village, they are visible in the center of the village (here are the buildings of the schools). It is not rare at all that do the teachers visit the Roma family at home.

"…because I am in very good relations with the parents, I don't want to brag, but I know every house, I know where every child lives. I went there to see where to start with them. To see what should be my expectancies. After that I know how to put the question, how to approach a child, what to ask from them, how to ask them, and….And I tell you, I have never imagined that it is possible. It is true that I consider them man. For me everybody is a human being." (elementary school, Romanian section)

We can observe a difference again between the Roma of Bakos and Brazilia. Those living in Bakos are more aware that it is their 'duty' to contribute to the education of their children. They are paying the school taxes; they participate sometimes at the parents meeting. The teachers are also aware of these differences.

"…on the street, because you meet the parents usually on the street, or they are looking for a job, and they ask: "Was my daughter today at school? Yes – I say – yes she was – but she left after the third class. "Ok, I'll go home, I give her then". And they were reprimanded. They really do that, because the day after I ask the girl what happened at home. And she asks me: "Did you told my parents?" Yes, I met them, and I told them, because if they send you to school they have to know where you are, if you leave, I don't know where you are, they don't know where you are…it is pretty dangerous because we are right on the national road." (secondary school, Hungarian section, about Roma parents in Bakos)

"No, then won't come…it's a pity, because for example this is a very clever child, but his parents are not interested, so we don't receive help on behalf of them. Their only problem is to receive the child aid. When it's due, they come and they apologize that they could not come earlier, they can't send the child to the school, because they don't have proper clothes, don't have I don't know what…then…(…) I think that we should start first with the parents. To socialize them. (elementary school, Romanian section, about parents in Brazilia)

These differences seem to correlate with the level of poverty of the family. More the family falls deeper into poverty the more school and education becomes a secondary issue for them. Children from Nuşfalău are less represented in the high-school. The majority of the children graduate 8 grades, some of them take the final examinations, but they do not continue their studies.

"For comparison, children from Nuşfalău hardly continue their studies in high school. It's not possible. As compared to the Roma children form Ipp. They are much socialized. Last year I had very good students who participated in a contest, they are very good, you can let your car reparation on their hand, they can do that. But they are more socialized, I think because the Gypsies in Ipp have jobs. In Nuşfalău the Gypsies does not have jobs, they are used to work as day workers, they participate in the black market, and they don't feel the need of continuing studies." (professional high school, Romanian language school)

10.11. Interpersonal and interethnic relations in school

Discussions with Roma parents revealed that their children don't like to go to school because they are not accepted by other children, during breaks they play separately,

they fight, and they don't have meals to prepare sandwiches like for the Hungarian children.

According to the interviews, these are those children whose families are in a deeper poverty, who don't send them to pre-school and to school, thus the children are under-socialized and because of the un-regular attendance don't even have the chance to know each other.

Those children who attend more or less regularly are integrated better in the community of the pupils.

"It happens that they are missing one day or two, but they have adapted to our conditions, they made friendships, they are accepted by the other children, it is true that I have one or two who are more shy, but anyway, they are accepted by the others. We don't make a difference that you are a Gypsy or not, they are clean, so…it is normal, like in a family. (…)The truth is that we have never had big problems…no, so they can integrate. If they want...Because the others accept them. It depends also on how to speak with them, this is the truth. We are at home here. We are a family. You are the brothers, I am the mother. This is our policy…And I am very glad that I see already the result." (Elementary school, Romanian section)

"The parents are tolerant, so we don't have…in this respect we don't have problems. No. The children are less tolerant. They speak more, or do I know?…they don't fight, because I can't really tell that they fight, or that they are aggressive...no, it's just that they don't' want to work, and even if they want, they can't…because if they don't attend how could they do anything?…But every children fight. Hungarian with the Hungarian, with the Romanian, with the Gypsy…But this is normal, they are children…No, when they play, they play together, there is such differentiation that you are Gypsy..no, no…" (elementary school, Hungarian section)

"We didn't have any special problems. Before 89 we definitely had more problems. Small issues, yes, but nothing serious. No, no, in this school we really have a lot of nationalities: Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Gypsies…But nobody makes a difference. I think that if they are tidy, don't have that specific smell, then it doesn't appears that aversion towards them. And they are integrated in the collectivity…" (professional school, head of school)

The relation between Hungarian, Romanians and Gypsies in classes where the Roma represents the majority shows different characteristics. The Roma are always together in breaks and it rarely happens to mix with the Romanians.

10.12. Experiments of segregation and desegregation

At the beginning of the 90s the director board of the school decided that it worth trying segregated education for the Roma children. They prepared a four-year program, but the overall conclusion at the end of the program was that it is not efficient from the point of view neither of the pupils nor for the teachers. They did not have any special curricula. The classes were held in Romanian or Hungarian language. Only one teacher was of Roma ethnicity, the others were Romanians or Hungarians without any specialization on teaching Roma children.

Even the Roma parents were suspicious about the organization of the school in this way. They tried to enrol their children in the Hungarian classes, because "they said that they

do not like that Gypsy teacher. He is not like them anymore, plus in that classes are a lot of Gypsy, what can my children learn among the Gypsies? This is what they say…" (Secondary school, Hungarian section)

The teachers had to accept the situation because if the parents declared themselves as Hungarians, they had the right to enrol the child in the Hungarian classes.

"This is much better, desegregated, together with other children. They must not be separated, no, that would be discrimination. When they are people just like us, or the Romanians, or the Hungarians, and in this way we can teach them, on the contrary, segregated ...they teach themselves, this is my opinion. More than that, they could integrate more in the society if their community wouldn't have been separated from the rest of the village…It would have been more difficult for the neighbours, but it would be a help for the Gypsies. They should have a little goodwill, not just to stay at home, and this way…that they stay together, they become a catastrophe" (secondary school, Hungarian section)

After this failed experiment, the director's board has decided to try another way to better the efficiency of teaching. Another four years the children were choose to continue their studies in the secondary school in accordance of their previous level. The children with better learning results were enrolled in one class, and the "weaker' pupils were enrolled in another class. According to the head of school it wasn't specified that one class is the 'elite' class, but in the imaginary of the parents and later in the pupils' this separation meant that some of the pupils are elites and the others are the worst. After a generation of pupils the project was dropped because there were more conflicts than results.

There were quarrels among the children.

"in the first weeks, right at the beginning of the school year, there was a fight on the corridor of the school, and I've heard that one children from the 'elite' class said to the other that "you shut up, you are anyway among the stupids."

The parents also interiorized this differentiation.

" I've organized a parents' meeting, and one of the parents came later than the others. I asked him from which class is he, and he said that "o, I don't know, I only know that I am from the best". And I said that look, here are only children's, there does not exist such as good children or stupid child, the program is the same. And if now do we have this experiment, please don't use these words that 'elite" and "stupid", and you will see at the end of the year that there will be good results on both sides.(…) everybody was very frustrated, beginning with the children, the parents, and ending with the teachers themselves." (secondary school, Hungarian section)

The conclusion was that in a normal rural school there is no need to separate classes in elite and non-elite classes, especially because the number of children is to low to be possible a selection of really more talented pupils.

10.13. Definition of the problem. The view of the teachers.

The everyday experiences of the teachers with the Roma children in school and with the parents in their everyday interactions define the way they define the problem of education of the Roma children. They had failed experiences of segregation before 1989 and after and also they have positive examples of successful integration in the

community. These few examples (eg. a Roma ethnicity teacher in the school, but he does not declare himself as Roma) serves as starting point in their expectations towards the children and parents. The structure of thinking and action is given, and it is very difficult to put the problem in another structure. It was clear that the present way of teaching in classes where the Roma pupils are in majority is extremely difficult because the teacher has to take into consideration different levels of previous knowledge of the pupils. In this context is very difficult to maintain an acceptable level of the teaching process.

The models are given, the differences between Roma children and the others are clear, thus the desirable explanations and solutions are also given.

Teachers whom we talked to identified the following issues:

1. Cultural differences. The socialization of the Roma children is completely different from those of the Hungarians or Romanians. This difference becomes clear in 6th or 7th grade. This is the period when most of the Roma children drop-out from school. The boys start to work for helping their family. The girls get married and will focus upon setting up their own family, although the Law allows married persons to continue studies.

"These were children of 13, 14, 15 years, and it is extremely difficult to work with these children. They don't think on schooling anymore…they think only on extra…extra-school activities. In fact they…The girls are already mature. They already build their own family. This is it." (elementary school, Romanian section)

2. Poverty. The cost of education is relatively high especially for those who are living in extreme poverty. They can not afford to buy even the daily necessities for the family.

"There are many poor families…they don't have even – how to say – to put on the table during the day. I have a child, he is very weak, thin, they have a cottage, and God help them, not to fall on the family. I can't ask from them anything. When the child comes to school, I give him what I brought with me from home, I give him, he needs it…and I am glad that sometimes he is coming…" (Elementray school, Romanian section)

3. Passive mentality. As we will see later, the fact that neither the educational system nor the teachers found those dimensions of schooling which would motivate Roma children to attend courses regularly, led to that commonly accepted image of the Roma of Brazilia that they live passively their life.

" (…) they don't attend regularly. It is useless to come one or two days and after that he/she is missing a month…because that's nothing. And the worst thing is that they don't want. And I am angry with them because of that. They simply don't want to break that situation in which they are. Although they could do that, now they really could do that. Because they receive social aids, they receive anything, still they don't want…I don't' know…(…) and they are satisfied, children learn this way of life, so…they see this…" (elementary school, Hungarian section)

4. Historical determination. It is also commonly accepted in the village that a century old tradition cannot be changed in a short time. The Roma of Nusfalau (Brazilia) are historically daily workers in the village, or they were and are temporary migrants. The period of socialism had changed in better their situation, but during the period of transition they find themselves again in the position

146

5. where they were to be found at the beginning of the century. The situation even worsened as they lost their traditional skills of brick-making.

"They have begun. (…) I think that the society is responsible for this, because if there were to be found jobs for them, to work, and to get used with the program of a regular job, he automatically would educate his children that way, but as in Nusfalau it is a strong tradition to use Gypsies in sporadic work, when there is something to do…this affect children, too. But…I see some positive change, yes…." (Professional school, Romanian section)

10.14. Achievements and its impediments

In the previous chapters we briefly presented some aspects of the Roma children's education in Nusfalau. In all four educational institutions (pre-school, elementary school, secondary school, and professional school) the Roma children are integrated into the mainstream educational system. Formally speaking, the education in Nusfalau is a mixed one irrespective of ethnicity, gender, religion, social status (after a few failed initiatives to separate classes on different variables). If we take a closer look though of this integrated form of the education, the picture would become more nuanced and definitely not a positive one.

Most of the Roma children do not attend pre-school courses. Those who are enrolled to the state-based pre-school are definitely better evaluated by the elementary- and secondary school teachers. The ones who are enrolled in the so-called "Gypsy pre-school" have no regular program. The educational program of the "Gypsy pre-school" is different than in the state pre-school, but it is declared as satisfactory to begin the elementary school. The Roma children are enrolled mostly in the Romanian classes. The ones enrolled in Hungarian classes are again better evaluated than their colleagues in the Romanian section. In both cases the Roma pupils don't learn in their native language. We have to mention that Roma in Nusfalau speaks Romani in their family and in informal situation, but in formal situations and when contacting their "landlords" they use mostly Hungarian. Thus – even if they are considered to have excellent language-skills – they begin their school-life with a considerable disadvantage: to communicate and to learn in a foreign language.

"And then you have Gypsy children who attend classes rarely, and who hardly can differentiate the graphic forms of the letters…or you have children who don't know anything, but anything, those who speak only Romani. And I have to use translator to communicate with them, because there are a few among the others, who are twicers who has learned already some Romanian, and they help me and translate…And it is very difficult, to understand them, to learn some words in Romani…But they learn the language very quickly, if they would attend regularly, they could learn very fast…"
(Elementary school, Romanian teacher)

The most striking problem in Nusfalau of the education of Roma children is the attendance. According to the approximation of the head of the school only 30% of the Roma children attend regularly the courses, the majority more or less frequent, but there are some who are only enrolled in school officially, but they don't attend the courses.

Those who attend regularly the courses have a secure family and economical background. Some of them don't even want to identify themselves as Roma. They and their family declare themselves as Hungarians, only by the hetero-identification of the teachers are considered Roma. Those who attend more or less regularly have different vindications: illness, have to help the parents at work, they didn't have money, they have to take care of their younger brothers/sisters or the older members of the family, or simply they got married or build their own families. Some of them also participate in the temporary migration of their family. Most of these families live in Brazilia, their houses have only one room in which live three or even four generations (the extended family), the parents are unemployed, the only regular income is the child allowance and in special cases the elder's retired pays.

Among these children come those who could not fulfill the requirements of the curricula, the twicers. Teachers unanimously declared that is for the best of the Roma child to attend at least once the grades (especially in the elementary school), thus they have the chance to recover what they have lost due to their irregular attendance. The problem of non-graduation is again more complex than it would seem at first sight.
The dilemma of the teachers is two-folded:

1. if they let the pupil to fail whenever it is necessary, the chances of drop-out increases before the graduation of the 8th grade. Moreover, and this is a very present problem of the Romanian classes, if the number of the pupils is lower than the legally prescribed, the classes could be dissolved and the teachers would lose their jobs.
2. if they let the pupil to graduate even if his level of knowledge is lower than his Hungarian or Romanian colleagues', the discrepancies between them would increase from year to year.

"If they attend just sometimes, I can't do anything with them…I can say them to sit down, and write, …but, because those who failed once or twice, I have a child who already have failed twice, and he is still in the third grade…but he can write, ha \can already copy the text from the blackboard, from the textbook, he can count, but the one who does not attend from the beginning of the first grade…and is allowed to graduate…because this is the true….there are fewer pupils as necessary…we have to let them to graduate. If I let him to fail, I will remain without my class. These are the constraints. It might happen that I would let him to fail, because I would have all the rights to do that. Because he doesn't learn enough to pass the grades. But we will lose the classes…this is the problem." (elementary school, Hungarian section)

The level of knowledge and the efficiency of education is the direct consequence of the above mentioned factors.

"On the level of the intellect we still have some problems. I still teach them the alphabet. We are already approaching the end of it. I think that they can already read some simple texts, with difficulties, but they can. The can already count and to compute. We have already reached the hundreds. The conversation is more difficult for them...but we understand each other without problems." (elementary school, Romanian section, II. Grade. We have to mention that this should be the curricula of the first grade , and that most of the Roma children were attending more or less pre-school)

"I simply don't have enough time at disposal to give attention to every child separately. It rarely happens that a Roma child will learn to read and write till the end of the first year. Normally I should give attention to every child in part, but effectively, I don't have enough time. And if I am not able to teach them these basic things, after a year, in the second grade it will be too late…." (elementary school, Hungarian section, III. Grade)

Most of the Roma pupils stop schooling after the 8th grade at the age of 14 (if he/she was not a twicer). Only a few of them pass the capacity exam. Those who pass the exam usually want to continue their studies in the professional school in Nusfalau (one or two per year) or in the nearby city's professional school (one or two per year, those who are coming from a well-situated family).

10.15. Pull factors

Why should the Roma children attend school? In the view of the teachers:
- because they (the Roma) receive anything;
- they receive the school supplies, they don't have to pay it;
- some of them receive warm meals twice a day (from the neo-Baptist church);
- they receive money (the child allowance);
- they receive clothes, different social aids;
- they are also part of the "milk and bread" Governmental program;
- because if they enroll in the Hungarian classes, they could receive a stipend from the Hungarian Government;
-

And why don't attend, then? The wide-spread opinion is simply that they are not interested in education. Not the children are blamed for this irresponsible attitude towards education, but the parents. The parents – at their turn – did not graduate school.

The Roma of Nusfalau used to be Reformats, but in the last decade they started to change their religious allegiance. A great number of the Roma from Brazilia chose the Neo-Protestant Church. This Church - like the reformat Church as well – have social programs for its members in need. One of the programs is to provide twice a day warm meal for young pupils who attend the courses. Moreover there were hired two Roma women who graduated high school to offer help for the children to learn and to make the homework (if they receive any). These children are enrolled in the Romanian classes.

Programs of the Hungarian Government provide small financial help for every pupil who is enrolled in the Hungarian educational structure from grade 1 to grade 12. Previous to this academic year (2004/2005) one of the conditions of eligibility was to have the "Hungarian identity card". Even some of the Roma applied for this card. From this year though this not anymore a condition to receive this 20.000 Hungarian Forints the Roma showed no interest in applying for that. One of the hidden rationales of promoting this program among the Roma was to grow the number of Roma students enrolled in the Hungarian classes.

The Romanian Government provides by Law school supplies for every enrolled child. The package contains textbooks, note books, exercise books, pens, pencils, drawing books, maps and so on. The only condition is that the family has to prove with documents that the total income of the family is lower than the third part

of the national average salary. Theoretically, almost every family falls into this category, but practically they are not eligible to apply for the school supplies, because they don't have any documents to prove the level of the income. Few of them can prove that he/she receives the unemployment aid. The teachers tried to find a middle-way to overcome this situation, and in case a Hungarian or Romanian family doesn't need the supplies offered by the Ministry of Education, it will be redistributed among the Roma pupils. In this case the teachers have to face another problem. If they give all supplies to the children, it might happen that even that very day the parents will walk through the village, from house to house, and sell it.

"If I give them all, they immediately sell it in the village. Thus, I don't give them all. I give them only five note books with lines, five note books for maths, to take home. And the remaining amount of supplies will be locked here in the school. If they don't use it during this year, it is better, we will have for the next year as well. …And usually they don't need all…because if I don't give them, they won't break the pages, and they won't light the fire, and they won't sell it. (..) They sell absolutely everything, but absolutely everything." (elementary school, Hungarian section)

The children's allowance is 240.000 Romanian lei (8 USD) per month. Every child receives a check book at the beginning of the school-year. The allowance represented one the "forcing" factors for Roma children to attend courses, as to be able to receive the money one should have the signature of the head of the school or the teacher on the check. If a pupil had more then 40 missing classes in a month, they lose their allowance. Roam children used to attend courses mostly on the week of the payments.

"If I put them as missing every day, I should invalidate the current page of the check. If the child has more than 40 missing hours that month. But if I take that check from them, what will they do without that money? (…) And these check-books, again, are always can to be found in the shops, they pay with the files. It's not a problem that thay pay with that file, the problem is that they usually buy more than that 240.000 lei. And theya re in loss again." (elementary school, Hungarian section)

The "milk and bread" program of the Ministry of Education does not represent again a motivating factor for Roma children to attend school.

The professional school in Nusfalau is in the luckiest situation, as they have the possibility to offer 1.800.000 lei (apx. 55$) social scholarship per month. This is a social aid of the Government and most of the Roma pupils from the professional school benefit from it, those who are not resident in the locality and can prove that the income of their family is lower than the one third of the national average salary. There is another kind of social aid – not only for the Roma pupils: the eligibility criterion is also a social one. By Law every pupil should receive an amount of money whose family's income is lower than the sum defined by the Law, but this does not represent a big help for the children and their family, because in under-developed regions the number of children coming from poor families is much more bigger than in other schools (in Cluj county for example) and the amount of aid given to a school is a fixed one. This sum must be distributed among those in needs. Thus, poorer the school, less is the amount of the social aid.

10.16. Conclusions

10.16.1. Rural Education in Romania

Most of the sociological and economical theories related to education agree upon the fact that investment in human capital is one of the most important factors in assuring a level of well-being of any individual or society. The relation between poverty and level of education is a constant one. Each of them might be a cause of the other, but the effect as well. Thus, a low level of education reduces the chances of getting a job in the formal economy. This leads to marginalization, low income, and extreme poverty. A poor family is not able to offer for the children normal living conditions, which in turn reduces the chances of the child to pass to a higher level on the mobility scale. Moreover, this educational deficit is transmitted from generation to generation

According to the last census in Romania (2002), 47.3% of Romanians live in rural areas. 32% of the rural population in Romania has no education or have graduated the elementary school (4 years compulsory education). According to a research on poverty, this percentage is even higher in poor areas of Romania (35%).[74]

A census of rural schools carried out in 2002 by ISE[75] shows the precarious condition of the rural basic education schools. The research shows that household income and regularity of income has a strong effect on school attendance of children. More exactly, children from households with no salaried employees, pensioners are three times more likely not to attend school than children from households with regular source of income. The other problem that schools have to face is the high proportion of unqualified teachers. It has shown that schools with higher percentage of unqualified teachers have lower student performance. The same problem has been certified in schools where the proportion of the teachers who commute is higher than those of living in the same community. One of the most demanding problems of the rural schools is the long-term underinvestment.[76] Demand for education is usually lower in rural areas than in urban areas. A demand-sided research carried out by World Bank and the National Commission for Statistics[77] identified problems that impede school attendance of rural students, low income students and other marginalized or disadvantaged groups. In 1998, 40,5% of persons from rural areas were living below the poverty line. Empirical evidence also shows that there are household constraints on schooling. In rural areas it is a widely accepted practice that children take part in the "subsistence" agriculture as "non-remunerated family workers". This is one of the main causes of high percentage of drop-out in rural areas.[78]

---

[74]Manuela Sofia Stanculescu, Ionica Berevoescu (eds.) (2004): Sărac lipit, caut altă viață, Editura Nemira, pg. 290

[75] Rural Education in Romania: Conditions, Issues and Development Strategies, Institute of Educational Studies, 2002

[76] Most heating facilities in rural schools are inadequate, leaving classrooms very cold in the winter. The school furniture in 13% of rural schools is completely unsatisfactory. 5% of the schools lack electricity. Most rural schools have no educational materials, such as maps, dictionaries and other reference books, teacher's guides, reading books, or science materials.

[77] World Bank, National Commission for Statistics, 1999

[78] 64% of the drop-outs are leaving school before graduating compulsory education because they need to work to supplement the household's incomes.

10.17. Problems identified and which should be taken in to consideration for further educational policies

10.17.1. Proper textbooks

Obtaining appropriate textbooks for minorities' education seemed to be a problem in most countries and for most groups. The main issues centre on the language or the content of the materials. While many minority groups have achieved the right to some form of education in their own language, their efforts are often hindered by a lack of approved textbooks. Some classes are forced to rely on textbooks that are significantly out of date. In some cases, classes have been able to use textbooks from countries where their language is the main state language. Elsewhere this solution has not been available because the government requires that all texts be approved by the Ministry of Education.

Another problem is the content of the textbooks. A common difficulty is the portrayal of minority groups, particularly in history and geography subjects. For example in the widely accepted and used Romanian national history textbooks the history of Roma hardly is mentioned.

10.17.2. Teacher's Training

Appropriate teacher training is a core need to ensure the development of multicultural and intercultural education. Two main areas need to be addressed: first, ensuring that there are sufficient numbers of trained teachers for education in minority languages; second, that teachers should promote a positive environment for intercultural education in their classrooms. Some communities experience difficulties obtaining enough teachers for minority language education.

10.17.3. Language

Roma pupils in school do not use the Roma language, Romani, frequently out of a wish to protect the integrity of the family, as the vast majority of children realize that their language forms part of the private world and the intimacy of the family. On occasions, Roma children use it amongst themselves as an element of coded conversation to prevent non-Roma from understanding them, and hence the language becomes a means of protection for the group. The number of teachers, pedagogues who speak and teach Romani language or hold classes in Romani is much lower than the necessary.

10.17.4. Teachers Attitudes

The ethnographic studies carried out reveal that teacher's attitudes, their teaching styles, their ability to communicate and their pupils' success all improve in context of positive co-existence and the two parties get to know each other in the Roma pupils' family and social setting. This coexistence helps in better understanding of the children's culture, values and social strategies. This information is also can be efficiently used in the classroom, as the teacher knows the context the pupils come from and is able to establish closer, quality communication. Knowledge of Roma culture favors the Gypsy/Roma pupils' socio-educational integration.

10.18. Most striking problems of the education of Roma

10.18.1. Enrollment

Although there are detailed quantitative data regarding the compulsory education system, data regarding Roma is scarce.

The most recent data[79] show the total number of students enrolled in the 2002-2003 school year.

Grade	Romanian	Hungarian	Roma	Total
I.	218782	12705	12537	246342
II.	217937	12646	9946	242789
III.	218848	12108	8599	241773
IV.	226024	13445	8778	250663
Total	**881591**	**50904**	**39860**	**981567**
V.	243153	14344	8006	268230
VI.	265984	15225	6949	290489
VII.	290910	16225	8017	315392
VIII.	291406	15950	4508	314585
Total	**1091453**	**61744**	**24441**	**1188696**
T	*1973044*	*112648*	*64301*	*2170263*

Disparities in enrolments between Roma and non-Roma suggest that the gaps in education attainment will persist into the next generation.[80] The enrolment rates however do not show the number of those students who will graduate, as in some cases, students may enrol at the beginning of the year, but may not actually attend school. Many Roma students are tracked into special education programs on the basis of ethnicity and socio-economic conditions, which are considered cultural deficits.

In Romania, national statistics on the number of Roma in schools for children with disabilities or special educational needs are not publicly available, but local sources suggest that this tracking pattern holds. Roma are labelled as disabled almost directly as a result of their ethnicity and perceived incompetent, and the educational policies associated with special education relegate them to special schools that afford no opportunity to advance in social or economic standing.

For example, the mentally handicapped school in Cluj-Napoca serves about 200 children, of which over 70% are Roma children.[81]

One of the dynamics that fosters the concentration of Roma pupils in certain schools is the resistance to Roma pupil enrolment. These processes take place both subtly and unofficially and in practice; result in Roma families being denied the possibility of choosing which schools they wish their children to attend. The racist prejudices that underlie these attitudes in schools are also justified by the fear that if Roma pupils are accepted into the school, it will trigger the beginning of a non-Roma pupil exodus process. This fear that non-Roma pupils may abandon the school is a variable that must

---

[79] See: Învăţământul primar şi gimanzial la începutul anului şcolar 2002-2003; the National Institute of Statistics.
[80] 0.31% of Romanian Roma versus 10.44 % of the non-Roma population in Romania, higher education. Revenga et al, 2002, pg. 24
[81] Cahn, C.; Petrova, D. (2001): State of Impunity: Human Rights Abuse of Roma in Romania (Country Report Series), Budapest: European Roma Rights Center

be carefully taken into account in these processes. The non-Roma pupil flight can take place on a large scale, to such an extent that it may even culminate in the closure of the school, since the numbers of pupils remaining could be so small that the school would have to close its doors.

