

**LIFELONG LEARNING AND  
THE ROMA MINORITY IN CENTRAL  
AND EASTERN EUROPE**

*This page intentionally left blank*

# LIFELONG LEARNING AND THE ROMA MINORITY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

EDITED BY

**ANDREA ÓHIDY AND KATALIN R. FORRAY**



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited  
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2019

Editorial matter and selection © Andrea Óhidy and Katalin R. Forray, published under exclusive licence. Individual chapters © the respective authors.

**Reprints and permissions service**

Contact: [permissions@emeraldinsight.com](mailto:permissions@emeraldinsight.com)

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83867-260-7 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-83867-259-1 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-83867-261-4 (Epub)



ISOQAR certified  
Management System,  
awarded to Emerald  
for adherence to  
Environmental  
standard  
ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985  
ISO 14001



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

# Contents

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Lists of Figures and Tables   | vii            |
| About the Contributors  | ix             |
| Acknowledgements  | xii            |
| <br>  |                |
| <b>Introduction: Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority<br/>in Central and Eastern Europe</b><br><i>Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidy</i>           | <br><br><br>1  |
| <b>Chapter 1 Bottom Up, Top Down and Human Rights: Roma<br/>Organisations, Policy Frameworks and European Institutions</b><br><i>Natascha Hofmann</i> | <br><br><br>15 |
| <b>Education Situation of Roma in Selected Central and Eastern<br/>European Countries</b>   |                |
| <b>Chapter 2 The Roma Minority in the Education System of<br/>Bulgaria</b><br><i>Milena Ivova Ilieva</i>  | <br><br><br>27 |
| <b>Chapter 3 The Education Situation of the Roma Minority in<br/>Croatia</b><br><i>Goran Lapat and Renata Miljević-Riđički</i>                        | <br><br><br>49 |
| <b>Chapter 4 Roma Minority in the Czech Republic</b><br><i>Markéta Levínská, Dana Bittnerová and David Doubek</i>                                     | <br><br><br>71 |
| <b>Chapter 5 Roma Population in Hungary: Focusing on<br/>Educational Opportunities</b><br><i>Julianna Boros and Eszter Gergye</i>                     | <br><br><br>97 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <b>Chapter 6 Roma in the Education System in the Republic of Moldova</b><br><i>Maria Diacon</i>  | 115 |
| <b>Chapter 7 The Roma Community in Poland: The Share of the Population and Its Spatial Distribution</b><br><i>Agnieszka Świętek and Wiktor Osuch</i>   | 135 |
| <b>Chapter 8 Lifelong Learning for Roma in Romania</b><br><i>Aurora Adina Colomeischi</i>  | 159 |
| <b>Chapter 9 Education of the Roma Minority in Slovakia</b><br><i>Rastislav Rosinský</i>   | 181 |
| <b>Conclusion: Participation and Success of Central and Eastern European Roma in Education and Lifelong Learning: Common Challenge, Similar Solutions and Hitherto Unsatisfactory Results</b><br><i>Andrea Óhidy</i> | 203 |
| Index  | 221 |

# Lists of Figures and Tables

## Figures

|          |  |     |
|----------|--|-----|
| Fig. 2.1 | Classification of the Roma Community in Bulgaria with Regard to Educational Inclusion  | 30  |
| Fig. 3.1 | Number of Roma in Croatia According to Population Censuses (1948–2011)   | 51  |
| Fig. 3.2 | Number of Croatian Roma and the Number of Persons Whose Mother Tongue is Romani by Counties                                    | 54  |
| Fig. 5.1 | Parts of Hungary with High Rate of Roma and Gypsy Population   | 103 |
| Fig. 7.1 | The Percentage of Roma Children Completing Mandatory Education in Poland in 2003–2015  | 146 |
| Fig. 7.2 | The Average Grade for Roma Pupils in Poland in 2003–2013   | 148 |
| Fig. 7.3 | The Number of the Roma in Poland who Participated in Courses and Training Aimed at Improving their Qualifications in 2004–2015 | 148 |
| Fig. 8.1 | The Romanian Education System  | 166 |

## Tables

|           |   |     |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Table 3.1 | Number of Roma in Croatia by Counties   | 55  |
| Table 4.1 | Roma Sub-ethnic Groups in the Czech Republic  | 72  |
| Table 6.1 | Ethnic Structure of Population in Moldova on 2004 and 2014 Censuses                                 | 117 |
| Table 6.2 | Structure of Population by Mother Tongue in Moldova on 2004 and 2014 Censuses                       | 117 |
| Table 6.3 | Structure of Population by Language Used for Communication and Age Groups on 2014 Census in Moldova | 117 |
| Table 6.4 | Location and Dialects in Moldova.   | 118 |
| Table 6.5 | Changes in Residence Area for the Roma and Non-Roma Population in Moldova                           | 119 |

*viii Lists of Figures and Tables*

|            |  |     |
|------------|--|-----|
| Table 6.6  | Quality of Dwelling in Roma and Non-Roma Households in Moldova   | 119 |
| Table 6.7  | Basic Conditions in the Dwellings in Roma and Non-Roma Households in Moldova   | 120 |
| Table 6.8  | Household Utilities in Roma Dwellings in Moldova from the Regional Perspective   | 121 |
| Table 6.9  | Availability of Information Sources in Moldova   | 122 |
| Table 6.10 | Reasons of Non-coverage by Compulsory Medical Insurance for Roma and Non-Roma in Moldova                               | 124 |
| Table 6.11 | Adult Illiteracy of Roma versus Non-Roma in Moldova  | 126 |
| Table 6.12 | Education Level of Roma and Non-Roma Older than 18 Years in Moldova  | 127 |
| Table 8.1  | Population According to the Ethnic Criteria on the Census from 1992 to 2011  | 160 |
| Table 8.2  | Population According to the Ethnic Criteria within Macroregions in Romania   | 160 |
| Table 8.3  | The Distribution of the Population of Different Ethnic Backgrounds According to the Age Groups and the Gender Variable | 161 |
| Table 8.4  | The Level of Education of the Population in Terms of Ethnic Criteria   | 162 |
| Table 8.5  | Roma population – residence and employment status (according to the Labor Force Survey in Households) - % -            | 164 |
| Table 9.1  | Structure of Roma Settlements in Slovakia