10.18.2. Absenteeism

One of the areas that have received emphasized attention in the context of the education of Roma children is that of absenteeism. The tendency amongst Roma families is that in small towns and villages absenteeism is lower, but increases with the town size. It has been verified that the levels of marginalization and the precarious housing situation endured by the Roma minority are much greater in cities than in the small towns and villages in country areas, and that, as we all know, the relationship between absenteeism and precarious housing is particularly strong. It is obvious that absenteeism, regardless of population size, is always higher amongst the Roma minority than amongst the population in general.

10.18.3. Irregularity of school attendance

The irregularity in Roma pupil school attendance in the school contexts studied is perceived as a serious conflict and the main cause of poor or non-adaptation and of the failure in the education process of these children. Irregularity in Roma pupil attendance is also an effect produced by causes outside the school (employment niches, population mobility, social segregation etc.). We define the non-attendance for reasons other than the wishes of the pupil and the family as "absence". Non-attendance also occurs for internal reasons such as ideologies, teacher expectation, socio-affective relationships and cultural interactions, amongst others, and in this case, they are classified as absenteeism.

Age also affect the regularity of attendance amongst Roma pupils. Attendance is more regular in the youngest age bracket (elementary school). Absences of varying lengths are directly related to the initiation of the young persons' working life alongside his or her family, a question we have particularly studied in the case of the casual agricultural labourer, but which doubtlessly affects other groups to a greater or lesser extent. The concept of absenteeism is referring to non-attendance for non-justifiable reasons. Clearly, there are numerous causes, but influencing factors include failure at school, ethnic pressure, discord between school and family norms and values.

10.19. Socio-economical context as factor and outcome

10.19.1. Poverty and education

Children from poor families are more likely not to attend, or to drop out of school than other children for a range of reasons, including: financial and opportunity costs, imperfect information about the benefits of education, limited choice and poor quality of educational services, substandard housing conditions at home that impede learning and studying, and poor health status. The economic context of the transition has increased the cost to families of sending children to school. The increasing prevalence of both official and unofficial fees for education has threatened the ability of families to send their children to school. These developments have the greatest impact on poor families, who are ill-positioned to pay for additional school related expenses, as well as basic necessities

such as clothing and food. Families may require children to work either in the home or outside in the informal sector. The mobility of the casual laborer family is the economic factor that underlies the irregularity in school attendance of these Roma children. The various ethnographic studies confirm that children from Roma casual laborer families are dispersed in the most unlikely living conditions. These could range from huts or farm outbuildings in the fields where their families are working, to improvised camps in the middle of nowhere or abandoned houses in the country. Difficulties often arise in terms of their socio-educational integration. These children come from very diverse backgrounds: they may have arrived from a big city ghetto area or a small village. Their experience, and therefore their perception of school is too heterogeneous for them to be able to adapt to and settle into a new school in the normal way, unless the school is particular aware of these factors.

10.20. Overcoming the situation - Policies

A great number of policies were developed and introduced with respect to the position of ethnic minorities in education. These were aimed at preventing and reducing educational disadvantage among minorities; these policies also had a number of cultural, socio-psychological and emancipatory objectives. At the beginning of the 1990s, the balance was drawn up with respect to this policy.

Matthew-effect[82]

It would appear that the disadvantages suffered by minorities have not got any less over the years: they are already considerably behind when they enter primary school, and they do not catch up throughout the course of their school career.

Bilingual education

One of the greatest debates aroused regarding the bilingual education. There is a great deal of discussion about the extent to which this kind of education is useful and whether it does not in fact reduce educational opportunities and result in segregation instead of integration.

Additional resources

Only several schools dispose the necessary human and financial resources to apply for additional material and financial resources from other institutions then the Ministry of Education. Applying for example for a Phare educational fund schools would need a complex infrastructure and professionals. Most of the rural schools don't have access to Internet.

Pre-school education

Preschool activities with parents and children as well would help that the minority and majority children overcome the cultural differences and to develop and learn basic attitudes and skills for living and communicating in multi-ethnic context. This requires additional staff on the basis of the socio-economic and ethnic composition of the school population.

---

[82] The differences that exist between minority and majority children at the start of primary education increase throughout their subsequent school career.

Trainings for teachers

Rural teachers has less chances to participate in different training opportunities since these do not suit well to the needs and possibilities of them: lack of information, isolation, the distance to training centers, lack of transportation, lack of financial support. Moreover, in most cases there is limited liaison and cooperation between a school and its local community. This is also characteristic for urban schools as well.

Another problem that rural schools have to face is the high percentage of fully, but not appropriately qualified and/or is non-qualified teachers.

Government has devised policies intended to attract well-qualified teachers in rural schools by providing bonuses of 5-80 % of their salaries for accepting a place in a rural school. However, the impact of these measures has been modest, so far.

Physical environment

The substandard facilities in rural schools (such as lack of heating possibilities, lack of electricity, lack of water supply etc.) create health risks contributing to problems of school attendance, degree of teaching effectiveness and learning achievement.

Relation with the local community

Parent's influence on educational decisions at local levels is minimal, although they are represented in the School Councils. There is also a weak cooperation between schools and local authorities. The support of local authorities for schools can be said as irrelevant in proportion to the needs of the school. Communes often lack the organizational structures and skills needed to enable broad participation of the community, lack the professionals in discussing and debating local education issues.

11. General Conclusions

The failure of the education system to provide for the Roma child is due to a complex interaction of political, socio-economic, ideological, cultural and institutional factor, all of which have a dynamic nature that changes depending on the context is being dealt with. In segregated schools or classes the quality of education is much lower compared the rest of public education system. The number of students who pass in the secondary education is extremely low; the number of functional illiterate is higher than the national average. However, it has been found that, within the whole population in general and in the Gypsy community in particular, grouping students in school according to cultural differences or learning levels does not facilitate school success nor help to overcome inequalities (see case study on Nusfalau). The best educational experiences begin within the school context and ripple out into the community. Equal participation in the community and in schools is the driver for community development and contributes to educational quality.

It has been documented that during the education process teachers do not encourage the cultural recognition of the Roma child in the school environment. This absence is expressed at different levels within the education systems. This all has an effect on teacher training and the training of all professionals in the education sector. Likewise, the lack of recognition manifest in the absence of specific curricula content on the Roma in school material designed for all pupils has also been confirmed. In general, a process is seen to take place in which Roma culture as a positive enriching reference for all pupils is made invisible.

The problem of education for Roma children is considered one of the challenges the political, economic, social, cultural or civic sphere in Romania must confront with. The ministry initiated a significant process of elaboration of strategies at national level for the education of children who are socially excluded.

1. The physical environment is a vital component. Can be directly linked to attitudes about school amongst teachers, parents and educational leaders.
2. Social/Relational: students are sharing the same educational environment and contributing to its improvement, students are involved in common activities, relationships at the level of the community are reflected in the way children relate to each other at the school level.
3. Relationships between students and teachers: are better if teachers live in the community since they can share more activities, they know students' families, they spend more time together. This was demonstrated where the presence of Roma teachers was reported to have improved the motivation for education and the emotional support for Roma students.
4. There is a relationship between the unstated attitudes of teachers and their relationship with Roma students. Although teachers themselves may be unaware of their own biases, values, and expectations towards Roma students, the implicit discourse that occurs because of these sentiments has an effect on the relationships between students and teachers at schools.

Inevitably, the above mentioned patterns result in low Roma participation in higher education. The lack of access to professional degrees closes the social inequality circle, leaving the Roma out of most social, political, and economic decision-making processes.

Education policy initiatives will have only limited success in removing barriers to inclusion if they are not consciously articulated with policies that address wider economic inequalities. Greater attention has to be given to the ways in which inequalities are produced in the complex interactions between the cultural, social and material sites of home, school and policy – to the interlocking of inequalities. Finally, it has to be re-thought the whole policy-making process, as one of the reproached characteristics of the current policies and in general of the educational system in Romania is that it overestimates the power of Law and that over-generalize the implementation of policies. Practically it was put under question the deep-rooted practice of making upper-down strategies and projects, instead of investigating the needs at grass root level.

The position of Roma in education is characterized usually by low performance levels, few transfers to higher type of education, and discipline problems, drop-out and unqualified school leaving. The problem is approached in diverse ways in different countries in terms of policy and practice, depending on the political and institutional contexts and the broader socio-economic structures (EC, 2004).

The main aim of this paper was to give a comprehensive approach of the problem of the education of the Roma in Nusfalau. In accordance with Bourdieu's approach we consider that education is a much more complex issue than simply a matter of organizing and developing an institution. The institution of education can not be approached in its own context, as the overall problem of the Roma minority can not be approached isolated by the broader context of the society they live.

In our article we tried first to draw a picture of the situation of the Roma in the village, particularly how can characterized their social situation, what are those problems they have to confront in their everyday lives, what is the relationship between the Roma and

the other ethnic groups in the village, are there any possibilities to overcome the social and economic distances that separates them from the Gadjo.

The research findings showed that the Roma of Nuşfalău are very poor, they are spatially segregated from the majority inhabitants of the village. This spatial segregation is also reflected in the social and economical relations between the Roma and Gadjo.

The interactions of Roma with Gadjo can be best described in economic terms, even in cases in which the type of interaction would imply friendship or deep trust. Consequently, the institution of godfatherness became a strategy of Roma to transcend the ethnic boundaries imposed by the Gadjo for sheer economic purposes.

Regarding economic relations, we can say that it is one of double-fold cooperation. On the one hand, Gadjo feel to be forced to accept the presence of the Roma in the locality for functional reasons. On the other hand, they need the presence of Roma. For the Roma population, coexistence and interaction with the Gadjo population is crucial in terms of survival.

Although the services offered to the Gadjo by the Roma represent a necessity for the Gadjo, their activities are considered unimportant. Moreover, the Gadjo sanction the Roma for doing these activities. This materializes in the continuous reproduction of stereotypes and the maintaining of social distance on a constant level.

Although on a cognitive level the representation of different Roma groups may differ from each other, this is not present in the daily interaction between Roma and Gadjo. The proximity may constitute a possibility to de-construct the stereotypes circulating about the Roma, but these relations are not strong enough. Besides which, since needy Gadjo practicing the Roma's same marginalized activities live close-by to Roma, they risk being considered inferior to the rest of the population. In view of all these aspect, we can conclude that the Roma are integrated in the village's economic structures and social structures as well, but this means making different ways of life compatible, and the complementarities of economic actions; therefore, this integration is a functional one. Its rules and norms are defined by the Gadjo, at best after a negotiation process.

The direct contacts with a Roma person reduce the social distance in a way: "our Gypsy is more decent than other Gypsies". Thus, tolerance is just an instrument, and not an interiorized moral norm, by which the control of the local resources can be achieved.

The above presented aspects are also reflected when we speak about education in Nuşfalău. The Roma children's educational process is an integrative one. The Roma children are supposed to attend school as every other child in Nuşfalău. While the Romanians are granted with Romanian language section in the school, as well as the Hungarians on their turn have the possibility to learn in Hungarian classes, the Roma – we could ironically say – have the possibility to choose between Romanian or Hungarian language classes, although their mother tongue is Romani. There are no teachers who are specialized in minority teaching; the curriculum is not specialized as well. (A teacher said that they could not even use the Romani language mathbooks for at least two reasons: the Roma of Nusfalau does not know the standardized Romani language; the Romani textbooks follow the logic of the Romanian textbooks, which is strange for the Roma. It was reported that Roma children count differently than they are taught according to the national curricula.)

We could easily recognize a strong agreement among the teachers that the segregated form of education is not efficient at all. Less strong – but still significant – was the

agreement of the parents - Roma and Hungarians – that is for the best of the Roma child and the community itself if the children are taught together with the Hungarians and Romanians. We could not identify signs of intolerance or segregationist tendencies when speaking with parents, moreover they strongly support the integration of the Roma children in the majority school. The discourses of the Hungarians and Romanians are still based on negative stereotypes: it is a widespread opinion that the Roma has to be civilized, first of all the Roma parents, because those who has already succeeded to get out from their poverty and dust cannot be called as "Gypsies" anymore.

One of the most striking problems that the teachers have to fight is the high missing- and drop-out rate of the Roma children, moreover the low learning results.

Although, the majority of the teachers mentioned the cultural differences between Roma and other ethnic groups, they did not mentioned that maybe it would be a possibility to change the curricula for the Roma children in accordance with their cultural traits or to introduce facultative courses of Romania language for example. The emphasized cultural differences were used as explanatory factors for the poverty gap existing between different communities.

Although the educational policy and strategies for the Roma are well defined and granted by national and international law, there is a long and hard way towards their effective implementation. It became clear after our fieldwork that the most important difficulty is not necessarily the lack of financial resources for organizing an efficient educational system for the Roma.

Two issues should be taken into consideration when approaching education for Roma:

1. to overcome the inconsistencies of the policies and practice. The fact that Roma are granted free and compulsory education by Law, moreover, the fact that they are subjects of positive discrimination in some cases, does not necessarily mean that these policy actions are actioning directly or positively on the life of the Roma. (see also the "welfare-dependency" contorversy)
2. to reconsider the education system as a whole, and to overcome the rigidities of it. The first step could be the re-definition of the term "integration". In its current interpretation it would rather mean "assimilation" of the Roma into the majority society.
3. Educational policy-makers should take distance from the previous practice of policy-making and step-out into the broader context of the Roma problem.

12. Common Conclusions

The main aim of the researches in Hungary and Romania was to give a comprehensive approach of the situation of the Roma communities in both countries, touching the social context in which they live and focusing on the educational problems they face. In accordance with Bourdieu's approach we consider that education is a much more complex issue than simply a matter of organizing and developing an institution. The institution of education can not be approached in its own context, as the overall problem of the Roma minority can not be approached isolated by the broader context of the society they live in.

In both countries the Roma are very poor, most of them are spatially segregated from the majority inhabitants. The spatial segregation is also reflected in the social and economical relations between the Roma and Gadjo. Most of the Roma are unemployed. As a result of their low educational level and their overrepresentation in segregated, economically underdeveloped areas that offer scarce employment opportunities unemployment rates and particularly long-term unemployment for Roma are exceptionally high. As a result of the above mentioned factors unemployed Roma have much fewer chances than non-Roma workers for entering or re-entering the labor market. In such circumstances family allowance and social benefits are the only formal source of existence for many of them. But the analysis of pre- and post-transfers poverty in Romania reveals that between 1995-2002 the Roma did not benefit from more substantial social transfers than the non-Roma. Moreover, inequalities between Roma and non-Roma households sharpened even more after social transfers. The law on the Minimum Income Guarantee and other means-tested transfers fail to offer enough financial resources to empower individuals to fight multiple deprivation. In the case of severely deprived Roma, access to courses of vocational qualification and other public services is restricted by problems of day-to-day subsistence. Thus the Roma have developed a large scale of economic activities in order to „survive", and some of these activities could be labelled as regular informal economic activities, nevertheless none of these activities can guarantee a regular income for the families: daily workers, illegal commerce, commercialization of non-financial aids, entertainment, fruit-gathering, seasonal farming, recycling used materials and so on. While in some cases these informal activities can be si mply regarded as economic activities, in some cases, participation of the Roma in these activities highly depends on the informal networks which can be traced between the Roma and the Gadjo. These infomal networks are also used as survival strategies by the Roma. The well-functioning of these networks highly depends on the presence of trust between Gadjos and Roma.

Children from poor families are more likely not to attend, or to drop out of school than other children for a range of reasons, including: financial and opportunity costs, imperfect information about the benefits of education, limited choice and poor quality of educational services, substandard housing conditions at home that impede learning and studying, and poor health status. The economic context of the transition has increased the cost to families of sending children to school. The increasing prevalence of both official and unofficial fees for education has threatened the ability of families to send their children to school. These developments have the greatest impact on poor families, who are ill-positioned to pay for additional school related expenses, as well as basic necessities such as clothing and food. Families may require children to work either in the home or outside in the informal sector. The mobility of the casual labourer family is the economic factor that underlies the irregularity in school attendance of these Roma children. The various ethnographic studies confirm that children from Roma casual labourer families are dispersed in the most unlikely living conditions. These could range from huts or farm

outbuildings in the fields where their families are working, to improvised camps in the middle of nowhere or abandoned houses in the country. Difficulties often arise in terms of their socio-educational integration. These children come from very diverse backgrounds: they may have arrived from a big city ghetto area or a small village. Their experience, and therefore their perception of school is too heterogeneous for them to be able to adapt to and settle into a new school in the normal way, unless the school is particular aware of these factors.

13. Further questions to analyze

13.1. Why social policies are so ineffective?

It is well known that Roma/Gypsy populations in Hungary and Romania (and in other former communist countries as well) are the most affected by poverty, segregation and discrimination, although in the last few years there were some attempts of the Governments, different NGOs and private agencies to reduce the negative effects of the transition on Roma/Gypsy population. These measures have to be seen as a process, so that, the results of these can hardly be spectacular at this very moment. This is because taking into account the context of transition – these measures must involve changes at all levels of the society: besides governmental-official policies and civil society actions, it is important the ways in which interpersonal and intergroup relations develop. As far as at local level the social relations between Roma and members of other ethnic groups are described as being conflicting – in the broader sense of the word –, it will be difficult to speak about relevant achievements.

The year 2005 was particularly important as on February 2 was launched of the Decade of Roma Inclusion. The Decade of Roma Inclusion, an initiative adopted by eight European Governments, and supported by the international community, represents an international effort to change the lives of Roma in Europe. The countries who signed this agreement are: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, FYR, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia.

It cannot be foreseen if this new initiative of the governments will be more successful than previous strategies. We could say – partly learning from previous experiences – that, the success of implementation highly depends on the monitoring mechanism. There is a lack of information regarding the implementation, impact and effectiveness of governmental strategies, although every initiative had an evaluative phase. The evaluation of the implementation of strategies on one hand was realized by internal evaluators, on the other hand, by external evaluators. In both cases we can put under question the reliability of evaluations due to a number of reasons.

First, reading the evaluation reports we can easily remark that great emphasis was put on the legal framework and bureaucratic aspect of the strategies. Analyzing the information we can say that *formally* the implementation of the strategies was successful. As concerns the real impact of it there remained a few unsolved questions. It is their "national" character that stands in front of their successful and effective implementation. The great level of centralization does not let the implementing authorities to define best practices for different communities.

Second, there is lack of reliable research and knowledge on different Roma communities. This lack of information led to concentrated implementation efforts. Combining the centralized and concentrated efforts had an unexpected result: just an

irrelevant number of Roma communities and people benefited from these programmes. In case there was more than one initiative, these regularly focused on the same communities (eg. Brazilia in Sălaj county, Romania, Gura Văii in Bacău County, Romania, Cluj in Romania, Jászladány in Hungary). We can thus question the criteria of selection of the sites of implementation.

The third weak point is also related to the centralized dimension of implementation. In many cases the needs of Roma people are also defined on a highly centralized way. This is usually done by persons who had never been before in that very community or communities. In best cases, the development of a strategy involves a great number of mediators. For example, the Roma members of a community had a representative on local level who is in charge of maintaining communication with local Roma NGO's (if there any) and with local authorities. The local authorities than prepare a proposal, which is sent to the county level authorities and finally to the highest authority in the country. Thus, the process of defining the needs, problems already involves at least 4 mediators in best case. And this is the case of the implementation phase as well.

Of course, it would be difficult to decentralize the implementation of strategies as this would mean the involvement of a higher number of specialists, experts on both national and local level. The lack of specialists in problems of Roma and poverty represents another unsolved problem of the governments and authorities. We have to mention that collaboration between authorities and independent researchers is very rare and usually this collaboration is strictly based on the publications of research results.

One possibility of overcoming the above mentioned problem is developing a more effective evaluation mechanism of the strategies. As I mentioned before the evaluations are realized either by internal experts or by international observers. The internal evaluations are biased on the formal dimension of the implementation. The external evaluation – even if it concentrates on the field – can highlight only the surface realizations of the strategies as evaluations do not emphasize the importance of long-term monitoring based on good knowledge of the communities.

14. Selective Bibliography:

Bibliography on Social Transfers

Atkinson, Tony, Cantillon, B., Marlier, E., Nolan, B. 2002. *Social Indicators: The EU and Social Inclusion.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002.

Bane, C. and Elwood, D. 1994. Welfare Realities: From Rhetoric to Reform. Harvard, Harvard University Press.

Barany, Zoltan. 2001. "The Socio-Economic Impact of Regime Change in Eastern Europe: Gypsy Marginality in the 1990s". East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 14(2), pp. 64-113.

Berevoescu, Ionica, Cace, S., Costin, D., Ilie, S., Marginean, I., Nicolae, D., Preda, M., Surdu, M., Serban, M., Voicu, M., Zamfir, C. 2002. Indicatorii privind comunitatile de romi din Romania. [Indicators for the Roma Communities from Romania]. Bucharest, Research Institute for the Quality of Life.

Braithwaite, Jeanine, Grootaert, C., Milanovic, B. 2000. Poverty and Social Assistance in Tranzition Countries. London, MacMillan.

Cahn, Claude. 2004. "Void at the Centre: (The Lack of) European Union Guidance on Ethnic Data", Roma Rights Quarterly, Vol. 2. http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1995 (March 2005)

Comisia Națională Antisărăcie şi Pentru Incluziune Socială (CASPIS) [The National Commission against Poverty and for Social Inclusion] and Guvernul României [Romanian Government]. 2004. *Suport Social pentru Populația de Romi.* [Social Support for Roma Communities]. Bucharest, www.caspis.ro (April 2005).

Deacon, Bob. 2000. "Eastern European welfare states: the impact of the politics of globalization". *Journal of European Social Policy*. Sage Publications, Vol. 10(2), pp. 146-161.

Deacon, Bob (ed) (1992): *The New Eastern Europe. Social Policy Past, Present and Future,* Sage, London.

Deacon, Bob; Szalai, Julia (1990): *Social Policy in the New Eastern Europe.* Aldershot. Avebury

Éltető, Ödön; Havasi, Éva: "Impact of Choice of Equivalence Scale on Income Inequality and on Poverty Measures", *The 27th General Conference of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth*, Stockholm, August 2002, www.iariw.org/papers/eltet.pdf

European Commission. 2004. *Minorities and EU Enlargement* http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/human_rights (May 2004).

European Commission, Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs. 2004. *The Situation of the Roma in an Enlarged European Union.* Brussels, The European Commission.

European Roma Rights Centre. 2001. *Roma Rights.* Vol. 4, www.errc.org/rr_nr4_2001 (March 2002).

European Union Network of Experts in Fundamental Rights. 2004. *Report on the Situation of Fundamental Rights in the European Union for 2003.* Brussels, The European Commission.

Evans, Martin (2003): *Social Protection in the 13 Candidate Countries – A comparative analysis.* Brussels. The European Commission.
Ferge, Zsuzsa, Juhasz, G. (2004): "Accession and Social Policy – The Case of Hungary" in *Journal of European Social Policy,* vol.14, 2004, p.233-251

Ferge, Z; Tausz, K; Darvas, A (2002): *Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion.* Vol. I, International Labour Office, Central-Eastern European Team, Budapest

Ferge, Zsuzsa (2000): *Elszabadulo egyenlotlensegek.* Hilscher Rezső Szociálpolitikai Egyesület és az ELTE Szociológiai Intézet, Budapest

Förster, Michael F., Tóth István György (1999): *Családi támogatások és gyermekszegénység a kilencvenes években Csehországban, Magyarországon és Lengyelországban.* TÁRKI Társadalmi tanulmányok, No. 16, Budapest

Gál, Robert I., Mogyorosi, Zs., Szende, Á., Szívos, P. (2003): *Study on the Social Protection Systems in the 13 Applicant Countries. Hungary – country study.* European Commission

Gesellschaft für Versicherungs Wissenschaft und Gestaltung e.V. (2003): *Study on the Social Protection Systems in the 13 Applicant Countries.* Country Studies of Hungary and Romania. European Commission.

Gheorghe, Nicolae, Mirga, Andrzej. 1997. *The Roma in the Twenty-First Century: A Policy Paper*. Princeton, Project on Ethnic Relations

Grecu, M., Şerbănescu, A., Hang, D., Papps, I., Pop, L., Giosan, V. (2004): *Evaluation of the Implementation of the Law on Minimum Income Guarantee,* Ministerul Muncii, Solidarităţii Sociale şi Familiei, Birks Sinclair & Associates Ltd, Durham (a project financed by the UK Department for International Development and the World Bank).

Guvernul României [Romanian Government]. 2002. *Planul Naţional Antisărăcie şi de Promovare a Incluziunii Sociale.* [National Action Plan against Poverty and for the Promotion of Social Inclusion]. Bucharest, www.caspis.ro (Apil 2004).

Gheorghe, Nicolae and Mirga, Andrzej (1997): The Roma in the Twenty-First Century: A Policy Paper. Princeton: Project on Ethnic Relations

Guy, Will (ed) (2001): *Between Past and Future: The Roma in Central Eastern Europe,* University of Hertfordshire Press, September 2001

Haney, Lynne (1997): *"But we are still mothers": Gender and the Construction of Need in Post-Socialist Hungary.* Oxford Universtity Press, Oxford.

Hawes, Derek; Perez, Barbara (1995): *The Gypsy and the State*, SAUS Publications, University of Bristol

Institutul Naţional de Statistică a Românei, Comisia Naţioanlă Antisărăcie şi pentru Incluziune Socială (CASPIS). 2004. *Raportul de Excluziune/Incluziune Socială.* [Report on Social exclusion/Inclusion]. Bucharest, www.caspis.ro (April 2004).

Kovacs, Janos Matyas: "Preface", *Small Transformations,* LIT Verlag, Munster, 2003 (www.iwm.at)

Ladányi, János and Szelényi, Iván (1999): "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Restructuring in Postcommunist Hungary", in Enyedi, Gyorgy (Ed.): *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe*, Budapest: Akademiai Kiado

Ladányi, János and Szelényi, Iván (2004): *A kirekesztetség változó formai,* Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest.

Ladányi, János and Szelényi, Iván. 1999. "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Restructuring in Postcommunist Hungary" in *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe* edited by Enyedi, Gyorgy. Budapest, Akademiai Kiado.

Metromedia Transilvania. 2001. *Report on Interethnic Relation in Romania*. Cluj-Napoca, www.mmt.ro (March 2002).

Organisation for Economic Collaboration and Development (OSCE), High Commissioner on National Minorities. 2000. *Report on the Situation of the Roma*. The Hague, 10 March 2000.

Milcher, Susane and Zigova, Katarina. 2005. „The Impact of Social Policies on the self-reliance of the Roma in Central Eastern Europe", *Economica*, No. 69., pp. 1-20

Ministerul Muncii, Solidarităţii Sociale şi Familiei (2005): *Buletin Statistic,* Nr. 1 (49)/2005
Molnar, Maria. 1999. *Sărăcia şi protecţia socială.* Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţiei România de Mâine.

Pop, Luana. 2003. *Imagini instituţionale ale tramziţiei.* Iaşi, Polirom.

Pop, Luana. 2000. "Structura institutionala si a finantarii protectiei sociale in Romania in tranzitie" *Dictionar de Politici Sociale.* Bucharest, Expert, pp. 6-27.

Popescu, Livia. 1998. *Protecţia socială în Uniunea Europeană.* Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universtiară Clujeană.

Popescu, Livia. 2004. *Politicile sociale Est-Europene între paternalism de stat şi responsabilitate individuală.* Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universtiară Clujeană.

Popescu, Livia; Rat, Cristina (2005): *Synthesis on the Quality of Life in Cluj County – report for the Development Strategy of Cluj County* (unpublished). Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.

Resource Center for Roma Communities and the Open Society Institute. 2004. *Monitorizarea implementării la nivel local a strategiei guvernamentale pentru îmbunătăţirea situaţiei romilor în România.* Cluj Napoca, RCRC, www.romacenter.ro (April 2005).

Rat, Cristina. 2005. "Romanian Roma, State Transfers, and Poverty", *International Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 85-93

Ringold, Dena. 2000. *Roma and the Transition in Central Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges.* Washington, The World Bank.

Ringlod, Dena, Orenstein, Mitchell, Wilkens, Erika. 2003. *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle.* Washington, The World Bank.
Sandu, Dumitru. 2005. "Roma Social Mapping. Targeting by a Community Poverty Survey". Bucharest, The World Bank.

Sainsbury, Diane, Morrissens, Ann. 2002. "Poverty in Europe in the mid-1990s: the effectiveness of means-tested benefits". *Journal of European Socail Policy.* Vol. 12(4), pp. 307-327.

Stănculescu, Manuela, Berevoescu, Ionica. 2004. *Sărac lipit, caut altă viață.* [Poorest of the Poor, I'm Searching for a Different Life]. Bucharest, Nemira.

Sen, Amartya. 1983. "Poor, relatively speaking", *Oxford Economic Papers.* Vol. 35, pp. 53-169.

Sen, Amartya, Nusbaum, Martha. 1993. *The Quality of Life.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Stewart, Michael. 2001. *Deprivation, the Roma and 'the Underclass',* working paper for CEU Summer University "The Plight of the Gypsies", Budapest, July 2001

Szelényi, Iván. 2002. *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Transitional Societies.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Teşliuc, C., Pop, L., Teşliuc E. D. 2001. *Sărăcia şi Sistemul de Protecţie Socială.* [Poverty and the Social Protection System]. Iaşi, Polirom.

Teşliuc, E., Pop, L., Florescu, R. 2003. "Protecting the Poor and Vulnerable". *The World Bank Report: Romania. Poverty Assessment.* Washington, The World Bank.
United Nations Development Project and Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. 2003. *The Roma in Central Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap.*

The World Bank. 2003. *The World Bank Report: Romania. Poverty Assessment,* Washington, http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ECA/ECSSD.nsf/Attached/Romania%20Poverty%20Assessment/$FILE/PovertyAssessment_Eng.pdf (April 2005).

Zamfir, Cătălin (ed.). 1998. *Politici sociale în România: 1990-1998.* [Social Policy in Romania: 1990-1998]. Bucharest, Expert.

Bibliography on Education in Romania

Achim Viorel (1998): Ţiganii în istoria României. Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică

Allmendinger, Jutta; Leibfried, Stephan (2003): Education and the Welfare State: the Four Worlds of Competence Production, In: Journal of European Social Policy, vol. 12 (1): 63-64

Apró Antal Zoltán (2002): Szegregáció - munkaerőpiac - foglalkoztatási esélyegyenlőség. Pécs, PTE BTK

Babusik Ferenc (ed.): A romák esélyei Magyarországon. Kávé Kiadó, Delphoi Consulting, 2002

Băican Eugen, Pervain Augustin (1998): Representations and Atitudes of the Population against the Gypsies, Medecins sans frontiers, Romania

Birzea C. (1994): Education Reform in the Countries in Transition. Council of Europe Press

Böszörményi, J. – Józsa, M. (ed) (2000): Caught in the trap of integration: Roma problems and prospects in Hungary: international conference Budapest, 22-23 June 1999. Budapest, Bureau for European Comparative Minority Research

Brown, F.; Hunter, R. C. (1995): Introduction. Privatization of Public School Services. In Education and Urban Society, 27 (2), pg. 107-113

Buchmann, Claudia; Hannum, Emily (2001): Education and Stratification in Developing Countires: A review of Theories and Research, In: Annual Review of Sociology, 27, pg. 77-102

Cahn, C.; Chirico, D. (1999): A Special Remedy: Roma and Schools for the Mentally Handicapped in the Czech Republic. Country Report Series. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center

Claveria, Julio Vargas; Alonso, Jesus Gomez (2003): Why Roma do not Like Mainstream Schools: Voices of a People without Territory, In: Harvard Educational Review, Winter, 73, nr. 4, pg. 559-590

Cozma, T.; Cucos, C.; Momanu, M. (2000): The education of Roma Children in Romania: Description, Solutions, Intercultural Education, 11, pg. 281-288

Csapó J.–Herceg D. (ed) (2001): Egyenlőtlenségek és esélyek: roma fiatalok helyzete a közoktatásban. Budapest, Józsefvárosi Önkormányzat

Csongor Anna (1991): Szegregáció az általános iskolában: cigány osztályok Magyarországon. Budapest, Oktatáskutató Intézet

Driessen, Geert (2000): The Limits of Educational Policy and Practice? The Case of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands, In: Comparative Education, Vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 55-72

Evgeni Evgeniev (2002): Case Study: School Segregation in Vidin, Bulgaria, In: Roma Participation Program Reporter, August, Special Desegregation Issue, Open Society Institute

Flecha, R.(1999): Modern and postmodern racism in Europe: Dialogic Approach and anti-racist pedagogies. Harvard Educational Review, Nr. 69, pg. 150-171

Forray R. Katalin (ed) (1985): Az együttélés rejtett szabályai – Egy cigány csoport sikerének mértéke és ára egy iskolában. Budapest

Forray K.–Mohácsi E. (ed) (2002): Esélyek és korlátok : a magyarországi cigány közösség az ezredfordulón. Pécs, PTE BTK Romológia Tanszék

Forray R. Katalin (2000): A kisebbségi oktatáspolitikáról. Pécs, PTE BTK

Forray R. Katalin (ed) (1998): Cigány gyermekek szocializációja: család és iskola. Budapest, Aula Könyvkiadó

Forray R. K.–Hegedűs T. A. (ed) (1990): A cigány etnikum újjászületőben: Tanulmány a családról és az iskoláról. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó

Havas Gábor, Kemény István and Ilona Liskó (2002): Cigány gyerekek az általános iskolában. Oktatáskutató Intézet, Új Mandátum könyvkiadó, Budapest

Timothy J. Ilg, Joseph D. Massucci (2003): Comprehensive Urban High School. Are there Better Options for Poor and Minority Children? In: Education and Urban Society, Vol. 36, no. 1, November, pg. 66-67.

Jigău M. (2000): Învăţământul rural din România. Condiţii, probleme şi strategii de dezvoltare. Bucureşti, Ministerul Educaţiei şi Cercetării, Institutul de Ştiinţe ale Educaţiei

Karsten, Sjoerd, Ledoux, Guuske et al. (2003): School Choice and Ethnic Segregation, in: Educational policy, vol. 17, no. 4, September, pg. 452-477

Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (2002): Romák, cigányok, utazók. Budapest, Centre de recherches tsiganes, Pont Kiadó

Massey, Douglas S. ; Fischer, Mary J. (2000): How Segregation Concentrates Poverty, In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 23, nr. 4, July, pg. 670-691

T. H. Marshall (1964): Citizenship and Social Class. Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Essays, pp. 65-122

McDonald, C. (1999): Roma in the Romanian Educational System: barriers and leaps of faith". In: European Journal of Intercultural studies, vol. 10, no. 2

Loretta F. Meeks; Wendella A. Meeks, Claudia A. Warren (2000): Racial Desegregation – Magnet Schools, Vouchers, Privatization, And Home Schooling, In: education and Urban Society, Vol. 33, No. 1, November, pg. 88-101

Nahalka I., Torgyik J. (2004): Megközelítések: roma gyerekek nevelésének egyes kérdései. Budapest, Eötvös József Kiadó

Philip Noden (2000): Rediscovering the Impact of Marketization: dimensions of social segregation in England's secondary schools, 1994-1999, In: British Journal of Sociology of Education, vol. 21, No. 3, pg. 371-390

Osler, Audrey; Hill, John (1999): Exclusion from School and Racial Equality: an Examination of Government Proposals in the Light of Recent Research Evidence, In: Cambridge Journal of Education, vol. 29, No. 1, pg. 33-62

Puporka and Zádori (1999): The Health Status of Romas in Hungary, The World Bank: Washington DC

Radó Péter (2003): The role of Hungarian country public education funds in the development of the primary and secondary education of Roma pupils. Budapest, Open Society Institute

Radó Péter (2001): Bevezetés az oktatáspolitikai elemzésbe: romák és az iskola. (Introduction to Educational Policy Analysis: Roma and the Schools) In: Iskolakultúra, December.

Radó Péter (1997): Jelentés a magyarországi cigány tanulók oktatásáról. Budapest, MEH

Radó Péter: Developing Policies for the Education of Roma Students. www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf

Raffel, Jeffrey (1998): A historical dictionary of school segregation and desegregation; Westport, Conencticut: Greenwood Press

Reid, I. (1997): Inequality and Education in Britain in the 1990s: a diagnosis and prescription, In: Research in Education, 57, pg: 12-24

Jordan Rickles and Paul M. Ong, Shannon McConville and Doug Houston (2001): Relationship Between School and Residential Segregation at the Turn of the Century, In: Metropolitan America in Transition, UCLA

Ringold, Dena (2000): Education of the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges, World Bank Report

Saporito, Salvatore (2003): Private Choices, Public Consequences: Magnet School Choice and Segregation by Race and Poverty, In: Social Problems, May, pg. 181-203

Manuela Sofia Stănculescu, Ionica Berevoescu (eds.) (2004): Sărac lipit, caut altă viață, Editura Nemira

Surdu Mihai (1999): Roma Children in Romania, Save the Children – UNICEF

Toso Doncsev (ed) (2000): Measures taken by the state to promote the social integration of Roma living in Hungary. Budapest, MEH Nemzetiségi és Kisebbségi Osztály

Walters, B. Pamela (2001): Educational Access and the State: Historical Continuities and Discontinuities in Racial Inequality in American Education, In: Sociology of Education, vol. 74, Extra Issue of Thought: Sociology of Education at the Dawn of the 21st Century, pg. 35-49

Wilson, Duncan (2004): Minority Rights in, to and through Education. A critical evaluation of the first results of the monitoring of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities 1998-2003

OSCE (2000) Report on the situation of the Roma and Sinti in the OSCE Area. Geneva, Switzerland: Organization for Security and co-operation in Europe, High Commissioner on National Minorities.

New Perspective for Learning. Insights from European Union funded Research on Education and Training. Education, Inequalities and Social exclusion, Issue nr. 6, September 2003

Rural Education in Romania: Conditions, Issues and Development Strategies, Institute of Educational Studies, 2002

ERRC Country Report: State of Impunity: Human Rights Abuse of Roma in Romania, September 2001, pg. 104-120. Http://errc.org.

Council of National Minorities. The Education System in Romania: Tuition in the Languages of National Minorities in the 1996-1997 School Year, 1998

Education system in Romania. CNROP Bucuresti, 2000

Indicators regarding Roma Communities from Romania, Institute for Quality of Life, Bucharest, Expert Publishing House, 2002.

Roma Children in Romania. Research Report. Bucuresti, Salvati copiii – Romania, 2000

Roma in the Educational Systems of Central and Eastern Europe, European Roma Rights Center, Summer 1998

Romanian Education System. National report. Bucharest, Ministry of Education and Research, Institute for Educational Sciences, 2001

The Participation to Education of the Roma Children. Problems, Solutions, Actors. Research Report. Bucharest, Ministry of Education and Research, Institute for Educational Sciences, The Institute for Research on the Quality of Life, UNICEF, 2002

Country Report, European Conference of The Ministers of Education, Ministry of Education, Research and Youth, Berlin, 2003, www.edu.ro

Thematic Reviews on Education Policy, OECD, 2002

Decentralizing Education in Transition Countries, Case Studies from Central and Eastern Europe, March, 2001, World Bank Institute

The Desegregation of "Romani Schools" - A Condition for an Equal Start for Roma, Conference Report, Sofia, Bulgaria, 2001, ERRC, OSI

Internet:

http://www.cnrop.ise.ro
http://www.edu.ro
http://www.romania.maronet.net/
http://www.see-educoop.net

Bibliography on Social networks and Economic Integration

Achim, Viorel (1998) Ţiganii în Istoria României. Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti

Blau, Peter (1964) *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York: John Wiley and Sons

Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) "The Forms of Social Capital" In: Richardson, John (ed.): *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York

Bridges William P.; Wayne J. Villemez (1986): "Informal Hiring and Income in the Labor Market" In: *American Sociological Review*, nr. 51, pg. 574-582.

Brown, Philip; Crompton, Rosemary (2001) „Gazdasági átstrukturálódás és társadalmi kizárás". In Lengyel György - Nagy Beáta (eds.): *Az európai integráció társadalmi feltételei és hatásai.* Aula, Budapest.

Burawoy, Michael; Krotov, Pavel; Lytkina Tatyana (2000) "Involution and Destitution in Capitalist Russia". In *Ethnography*, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, vol 1(1), pg. 43-65.

Burtea Vasile (1996) "Marginalizare istorică şi cooperare socială în cazul populaţiei de rromi", În: Revista de Cercetări Sociale, 3, pg. 110

Clarke, Simon (1999) *New Forms of Employment and Household Survival Strategies in Russia*. Coventry: Centre for Comparative Labour Studies, University of Warwick

Coleman, J. S. (1988) "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital" In: *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 94, Issue Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure.

Emigh, Rebecca Jean; Szelényi Iván (eds.) (2001) *Poverty, Ethnicity and Gender in Eastern Europe during Market Transition*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press
Foley, M. W.; Bob Edwards (1999) "Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?" In: *Journal of Public Policy* 19(2), pg. 141-173

Gans, Herbert (1988) *Middle American Individualism. The Future of Liberal Democracy*. International Edition, The Free Press

Gouldner, A. W. (1960) "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement" In: *American Sociological Review* 25(2)

Granovetter, M. (1991) "A gyenge kötések ereje. A hálózatelmélet felülvizsgálata", In: Angelusz Róbert; Tardos Róbert (eds.) *Társadalmak rejtett hálózata*, Magyar Közvéleménykutató Intézet, Budapest

Holton, J. Robert (1992) *Economy and Society*. Routledge, London and New York
Jencks, Christopher; Peterson, Paul E. (eds.) (1996) *The Urban Underclass*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution

Kingston-Mann, Esther; Mixter, Timothy (eds.) (1991) *Peasant Economy, Culture and Politics of European Russia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
Ladányi János (1993) „Patterns of Residential Segregation and the Gypsy Minority in Budapest". In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 17

Ladányi János; Szelényi Iván (2001) „A roma etnicitás "társadalmi konstrukciója" Bulgáriában, Magyarországon és Romániában a piaci átmenet korszakában". In *Szociológiai Szemle*, nr. 4, pg. 85-95.

Marantzidis, Nikos; Mavrommatis, George (1999) „Political Clientelism and Social Exclusion. The Case of Gypsies in the Greek Town of Sofades". In *International Sociology*, December, vol 14(4), pg: 443-456

Mingione, E. (1987) "Urban Survival Strategies, Family Structure and Informal Practices" In: M. P. Smith and J. R. Foggin (eds.) *The Capitalist City. Global Restructuring and Community Politics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwood ltd. Pg. 297-322

Moen, Phillis; Wethington, Elaine (1992) "The Concept of Family Adaptive Strategies". In *Annual Review of Sociology*, nr. 18, pg. 233-251.

Narayan, Deepa (1999) *Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty*. Policy Working Paper 2167. Policy Research Department, Washington DC: World Bank)

Narayan, Deepa (2000) *Voices of the poor. Can anyone hear us?* New York: Oxford University Press

Okamura, J. (1981) "Situational Ethnicity". In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 4(4), pg. 452-465

Okely, J. M. (1983) The Traveller Gypsies, Cambridge University Press.

Péter László (2003) "Új szegények túlélési stratégiái". In *Erdélyi társadalom*, vol.1(1), April, pg. 25-50.

Polanyi, Karl; Arensberg, C. M.; Pearson, H. W. (1957) *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economy in History and Theory*, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois

Portes, A.; Landolt, P. (1996) "The Downside of Social Capital" In: *The American Prospect* nr. 26, pg. 18-21

Portes, A. (1995) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration. Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. New York: Russell Sage Publications

Putnam, Robert (1993): "Social Capital and Public Affairs" In: *The American Prospect*, Spring, 1-8.

Ringold, Dena (2002) *Roma and the Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges*. World Bank Report

Ringold, Dena (2002) "Poverty and Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: A View from the World Bank" In: *Extreme Poverty, Special issue of Roma Rights,* ERRC.

Sahlins, M. (1973) „Törzsek", In: *Vadászok, törzsek, parasztok.* Kossuth Könyvkiadó
Sandu, Dumitru (1999) *Spaţiul social al tranziţiei.* Iaşi, Polirom.
Spéder Zsolt (2002) *A szegénység változó arcai. Tények és értelmezések.* Budapest: Andorka Rudolf Társadalomtudományi Társaság, Századvég Kiadó

Sampson, Steven (1986) "The Informal Sector in Eastern Europe". In *Telos*, nr. 66, pg. 44-66.
Szelényi Iván (2001) "Szegénység, etnicitás és a szegénység "feminizációja" az átmeneti társadalmakban". In *Szociológiai Szemle*, nr. 4, pg. 4-12.

Stewart, Michael (1997) *The Time of the Gypsies*. Boulder, Westview
Tarkowska, Elzbieta (2002) "Poverty and Education. Risk of "inheritance" of poverty in the former state farms in Poland". In *Polish Sociological Review*. 138

Tarrow, S. G. (1967) Peasant Communism in Southern Italy, New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press

Teşliuc, Cornelia-Mihaela; Pop Lucian; Teşliuc, Emil Daniel (2001) *Sărăcia şi sistemul de protecţie socială*, Bucureşti, Polirom

Tilly, Charles "Relational Origins of Inequality". In *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 1(3): pg. 355-372.

Verdery, Katherine (1996) *What was Socialism, and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey

Zamfir, Cătălin (ed.) (1994) *Dimensiuni ale sărăciei*. Bucureşti, Editura Expert

Zamfir, Cătălin (2001) „Situaţia sărăciei în România. Dimensiuni, surse, grupuri de risc în iunie 2001". In *România Socială* 2

Wilson, K. Everett (1996) *Rules, Roles and Relationships*. The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois

Williams, Patrick (1982) "The Invisibility of the Kalderash of Paris: Some Aspects of the Economic Activity and Settlement Patterns of the Kalderash Rom of the Paris Suburbs". In:

Salo, Matt T. (ed.) *Urban Gypsies. Special Issue of Urban Anthropology* 11 (3-4), pg. 315-346.

Wilson, W. J. (1987) *The Truly Disadvanteged. The Inner City, The Underclass, and the Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Part III: Two Case Studies on the Turkish Community in Germany and the Moroccan Community in Italy

1. Empirical Part, Germany - Introduction

We showed in the literature review that the Turkish population in Germany is threatened with exclusion in particular on the employment market. Reasons for this can be seen in the general economic situation and changes in the world of work. The former *"Gastarbeiter"* and to some extent their children too are mostly unskilled workers with meagre qualifications. Since at the moment jobs in industry are increasingly being cut, job opportunities for this group of people are also on the decrease. Meagre qualifications constitute a risk factor for long-term unemployment. In addition, there are discriminatory mechanisms at play in matters of personnel selection where certain people are disadvantaged. For this, and other, reasons the level of education and the behaviour towards education of the Turkish population is increasingly being to the attention of social research and social politics. As described above, there is evidence of tendencies towards exclusion. Children and adolescents with a migration background are highly likely to leave school early, do not attend schools/colleges of further education, and only in exceptional cases go to university.

The empirical work is connected with these two complex topics. The question was, whether and in what way networks and network resources (can) contribute to integration of migrants in the employment market and what function they have concerning coping with or overcoming unemployment. Individual and collective networks can also contribute to the preservation or change of existing practices in the area of education and development. In the conversation with those affected, therefore, we should work out how learning and education are represented in their world and how the community could achieve improvements in the education situation with their networks.

The empirical phase was subdivided into three steps. Firstly, in May 2006 we carried out 22 individual interviews in the districts of Kreuzberg and Neukölln in Berlin. The aim was to gain up-to-date information about individual networks, resource exchange, information channels and social support. In addition, we asked questions about the role of the Turkish community in Berlin with their migrant self-help organizations, as well as the involvement of the Turkish and German-Turkish population in these. Based on the results of the interviews, two group interviews were conducted with representatives of Turkish organizations. Alongside the discussion about the results of the individual interviews, the perspective was extended to the situation of ethnic associations and establishments and their more formal relationships with each other and the outside world. Subsequently single interviews with experts from other migrant organisations were conducted at a later point in time. We aimed to light the Turkish community from different system perspectives onto various structural levels. Finally, the findings from the individual, expert, and group interviews were brought together and recommendations for action formed on the basis of them. The following gives a detailed explanation of the methods employed in and results gained from the empirical phase.

2. Individual Interviews: The Turkish Community in Everyday Life

2.1. Concept & Methods

In the first phase of the empirical work individual interviews were carried out. The aim was to glean information about individual networks of Turkish migrants in the Berlin districts of Kreuzberg and Neukölln. These networks should provide access to information about information flow, resource exchange and social support. The main idea behind the creation of the individual networks was the "Network Triangle" which was described in the Concept section, so that relationships within the local Turkish community, contact to Germans and links with transnational actors, especially in the homeland Turkey, could be taken into account. A connecting thread was development as the instrument for the individual interviews, which on the one hand encompassed the relevant themes, but on the other allowed the interview partners to express themselves in their own way (Witzel 1985).

The interviews were conducted in the Berlin districts of Kreuzberg and Neukölln, since these high levels of foreign residents and unemployment. At the end of May 2006 some 305,797 people lived in Neukölln. Of these, 100,000 came from a migrant background (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 2006). The proportion of foreign citizens in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg was 22.5% at the same time (http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm). The interviews were conducted in an area characterized by a varied alternative scene with many students and a high proportion of Turkish migrants: 48.8% of the people living there are of non-German origin, most come from Turkey (http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/quartiere-im-ueberblick/friedrichshain-kreuzberg/). The problems in these residential areas are amongst others poverty, high level of aggression and inclination towards violence, and the drugs scene. Many middle class families are leaving the area to be replaced by "Neuberliner" from other countries, which leads to integration and language problems. Many parents leave the district when their children reach school age: there is correspondingly a predominance of migrant children at the primary schools.

In order to establish initial contacts with the local Turkish population, some migrant establishments were contacted, asking if they could make contact with Turkish migrants or ordinary members. The interviews were conducted by three people from the University of Dortmund: one german male academic as well as two female student assistants, whose mother tongue was Turkish. This cultural background was a distinct advantage, with personal and linguistic distances soon being bridged. Moreover, it made it possible to hold conversations in Turkish.

A total of 22 interviews were carried out. One aim was to gain a high level of heterogeneity regarding place of residence, age, and gender, in order to maintain the most varied perspectives and interpretive patterns. The exact composition of the interviewees is as follows: of the 22 interviews conducted, 15 partners were male and seven female; 12 people came from Kreuzberg, 10 from Neukölln. The age range lay between 16 and 53 years. The interviews were conducted in very different locations. These ranged from private flats, to a youth facility, a Cemevi[83], a playground, public squares, teahouses[84] and a facility for girls. It was generally not a problem to find participants.

The evaluation was done in accordance with the procedure described by Mayring (1993).

---

[83] Cemevi: the Cemevi serves as religious establishment for Allevites, in which they practise their rituals, which are different from other Muslims in mosques. It also functions as a meeting point and offers various courses.

[84] Tea houses are meeting places exclusively for (Turkish) men, where they drink tea, play various games and share their thoughts.

Firstly, nine distinctive, particularly productive interviews were chosen to be transcribed and evaluated. This meant that relevant categories could be quickly defined, which were gradually developed as they were applied to the other interviews. These categories were based on employment and education, in which exclusion is manifested, and the description of the individual networks. It soon became apparent that further subdivisions were necessary. For example, differences were made between general utterances regarding networks and personal relationships of networks in the place of residence or district, work-related networks and leisure time ones they regarded as important.

The following gives details of the results for the areas of work, education and individual networks, and how they emerge from the category system and the case comparison.

2.2. Education

Education was a very charged subject about which most interviewees made very detailed statements. Overall, the German education system was judged as becoming worse and suffering from many shortcomings. Criticism was aimed at the size of classes, which in the districts of Neukölln and Kreuzberg are faced with the additional burden of having a migrant population of over 90%.

> *"quality education and edification is lacking in the schools of Kreuzberg and Neukölln. How is the hoped for integration of foreign pupils to be achieved when schools only consist of foreigners? With whom are they supposed to integrate? With other foreigners?"*

One schoolgirl went straight to the point by saying "we don't learn anything in school anyway". Some criticized teachers for having no understanding for them and that their future was of no interest to them. Frequent absence from lessons appears to be a result of demotivation and a lack of perspectives among pupils. Others admitted that they did not value their school education and that they let themselves be distracted from "the wrong type of friends" and misled into truancy. They often had no support from their family environment. Due to their own poor education the parents were not in the position to help their children with their homework. If at all, then older cousins were asked for help. Interviewees who were still of school age indicated that they had no German friends at school, which meant that they spoke poor German and rarely had the opportunity to form relationships with Germans at school.

A clear distinction can be made between the way these problems are dealt with by parents who have work, are financially independent and themselves have good school qualifications, and those who have a low level of education, have experienced financial crises and have suffered the effects of unemployment. The first group, which was disproportionately represented by Allevite[85] interviewees, laid great value on their children's vocational training, wanted to offer them a stimulating environment, and tried to support them by means of extra private lessons. The second group were more often than not lacking in linguistic competence, knowledge of the education system and financial solutions for eradicating deficits by means of coaching. This means that they can not evaluate the success of their children and therefore not plan their development. This statement is underpinned by an example, where the parents sent their daughter to a *Hauptschule* (= sec. mod.) because she wanted to be with her friends, even though she had been recommended for the *Gymnasium* (= grammar school). It was not rare for interviewees of the second and third generations to anticipate moving away from the two

---

[85] Allevites: in addition to Sunnis and Schiites, Allevites are part of the Islamic religious community. They represent the second largest group of Muslims in Turkey after the Sunnis. Mainly as a result of political persecution the Allevites migrated to Germany in the 1970s and 1980s.

districts as soon as they wanted to start a family in order to make it possible for their children to benefit from a better training course with future prospects.

2.3. Employment

When asked about how they went about finding work, the interviewees mentioned all the German institutions such as the "*Arbeitsagentur*" (employment agency) or the "*Jobcenter*". Both establishments were treated with scepticism however, when it came to helping them actually find a job. They had much more confidence in personal contacts: "Even if you've been to university or have done an apprenticeship, you really need contacts, someone in the company that you know". Jobs were often found through friends, acquaintances or parents who had contacts with potential employers. This applied to the search for a training place too. It is striking that Turkish migrants are more inclined to work in Turkish companies thanks to personal contacts. Working for relatives usually means poorly paid work as assistants, without a contract, in the gastronomy sector or in commerce and industry. Younger job and training seekers make more use of the Internet, make more active approaches to companies and businesses and try to get a foot in the door through work experience placements.

It was the younger ones too, who stressed the importance of their own vocational training: "We cannot start work without being trained. That is to say, not go to work". They understand that a "Hauptschulabschluss" is hardly sufficient for landing a qualified job, that it is becoming generally more difficult to find a training place, and that the demands on the applicants are increasing. Older interviewees, above all those of the first and second generations, realized that they had almost no chance now of finding a job with their low level of qualification, and displayed signs of resignation.

Some interviewees felt they were at a disadvantage compared with German workers. German workers would take preference over Turkish ones. This was however seldom an open occurrence, but an underlying one:

> "The reason why I have not been able to find work for a long time is because I am foreign. It doesn't matter to which company I go, I just have the feeling that they would rather employ a German".

One interviewee reported how it was made clear to him that the company had decided that applicants from certain streets had no chance.

> ".... I also asked why and so I talked about it with them and they kept saying - Turkish citizen and you live in Kreuzberg, that's not so bad, but directly on Adalbertplatz, we can't take anyone from there, that's from the top, that's been decided, they don't take any workers who live there, and so ... ".

There are many different ways of dealing with the search for work, unemployment and finding sources of income. While some actively looked for work, others had already given up hope. The personal networks were the main sources of support. They offer support ranging from help with the job search to financial assistance. It was the first and second generations who in the past had invested money in the purchase of properties and land and now drew income from these investments. By doing so they also helped their progeny. Those who had no access to these networks and transactions often turned to illicit work, predominantly in the construction sector, as the only alternative ("I've got many connections, so I can get work everywhere"). It was the young men who saw a way out in the form of moving away from Berlin. Many were unable to take this step due to the importance to them of being close to their families, relatives and friends.

2.4. Community, Sub–Communities and networks

When asked if a community existed in the sense of a large Turkish one in Berlin or in Germany as a whole, the interviewees were exclusively of the opinion that such a thing did not exist. They were unanimous in the belief that there are no "Turks", but many different groupings according to origin, cultural background, religious persuasion etc., saying that this is how it was in Turkey, and so it is in Germany, too. Instead, most participants spoke of a kind of sub-community composed of family and friends. Some referred to the local associations and what they offered in terms of advice and leisure time pursuits. In the view of our interviewees, the community appeared much more to be a system of partly overlapping and partly separate very different sub-communities. They represent social spheres in which those questioned participate in different ways. These are:

• the extended family together with the circle of friends and acquaintances
• political organizations
• religion-based organizations and networks
• culture-promoting organizations
• advice centres and educational organizations
• sports clubs.

The extended family and the circle of friends and acquaintances:

A frequently occurring aspect of the interviews is the outstanding and important role of the family. Family is understood to be not just the immediate family, but the extended circle of relatives. Strong mutual support, protection and security are inextricably bound to the family. This network makes a decisive contribution to the well-being of its members. Those who take up a stable role in the family, for example by contributing financially to it, are the ones who appear to be content and feel at ease. The families often live in close proximity to each other. Most of those asked have uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, parents and siblings in the same residential area or municipality. As a rule, grown-up children stay at home until they get married. Turkish youths believe that German youths are thrown out of the family home. There is a certain ambivalence among young girls. On the one hand, they view staying at home with their parents as providing protection for a single woman, on the other, as unwelcome control. The spatial proximity to family and relatives leads to them spending a lot of time together, visiting each other, and growing up "amongst Turks". Turkish families give each other mutual support. While parents often provide financial support, the children help them when dealing with authorities or with linguistic barriers. In recent years, interviewees have witnessed a negative trend regarding mutual support. Moreover, older interviewees spoke of the conflict between the generations: parents no longer understand their children and a conflict of values often occurs.

In addition to the family, most of the interviewees are integrated into a network of friends and acquaintances. These are people that they know from school, work or leisure pursuits. Since the number of people in the extended family and their respective circle of friends is high, a vast network results, in which a multitude of information can be exchanged and many forms of support given. That these informal networks can be very significant to individuals is borne out in the observation that those participants who have a lack of friends were having a worse time than those with a large circle of family and friends. It is above all this circle of people who are approached for help when looking for a training place, work or somewhere to live. Younger ones who approached friends or family managed to find a training place, one found a flat with a Turkish landlord, others found a job in a Turkish company.

Different views were expressed about the cohesion within these networks. Some spoke of strong cohesion within their circle of family and friends. Regarding this, one interviewee spoke of the „mentality of mutual help", regarded by some as a widespread social norm among Turkish migrants. Others agreed in principle with this, but believed that this mutual support and cohesion were not as strong as in the past would become even weaker in the future. A small minority believed that there was no (more) cohesion at all. The negative consequences of this development were also stressed: delinquency and drug-taking (taken up especially by male youths as a reaction to the lack of prospects) and a sense of separation.

For all of the interviewees the family and the circle of friends and acquaintances represent a more decisive point of reference than the Turkish Community as such. It is the world that they are in direct contact with, that section of the social world that is meaningful in their subjective experience and which plays a crucial determining role in their everyday lives. This individual network is usually limited to the local area. Often, friends and relations not only live in the same district, but also in the immediate neighbourhood. The result is that many, especially those without work, never leave the area.

Besides local relationships, most have contacts with Turkish migrants throughout Germany. They have regular telephone contact, chat with each other on the internet, visit each other, or see each other at weddings. Even though we are dealing here predominantly with relatives, these contacts do form a relationship with the community, but in a different way. They go beyond the local connections and possibly leads to other resources being made available.

Political Organisations

Many political organizations exist in the Turkish community. This is not a reference to those who try to provide political representation for migrants in Germany, but to those organizations that base themselves on the politics in Turkey. None of the interviewees spoke of the former and few of the latter. To the latter belong, for example, the "Milli Görüs"[86] or the "Grauen Wölfe (grey wolves)"[87]. The PKK[88], which is actually illegal, must also be mentioned. These groups try to recruit new members. Although there was not much said about these groups in the interviews, they do seem to play a major role in the lives of some of them - but above all of others.

Religion-based Organisations and Networks

To name just two, the Allevite and Sunni associations belong to the religion-based networks. There are an indeterminate number of Sunni associations in Germany that

---

[86] The Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş e.V. (IGMG: in short Milli Görüs) is the second largest Islamic organization in Germany. According to the Office for the Defence of the Constitution this organization is characterized by a specific kind of Turkish nationalism and an ideologized interpretation of Islam. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milli_Goerues

[87] Graue Wölfe (Turkish: Bozkurtlar) is the name given to members of the extreme right wing Turkish Party of the Nationalistic Movement („Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi" MHP). They are also called "The Idealists" (Turkish: Ülkücüler. The name of the organization belonging to it in Germany is „Türkische Föderation". http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Graue_Woelfe

[88] The Kurdistan Workers' Party (Kurdisch: Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, Türkisch: Kürdistan İşçi Partisi, PKK) used to be Marxist-Leninist, but today is more of a Kurdish-separatist orientated underground organization with its origins in Turkey. It wages an armed struggle for cultural autonomy and for the preservation of Kurdish identity and culture. The original aim of the PKK was the creation of an independent Kurdistan. The organization and its followers are classified as a terror organization amongst others by Turkey, the EU and the USA. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arbeiterpartei_Kurdistans

have partly affiliated themselves with umbrella organizations. This includes the mosques as well as "Islam Ilimleri Merkezi"[89] and "DITIB"[90]. The Allevite associations are not so manifold and fewer in number. Their communal dwellings, the Cemevi, are just like the mosques, places for practising one's faith and the religious education of children and adults. Beyond their spiritual significance, the prayer centres and communal dwellings are often important social meeting places where people get together with friends, acquaintances and relatives to take part in activities and also make new contacts. Religion plays a great part in the lives of many of the interviewees, which means that these networks can be very important objects of identification for the individual.

Culture-promoting Oganizations

Cultural associations promote and sustain Turkish culture. Characteristic of them is the nurturing of customs, especially in music and dance, less evidently in language, literature and the plastic arts. Usually, people from particular Turkish regions or cities meet in the cultural centres. Other organizations, such as the Cemevi, do however have the aim of teaching the younger generation about their own culture. Many people are familiar with and use the services that are available there. Children also attend courses there. This should ensure that cultural practices are upheld and children learn about their cultural roots. At the same time, people undertake to provide a certain kind of protection for the children. The fear that they could "go off the rails" was present in many of the interviews. Many parents and others involved in children's upbringing try to protect them from a criminal milieu by involving them in structured leisure time activities. This means predominantly culture and sport.

Advice centres and educational establishments

There are many networks and organizations that provide help and assistance. The interviewees made a lot of references to them. Here too, the Cemevi appears to be very active, well-known, and, amongst Allevites at least, popular. Other, smaller, groups were also mentioned, such as Türk Egitim "Dernegi"[91], "El Ele"[92] or "Aufbruch Neukölln"[93]. The "Turkish Bond in Berlin-Brandenburg" (TBB[94]) was also mentioned in this connection. Some of these associations are represented only in parts of Berlin and predominantly active on a local basis. Others, such as the TBB are active throughout the city and beyond. Apart from providing services like language courses and tutoring, assistance is provided for dealing with authorities.

Sports Clubs

---

[89] Islamic Cultural Organization

[90] Diyanet Isleri Türk Islam Birligi (DITIB): Türkisch İslamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V. (Turkish Islamic Union of the Establishment for Religion, a registered Umbrella Organization). http://www.diyanet.org/

[91] The Türkischer Bildungsverein e.V. (a registered educational organization) was founded in 1999 with the aim of providing help to Turkish pupils and youths with the problems facing them at school and on training courses, to enable them to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills for them to become successful individuals both in terms of their careers and socially. http://www.linkes-berlin.de/wiki/index.php/Tuerkischer_Bildungsverein

[92] The AWO-Südost Kindertagesstätte (AWO South-West Day Nursery) "Hand in Hand - El ele" in Berlin. http://www.awo-suedost.de/cms/front_content.php?idcat=32

[93] Psychosoziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kinder, Jugendliche und Familien (KJFPSAG) Neukölln. Literally - psycho-social joint venture for children, young people and families. This is an amalgamation of all those working for and with difficult children and young people in the area.

[94] Independent umbrella organization of groups and individuals

A large number of the people questioned practise one form of sport or another and are members of sports clubs or associations. Apart from the football clubs, which are clearly the greatest in number, there are smaller clubs specialized in other forms of sport, such as karate. Private fitness studios, on the other hand, play a lesser role.

Children and adolescents are sent to sports clubs in order to instil them with a sense of discipline, since, according to some of those questioned; schools were incapable of doing this. The opinion prevails too, that sport can create important prerequisites for integration, because it contributes to increasing confidence levels, teaches young people to accept rules, trains them to behave, and creates an understanding for social structure. Above and beyond this, by keeping them occupied and by "educating them" sport, as with the cultural associations, is given the function of keeping especially the younger ones off the street and therefore indirectly away from delinquency.

These aspects of the community assume various functions. These include, for example, financial support, assistance in the search for accommodation and work, backing and help with orientation, the exchange of ideas between members, as well as support with regard to education and in the maintenance of culture. These topics are covered in more detail below.

2.4.1. Social nodes and symbolic places

The most important meeting places of the community, which were named by all interviewees, for men are predominantly teahouses, mosques or societies the members know from their close surroundings. A lot of different facilities of the migrant self-organisations are regarded as important places as well. Women rather meet in the neighbourhood, especially in the homes of relatives and friends, playgrounds and other places near their homes as well as in public parks and mosques and community centres. Youth centres are very important to a lot of adolescents.

Mosques and Cemevi: These are places of prayer and parish halls of the community. As there are most often residing in backyards, it is very difficult to detect what is going on there for outsiders. Apart from religious practices a brisk community life is taking place there with a lot of festivities and events for adults and children. Mosques and Cemevi are social intersections and multifunctional centres with widespread offers. Besides the religious teaching they provide help with homework, support the teaching of the German language and are active in the area of youth work. Women meet within the mosques to exchange news, to supervise the children, to sew, to do handicrafts and to cook for events together. They have meetings for seniors as well as afternoons for the elderly. Members in need can search for help and advice within the religious community. Mosques and Cemevi are in addition cultural centres in which cultural practices are trained and performed. Especially the allevetic Cemevi seem to focus on that.

Teahouses: Teahouses are reserved for men. Turkish women usually do not go to the teahouse. Teahouses or, as they are also called, "Teestuben", have the function of public houses. But they are often organised as registered societies. Predominantly no society activities take place there. Teahouses seem to have a bad reputation. Someone who goes there does not like it and does not want to admit it. Persons who attend these teahouses very often have a low educational background, just a few German language skills and tend to be in a Turkish environment. A lot of discussions and exchange of information take place in teahouses. But these informations do obtain as little reliable as there are often based on personal experience or rumors.

Youth centres: Youth centres are institutions where adolescents can meet and keep track of several activities under professional guidance. Besides a café there are normally

several leisure time facilities, e.g. various workshops, rooms for musicians to practice, sometimes even a sound studio, troupe, sport, dancing. The specific contents vary with the responsible body and institutional integration. Apart from educators social workers work in the most facilities. They most often provide different range of services and assist by academic, occupational and personal problems. The offers provided by the youth centres are much more the mere recreational activities and it is also used that way. For example, a girl reported she is practising for the qualifying examination for the police force. But they are mainly a place to meet up with friends and have fun.

Public parcs and playgrouns: Public parks are an essential part of the leisure time in a lot of Turkish inhabitants' lives. They gather there, e.g. at weekends for a BBQ with relatives and friends. Especially women meet there very often to go for a walk, to be out in the nature or simply to talk to others. Even the children feel comfortable there and play together. Playgrounds are of a particular interest for mothers with young children as it is very often the only opportunity to make new acquaintances with other mothers.

Cafés and restaurants: Especially the younger women talked about cafes. They gather there occasionally to talk or to meet friends, they would not invite back home. The meaning of restaurants became apparent in the men's narratives who had lost their work and had to suffer financial losings. Within the Turkish community it is common to invite friends and relatives out into a restaurant to wine and dine. This is not only because of the mutual amusements but it also presents a gesture, which is linked to the social standing.

2.4.2. Functions of the Community and its networks

Furthermore, the question arises about other functions of the community and its networks, which were not directly brought to light by the interviewees. This is concerned above all with their function as creators of identity, and the attachment and affiliation to national and transnational subsystems.

Identity

Various outlooks were expressed in the interviews in respect of national identity:

- Some of those questioned regarded themselves as completely Turkish or completely German.
- Others perceived themselves to be German as well as Turkish,
- others saw themselves as being neither German nor Turkish.

This is a demonstration of two different views: The „homeless" draw a negative picture of their situation, whereby they claim to be cast out and not welcome in both societies – the German and the Turkish. It is significant here that especially those who have no work or training place do not identify themselves with either country. They feel let down by both sides. Integration in Germany was described as being questionable or non-existent. While other groups of migrants were granted German citizenship much quicker and found it easier to get work, the Turks felt that they were stuck with their status as *Gastarbeiter* (people with only temporary permission to work in Germany). They felt like second-class citizens in Germany, more exploited and discriminated against than acknowledged and accepted. Accounts of experiences of discrimination, for example by German colleagues at work, school pupils or strangers support this.

As a contrast the second subgroup seems to be able to identify with both countries. This kind of double orientation showed up in statements at the football world championships, how difficult it was for some to take sides for Germany or Turkey in a game, for example.

These persons have integrated both nationalities into their self-conception. They perceive culture and nationality in a differentiated way not being prepared to give up their cultural roots - necessary for their integration into German society – should that be an option. Their philosophy appears to be to live their individual lives making the best of both worlds. This includes making use of intercultural competence, for example, the ability to reflect on facts from both perspectives. They regard themselves as successful and integrated into German society, they are ambitious and optimistic. Some take pride in being perceived by youths as leading examples of how to integrate into German society without denying one's cultural background.

Belonging

Being a Turk in Germany does not necessarily mean being integrated in a (sub-) community. Nearly everyone has got a few relatives and friends nearby, but participation in public life is much different.

The majority of our interview partners are engaged to some extent in local associations, mostly as members who take up everything on the offer, whilst others are actively involved in honorary positions. The members of this group are well informed about the Turkish associations, their aims and activities, and they enjoy their work. They also appreciate offers of advice and help, such as support in administrative duties, in cultural disputes and cases of discrimination. Support for children, tutoring after school and extra lessons in music, sports, religion, Turkish culture and other subjects help to develop capacities which parents would not be able to provide.

Others, however, have only little knowledge of life in associations or reject it generally, mostly because they assume a relation to religious or political groups not conform with their own ideas. They deny the integrative function of associations, because integration could only be achieved if people of different nationalities worked together.

It is striking that especially those interviewees who had been unemployed for a longer time (4 – 8 years) and enduring comparatively low social standards, were least involved in this type of public life. On the one hand this helps save costs (contributions, fees, etc.) but on the other hand the competence of these organisations was questioned. Some interviewees denied any potential to influence politics or support individuals. They blame a lack of solidarity and co-operative attitude amongst Turkish migrants and their "life-by-themselves", which means the withdrawal into private life, into the core family. The place to meet other people is the tea house. And in this situation especially women do not leave their home or closest living environment any more, in order to save money, so they say. Consequently their language skills and all competences in dealing with German society are worsening. One of the women described her spiritual condition as bad, because it was not beneficial for her never to leave the house.

All in all the feeling of belonging in this group is restricted to a narrow circle of family members and friends. The Turkish community, including the local one, seems to have lost its meaning for them. On the contrary, those persons who are in work and financially secure, are usually also integrated in the public life of the Turkish community. Work and sufficient income seem to decide about exclusion or participation, directly or by means of social identity and self-conception.

2.4.3. Transnational Relations: Contact with the country of origin

Informal contacts to relatives and acquaintances in Turkey prevail in the transnational relations of Turkish migrants. Only few interview partners stated that they had relations to

other countries.

Just under a quarter of our interviewees have intensive contacts to relatives or friends who live permanently in Turkey. This happens via telephone calls or chats. A lot of people go to Turkey on their vacation to visit their relatives. The frequency of visits is between one to two years and seems to depend on the particular income. One of the female interview partners is borrowing money from a friend in order to fly to Turkey every second year, paying of her debts in the meantime. In the time between the visits contact is kept up by telephone – younger people do it by Internet and chat. Younger interview partners who are not born in Turkey feel alienated when visiting Turkey. Whereas older migrants still have a strong emotional bond to their home country always having the return in the back of their minds. The latter however will be postponed or cancelled – a tribute to being accustomed to the present environment of living and duties towards their children.

Besides visiting relatives Turkish migrants also travel to tourist destinations in Turkey in order to relax. New acquaintances are made with other Turkish people living in Germany.

It is important to almost everyone to keep in touch with Turkey, although some don't even have or scarcely have personal relationships over there. The media plays an important role in that. There is a great interest in the news from Turkey, which is satisfied through newspapers and Internet sites written in the Turkish language. This is also true for young people who never lived in Turkey.

In the course of time the first generations of migrants have acquired land and estates in Turkey. Profits from properties and sales are floating back to Germany. They are either used to keep up a certain standard of living in times of unemployment or low income, or in order to support the following generations.

2.4.4. Contacts in the German Host Country

The question regarding relations with Germans revealed a wide range from no contacts at all to "a lot of German friends". Friendships and acquaintances had developed from common school visits, to neighbours, at work or to former German colleagues. In some cases there are intensive contacts and lively exchange. There seem to be no ethnical barriers, which could impede co-existence, but much evidence of cultural exchange (cooking recipes, education of children and other everyday business, values and attitudes) joint ventures and lively neighbourhoods.

Important to be mentioned was the fact that – especially in Neukölln – more and more Germans moved away, this made contact to Germans more difficult. For students and newcomers the small number of Germans in the districts is a disadvantage, because the learning of good German was impeded. If Turkish migrants had German friends and acquaintances the relations were comparatively superficial. They would go to the disco together and say hello in the street because they had known each other in former days.

The number of contacts was stated to be restricted to between one and five people in most cases. Some interview partners stated cultural diversities to be the reason for fewer relations between Turkish migrants and Germans, for instance "they are like different human beings, so, I can't explain that...". As far as informal contacts are concerned there seem to be "moments of termination". The first "moment" is related to the time at school. During adolescence the relations to German children in the neighbourhood become less intensive. In contrast to the years of childhood when excursions or holidays were carried out together, these activities cease gradually with increasing age. The next "moment" occurs after school when contacts only happen sporadically to few people - if there had been any Germans left in class.

Another group in question are either middle-aged unemployed or retired migrants. With the loss of work the start of retirement relations to Germans decrease drastically.

In former times daily conversation or occasionally joint activities were carried out, whereas in later times there would be a concentration on the Turkish environment. Thus Turkish migrants without children or without work or in retirement would, before all the others, be in danger of being cut off the German host society.

Asked about German institutions, candidates usually stated employment office. Even though it is frequented for legal duties, our interview partners do not expect reliable help on their job search. Besides, at these institutions there are contacts with doctors, authorities – e.g. Foreigner's Registration or Youth Welfare Office, schools, and occasionally to German Sport Clubs.

2.4.5. Networks with differing functions

Networks can be distinguished according to their functions for their members, which will be described in the following. Furthermore the cohesion of networks and the feelings of belonging of the participants will be evaluated. We shall also illustrate to what extent the network is open or closed to the outside world and in contact with other networks. Finally we shall describe what type of resources the networks hold for the community.

2.4.6. Material Networks

The material network is characterized by the allocation of finances. The users of this network receive money or securities for loans required for concrete projects (home, removal, purchases etc.) or grant the same to other persons. This type of network is substantially sponsored by the sub-community of family and closer friends. Due to the close relationship the individual members get to know who is in need and vice versa may casually express the request for financial aid for themselves. The interviewed persons felt very obliged to family and friends, because for southerners it was simply "the done thing" to help each other and claim this help from others if necessary. This was not a matter of formal regulations, but of social norms and the responsibilities resulting from them. For the interviewees it is self-evident to help each other. The possibility of not supporting a member of the family or friends would not even be considered (if the personal financial means did not speak against it). And also the interview partners were convinced that they would to receive support should they need it.

Generally the material network operates locally. Obviously it is dependent upon close personal relationships with face-to-face contact, full knowledge of the living conditions and possibly strict control. Apart from that, some of those questioned receive financial aid from their home country or send it there. In this respect this network could be attributed with a transnational aspect, to what extent or intensity would have to be a matter of further investigation.

Due to its financial support facilities this network has definitely got the potential to overcome temporary emergencies and poverty. Financial straits are expressed and then cleared as best as possible. If and to what extent this network is able to avoid social exclusion cannot be deduced from the interviews. As a matter of fact, those interviewees who have more financial funds available and have a distinctive material network are better integrated in social life in general. By contrast, typical for interviewees who had been unemployed for a longer time are rather small networks of family and friends, in which they find only little support. Persons they expect help from are very often also unemployed and have only little money themselves. Such "unemployed networks" have no financial resources and no contacts to persons who could place them into work. And

due to the withdrawal from social life it is quite unlikely to build up new networks offering better chances. All that remains is usually mutual help in coping with everyday life, for example by lending items.

2.4.7. Non-material Networks

Non-material networks are charaterized by the exchange of opinions. Thus they offer a certain degree of orientation and moral support to the members. Due to the intensive exchange the members of this network create and secure a basis of values. The place of exchange is mostly the family and the closer circle of friends and acquaintances. Subject matters and problems in the coverage of this network (emotional support for financial, work-related and educational problems, exchange about disputable or controversial topics of politics, religion or social life etc) are rather dealt with in the closer social circle.

There was not really an indication of a discussion of a larger scope, in the sense of a community-wide exchange. Such conversations usually take place in public locals, e.g. in the tea house or in the Cemevi, but rather with their "own" people, close friends, and not so much with less familiar persons or strangers. And again a face-to-face exchange is more highly regarded and required than an exchange via "remote relationship", such as to other cities or beyond national borders.

The strength of non-material networks lies in the social support they give. This can be an essential resource for handling the experiences of poverty and exclusion and also offer orientation in many fields of life. This way non-material networks contribute to the spiritual stabilization of all participating persons.

2.4.8. Informational Networks

The informational network supplies its members mainly with news and useful information related to the management of daily life. The subjects which were quoted most were the search for a new flat or a new place of work, but also the search for a new employee, how to deal with the authorities etc. These networks go beyond the sub-community and the extended family. They also include German as well as Turkish institutions.

Again, we encounter the "self-evidence" of mutual co-operation within the informational network: if a member of the network knows someone who is looking for a specific qualification or object, this will be organized if this is within the scope of the network's capabilities. These "logistic" and informational functions of the networks are centred in the circle of family and friends, but also go perceptibly beyond it. This is when friends and acquaintances of the own relatives and friends and again the respective circle of acquaintances enter the game, along with various institutions and organizations. The latter vary in type, execution, substance and destination. German authorities are mentioned besides the teahouse, mosque or culture club and the "Nachbarschaftsladen"[95]. Here the users seek help and information, if there is the need to do so and the person is certain about the usefulness of the information.

The problems these networks may solve (or help to handle) are strongly bound to the place and the direct environment. No mention was made of support going beyond regional or state borders.

In individual cases, this network may assist extensively in avoiding or overcoming poverty. The access to knowledge about how to get a job or living accommodation, about

---

[95] Mostly publicly promoted facilities for the promotion and support of the neighbourly relations, mostly with Café, leisure offer and working groups.

the health system or about possibilities for education and to the mass of information in support of the management of everyday life can be decisive for the realization of an individual's aims in life. The same applies to the concrete recommendation for a job or the negotiation of a good value vehicle. This demonstrates clearly what Granovetter described as "the strength of weak ties".

On the collective level the advantages are also quite obvious: The Community as such stores knowledge and "learns". Comparing the first guest workers with the population of Turkish origin today reveals an enormous increase of knowledge about the German systems and their rules. The more surprising is the fact that in most cases this knowledge is not obtained at first hand but is to a great extent passed on by word of mouth.

2.4.9. Educative Networks

The educative network is very strongly orientated towards the education (mostly) of children. Those who maintain it seem to be especially keen on "getting the children off the street". The circle of family and friends is also strongly involved in the education of children. Grandparents, aunts and other relatives are helping to educate children and are very interested to impart their ideas and values. As a reinforcement of the familiar sub-community Turkish institutions in self-organization are called in to provide the children, in concentrated dose, with Turkish cultural assets. They learn to play typical instruments (e.g. the Saz), they learn folk dances and language, literature and religion is conveyed. The most comprehensive offer seems to be made by the Cem Evi, very often the mosque – and cultural clubs were mentioned. Most of these institutions also offer homework supervision and private tuition, because school and education are highly esteemed by parents. Besides the primary aim (conveying culture/religion) these clubs (and parents) are above all aiming to get children off the street and thus away from criminal elements. Many parents pay a high price for this because they have to become a member in a club and usually have to pay, in relation to their financial limits very high membership and attendance fees.

Due to this effort, the formal regulations and the undoubtedly close relationships amongst family and friends, the level of cohesion in these networks is very high. In the environment of the family this is a matter of fact, whereas in the clubs membership is also compulsory and binding.

Again the problems to be solved deal with local events (school, training courses, leisure time) and are in this sense not related with Turkey. None of the persons interviewed mentioned an educational influence from their homeland.

This type of network could be of great importance in overcoming poverty and exclusion, only not directly and immediately. Even though most participants pursue the intention of sending their children on the "right way" in order to provide them with a successful working future, this medium to long-term plan does not appear suitable for solving the financial problems of the present time. The educational network therefore can be said to aspire to overcoming exclusion in the future. If successful, this will translate into success at school and in the further education of the present and the following generations

2.5. Summary: Dealing with social exclusion

Our interviewees gave us insight into an environment, which is affected by intensive familial and kinsman like relationships, cohesive networks of friendships and a close bonding to the place of residence. These local bindings are their most important social resources. They help through times of social insecurity, emotionally and practically. As

an example, most interviewees find their training and jobs with the help of their own family, friends and acquaintances who also support them financially and socially in times of unemployment. These highly cohesive networks are affected by emotional closeness and mutual interdependencies and obligations. Therefore a feeling of security arises that one would receive the necessary support in situations of distress.

In contrast to this the consciousness of a Turkish community is just fairly developed. A lot of people could only think of their personal surroundings. A part puts emphasis on the heterogenic composition of the Turkish community in Germany as well as in Turkey. The first "we" only comes up when asking for a national identity: The common denominator is the "neither nor" and the "as well as". This demonstrates that "citizen with a Turkish migration background" is not an identity creating category with a positive connotation.

Another idea of community refers to the self-organisations and their activities. Although most contacts to our interviewees were established via several societies and institutions, they don't seem to be an essential part in the lives of the interviewees' families. It became apparent that especially the working and relatively well-off people take part in the societies' life, whereas the others have none or just exceptional contact with it. The permanent unemployed persons and their families showed a tendency for withdrawal into small, private circles. A lot of them, especially women, loose their networks within the Turkish community. Many come to the point they have to conclude they only know unemployed people.

The role of the self-organisations in the everyday life of the single migrants is reflected by their functions in the individual networks. On the hand they offer place for social life, to meet and they help to maintain a manifold, brisk public life. On the other hand the politic and religious organisations could be regarded as parts of ideally networks, sometimes even of educative networks, although there are a many institutions working in that area. The most important contributions of the self-organisations are the information and knowledge networks. Their clients seek there for advice and information and regard these institutions as external knowledge memories, information agencies and intersections to administrations and businesses. By doing so the organisations support the individual "survival strategies": they improve the quality and reliability of information, support education and personal development of children, adolescents and adults. They also mediate values and give orientation.

3. Focus groups

3.1. Preparation for the recruitment of participants

Firstly, 20 persons were invited to the focus groups. Three of them were contact persons in the previously carried out evaluation in Berlin Neukölln, who had signalled their availability for the following focus group discussion. The other persons were representatives of migration organisations from Berlin Neukölln. The migration organisations were selected to represent the following areas of public life: women, youth and educational, cultural, religious, sporting and business interests.

All migration organisations residing in Neukölln, clubs, associations and projects, which covered one or more areas mentioned were identified according to the brochure „Angebote für Migranten in Neukölln (4.Auflage)" edited by the representative for migration of the district Neukölln in April 2006. The organisations were chosen, contacted by telephone, previously informed about the project, and a general interest to take part was required. If interested the organisations or their representatives received a written

invitation by post. About 10 days later another they were contacted by telephone to repeat the invitation, the date was then either confirmed or rejected. After 11 definite confirmations of date the district managers were asked to send a migrant to take part in the discussion.

At the time of the focus group discussions only six people appeared. The reasons for the low feedback to our request to take part in the discussion was on the one hand an unfortunate date even though consequent within the course of the project – in the middle of the summer break with record high temperatures. On the other hand there would have been a certain reservation towards research and interviews in Neukölln right after the events around the Rütli school in spring 2006, which would also explain this low feedback.

The evaluation of transcribed focus group interviews resulted in six topic areas as follows:

1) The existence of a Turkish Community;
2) Family;
3) Networking / cooperation of migrant organisations with each other;
4) Scope of the work of clubs, societies and associations;
5) The forms of migrant organizations;
6) The forms of cooperation with German and international institutions and partners.

3.2. Turkish Community

According to the interview partners of the focus groups there is a Turkish community, which is articulating its interests in numerous clubs – in Berlin alone 280 – culturally, socially, politically, religiously and through sports. Accordingly the Turkish community is very heterogeneous and consisting of many minorities. Within the minorities the most famous and largest is the one of the Kurds.

The community is very large, though not very structured. Many small clubs keep themselves to themselves, only frequently working with others, and are rather separate from each other. For this reason some of the representatives of the focus groups are of the opinion that there is no closed unit and thus no Turkish Community.

Nearly all of the Turkish people have always been very poor. 40% of the Turkish people are unemployed and within the Turkish Community poverty is responsible for internal exclusion.

All in all this reveals that the professional and social position and also the informal and formal relation between the Turkish people can still be developed in economical and political matters.

The situation of education within the community:

Especially the children of the first generation of immigrants have the language skills, education and access to qualified professions. Belonging to the second and third generations they are increasingly to be found in professionally, politically and socially significant positions, due to their good education. Thus networks are created providing access to work and training for the younger and partly less qualified migrants. Family bonds in various companies help in finding a job. Sometimes parents and relatives are able to arrange a job for their children.

At the same time there are "networks of unemployment". These consist of Turkish-derived residents who only know other unemployed Turkish people and are not in the position to find a job even in an informal way.

3.3. Family

According to members of the focus groups there are usually strong control mechanisms within the families and only little interest in the school or professional progress of their children. Thus adolescents are strongly bonded in family structures. And there are hardly any isolated families. Family networks cover cities, regions and nations, generally spoken: within their own social networks and the according structures Turkish people are socially integrated in Germany.

Additionally, it must be noted that many uneducated families do not speak German. Their children are not able to visit a Kindergarden be it for financial reasons, a lack of information or just because they simply do not want this.

A lack of school and professional perspectives and a resulting general feeling of having no chances in life – even among adolescents with a school-leaving certificate – are transported into the families, to the brothers and sisters, and to the peer groups, who only develop an inner sense of resignation.

3.4. Networking / cooperation of migrant organizations

The discussion partners of the focus groups – all of them representatives of migration organisations and initiatives working for the interests of migrants – agreed that cooperation and networks as a part of migration work achieve more a common aim and that there is no competition between clubs and associations.

In the reality of integration and migration work there is great mutual support and cooperation without competition especially in the social area – and explicitly with regard to advice provision in the context of health, pensions and social politics.

Nevertheless some of the members of the focus groups criticized the egoistic views and actions of many clubs and associations (see below).

Many small clubs keep to themselves in the context of integration and migration work, only working partially together, resulting in separated and isolated work. Especially regional, cultural and educational clubs work for themselves as far as regional activities or support in the educational sector are concerned. One reason is seen in missing resources: for clubs, public and networking, which require financial means to cover the costs for offices, personnel and goods.

In the context of regional and national integration work there is no organizational structure for the various clubs, associations and initiatives as e.g. in the Jewish Community of Germany. And there is no exchange between the Turkish and Kurdish clubs and institutions. (A representative of a Kurdish club talked about his rejection by other clubs.)

Nevertheless more and more club are joining to form associations. More than ten years ago – in the mid 1990s – umbrella associations began to take shape. In Germany there were, for example, the Turkish Community in Germany and the Turkish Bund (Federation) Berlin Brandenburg as umbrella associations with numerous member clubs representing the social and political interests of the Turkish people living in Germany. Overall there are umbrella organizations that represent religious and sporting interests, also combining a great number of member clubs.

Generally the discussion partners of the focus groups agree that smaller clubs can profit from the political relations, which the larger, well organized associations have with

German and Turkish politics.

In the area of women-specific integration and project work forms of active professional cooperation and networking can be identified – in the regional, national and also in the international context and in the cooperation with Turkish NGO's.

As a result of the discussions it can be stated that in Germany a dynamic network of Turkish business people is organized in various umbrella organizations of different sizes.

Especially the umbrella organizations which represent the political, social and economical interests of the Turkish derived residents in Germany are – according to their own claims – leading and opinion-shaping organizations. They have – according to their own claims – important contacts to trade unions, economic associations, regional politicians, integration representatives and further key contacts.

3.5. Scope of the work carried out by clubs and associations and access to Turkish citizens

According to the partners of the focus groups Turkish derived residents do not have easy access to clubs. Reasons for this are lethargy, disinterest and a lack of participation in German life. This is accompanied by the parents' lack of education and a responding ignorance or information deficit concerning public life.

A great part of the integration activities of the work in clubs, associations and networks is motivation. Especially adolescents and their parents have to be convinced of the necessity of professional training that is aimed at professional integration. Project-related work in clubs is the field to inform about education and possible educational careers for the children. The aim is to reach the children and adolescents through advice for the parents. This information about the education system helps even badly informed parents, who despite all want to influence the professional career of their children.

Access to the target group is difficult because there are many clubs and the offer of advice appears irritating and seen by the advice seeker as confusing. And it is even more difficult due to the fact that the same activities, offers of advice and project work are proportionally taking place in the mosques and religious clubs, thus competing for their clients.

Access, and the working structures of clubs and associations have a strongly regional character. Access and contacts to migrants as well as the promotion and financing of the projects follow regional rules being usually promoted by the region.

In Kreuzberg, for example, projects are usually accepted more than in Neukölln because people are more motivated to use integration-related offers. The reason for this lies in the social and population structure – old migrants live side by side with Germans in Kreuzberg. Neukölln, on the contrary, is a mixture of heterogeneous and newly arrived nationals who have not built up neighbourly relations yet.

Generally spoken: the older the structures and established offers for migrants are, the better they will be accepted.

3.6. Forms of migrant organizations: clubs, projects, associations

According to the interview partners of the focus groups the function carriers and key persons in the clubs, associations and organizations primarily care for institutional advantages and only in the second place for possible help for persons with a migration

background. Another negative point is tough competition in acquiring money and projects. In this situation of competition usually the larger clubs and cross-regionally known associations are successful in the acquisition and carrying out of larger projects – accordingly smaller, local or regional clubs feel disadvantaged as far as the acquisition of public funds is concerned.

Project workers of the larger publicly sponsored clubs and initiatives and the representatives of larger clubs and associations are usually academics who were motivated by other members and now profit from their education and contacts. Smaller cultural and educational clubs work with honorary members from the neighbourhood.

The larger clubs and cross-regionally known associations are bonded with the German political parties – especially with the left wing, SPD and *Linkspartei* (Left Party) – also having members there. The former also have strong hierarchical structures and the representatives over value their impact and meaning for the Turkish Community.

3.7. Cooperation forms with German and foreign institutions and associations

There are explicit cooperative relations with clubs and institutions working for migrants and also involving migrants in the integration work. In the field of social work, forms of cooperation are maintained and developed with the large institutions.

Furthermore there are relations in the business and economic field with the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, German companies and employers associations, which are also maintained and developed.

International work relations were discovered in the field women-related projects. Project workers residing in Berlin are directing financial aid and specific knowledge for projects of women's work in Turkey. The aim is the promotion of women professionals in Turkey.

Finally the representatives of clubs and asssociations talked about cooperation and Europe-wide contacts to other Turkish clubs and associations. Explicitly the representatives of the umbrella organizations said they had developed their structures in foreign countries and had good cooperatives in Austria, Italy, Spain and France. Overall an umbrella organization participates in an international project that deals with the professional and social integration of Turkish adolescents in the participating countries.

3.8. Summary: Family networks, associations and umbrella organizations

Regarding Turkish derived migrants in the course of generations it seems to be the first generation which had opened the way for the following generations to achieve language, education and consequently entry to qualified professions. The members of the so-called "second" and "third" generation are those who can gain important professional, political and social positions due to their educational resources. Deciding on a profession and planning of careers was and is still supported by family networks. Contacts into various firms and branches are serving as door-openers to find a training position or job for relatives, friends and especially their own children.

At the same time there has always been an over-proportional share of young and old migrants who have no access to either professional training or work. The percentage of those has been increasing steadily for years (see Berufsbildungsbericht, 2005). According to participants of the focus groups the number of all Turkish-derived persons is about 40%. This group cannot fall back on family or professional networks to support entry into professional careers. On the contrary – migrants without jobs usually form

networks in which the state of unemployment is not overcome but ignored or just discussed.

Furthermore, it has to be mentioned that family networks are responsible for the fact that nearly every Turkish migrant residing in Germany is integrated into one of these typical networks. This is the reason why on the one hand social integration is easier and on the other hand social exclusion due to unemployment may be overcome or at least be endured in the group.

There are very heterogeneous opinions and estimations concerning joint work, forms of cooperation and the formal and informal bonding of clubs, umbrella organizations, initiatives and migration organizations which act integratively in different cultural, economic and social fields. But all participants agree that the majority of integrative work takes place in the sector of education and qualification. There is no uniform image of the different forms of cooperation and networks coming out of the analysis of discussion in the focus group.

But there are two antagonistic views: on the one hand the representatives of the umbrella organizations confirm that these associations combine a great number of smaller clubs. From their point of view this legitimises them to talk about a Turkish community and represent it politically. On the other hand the representatives of the smaller, locally active clubs point out that not all of the clubs are integrated into the structures of the umbrella organizations and partly do not want to be part of it. Finally, the discussion about the representative qualities of umbrella organizations shows a mirror image of the diversities within the one Turkish Community.

The greater number of smaller clubs and exclusively locally acting initiatives and their programmes show great disorders. This diversity is completed by additional measures and offers of religious clubs and mosques. Overall the programmes are not made public and accordingly they are not very well known and widespread.

Generally all participants of the discussion agree that all clubs, initiatives, projects and organizations can profit from the degree of recognition and the national and international political and economical contacts of the larger umbrella organizations. The migrants who work there - usually well educated migrants of the third generation – have the educational resources to represent the Turkish Community adequately towards the German majority. In this context the efforts of the larger umbrella organizations in regard to networks and representation are understood to be sensible and profitable for the Turkish Community.

Nevertheless on the side of the smaller, locally acting clubs and initiatives there are still sentiments against the umbrella organizations and their own claim to representing A Turkish Community. These sentiments are based on the successful acquisition of public funds that are mostly given to the umbrella organizations thus helping to arouse desires.

4. Interviews with single experts: the Turkish community seen from representatives of the migrants self-organisations

The third interviewing wave was conducted in the state of North-Rhine-Westfalia, where the main part of the Turkish migrants in Germany life. Our aim was to broaden the spectrum of opinions we had collected within the focus groups in Berlin. This time single interviews were conducted to give more room for own opinions and an elaborate presentation of opinions.

Six organisations respectively societies which work in the area of education, employment, politics and religion were selected. The Turskish colleagues of the

University of Dortmund achieved by already existing contacts or via personal approach the access to those institutions. The interviewees were managing director, speakers, active members or belonged to the executive board. One of our interviewees is member of the management of two organisations and therefore provided us with information on both.

Activity fields of the questioned organizations:

Main target	regional	supraregional
education	Turkish education center	Multicultural forum, adult education
work and labour market	association of self-employed migrants	Federation of the democratic working men's associations
politics	Member of the socialist party – SPD - and the foreigner advisory board	Federation of the democratic working men's associations
religion	Mosque association	

4.1. The community concept: Unity in diversity?

Each of our interview partners confirmed the existence of a Turkish community in Germany. However, we have come across different comprehensions of the term "community", most agreeing that there is not just the *one* Turkish community to speak of. According to some of those questioned the Turkish community in Germany is represented by the Turkish clubs and associations and their networks. The umbrella organizations are responsible for the organization of these networks. They have a coordinating function and operate as a central contact terminal for all participating clubs/associations.

A second comprehension of community is based on the close to three million Turkish people living in Germany representing this community. This understanding of a Turkish community does restrict itself to just clubs/associations and self-organizations. In addition, networks are formed by individual community members and their personal contacts. The functions of autonomy and independence were especially emphasized, as well as the resulting possibilities of mutual support and the self-support of the community with goods, work places and information. Also emphasized was the risk of developing a "parallel society" beside the host country, which could evoke mistrust within in the host country's society.

In another conception associations and persons with a similar background form individual communities. These communities are distinguished by their notional orientation. The associations may be politically, culturally or economically orientated or provide a basis for people of a certain city or area of Turkey. According to this concept the different "communities" or networks are distinguished by their religious beliefs and political orientations. Here a traditional-conservative political orientation of some self-organizations and mosque associations combined with an intense inclination towards Turkey is regarded as an impediment for integration in Germany. It is particular alarming that a growing number of adolescents are geared to these organisations.

Other institutions and networks do not belong to a particular religion or political orientation. They emphasize openness to all interested persons, even for migrants of other nationalities. Many of them offer help and try to convey Turkish culture. The culture or local associations for example want to enable people from certain regions or villages to preserve their culture. Courses, such as for example Baglama courses, guitar courses or folk dancing are regarded as leisure time activities and provide entertainment. There

are also parent associations, student associations, employee associations or employer unions. They offer amongst other things first-time migration counselling, counselling for refugees and those wishing to return, general social services, self-aid groups, private tuition, homework supervision, information events, labour market measures, measures for education and further education, further training and counselling. The cooperation with the German employment agency and with German and Turkish companies and employers helps to place unemployed persons in work and on training places.

The service is incomplete concerning information about the health system and the counselling of start-up projects and self-employment, because publications and information materials are only available in the German language. The knowledge about these matters is usually only passed on by word of mouth so that accuracy and correctness is not guaranteed.

The superior aims of the migrant self-organizations and umbrella organizations are to contribute to an enhancement of opportunities for their members and the Turkish population on the labour market and in the process of integration in German society, to improve the quality of life and bridge the way into the host society.

According to one of the interview partners there is a good infrastructure within the Turkish community, which was invented out of necessity (cf. topic self-reliance and independence) and now helps the members of the community to support each other and to place friends, family members or acquaintances in work or to exchange information. The infrastructure is above all maintained and shaped by personal networks and contacts. As the Turkish migrants are not aware of this infrastructure it cannot be used at its optimum. However, a better working and consciously used infrastructure within the Turkish community would lead to even more isolation and separation from German society.

4.2. Joint work between organizations and institutions

Within the structure of associations in the Turkish community there are many different groups and groupings, which are organized differently. The associations and institutions in the Turkish community have various structures and present heterogeneous groups. At times they work together, but the prevailing observation is that they act individually. There are always rivalries and disputes. Cooperation between the individual institutions is not yet fully developed. This is what the umbrella organizations both demand and strive for.

Other observations regard the large supporting institutions as one network and the migrant organisations as another. The work between the associations takes place within the second network.

There is a mutual consensus that between the Turkish community and the German host society a network capacity is missing. This prevents a "gatekeeper function" of the Turkish migrant self-organisations to support integration into German society. The cross-linking and connection between Turkish and German institutions is missing almost completely. The migrant organisations are not integrated in the "official" structures of politics and administration, neither on the local authority nor on the national level. Both the authorities and the protagonists do not see the necessity of planning and forming projects together. Migrant politics is not regarded as a cross-sectional job so that it is hard to imagine any cross-linking of the migrant organisations with the German structures. So far only language deficiencies were defined as a problem. The common features but also the differences of both cultures in various areas of life are ignored, as well as potential synergies with all their possibilities and prospects for development.

Additionally there are mutual fears of contact, negative experiences or disillusioned expectations with politicians, migrant self-organisations or mosques which have created distance, the impression of not being understood or taken seriously, which in many cases has resulted in giving up communication almost completely.

4.3. Is there a mutual identity within the Turkish community?

Basically our interview partners recognized all persons with a Turkish migration background as members of the Turkish community. But there are differences. In the case of a structured community based on a network of associations, identity within the Turkish community is dependent on the orientation of the respective association. This means that is dependent on whether the association is, for example, politically orientated or regards itself as a cultural or homeland association, and whether it is more conservatively inclined or not. To put it simply: There are as many identities as there are identifiable groupings and trends.

Besides the definition of identity according to group belonging, integration was cited as an essential anchor of identity. Consequently the identity of Turkish migrants in Germany is to be distinguished by whether integration in German society has been successful or not. A third type of membership was distinguished for people who are "unwilling to integrate" or those who are "unaware of integration". This is only a small number. A similar categorization takes the identification with the nationality, which is expressed into account. It divides the migrants in Germany into Turkish-Turkish, German-Turkish and Germans with Turkish background. Therefore it can be seen as a continuum, including a Turkish self-definition at the one pole and a German at the other, with various hybrids in between. Some of our interview partners observed recently, that especially adolescents tend to a strong identification with Turkey, although they barely know it. They don´t feel home here, rather tolerated than welcomed.

Altogether the versatility of the Turkish community offers a variety of possibilities for identification through its networks and possible affiliations. Resulting from this there are different life styles whose closer description could be the starting point for measures tailored to the target group, e.g. motivational measures in education and further training.

On the macro level, in respect of the Turkish community as a whole, identity can be deduced from the interviews in a rather negative sense; not accepted, not welcome, and isolated. At the same time a picture of an extensively independent community was drawn, which is able to provide itself with information, goods etc. Thus a lot of important resources were named during the conversations.

4.4. Resources and strategies

One of the most important resources of the Turkish community is its infrastructure. This includes the organizations and societies, active in the religious, cultural or social field, the ethnical economy with its trading, handicraft production and service companies and the efficient informal networks. The work of the numerous associations has already been mentioned. But the potential shows up even better in the ethnical economy, which has become an integral part of the German economy. There are a number of very successful enterprises, which have been founded and managed by people of Turkish origin. International companies belong here as much as the large number of small family enterprises. The following quotation shows that the latter can be of considerable economic importance:

> *„The volume of meat used in doner kebab production is, I think, … er, is said to be considerably higher than the amount of meat used by McDonalds, Burger King and co. So that alone tells us what sort of volumes we're dealing with."*

Our interview partners take this as an enrichment of the German economy and therefore a form of integration. At the same time, they stress the "will to set up business" of their compatriots and their readiness to go their own way to help themselves;

> *"It's clearly integration, you can also use these resources, they have a will to set up businesses and to some extent, contrary to the trend, also successful businesses on an economic level."*

This has led to the creation of a large number of jobs. According to one estimate, approximately 300,000 - 350,000 people of Turkish origin have found a job in the approximately 62,000 businesses of people of Turkish origin. In addition, an increasing number of training places are being created.

The strong informal networks of the extended family with the circle of friends and acquaintances have already been described in part 1. Strong cohesion and commitment towards helping others put people into jobs. In this respect, one of our interviewees from the organizations also described how founders of successful businesses first gave jobs to unemployed relatives, friends and acquaintances before employing strangers.

A further important resource is young people, even if at the moment, as our interviews show, worries about their future are the focus of attention. Compared with the German population, families originating from Turkey still have many children. Within their own ranks these children are regarded as the achievers of the future - at least this is the impression conveyed to the parents and German society. This means that in future more effort is to be made to ensure good training places for young people than has been the case previously.

Another strength given much mention is intercultural competence. Younger migrants are second, third, or even fourth generation, so they have knowledge of both cultures and have developed linguistic and other skills that help them to find their way around in both "worlds". This can open up new occupational fields and make new jobs accessible. This applies to the markets, which take Turkish population for orientation, as well as for markets, which could possibly emerge by extending the economic relations between Turkey and Germany.

Moreover, a Turkish middle class has established itself in the meantime. This refers to academically qualified people of Turkish origin who have employment and earnings commensurate with their qualifications, e.g. doctors, lawyers, merchants, marketing experts etc. They are often part of larger and qualitatively different networks that provide them with more opportunities, as our individual interviews have already shown. They can be role models for the younger ones, and with their knowledge and experience possibly be able to help them along their way. They can also act as "gatekeepers" to their own networks, providing young people with access to these.

It was interesting that the interviewees could say only comparatively little about the resources and strengths of the community. They were more concerned with the problems and difficulties of being able to use the resources available to them. They point especially at the fact that:

- self-organisations are far away from being sufficiently linked with German structures
- adolescents have not enough self-confidence resp. esteem, trust in the future and a lot of identification problems

- the German education system is selective with regard to social background
- the education of the own children, as well as the own further training has not the significance among the Turkish population as it should have
- a lot of societies and people, especially young people, are geared to Turkey.

The discussion about community-based strategies to overrule exclusion is mainly centred on this problem constellation. These problems are not exclusively assigned to the German society. They are also perceived as a result of recent "survivor strategies" respectively as an interaction of these two factors. Right now there are a lot of discussions about the further direction of their own activities within these self-organisations. The hereafter concentrates on the current practices as well as on the approaches and ideas for further activities.

From a network point of view several essential activity complexes and strategic development lines could be identified, such as: information- and knowledge networks, gatekeepers – e.g. persons, organisations and other institutions, who can grant or deny access to certain networks – transnational relationship to Turkey as well as the shaping of the relationships with the German majority society, especially the political representation and cooperation with puplic institutions.

Political Representation

In the opinion of our interview partners the political representation of the Turkish population in Germany is not sufficiently ensured by the existing right of voting and co-determination. According to them the number of Turks and persons of Turkish origin in politics, in the media and in the urban committees in Germany is too low and the representation of Turkish migrants in public life in Germany not sufficient. Our interview partners would like German society to allow them more representative participation. The immigrant councils alone are not able to represent the Turkish communities, because the participation in the vote of these councils is already too low. They have no means of influencing politics.

The immigrant council is an instrument, which can represent the different groups of the community. It is elected by the migrant self-organisations. Their representatives are in the immigrant council and try to speak for their group. Therefore it is supported by the associations. But the immigrant council is not integrated in the political structures in Germany and has no impact on and no power in politics. It is only an advisory committee and consequently not taken seriously. This is why participation in voting is always very low. Beyond this it is the job of the council to keep up communication between the Turkish community and German politics. The council has to pass on information from politics to the community, but also receive information from the different groupings, filter it and distribute it within the community.

Above all Germans of Turkish origin sit on various committees throughout Germany as members of state and federal parliaments, the European Parliament, district assemblies, or town/city councils, where they perform very useful work.

Gatekeepers

Only few members of the Turkish minority in Germany are academics or belong to a higher social echelon. One of our interview partners stated that 80% of the Turkish community in Germany belong to the lower class, 16% to the middle class, and academics with the appropriate income accounted for the 4% belonging to the upper class. Thus most members of the Turkish community still belong to the working class and

do jobs that German employees find either too arduous or inferior, such as jobs as factory workers, street cleaners, cleaners or window cleaners. The level of education is generally low - this applies to adolescents, too. This means that there are only few better-qualified members or academics within the community that could assume the role of gatekeeper to higher social strata. The few better-situated Turkish migrants rarely take part in the community's associations in order to support their fellow citizens through networking. Once they have climbed the social ladder they often leave the socially deprived areas and their network structures. Migrant self-organizations believe, however, that these very members of the Turkish community should be called upon to act as good examples to other community members so as to motivate them and draw them in the same direction. By working and cooperating with successful Turkish community members who have founded their own companies, jobs and training places can be created and measures taken against unemployment within the Turkish community. This is regarded by our interviewees as being currently the best possible way for Turkish migrants to find employment. Turkish employees are also regarded as resources for German companies, since they can apply their linguistic and cultural competences to opening up new markets. However, a lot of persuasion and lobbying is still necessary in respect of this.

Gatekeeper function of the Organizations: Everyone interviewed considered their establishment as part of the community and ascribed a gatekeeper function to them. They justified this with their aims and what they had to offer. These include, for example, opportunities to gain qualifications and find work, mobilization of community members, information about the education system in Germany, about training and advanced training/further education, about the employment market, integration and language courses and mush more. Advanced training, qualification and personal counselling are provided to facilitate assimilation into the German structures. Many organizations also try to place their members and clients on courses and in jobs. Collaboration here between German and Turkish companies appears to be very promising.

The migrant self-organizations are regarded as a useful organ for reaching Turkish migrants in Germany, as they form their own structures and have organized themselves. Turkish migrants therefore turn to migrant self-organizations because they feel understood by them and meet people with a similar background who speak the same language. One interviewee believed that even more members of the Turkish community would be reached if the migrant self-organizations were better integrated in German structures and taken more into consideration to play a bigger part in integration policy.

Many organizations see themselves as part of society as a whole, as integration could not work without the participation of the Turkish community in German society. Of course this applies particularly to the immigrant council, since it tries to build a bridge between the Turkish and the host societies and break down prejudices within the German population. Additionally, it engages itself in migration policy, especially on a local and municipal level, and calls for greater representation of Turkish workers on the employment market, in politics and in the other public life.

Information Networks and Factual Networks

Migrants learn a lot about the various facilities and organizations in Germany by word of mouth. This results in the development of information paths, when an association or similar is not what is required, in order to arrive at certain information (e.g. informations one needs to go into business for oneself).

Very important places for information exchange are the teahouses. Although they don't have a good reputation a lot of men go there. Most of the traded informations are based

on one's own or foreign experiences or on rumours. Therefore the communication within these teahouses is known to be an unreliable source for information among the academic trained interview partners from the organisations. Apart from that the informal networks often suffer from a lack of knowledge, which would enable them to send someone seeking for help to the appropriate respectively competent institution.

The societies only reach a small part of the Turkish community. Due to an interview partner only 10% are organised. Only a section of the organizations deals with publicity. In this respect, the budget, the financial means, play an essential role as to what extent and in what way publicity is managed. Organizations used media such as billboards, posters, telephone contact, faxes or the Internet in order to make their interests and their organizations known. Other associations and organizations are also informed about the various programmes on offer.

The offers provided are problem- and most often target group- oriented. They appeal to employees or unemployed, young or elderly people, women or men etc. Most migrants respond to this by contacting the organizations, associations or mosques to find out information when they have problems.

The Turkish media, or "ethno media", who deal exclusively with the interests of migrant groups, make a considerable contribution to the supply of information and news to the public. However, this all remains "within their own four walls" as they say, and within their own community. The German public learns nothing about what goes on in the associations themselves. For this reason, the organizations set up by the migrants themselves should open up to the German public and even accept Germans as members, as far as this is possible.

The relations into Turkey

The cooperation and contact with Turkey is maintained on behalf of the institutional side by mosques, societies and consulates. The mosques acquire their personal, especially the imams, in Turkey. This happens due to a lack of qualified personal in Germany. Some mosques and societies get social workers from Turkey to help adolescents to be fit for their life in Germany. This takes place in order to maintain the Turkish culture and to bring back a part of theirown identity. They should concentrate on their cultural background and due to that be strengthened to take their lives in to their own hands. A lot of adolescents lack a perspective, they don't think about what to do in the future. It aims at working on perspectives with the adolescents, their possibilities and to set a realistic plan for the future. Although that might occasionally mean to work somewhere, one doesn't like. Some societies try to support adolescents who aspire a higher education by giving scholarships – but for Turkey – away.

One interviewee empathically pointed out that conservative, nationalistic and religious societies receive a lot of financial support from the consulates. This happens to isolate the Turkish and that they send money back to Turkey, to improve the situation over there. There are a lot of co operations with other societies to set up projects, e.g. selling food and drinks; raise money in order to finance missing institutions here and there in Turkey. Not only here it is all about money transferred from Germany to Turkey. Entrepreneurs with a Turkish background support Turkey also with donations. Numerical expressed 15% of the GDP in Turkey are from funds provided by the Turkish population in Germany. Therefore the Turkish state has an interest in isolating the Turks in Germany from the German society.

Conservative societies recently have an intensified inlet by adolescents, who as result strongly identify with Turkey and distance themselves to the German way of living. On the one hand it presents itself in a lack of knowledge

> *"…we can see within the Turkish adolescents, that a strong politicization towards Turkey exists, they know for example all ministers of Turkey, but if they are asked `who is Franz-Walter Steinmeier`, than most often you don't get an answer…"*

on the other hand in emotions:

> *"friends of me did that…. They just wanted to test the reactions, what would happen, if they said `the Germans are pigs, because they eat pigs`. And everybody said `Yeah, that's correct`. There are interests that people think that way."*

Politically positioned groups in the left wing have regarded the enlightenment about conservative religious groups as an important task also before the events of 9/11. The orientation towards Turkey a lot of societies have is to be abolished, the relevant people are to become more liberal.

> *„because, they can't integrate a young, 20 year old man, who was raised here, but is nevertheless ultra conservative regarding the islam, into the German structures."*

> *„first task is, that the Turkish societies become more liberal, they should become more freely in their ways of thinking, as they are still strongly orientated towards Turkey..."*

An integration seen as an „intersection task", that means which regards economic as well as social and societal dimensions, is postulated. Apart from the migrant organisation the whole society is needed.

4.5. Summary and Conclusions: Collective resources and strategies

Observation of structures and resources on the macro level revealed that the migrant self-organizations remain in their own networks and community and are not integrated in the structures of politics and the host society. Our interviewees see this as a problem, as migrants and their self-organizations are not included in the development of integration policy projects or the drafting of laws. Germans still continue to develop and carry out projects without knowledge of the different ways of life and the current problems of the Turkish community. In part this is seen to be a result of one of the most important resources of the community. One of its greatest strengths is probably its quest for autonomy in the sense of independence in the provision of assistance. At the basis of all this is an immense number of infrastructure facilities for almost everything. These activities revived whole districts and gave them a new face. A successful ethnic economy was developed, which provides the community not only with goods and provision of services, but also with offers beyond that. A lot of workplaces were created due to that. Some self organizations currently try by information and motivation measures to attain more vocational training positions for young people in the future.

Education and qualification are important tasks since the high unemployment rates. A lot of societies provide offers in this field. Partly due to this they feel like gatekeepers towards the higher social classes. Concurrently they are also mediators within the community. They belong to the regulars of complex information and knowledge networks and they help to initiate contacts. But there is still some need for optimization as much more public relation work is required to reach more people.

There is also a lack in efficient intersections to the mainstream society. Relevant knowledge is brought into the community but it isn't transported back. As a result the

German population is mistrustful and perceives a complete isolated unity apart from the actual society, which is expressed in sayings like "parallel society".

Another important intersection with the German mainstream society is international working businesses and other employers. It is assumed that persons with a migration background dispose of intercultural competencies, which highly qualifies them for the work in between two cultures. This is recently regarded as an effective strategy against isolation and is put in to practice within some occupational areas. In order to be able to realize this to a larger extent, now new networks must be attached into the German economy.

Another chance for overcoming the isolation our interviewees are seeing in a stronger representation in politics. The migrant self-organizations feel abandoned and ignored by German politics. They feel that politicians only take notice of them and include them in their work when they are trying to win votes and want to present themselves as being publicly effective through their social commitment. This has led to a feeling of mistrust among migrant self-organizations towards German politics and politicians. The chances of the Turkish community becoming involved in German politics are also deemed to be too low, so they are calling for more rights of co-determination and more participation. The immigrant councils in particular were branded as being "toothless tigers", because they are only advisory committees with no power or serious political clout.

According to the interviewees there is a good infrastructure within the Turkish community, which was invented out of necessity (to achieve self-reliance and independence) and now helps the members of the community to support each other and to place friends, family members or acquaintances in work or to exchange information. The infrastructure is above all maintained and shaped by personal networks and contacts. As the Turkish migrants are not aware of this infrastructure it cannot be used at its optimum. However, a better working and consciously used infrastructure within the Turkish community would lead to even more isolation and separation from German society, so the opinion of an informant.

5. Empirical Part, Italy

(Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research (IPRS): Raffaele Bracalenti, Alessia Mefalopulos)

6. The Moroccan community in Italy

6.1. Introduction

While the quantitative data presented in the first part of this report had the main purpose of providing an overall picture of the target group using existing statistical data and a literature review, this second part of the report will try to offer an insight into Moroccan "community force" by exploring the community's social networks, resources and strategies as drawn from the material gathered through field research.

How do Moroccan migrants perceive their community? What role does it play in their daily lives and to what extent do they rely on it in order to overcome the difficulties related to the migration experience? The material gathered through the field research suggests that, notwithstanding disagreements and conflicts that exist within the community, "being a Moroccan" does represent an essential cornerstone of migrants' social identity in the country of adoption. Furthermore, the interviews and focus groups conducted highlighted the existence of an intricate social texture within the community – made up of social ties and informal networks, of valuable resources and skills as well as of frailties and contradictions – that makes it sensible to view the Moroccan community under the theoretical perspective of social capital.

While traditional theories on social capital have long regarded immigrants as having less social capital in comparison with the majority population, more recent analyses have overturned this view. Studies on the social changes brought about by the globalization process as well as the increasing amount of research on ethnic entrepreneurship highlight the importance of enhancing the analysis of immigrants' community networks as a means to achieve a better understanding of immigrants' social capital. Accordingly, the analysis of social networks within which immigrants are inserted suggests the existence of multiple opportunities - in terms of resources, alliances, identities – available to and benefited from the Moroccan immigrant. Our research findings provide evidence of the existence of just such a complex texture.

In principle, when doing research on migrant communities in Italy it is important to consider the relatively short history of immigration in the country. In fact, although the Moroccan community is one of the oldest migrant communities in Italy and can count today on an increasing number of second generation children, the community's adult population is largely formed by first generation immigrants.. Hence, that is a very young community, the boundaries of which have not been clearly defined yet and which is perceived as *one* entity by its members. The identity of the community as well as forms of membership within it are still taking shape. Far from representing a constraint, the information collected suggests that this still undefined status of the community is experienced by many Moroccan immigrants as a challenge. As migration studies suggest, newly-formed migrant communities are frequently characterized by a strong drive to meet their ideals, by an outstanding ability to plan and to eventually use their "community force" in order to pursue goals.

These premises constitute the challenging background from which our research on Moroccan community in Italy began. Our field research was conducted in the cities of Rome and Turin and consisted of both focus groups and semi-structured in-depth

individual interviews to male and female members of the Moroccan community in Italy. We hope that the results of this research can help shed light onto the "community force" of migrant communities as well as contribute to the debate on the social capital of ethnic minorities'.

6.2. The Moroccan community between reality and imagination

When conducting our field research, a surprisingly high number of interviewees displayed reluctance to perceive themselves as part of the "big whole" represented by Moroccan community. This attitude can be clearly seen in the use of the personal pronoun "they" by many interviewees when referring to Moroccan community in general. This may be because they disapproved of finding themselves labelled as immigrants or because they actually perceive their personal history as being completely different from that of most of their compatriots. However, the need to take distance from their origins can indeed be regarded as a typical element of migrants' experience.

Despite distancing themselves from the community of Moroccan migrants, however, most interviewees expressed to some degree their satisfaction, sometimes their pride, in "being a Moroccan". This was done sometimes explicitly and other times implicitly by using a number of adjectives and positive stereotypes when describing Moroccans.

This attitude reflects (and generates at a time) an ambivalent feeling towards one's own origins that characterizes immigrants' self-perception of their own social identity in the host country. It is as though migrants' life in the host country were marked by the decoupling of the real community – effectively lived in and experienced day by day through ties, alliances, conflicts, etc. – from an imagined community essentially built on projections and expectations for the future made by a certain part of the community members.

It must be highlighted, however, that our interviewees are to be regarded as "privileged" informants – namely, gatekeepers - in that they mostly had successful migratory histories, speak good to excellent Italian and are actively involved to different extents in civic society. Thus, they cannot be considered as representing the whole community but only part of it – although presumably the most "advanced" share in terms of social participation and interaction with the majority of the community.

Interviewees' accounts do indeed confirm the abovementioned ambivalence. In their words, ideas and projects regard an imagined community combined with the real community. They express annoyance and sometimes even intolerance towards elements that they believe to be the causes of the community's marginalization, poverty amd discrimination (eg: disagreement and lack of cooperation between community members). On the other hand, ideas and projects concerning the future of the community (e.g. Confederation, which we will address later), reveal the existence of an ideal "imagined community" that serves to shorten the symbolical distance between the culture of origin and that of adoption. Such ambivalence is quite evident through much of the material presented in this report. To better illustrate it, it is useful to report some of the most common remarks made by the interviewees reflecting their perception of the main strengths and weaknesses of the community.

Firstly, all interviewees seemed to coincide in viewing Moroccan immigrants as **very skilled and full of initiative** – which is also how they explain themselves the fact that many of them have a successful migratory history:

> *"Many Moroccans have a University Degree. We have people employed as executive directors. We have medical doctors, physicians… They left just because they needed a push ahead"*

> *"The community's primary resource are human resources. We have very skilled people who can do anything, from helping other people to problem solving…"*

Most of Moroccan migrants' skills and initiative merge into entrepreneurship, which is commonly regarded as the main feature characterizing their national group. Be it as street vendors or shop keepers, as travel agents or as doctors, Moroccan migrants unquestionably excel at being the best employers of themselves. According to 2005 official data, Moroccan-born citizens owned 35,312 enterprises, representing as much as 17.5% of all enterprises created by foreign-born citizens in Italy. Furthermore, this number has almost doubled (189.2%) in the last five years. Our interviewees seemed quite aware of this "special skill" and did not hide their pride about it:

> *"Moroccans were born as businessmen. When he comes here and learns from Italian experience, all he wants to do is one thing. He hardly wants to be under somebody else. (…) Some can do it (be entrepreneurs), others cannot. Moroccans can"*

The other comment most commonly heard during the interviews, however, seems to be in open contrast with the above reports. In fact, most interviewees repeatedly stressed how **scarce cohesion and cooperation** within the community and between its members was the most serious constraint to a full development of community resources for the community's benefit. Below are some such comments:

> *"…There is much distrust among us. A Moroccan person can be inferior to a Lebanese, or an Egyptian, or an Italian… But never to another Moroccan! Moroccans only see rivals in other Moroccans…"*

> *"That is how we waste our resources. It's mistrust that impedes us from getting along well. This is our main weakness"*

> *"Among other national groups you can find 10 or even 15 people living in one flat – and they are all quiet. Instead, put more than three Moroccans in a flat and it's a mess. Nobody listens to anybody else, everybody claims he is more clever than everybody else… It is not mistrust, because we talk a lot. But we have no sense of socialization, because we were not born with one."*

> *"…Moroccans have a knot : power. They won't help other Moroccans to get it"*

The interviewees' perception of Moroccan community's main weaknesses and strengths	
Community's main weaknesses	**Community's main strengths**
Individualism	Skilled individuals
Scarce unity, scarce co-operation among members	Ability to adjust to any situation
No understanding, no trust, no unity.	Women; Ambition
All typical weaknesses of adolescence (e.g. ingenuousness)	All typical strengths of adolescent age (e.g. forwardlooking)

Fig. 1. Interviewees' perception of the community's weakness and strength

The Moroccan community in Italy is seen by its members as a resourceful community, one that can count on skilled and qualified individuals. Nevertheless, such richness is often wasted due to disagreements and a lack of cooperation between community members. As a consequence, the resources are dispersed. It seems therefore correct to say that the community itself is seen as the main constraint to its development.

However, despite this negative view, the material gathered clearly indicates both that a sense of community does exist among Moroccan migrants, and that in their opinion it makes no sense to speak about *one* Moroccan community in Italy. Our interviewees said most information is transmitted "by word of mouth" (see below in the report); this mechanism provides evidence of the existence and the vitality of the community's social networks. Likewise, all existing informal channels of information (from *halal* butchers and food shops to translating agencies and "logistical mediators", etc. - see below in the present report) as well as some of the strategies devised collectively demonstrate how, in the interviewees' words, the perception of "being a Moroccan" is quite alive and plays an essential role in shaping migrants' social identity in Italy. We can therefore conclude that, notwithstanding the lack of an "official" sense of the community, an **informal sense of Community** does exist among its members.

We can conclude that Moroccan migrants' mapping of their community is composed of both an imagined and a real community. This community extends its boundaries from the local reality to the whole Italian territory and includes within them the homeland as well as other destination countries in Europe. The community is made up of information and "logistical" networks, socializing opportunities, formal and informal representatives, resources and strategies, all of which we will present below.

6.3. Moroccan community social networks

Within the Moroccan community, various "sub-communities" may be identified, each with its own social/information network. Our analysis reveals three different levels of social networks:

1. Family networks
2. 'Adapted' networks
3. 'Adopted' networks

Family networks represent the smallest reliable unit of all the community's networks, but may extend well over the host country's borders, bridging immigrants with the homeland on one hand and with other countries in Europe where other family members may reside, such as France or Spain, on the other hand. The extended family in many cases coincides with the only reliable and/or accessible network (e.g. in the case of women).

'Adapted' networks' are namely networks that existed prior to the decision to migrate and the experience of migration. These networks and all ties within them "migrate" along with people, adapting their original structure to the new situations crated by the efforts to integrate in Italian society.

Within the wider community network founded on national origins, adapted networks seemingly represent one basic principle for alliances outside the extended family. They consequently play the role of a precious resource in case of need of any kind (practical, financial or just for information).

Adapted networks involve a geographical criteria: there seems to be a direct connection between city/area of origin in Morocco and city/area of destination in Italy. Many Moroccan immigrants in Turin, for instance, come from the city of Khouribga and the surrounding area. From this point of view Rome, according to our interviewees, stands out as an exception, attracting and gathering Moroccans from all over the country, although a slight predominance of Casablanca-immigrants may be observed.

Sharing the same geographical origins in Morocco apparently leads to multiple, smaller migratory chains that tend to re-create in the destination country a social environment that resembles as much as possible the one left at home. However, adapted networks may also recall other types of "origins", the most relevant of which seem to be the Berber *vs.* Arab origins and rural *vs.* urban origins.

According to some of our interviewees, migrants of rural origins and particularly those coming from Southern Morocco, are commonly believed to have stronger and more reliable social networks:

> *"… Then you have those (migrants) coming from the South …Everybody knows everybody else, life is more country-style, all families know each other… These people are employed here as bricklayers or similar professions…Their network is very strong and displays very traditional social ties…"*

Some interviewees suggested there is a direct connection between rural origins in Morocco and the choice of rural destinations in Italy. Most Moroccan immigrants working in the agricultural sector far from the largest metropolitan areas and who are mostly employed purely on a seasonal basis, come from rural areas, whereas immigrants coming from urban areas are more likely to settle in urban areas.

As mentioned above, one more criteria for the creation of alliances on the basis of one's origins in Morocco, is the Arab versus Berber origins.

> *"Solidarity exists because we all are Moroccans. Then, if you are a Berber, you will be more supportive of another Berber than of an Arab…"*

It is worth noticing that, according to the majority of our interviewees, the type of origins at home (Berber/Arab; urban/rural; etc.) can strongly influence the type of occupation they will do as immigrants.

> *"As an immigrant, you will trust someone from your own country. You will trust someone from your city more and much more if he comes from your same district. If he belongs to your family or to your building, you will trust him blindly. If I am a bricklayer, you will be a bricklayer too. If I am a street seller or a shopkeeper, you will be street seller or shopkeeper too. If I am drug dealer, you will be drug dealer too. Because you will always be by my side in order to learn the language and to establish your first contacts …"*

Adopted networks. By this expression we intend to refer to those networks that did not exist as such prior to departure from the country of origin.

One example concerns the criteria underlying housing in the country of adoption. While in the home country housing is mostly conceived with family members only (especially in rural areas), the migration experience forces many migrants to share a flat with non-family members, chosen on the basis of "new" criteria, such as friendship relations, economic convenience, etc. In addition, as Alzetta (2006) suggests, the recent "new wave" of Moroccan migrants (mostly comprised of young, urban and educated migrants, including many educated women as well), has reinforced the rupture of more traditional rules governing housing and contributed to the creation of brand new networks.

However, the most outstanding example of networks that have been generated by the migration experience and are sometimes created in response to the needs of the new community, is Moroccan associations in Italy. According to our interviewees, associations as a means of participating in the political life of a country are a relatively recent development in Morocco. This is particularly true in urban areas, where civic awareness is rapidly increasing and associations are growing accordingly as a result. Given the recentness of these changes, it is amazing to discover that a surprisingly high number of associations are founded by Moroccan migrants in Italy.

6.4. Moroccan associations

Studies focalizing on social capital normally consider the capability to create associations and the number of associations effectively founded as an important indicator of social capital. In fact, besides representing the community itself to the majority population, associations can also be seen as reflecting the community's vitality and initiative as well as demonstrating its active participation in mainstream society. At the same time, associations can also shed a light onto the functioning of a community's networks, its strengths and deficiencies, as well as on the ability of its members to organize themselves and pursue specific objectives collectively, as one community.

When speaking of the Moroccan community in Italy, it is therefore extremely interesting to highlight that this is one of the national groups that has founded the highest number of associations.. However, precise numbers are not easy to find, given that many of these associations are not officially registered and thus suffer of scarce visibility. Furthermore, Moroccan associations are subjected to great economic instability and as a result they are created and closed down very easily, adding to the uncertainty about numbers.

Additionally, creating associations brings community members face to face with the controversial question of the community's representation. Who should represent the community to whom, is one of the key issues emerging from the interviews carried out for our research. While the issue of gatekeepers will be analysed more consistently in the next section, it is interesting to report some of the explanations provided by the interviewees in response to our question: why is there such a high tendency to create associations among Moroccan immigrants?

> "*This fact shows how divided we are. Were we united, we would not need so many associations…*"

> "*Moroccans do not live in community. They are not like the Bengalese, who open a restaurant among fifteen. The Moroccan has his own association. Many Moroccans, many associations. That is why*"

> "*Associations are created by immigrants who have already settled down in Italy… It is not our primary need*"

> "*Most Moroccans have never had experience with associations before, there is only a vague idea of what an association is and what it is supposed to do (…) It sounds like something important, like one can expect something from it… But there are conflicts and we are not always capable of identifying what the objectives are, how the association should tackle the community and its problems… We still have a long way to go…*"

According to interviewees, the Moroccan associations' main objective is to let Italians know about Morocco:

> *"Associations serve to introduce our culture and present to local authorities. They essentially are like a business card…"*

Nevertheless, some interviewees warn that creating an association can be a short cut to gaining authority within the Community:

> *"Some associations are created to serve personal purposes only (…) Sometimes associations gather no more than two or three people. (They do it) for electoral purposes, or just to be recognized…"*

> *"They promote themselves so that the Community can recognize them as Presidents…"*

Despite the criticism and the conflicts that seem to characterize the life of these associations, it is interesting to mention here that Moroccan migrants' skills in creating associations have led to the creation of an umbrella organization, the *Confederation of Moroccan Associations in Italy*. The creation of the Confederation, which unites about 150 associations, had a multiplier effect leading to the foundation of two more confederations of Moroccan associations in Italy.

6.5. Gatekeepers and the idea of community representation

Some of the comments that were made most frequently by our interviewees were in relation to the idea of community representation. Many interviewees were reluctant to identify gatekeepers or any person who could act as a "community representative", claiming that "*nobody represents anybody among Moroccans*". In one case, a woman interviewed was openly irritated by our question in this sense and warned the interviewer to pay attention "not to fall in this trap". Interestingly, when the woman offered to indicate contact people for further interviews, many of them were people we had already contacted through other channels. This situation occurred quite frequently with our interviewees in both cities (Rome and Turin). This is in part a result of our methodological approach. Due to the snowball technique used to make contacts for the interviews, all of our interviewees can be considered "gatekeepers" to a certain extent since we, extraneous to the community, were directed by others to these people. However, in our view, the most outstanding point is that, despite their reluctance to consider the idea of the existence of some key-actors representing the community as a whole, gatekeepers recognize each other and identify themselves as *the* source of information on Moroccan community before the majority community.

If we accept the idea, commonly espoused in social capital studies, that social capital is comprised of both a collective and an individual dimension and that the individual dimension proceeds from individual choices and investments, the relevance of the analysis of gatekeepers' roles and functions with regards to the Moroccan community becomes clear. If we define gatekeepers as individuals who can give or deny access to a certain social network and who are viewed as having the authority and the capabilities to do so, we can consequently expect that gatekeepers (GKs):

• Have control (are well informed) over a certain network
• Are commonly recognized as having a certain authority
• Represent a specific network/community
• Display an essential mediating function

- Are key-actors in the process of shaping both *ties* (within the community) and *bridges* (outside of the community)[96]

In assuming that GKs are relevant to the creation of social networks bridging the minority and the majority community, it should be stressed that individuals having the knowledge and the capability to manage the codes of both communities have an enormous importance. Language is central to this concern and therefore translators acquire a strategic role in the contexts of migrant communities.

The material gathered through the interviews allowed us to identify three diverse scenarios of GKs' functions:

- GKs who stand at the border between two systems/communities (can control/manipulate the codes of both) and who essentially have a mediating function. Examples are Moroccan professional translators as well as those whom we defined as "logistical mediators", etc;
- GKs who manage/control the inner network(s) only. Examples are Moroccan shop owners and *halal* butchers, but also Imams
- Self-promoted GKs whose role is apparently recognized only at the institutional level and not by the community. Most associations as well as the Confederation and some self-promoted Imams, are located at this level (see the table below).

Mediating Role/Function	Management Level	Nodes
Between two worlds	Community-Mainstream society	Translating agencies
		Phone-call centers
		Italian information desks (eg. CGIL)
		Money-transfer agencies
		"Logistical Mediators"
		Moroccan Restaurants
Inner world only	Community-based	*Halal* Butcher shops
		Groceries/Food shops/Street markets
		Moroccan Restaurants / Bazaars
		Mosques
Outer world only	Institutional	Moroccan Associations
		Self-promoted Imams
		Confederation of Moroccan Ass.

Fig. 2. Gatekeepers and Main Nodes of the Community

From the material presented above we can therefore infer that gatekeepers in the Moroccan community may work out of three distinct dimensions or "environments":

- The civic-political dimension (e.g. volunteers of associations)

---

[96] Breton 2003

- The entrepreneurial dimension (e.g. shops and restaurant owners, translators, managers of phone centres and money transfer agencies, etc…)
- The religious dimension (Imams)

Finally, it is noteworthy to mention the "Crown party" which is held every year in the end of July. Through the Moroccan Consulates abroad, the King invites some outstanding representatives of the community of Moroccan citizens living abroad to participate in the party. At the community level, this celebrated event is particularly important and the individuals who are invited are generally admired. On the other hand, it is interesting to highlight the existence of a high-level-institutional network through which the Moroccan Government identifies those who are considered to be "the most representative" or "the most important" among the emigrant population.

Migrants who are invited to participate in the Crown Party can thus be regarded as "double-faced" gatekeepers, in the sense that they also stand at the border between the community of emigrants and the homeland. By bridging the migrant community with both the host country and the country of origin , these people acquire prestige at the eyes of both the immigrant community and the families left at home.

6.6. Information channels and "logistical" networks

Logistical information (e.g. how to search for housing or for a job, or how to obtain/renew documents) is preferably transmitted through informal channels. "*Passing the word, it's all passing the word*"- such has been the answer most frequently heard from our interviewees in response to questions on this issue.

However, while members of the extended family and friends who are already living in the destination country represent the privileged source of information for newly arrived immigrants, older migrants can rely on other networks as well in order to gather useful information for their daily lives. While serving as sources of information, these networks can provide a valid support in orienting individuals within the Italian bureaucratic labyrinth. The following examples can better illustrate the meaning and the function of such networks.

TURIN

In Turin, **small translating agencies** owned by Moroccans provide bureaucratic and legislative information, including information on how to obtain or renew Italian documents, how to enrol children in Italian schools, or how the public Italian health system works. Moreover, these agencies may sometimes act as intermediaries, thus effectively facilitating the bureaucratic procedures for customers. From the point of view of a Moroccan immigrant searching for information on the Italian legislative system, the choice to turn to such places seems quite logical, since he/she knows he/she will find a friendly and comfortable environment there, he/she will not be asked for explanations nor justifications, and will be able to speak his/her native language or dialect and make use of familiar communication codes and gestures.

> "*Language plays a key role. When one is seeking aid when in difficulty, he/she prefers to go to a less proficient person provided that this person can speak his/her same language*"

However, other channels of information for immigrants residing in Turin do exist. Non-Moroccan run networks include the Municipality of Turin and the CGIL Union, both of

which run information desks for immigrants. The **CGIL Office for foreigners**, in particular, plays an important role within immigrant communities. According to one of our interviewees (an employee of this Office who is of Moroccan origins himself), the Office has a long and steady tradition of dealing with migration issues. It started its activities in 1989 and today it is well known in the city. According to our informant, Moroccan citizens represent the main foreign national group among clients. This office both provides information and acts as an intermediary service, dealing with a range of important issues except employment (e.g. education, health, administrative procedures) and at the same time guaranteeing a multi-lingual service (Arabic is one of the languages spoken).

ROME

In Rome, call centres and money-transfer agencies appear to play a role similar to that of Turin's translating agencies, particularly where the agency manager is Moroccan:

> "*People go there, read the newspaper, talk, listen to stories…*".

One of our interviewees, a young lady who arrived in Italy at the age of 5, recalled the first months of her job at a money-transfer agency as the time when she learned "*about all the problems Moroccan immigrants face while in Italy and in their lives as immigrants*". A lot of Moroccans, she reported, would spend time on the phone with her telling their own stories as a consequence of finding out that she was of Moroccan origins as well.

Apparently, even after years spent in Italy, most Moroccan citizens prefer to turn to informal channels managed within the community's boundaries (e.g. the translating agencies), even if less reliable and more "risky", rather than or prior to turning to an "official" information source (e.g. the CGIL Office or Municipalities' information desks). Furthermore, access to the community's informal channels may be diversified according to the specific group or "micro-community" that each individual belongs to, as one interviewee revealed:

> *For these things [logistical information] micro-communities work well. If I find nobody who knows things in my own micro-community, I will always find someone who can tell me whom to go to.*

The above quote suggests that informal information, as well as a hand in compiling bureaucratic procedures, may be obtained directly from certain individuals directly. These individuals are well known within the community boundaries but especially within each micro-community, as the interviewee suggests above, and have organized themselves so as to make their living by providing information. They could be defined as "logistical mediators" and are certainly to be considered as gatekeepers of the community (see paragraph below on gatekeepers):

> *There are people who deal with problem-solving: finding a house, a car…Some of them even help mediating with the Consulate. They are Moroccan mediators solving problems for Moroccans… They help you because they know someone at the Municipality or at the Police Offices… They charge you for this"*

Why do Moroccan migrants prefer to appeal to internal networks even though they might have the choice to turn to more "reliable" channels managed by the majority society? Below are some of the explanations provided by our interviewees when asked about the reason for such preference among their fellow Moroccans:

> "*They know they won't be asked to explain anything or to justify themselves… Migrants understand each other*"

> *"Foreigners always tend to go where they can find someone who knows them. Sometimes it's only for the language. Or because they can find the goods they are familiar with"*
>
> *"They obviously feel more at ease in front of a fellow Moroccan"*
>
> *"Moroccans keep other Moroccans well informed"*

According to Breton (1997), while it is inevitable that newly arrived immigrants rely on their own community alone, it can be expected that "with time and the passing of generations, their social ties reach beyond ethno-cultural and racial boundaries". Why then do informal channels managed by community members continue to be so popular among Moroccan migrants even years after the community has permanently settled in Italy? before answering this question, we should keep in mind that the Moroccan community displays more than satisfactory indicators of integration (e.g. % of entrepreneurship, % of women and family reunifications, civic participation, etc.) compared to other national groups, and is generally regarded as well integrated within the local social texture. Thus, the question is: to what extent is the diversified access to externally or internally-managed networks significant of the quality of integration of the community within the majority community? If the core issue is trust, is a low level of trust in the majority society necessarily indicative of scarce integration? A lack of trust in the channels officially managed by mainstream society could be caused by a surrounding environment (e.g. majority society) that impedes migrants' access to such networks. As Breton (2003) states, "it is the difficulty of accessing social capital in the larger community – because of prejudice, hostility or institutional barriers – that leads members of these minorities to search for social capital within their own minority community". Barriers to accessing information in the majority community include the following factors:

· Perception or experience of objective discrimination/exclusion when turning to some official information desks
· Cultural differences inhibiting access to the official channels
· Scarce support offered by mainstream society at the legislative level

This last point in particular coincides with what emerged from some interviews as well as from one focus group, where the discussion on informational networks turned into a generalized complaint about the lack of financial and logistical support offered to the community by local authorities.

In addition, it should not be forgotten that, when speaking of the Moroccan community, we are actually referring to a multitude of groups, or "sub-communities" and not all of them access internally or externally-managed networks in the same way.

To conclude the discussion of informational and logistical networks, it should be mentioned *Al Maghrebiya*, a monthly magazine in Arabic addressed to immigrants coming from the Maghreb countries and particularly from Morocco. Although it cannot be regarded as a source of "logistical" information in a strict sense, it includes a section of news on Italian legislation concerning migration, in addition to offering general news on the Arab countries, Italy, and other international news. Although it can be regarded as an élite source of information, since it targets literate people mostly living in urban areas, the facts that it is distributed free of charge and that it has a monthly circulation of 20.000 copies, make it a powerful means of information and circulating information and ideas for many community members.

6.7. Socializing spaces and nodes of the network

Almost all interviewees agree that in Italy there is a serious deficiency of spaces for socializing that are accessible to the Moroccan community. This deficiency seems to particularly affect the adult population – which in Italy essentially coincides with **first generation migrants** – and is commonly viewed as being due to a lack of political will among the Municipality and local authorities, especially in Rome. While most active members, including many associations and the Confederation, are mobilizing through more institutional channels, at a grassroots level the Community has informally organized itself so as to meet its members' socializing needs.

In fact, despite spatial constraints, some places emerge within the community's mental map as having acquired a socializing function for most of its adult members. While responding to Moroccan migrants' socializing fundamental needs, these places ("nodes" of the network) respond to both practical and symbolic needs. In fact, beyond facilitating the exchange of information within the community (practical need), these places work as vital nodes of the "word-of-mouth mechanism" and sometimes connecting the community to outside sources in the majority community as well as in other migrant communities. However, the most important function of such places probably lies in the opportunity they offer to community members to simply "maintain the encounter"[97] (symbolic need). In fact, when individuals meet each other and start a conversation, they implicitly confirm or deny the roles of, and the ties between, the people they refer to (family members, neighbours, friends, authorities…). For migrant communities, these events also represent the opportunity to recall memories of the home-country, mentally establishing transnational ties with family members and friends left at home or living in other European countries. By "maintaining the encounter", community members at a time confirm their own role and ties and contribute to the shaping of the identity of the whole Moroccan community in Italy.

The material gathered through our field research revealed the following places as having acquired a proper socializing meaning for the Moroccan community:

- Groceries and food-shops
- Phone-call centers
- Halal butcher shops
- Mosques
- Bazaars
- Moroccan Restaurants

In particular, each of these places had a series of specific socializing roles, as listed below.

Groceries and food-shops

- Gender relevance (shops frequented almost exclusively by women)
- Symbolic importance (familiar goods)
- The opportunity to meet non-Moroccan Muslim immigrants, particularly from other North African countries
- When run by Moroccan owners, these shops may function as key sites within the community network

Phone call centers

---

[97] La Cecla 1997

- Ties with the home-country
- Ties with other members of the Community
- Informal informational function
- Frequently mentioned (especially in Rome) as places where many Moroccans use to go and pass the time with their fellows: "*They meet each other, talk and exchange the latest news*"

Halal butcher shops

- Symbolic importance (in relation to religion and familiar environment)
- In Rome, according to one interviewee, several *halal* butchers are located in the area of Centocelle, a suburb where many immigrants live. Even if only few are Moroccan-owned, many Moroccans come from all over the city to go to these shops in order to meet with one another, exchange information, or just to talk
- Opportunity to meet non-Moroccan Muslims

The Mosque

Even though Moroccans are generally acknowledged as moderate Muslims, the Mosque emerges as playing a decisive role for socializing opportunities among the community's members. In addition to the religious services, activities taking place in and around the Mosque include:

- Arabic classes for 2nd generation children and for Italians who want to learn the Arab language
- Street market where goods and food from countries of origin are sold
- Activities for young muslims
- The Mosque of Rome also organizes seminars directed at a public of both Muslims and non Muslims
- Some charity is organized on special occasions (e.g. in case of death of some member of the Muslim community whose family cannot provide for the repatriation of the corpse)

One interviewee explained:

> "*(There exist) forms of aggregation around Mosques, there is life there and activities going on…But this has nothing to do with adherence to Islam as a religion. There are activities because they do some charity, but it is not religious practice. They are the strongest points of aggregation in most recent years*"

Given these premises, we can say that the Mosque represents the following for Moroccan migrants the following:

- Socializing opportunity with non-family members
- Symbolic relevance (identity): "*We do need someone to tell us who we are, don't we?*"
- Opportunity for information exchange (especially in rural areas):

> "*People go to the Mosque because they need information. No other meeting places exist*"

- Gender relevance: opportunity for women of the Community to spend time with each other
- Opportunity to meet other non-Moroccan Muslims

215

However, this positive situation has probably come about due to 9/11 and subsequent events. This seems to be particularly the case for women, who in the past used to gather in a city park located in a suburb of Rome, which was replaced "a few years ago" by the Mosque. Today, the Mosque represents for many Moroccan women a good opportunity to gather together, talking, exchanging news and stories and sharing the food they bring from home.

Nevertheless, not all interviewees expressed satisfaction with the change and some accuse the local authorities of negligence. In this regards, some comments made by our interviewees reveal a certain fear that extremist groups might take advantage of this situation. Or rather, the interviewees sense a tendency to close the community's ranks in reaction to perceived and experienced attacks against Muslims and fear that this makes them vulnerable to those who might want to use the Mosque to circulate extremist ideas, especially among 2nd generation children. This situation is viewed as particularly serious in rural areas, where access to diversified networks is restricted and opportunities to socialize are almost exclusively limited to the Mosque.

The following passage refer to one such environment in the outskirts of Rome:

"In our Mosque, there are these guys who sort of 'invented' their role as Imams… They have organized themselves in order to respond to a need - the need for an identity. When one has to explain and justify oneself all the time… Local authorities must understand this. You cannot leave people alone like that. If the Mosque had the meaning it has in Casablanca, it would be different. But here, it becomes a completely different thing".

Bazaars

Bazaars are shops where customers can find everything, from carpets to vegetables, from milk to clothes and pencils. Mentioned as having an increasingly important socializing function for many Moroccan immigrants, bazaars are said to be spreading rapidly especially in Northern cities.

Moroccan Restaurants

Moroccan restaurants are often concentrated in the areas around the Embassy or Consulates. They are frequented mostly by Moroccans at lunch time and by Italians as well at dinner. Some interviewees find Moroccan restaurants to be "fake" and complain that their food caters to Italian-tastes rather than Moroccan ones.

6.8. Moroccan Community strategies

How do Moroccan migrants organize to collectively countervail the hardships of migration? What strategies do they devise in order to utilize their resources and improve the quality of their life as immigrants? According to some interviewees:

"Our community is very weak. There are no possibilities to exploit our resources and the host society does not offer us any opportunity to do so"

"There exists some solidarity today and some mutual help as well. There is some awareness that did not exist in the past. People are changing their ideas… During the last ten years people have grown up a bit… They experienced contamination

> *and started to emerge from isolation. In the past, people were quite isolated…*
> *Everybody was thinking of his own affairs.*
> *(…) Ten years experience were needed to change our minds…"*

One interviewee clearly explained:

> *"Why cannot Moroccans do great things in Italy, even though they have the means and skills necessary? Two things are missing: trust in our community from Italian authorities; and a shared project. Everybody has some kind of nice project, but we lack a leader telling us what to do."*

However, despite diffused criticism concerning both the lack of support from mainstream society and the lack of organization at the community level, some attempts to mobilize as a community are indeed being made. One good example is provided by the *Confederation of Moroccan Associations in Italy*. The President of the Confederation explains:

> *"When we created the Confederation, it was such a relief for me. Because I know how much richness we have, a lot of very skilled young women and men. But this richness is not being used. When we do manage to do something, individualism emerges quickly…"*

Although its members are aware that the Confederation "*does not represent all Moroccan people in Italy*" and that it "*does not count much for people of the community*", its founders strongly believe in the necessity of having an institutional figure representing the community to institutions of the majority population:

> *"The Confederation was founded to stand as an institutional subject before both Italian and Moroccan authorities. It was founded in response to the Moroccan associations' need. They are small, but they wanted to reach out at a national level. We are thinking of opening departmental branches now…"*

> *"The Confederation is a representative subject, the only one credited by Italian authorities. Everybody knows it. The Embassy knows it"*

> *"As a community, we want to aim at creating a dialogue with Italian authorities. They must give us respect and rights, they must start to talk to us…"*

Besides this institutional purpose, the Confederation also has the goal of strengthening the community's organization by improving its internal informational network. Some of the participants in our focus group in Rome, who are involved to some degree in the Confederation's activities, expressed great satisfaction with the new opportunity they have to communicate each other through a mailing list. Through this channel, all members of the Confederation throughout Italy are in touch on a daily basis; experiences and ideas can be exchanged easily and everybody is informed about activities and initiatives taking place in other cities.

In the eyes of the Confederation's members – who constitute a selected network cutting across all other community networks previously described in this report – the Confederation itself is thus seen as a precious resource they can turn to when in need. In one of the members' words:

> *"The Confederation can help with my business, because it's easier for me to involve more people in my work activities; and because it gives me access to more networks…"*

In conclusion, it is interesting to quote the words of one of the founders of the Confederation, from which emerge once more the desire to present a figure that can be recognized at an institutional level as trustworthy and as the promoter of the "new" face of the Moroccan community:

> *"One more thing is, we can have a woman as our leader. This is also a way of telling Italian society that Moroccans are no longer the people they once knew…"*

6.9. Conclusion

The analysis of the material gathered through the field research was carried out by focusing on two community aspects in order to better understand the "community force" of Moroccan migrants in Italy. The first focused on the means for strengthening the community (in terms of identity and trust) whereas the second looked at the capacity of the community to utilise and develop resources.

In the first part of the analysis, we approached community networks in their essential functions of **strengthening community members' sense of identity as well as fostering trust between them**. Although not all of our informants perceive themselves as being members of one "Moroccan community", their social identity in the host country is largely built upon their Moroccan origins. In fact, the majority of them are employed in areas directly or indirectly serving the community, e.g. cultural mediators, translators, owners of "ethnic" shops, Moroccan restaurants or butcher shops, etc. In this sense, their identity is constantly reinforced by ties with other Moroccan migrants. We can therefore assume that the community's social networks display the functions of both absorbing and mitigating the hardest and most painful effects brought by migration experience. At the same time, community networks indirectly reinforce migrants' social identity and efficiently contribute to shape their roles within the majority community. This significance of the Moroccan "community force" is evident through most of the material presented in this report - from information and "logistic" networks to the existence of informal socializing spaces serving as crucial nodes of the community networks. Gatekeepers, too, are an excellent example of the Moroccan community's inner force. In fact, if gatekeepers can perform a relevant role, it is because community members assign them so much relevance. Thus, through gatekeepers, the community proves once more to be quicker and more reliable than mainstream society in responding to the needs expressed by community members.

The findings of our research highlight the existence of three different dimensions of the Moroccan community's social networks.

a) *The local dimension*. The majority of Moroccan migrants' ties are created at this level. All of these networks provide Moroccan migrants a concrete support for their daily life in Italy. Not only do such networks provide information, they also put immigrants in contact with an overall symbolical dimension that conveys trust. Apparently, language, overall communication and cultural codes, as well as food and other culturally related aspects of life, can all turn into key-elements in the formation, or perception, of a "familiar setting" that makes migrants feel at ease. Within such an environment he/she is not asked "to justify or to explain anything", as repeatedly stated by many interviewees. Thus, if we accept the idea that displacement constitutes the central experience shared by all community members, around which all community networks have been created, and in relation to which each Moroccan migrant measures his/her sense of membership, then these networks can be said to offer them the opportunity to temporarily "freeze" the sense of alienation, or disorientation, that accompanies migration. Furthermore, the interviews indicate that many Moroccan community's social networks can continually re-mould themselves in order to better respond to the needs expressed by its members (e.g., the social change the Mosque has been experiencing in reaction to mainstream society's closure following 9/11 and subsequent events).

b) *The national dimension.* This refers to ties and networks created between the various local-networks. The most notable example is the Confederation of Moroccan

Associations in Italy, which represents the first serious attempt to organize and cluster Moroccan associations under one single umbrella. Beyond the Confederation's primary purpose of presenting the whole Moroccan community as a trustworthy political subject within the setting of the majority community, other secondary functions acquire relevance as well. For example, one of the most significant efforts of the Confederation consists in the creation of a network at the national level (of the majority community) that connects all members of the Confederation and guarantees information exchange on a daily basis. Social networks created at the national level jointly contribute to the shaping of a new culture - the culture of Moroccan-migrants-in-Italy. This challenging new culture, proceeding from a combination of the culture of origin and the part of Italian culture "experienced" by Moroccan migrants, acquires particular relevance when viewed in regards to the future, especially for the 2nd and 3rd generation of Moroccans in Italy.

c) The third dimension refers to networks connecting Moroccan migrants with their *country of origin*. Migrants' frequent journeys to Morocco, for leisure or business, guarantee that extended family networks, as well as other ties connecting migrants to their origins, maintain their social function despite physical distance. These ties are therefore particularly important for keeping the symbolic dimension alive within the community of emigrants.

The second perspective under which the Moroccan migrants' "community force" has been explored refers to **the capability of the community to both use its resources and to devise strategies aimed at fostering the community's development**. Although, as previously explained in the report, a great concern arises on who should represent the community and to what extent, various attempts are being made in this direction. The Confederation of Moroccan Associations in Italy represents a response to the need of being reckoned as a trustworthy institutional actor by the host society. It is a response that points at building bridges and ties as a precise integration strategy. By "selling" the image of *one* Moroccan community, the Confederation seeks to achieve active participation in the host society's civic and political life. The creation of the Confederation represents perhaps the most outstanding example of how community members can join together and effectively use the community's resources and social networks in order to strengthen the community itself. However, along with the Confederation, associations provide evidence of Moroccan migrants' strong will to perform an active role as a minority in the majority society. For members of the Moroccan community in Italy associations represent much more than just the implementation of certain activities. Multiple perceptions surround the concept of associations among Moroccan migrants in Italy. Associations are in turn regarded as constraints to community cohesion (e.g., self-promoted presidents of associations causing conflicts between community members) or as fundamental pillars that seek to strengthen the community's social life. However, associations are also acknowledged as a potential means to achieve active participation in the host society's political life through the promotion of the community as a trustworthy political interlocutor in dealing with Italian institutions. It is precisely on the political dimension that the ultimate function of Moroccan migrants' associations in Italy lies. In fact, notwithstanding dispute arising over their legitimacy to represent the community, associations can turn into a valuable tool of political representation. This is especially true in countries like Italy where migrants are not allowed to vote and associations can lead to the creation of a "collective voice" in the political arena. We can therefore conclude that through the creation of associations, Moroccan migrants acquire the habit of speaking in first person plural as a "we, the Moroccan migrants" collective entity that represents the Moroccan community rather than individuals or family networks.

The findings of our research demonstrate not only that the Moroccan community manifests a strong will to play an active role in host society, but also that the community's social networks are vital and strong enough to absorb and mitigate the counter-effects brought by migration. Consequently, it seems sensible to state that, in strictly economic terms, migrant communities that have a strong internal structure are an advantage for the host society. By being more self-sufficient, they are less dependant on *ad-hoc* services set up or provided by local authorities. We can therefore assume that, besides the importance of promoting cultural diversity, the creation of social policies that seek to support the existence and development of strong migrant communities can be less costly, in economical and social terms, for mainstream society.

However, our research also focuses on another aspect concerning migrant communities - the initial hardships that migrants face upon arrival in a foreign country. Those initial hardships can be said to be most acute during the first years meaning that we can expect migrants with the same ethnic or national origins to spontaneously gather and foster the building of a strong community, as a means to countervail such difficulties and to "soften" the process of adaptation in host society during this initial adjustment period. We saw that this process is occurring with the Moroccan community in Italy and contributing to community cohesion that extends beyond family networks. However, communities that are formed strong do not necessarily maintain this structure with the passing of time. Young migrant communities may change in multiple ways as a consequence of several factors. The communities can vanish and disperse just as fast as they took shape (e.g., migrants' repatriation due to a change in the political climate in the country of origin). Furthermore, the host society's social policies can also affect migrant communities' development in different ways. The experiences of many European as well as non European countries provide various examples to this respect. For example, the British "multicultural" solution encourages the development of strongly characterized ethnic communities. In contrast, the French assimilationist attempt, as originally intended, sought to "absorb" migrants, thus negating migrants' efforts to build ethnic/national communities. The recent events in the *banlieues* suggest that this attempt failed and that some sort of re-invented "migrant communities" are indeed vital. The French case suggests that the denial of cultural roots can be just as detrimental as ghettoisation in which migrant communities permitted to maintain their cultures and cultural expressions, but only when separated from mainstream society. All these examples demonstrate that the future development of a young migrant community is hard to predict. The Moroccan community in Italy is one such young migrant community whose future is unpredictable and depends both on the community itself and on mainstream Italian society.

7. Common Conclusions

There are a relatively high number of clubs, associations, umbrella and other organizations in Italy and in Germany for the Moroccan and Turkish communities. Some of the now very numerous associations, which have their roots in the first wave of Turkish immigrants who came to Germany some fifty years ago, are quite old, established locally and characterized by a certain density of organization and internal networking. Moroccan migrants have not been able to establish so many official networks, organizational forms and links in Italy, because they form a smaller proportion of the population and their period of residence shorter. Nevertheless, the clubs and associations can be interpreted as an expression of a high level of social capital within the communities. Besides the official and professional organizations and networks, there are of course numerous private, family and friend-based networks, which, being neither professional nor official, differ from the aforementioned in their density and composition, too.

Whether with help from professional or private networks, in both nations, both groups of migrants find access routes, contacts and people they can speak to in the search for support in overcoming bureaucratic hurdles or other difficulties in daily life. Whether in translation bureaux run by Moroccans in Turin, in mosques in Rome or in Turkish tea houses in Cologne or in the Turkish football club in Berlin, migrants can find help in these meeting places, too. This support usually takes the form of advice and help in questions of education, school and vocational training systems, health provision, social welfare and unemployment assistance and further administrative matters. In many cases, the first problem when dealing with these questions lies in the linguistic shortcomings of those migrants seeking advice. Consequently, the first step is to offer translation services or the names of persons who can competently discuss the problems. Finally, contacts to "experts" with a migration background and corresponding linguistic competence are arranged, who are familiar with the various subject areas.

In Italy, as well as in Germany, it is mainly the private, non-professional networks of Moroccan and Turkish migrants, which represent an important resource for helping to find employment, training and other activities for their compatriots.

Here, it must be taken into account that the members of the networks are only able to fall back upon the resources available in their respective networks. To put it another way: unemployed migrants will hardly ever be able to access the resources required to be able to put themselves or others into work. Those in precarious jobs only know about job opportunities in the precarious job sector and only those migrants who have a regular job or run their own businesses have access to regular work. Accordingly, the contacts within each of the migrant networks can only be used for accessing the available resources there together with the accompanying contacts.

Umbrella organizations exist in both communities consisting of a large number of smaller migrant clubs, organizations and associations. The form and effective range of these umbrella organizations differ greatly. They see themselves as representing the needs and interests of the respective communities in the majority society.
This claim of representation, however, is not one that is supported or accepted by the community as a whole. This is due to the social and cultural heterogeneity of both communities.

Neither the Moroccan community in Italy, nor the Turkish one in Germany can be termed as homogenous, uniform social entities. Groups exist within the Turkish and Moroccan

communities that exist de facto as antagonistic, opposing sets. The differences lie in the respective urban versus rural origin of the migrants and ancestral characteristics that run along the lines of Berber versus Arab and Turk versus Kurd. These differences also affect political attitudes, social attitudes, cultural orientation and religious outlook of each migrant and their social networks. The latter differences and antagonisms are, however, much more evident in the Turkish community in Germany than in the Moroccan community in Italy, which, in turn, was identified as a community by interviews from there.

In the final analysis, there are no generalizing opinions regarding the form of representation of individual persons or organized networks. In other words, according to the persons included in the qualitative research, neither the Moroccan community in Italy, nor the Turkish community in Germany lets itself be represented by individual persons, associations or umbrella organizations of associations. There is no answer to the question of who may and who should function as spokesperson with the majority society, in order to represent the needs of the respective communities and bring them to the attention of the public. At the same time, all interviewees were happy about the existence of the umbrella organizations, because they were at least able to help bring the needs of migrants to the attention of the public. Besides, these large organizations were in a position to bring together smaller organized units and create a forum for them to express themselves publicly. Finally, the individual members of the structures of the organized networks also profited, because their "membership" enabled them to gain insights of, and the possibility of access to, further networks.

To finish, it remains to be mentioned that in both communities, very close contacts and a great number of family-based and institutionalized networks exist in the respective homelands of Turkey and Morocco. Existing family networks in the host countries are based in the most cases on the structures of family and family relations that already existed in the country of origin and are either continued or re-established in the host society.

8. References

Adam, Heribert: „Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Einwanderungspolitik und Multikulturalismus in Kanada und Deutschland. Leviathan. In: Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaften. (1994). S.60 – 77.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen (2002): Bericht über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin und Bonn.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen (2002): Bericht über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin und Bonn.

Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (2004):Förderung von Migrantinnen und Migranten in der Sekundarstufe I. Berlin und Bonn.

Blaschke, J. (1996): Förderung von Selbsthilfegruppen und Selbsthilfeorganisationen in Immigrantenmilleus – Erfahrungen aus der Berliner Praxis. Berlin: Berliner Institut für vergleichende Sozialforschung.

Boos-Nünning, U. /Karakasoglu, Y. (2005): Viele Welten leben. Zur Lebenssituation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund. Münster: Waxmann.

Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (2003): Presseinformationen 2003, Nr. 58.

Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (2004). Freiwilliges Engagement von Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland. Projekt der Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend. Internetredaktion des Bundesministeriums für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend: http://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/generator/Publikationen/engagementtuerkisch/1-einleitung.html, Access at 15.08.2007.

Bundesministerium des Innern: Migrationsbericht 2004.

Bundesministerium für Berufsbildung (Hrsg.) (2005): BWP 1/2005.

Bundesministerium für Berufsbildung (Hrsg.) (2005): BWP 1/2005.

Bundesministerium für Gesundheit: Die Gesundheitsreform, 2006.

Bundesministerium für Gesundheit: Ratgeber zur gesetzlichen Krankenversicherung, Stand April 2005.

Der Spiegel (1973). „Die Türken kommen – rette sich, wer kann". Der Spiegel vom 30.07.1973 (No. 31), S. 24 - 34.

Deutsches Pisa-Konsortium (Hrsg.) (2002): Pisa 2001. Die Länder und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Vergleich. Opladen: Leske + Budrich Verlag.

EFMS (European Forum for Migration Studies): Migrationsbericht 2001.

Ethnomedizinisches Zentrum: Startseite, 2006. http://www.ethno-medizinisches-zentrum.de/, Zugriff: 19.10.2006, 08:05.

Gaitanides, St. (2003): Selbsthilfepotenzial von Familien ausländischer Herkunft, freiwilliges Engagement und Selbstorganisation von Migranten - Struktur, Funktion, Förder- und Anerkennungsdefizite. In: Zeitschrift für Migration und Soziale Arbeit, S. 21-29.

Granato, M. (2003): Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund – auch in der beruflichen Bildung geringere Chancen? In: BIBB (Hrsg.): Integration durch Qualifikation. Chancengleichheit für Migrantinnen und Migranten in der beruflichen Bildung (S.

29-48). Bonn.

Gestring, N. Janssen, A. & Polat, A. (2006). Prozesse der Integration und Ausgrenzung. Türkische Migranten der zweiten Generation.

http://www.die-gesundheitsreform.de/index2.html, Zugriff: 19.10.2006, 07.55.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (2000): Informationsdienst der deutschen Wirtschaft 4/2000.

Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft (2004): Informationsdienst der deutschen Wirtschaft 5/2004.

Jeschek, W. (2001a): Integration junger Ausländer in das Bildungssystem verläuft langsamer. In: DIW-Wochenbericht 66 (22), S. 408-418.

Jeschek, W. (2001b): Die Integration junger Ausländer in das deutsche Bildungssystem kommt kaum noch voran. In: DIW-Wochenbericht 68 (29), S. 466-476.

Kapphan, A. (2001): Das arme Berlin. Sozialräumliche Polarisierung, Armutskonzentration und Ausgrenzung in den 1990er Jahren. Dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Özcan, V. (2004): „Aspekte der sozio-ökonomischen und sozio-kulturellen Integration der türkischstämmigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland".In: „Die Situation der türkischstämmigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland", Gutachten im Auftrag des Sachverständigenrates für Zuwanderung und Integration". Berlin.

Razum, O. (2004); Gieger, I.; Zeeb, H. u.a.: Gesundheitsversorgung von Migranten. In: Deutsches Ärzteblatt, Jg. 101, Heft 43, 22. Oktober 2004, Seite A 2882-A 2887

Richter, E. A. (2001): Mangel an kulturellem Verständnis. In: Deutsches Ärzteblatt, Jg. 98, Heft 51-52, 24. Dezember 2001, Seite A 3421-A 3422.

Sauer, M./Goldberg, A.(2001): Die Lebenssituation und Partizipation türkischer Migranten in NRW, (Hrsg.) Vom Zentrum für Türkeistudien, S. 110 ff., Münster: Lit-Verlag.

Sen, F./Goldberg, A. (1994): Türken in Deutschland. Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen. München: Becksche Reihe.

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006a):

http://www.pub.arbeitsamt.de/hst/services/statistik/000000/html/start/gif/b_et_alo.s html (Acess at 18.04.2006).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006b): http://www.pub.arbeitsamt.de/hst/services/statistik/000100/html/monat/200603.pdf (Access am 18.04.2006).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006c): http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BL (Access at 18.04.2006).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006d):

http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=D&dbtyp=0&typ=D

(Access at 18.04.2006).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006e):

http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BGW&dbtyp=1&typ=WO

(Access at 18.04.2006, um 11:25 Uhr).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006f):

http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BGO&dbtyp=1&typ=WO

(Access at 18.04.2006).

Statistiken der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2006g):

http://statistik.arbeitsamt.de/statistik/index.php?id=BA&dbtyp=3&typ=BL

(Access at 18.04.2006).

Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2005:
http://www.destatis.de/basis/d/bevoe/bevoetab10.php

Statistisches Landesamt Berlin (2004): „Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 1991 bis 2004".

Süddeutsche Zeitung (2006): 50 000 Jugendliche ohne Lehrstelle. Nr. 235, vom
12.10.2006

Szydlik, M. (1996): Ethnische Ungleichheit auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt. In: Kölner
Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 48 (4), S. 658-676.

Weidacher, A.(2000): (Hrsg.): In Deutschland zu Hause. Politische Orientierungen
griechischer, italienischer, türkischer und deutscher junger Erwachsener im
Vergleich – DJI Ausländersurvey, S. 10. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Zaptcioglu, D. (2005). Türken und Deutsche: Nachdenken über eine Freundschaft.
Frankfurt/Main: Brandes & Apsel.

Part IV: Policy Recommendations

"We asked for workers, and we got people"
(Max Frisch)

The following recommendations are based on the findings of our research on migrant and Roma communities in Germany, Hungary, Italy and Romania. The results of our research not only depict the resources and opportunities available for migrant and Roma communities, but also reveal many controversial aspects that we believe deserve more attention. Many of the resources that are available to migrant as well as to Roma people, and which represent the main pillars upon which the community devises its own strategies, are community resources. In this sense we believe that, far from the risk of falling into an "ethnic trap", some rather unexplored dimensions of minority communities should be supported as a means to facilitate the integration of such communities into mainstream societies.

Traditionally, social capital theories have regarded immigrants as having less social capital than the population of host societies. Despite this view, chain migration provides evidence that immigrants lack neither resources nor social capital upon arrival in their destination country. Although we are just starting to understand, thanks to the Internet, the power of networks, the chain migration process has long demonstrated how powerful and effective social networks can be. It is thanks to their ties that many migrants decide to migrate. In fact, social ties often serve as the impetus for migration while most immigrants obtain emotional and logistic support on their arrival in a foreign country through existing social networks. Accordingly, the social networks of the majority community are not the only resources that the newly arrived immigrant can count on in order to access or create new opportunities in the host country. Within an ethnic community, be it migrant or Roma, social networks are resourceful: they can provide information, help find a job or a flat, provide orientation through the bureaucratic labyrinth of the host country or create emotional and symbolic spaces of belonging. The hidden dimension of migration chains entails resourceful potential as well as such emotional and symbolic spheres. Thus, as Max Frisch pointed out years before Europe turned into a "Fortress", if we want migrants' arms, we should be ready to accept their whole social, symbolic and emotional spheres as well.

Generally speaking, human beings are embedded in social networks. However, migration chains only express part of the potential of social networks. In fact, social networks can "migrate" with migrants just as suitcases do; they can be transformed by migration and even be generated by migration. Most social networks, particularly informal ones, are characterized by a great flexibility and are capable to cross time and space and adapt themselves to new contexts. In terms of social capital, these networks build and strengthen *bonding* social capital – that is, ties within the community.

From this point of view, the social networks of an ethnic/migrant community are, for the members of that community, the most precious resource they can rely on in order to find their way through the majority society - like money waiting to be invested. Nevertheless, this money is rarely perceived as spendable or valuable by the majority, who normally view these "internal" social networks with suspicion, as they are often interpreted as an attempt to avoid social control by the majority society. This has been particularly true after 9/11 and subsequent events, when minority communities, Muslim communities in particular, started to being perceived as potentially dangerous and have consequently

been viewed with mistrust often leading to forms of social censure or intolerance. In particular, some of the cultural symbols (e.g., veil) and practices (e.g., arranged marriages) that contribute to the shaping of the identity of the community, are perceived by the majority as controversial, suspicious and dangerous. Combined with cultural prejudice, such perception can sometimes lead to the adoption of restrictive legislative interventions that can represent an obstacle to the shaping of the communities' "new" identity, as well as to their active participation in civic society. In this sense, we believe that a more respectful view of these "diverse" phenomena is needed in order to limit those restrictive interventions that can compromise ethnic and migrant communities' active role in mainstream society.

The findings of our research indicate that the informal social networks of ethnic/migrant communities are vital to the community itself. Not only do informal networks allow for the creation, or strengthening, of bonding ties and alliances within the community; they also contribute to fostering mutual trust. Trust is the foundation of the overall functioning of community networks, allows resources to circulate quickly and is the result of a collective investment that enables the community and each of its members to overcome hardships. As Wallman (2004) notes, trust is the "missing piece" allowing for the conversion of the above-mentioned "money waiting to be invested" (e.g. connectedness) into social capital. In addition, informal social networks create a space where most resources in the community find their place. In this sense, one could claim that informal community networks, beyond representing the most private, invisible and "untouchable" dimension of all community networks, plays the most important role for minority communities: that of preserving, and even fostering, community cohesiveness. For this reason we believe that, to keep this private dimension alive, should be one of the priorities of social inclusion policies.

In addition to this more private dimension, community networks also have a public face. Community networks can play a certain role in mainstream society as the result of a precise strategy devised by the community itself. Once the community has been established, community networks can turn into a powerful means of civic and political participation in majority society. Community members can gather and decide to make use of their community resources and social networks to be officially acknowledged by mainstream society. Associations and other voluntary organizations founded on an ethnic base can be viewed as more or less formal community networks that are founded with the purpose of *bridging* towards majority society and towards other communities. Through the creation of associations, migrant and ethnic communities can speak in first person plural as a "We, the community", rather than as individuals or family networks. It is a habit that can lay the foundations of a truly participative attitude in the civic and political life of mainstream society, and such attitude is commonly acknowledged as highly significant in terms of the integration process. For this reason we believe that the public dimension of community social networks should also be recognised in national social policies and their creation supported.

We should not forget, however, that not only restrictive measures can heavily affect the integration path of ethnic and migrant communities, but also societal structures (e.g., schools) that perpetuate the dominant view, that of the majority, of minority communities. Within this context, school education can be regarded as a key-area and a crucial "tool". Many European countries today face the failure of integration strategies focusing on students of migrant or Roma origin; the low school performance and the high rate of drop-outs among these students provide evidence of such failure. As the research conducted in Hungary demonstrates, many of the actions implemented to address this do not effectively identify the real needs of Roma/migrant students. Despite the social and cultural change the school is experiencing due to the presence of students with a

different cultural background, the key-actors within the school system rarely change. As a result, the evaluation criteria are inappropriate for the current context. In this sense, as the findings of the research indicate, for minority students the school primarily has a humiliating function. The humiliation is both cultural - since they find themselves forced to face the "negative" values of their culture of origin – and social – for, despite the intention, the school condemns them to even greater marginality. One of the side-effects of such policy is that students of ethnic origins are discouraged from "using" their own resources to find their way within the majority society.

The findings of our research indicate that, if individuals are supported in the creation of social networks, then the capacity of the community to generate its own resources will be enhanced. Social inclusion policies usually devote little attention to this aspect of ethnic communities. Community networks, both formal and informal, as well as the main supporting networks of the majority society, should all be integrated into one single system. This would help overcome the top-down assistance policy and view migrants as active social actors with equal responsibility for the development of both their own community and society as a whole.

More recently, however, the participation of all social actors as part of the overall process of policy-making, seems to be increasingly acknowledged as a key-factor of social policies. This awareness is growing along with the awareness of the role that can be played by an active and dynamic civic society. From this perspective, the analysis of social networks becomes a key-element for identifying the opportunities accessible to individuals within their community, and observing how ethnic communities are organized in order to actively participate in the definition of the strategic measures that concern development at the local level.

In conclusion, community social networks can be said to represent a valid support for immigrants. They can absorb and mitigate the hardships of the migration experience and guide the way to an active participation into mainstream society. In this perspective, community social networks should be regarded by policy-makers as truly powerful means of (self-)supporting immigrants. Thus, they should be encouraged, not obstructed. Accordingly, one can state that in strict economic terms, migrant communities with a strong internal structure are advantageous for the host society. By being more self-sufficient, they are less dependant on *ad-hoc* services provided by local authorities. We can therefore assume that besides the importance of promoting cultural diversity, the creation of social policies that support the existence and development of strong migrant communities can be less costly, in economic and social terms, for mainstream society.

Note

It is worth highlighting that, unlike traditional policy recommendations, the first two recommendations listed below are meant to "simply" indicate some challenging, controversial areas of interest that we believe are in need of more attention from policy-makers. These are areas where it is more important to suspend restrictive actions, rather than intervene with "active" measures that may be excessive and can sometimes increase more marginalization and distrust. One clear example of this is provided by the veil worn by many Muslim teenagers: in recent years, some European countries have adopted, and other are discussing, legislative measures aimed at limiting its use at school. The view underlying these measures often entails an overestimation of the influence these girls are subjected to at home and, at the same time, denies a space to the girls' autonomous decision – a view primarily dictated by a prejudice. For this reason, we believe that greater attention should be paid to those forms of cultural prejudice that may provide a justification for the adoption of restrictive legislative measures.

---

1. [Informal Social Networks]

Minority communities are often viewed with suspicion by majority society. This holds particularly true in the current climate of "prevention", in which especially Muslim communities and individuals are often viewed with distrust. However, as the findings of our research indicate, human communities have their own "private sphere" just as individuals do. The existence of such private and rather "invisible" spheres not only allows communities to preserve a vital space in which most informal ties and networks find their own dimension, but also guarantees the community's cohesiveness. In addition, many community resources are found in this more private and less accessible dimension. Hence, policy-makers should be aware that successful integration strategies can also be found within the communities themselves.

2. [Cultural Diversity]

When speaking of migrant communities, it is important to consider that the shaping of their identities derives from a negotiation between Here and There - between the "new" culture they experience in host society and their culture of origin. Holiday and business travel, trans-national communication networks, satellite television channels and other media, are significant indicators and "tools" that allow migrants to maintain ties with their homeland. Within the space of this ongoing, difficult process of negotiation, some more controversial cultural expressions exist, such as the "arranged marriages"[98]. In recent years, cultural practices like this have become the object of growing attention by the media and policy-makers, often involving suspicion. This suspicion has often led to restrictive legislative interventions and forms of social censure, that often make the constraints these communities already face in shaping of their identity even more demanding. We thus believe that it would be wise to adopt a more respectful outlook on these "diverse" phenomena and limit legislative interventions which are derived from ideological trends based on forms of cultural prejudice.

---

[98] By this expression we intend to refer to the cultural habit, largely in use in many non-western countries, according to which only the families of the two spouses, not the spouses themselves, can have a say over the selection of a spouse/groom for their son/daughter.

3. [School Education]

Notwithstanding its stated commitment, the main social function displayed by the school until now has been to primarily maintain and support the current social conditions, rather than boost social mobility. The experience of the Hungarian school demonstrates that bold new policies are needed that can reverse the logic underlying the evaluation of the school performance of minority students. Minorities today are obliged to go through a continuous forget-and-relearn process, thus silently accepting the internal colonization process to which they are subjected. An alternative perspective upon which to base school integration policies is exemplified by the USA school board that in 1979 adopted Black Vernacular English[99] as a teaching language. Such a perspective views minorities' own knowledge as a source of richness, rather than as lacking in value.

4. [Decentralizing Integration Strategies]

The findings of our research indicate that there is a need to review the means of evaluation of national integration strategies, especially when the evaluation is linked to the allocation of funds. Current evaluation reports usually put great emphasis on the legal framework and the bureaucratic aspects of integration strategies, leaving aside the aspects more strictly connected to the implementation of such strategies. The definition of the selection criteria of the implementation sites, as well as the phases of needs assessment and the implementation of integration strategies addressing migrant or Roma communities, can all be seriously affected by a highly centralized structure. In addition, the high level of centralization does not permit the implementing authorities to define best practices in the most effective way for diverse communities. For this reason, and in order to contribute to the success of the integration policies, a tighter collaboration between local authorities, NGOs, migrant associations and independent research organizations is strongly recommended.

5. [Role of Trade Unions]

The experiences reported by the representatives of trade unions clearly indicated that trade unions can be regarded as a key-area in combating ethnic discrimination within the labour market. In fact, trade unions not only play an important role in raising the awareness of employees and employers of migrant and non-migrant origins, through appropriate sensitization campaigns; but also commit themselves to encouraging the unionization of immigrants as a means of promoting the active participation of immigrants in civic society. This entails raising the level of trust of migrants towards the institutional system of the host society, thus contributing to the overall integration process. Although we are aware that delay in the process of unionization of immigrants can be viewed as part of an overall delay of mainstream society in exploiting ethnic resources, it is nonetheless strongly recommended that Trade Unions encourage the active participation of immigrants in their organizations as much as possible.

---

[99] Vernacular English, colloquially known as Ebonics, is a variety of the English language with proper grammar and pronounciation rules and it is mostly spoken by black people of African origin in the United States. The case cited refers to the Ann Arbor School District, and it represents the first of a series of similar attempts made all over the USA to claim students' right to their own language, with the underlying motivation is that it is the school that must adjust to the children, not the children to the school.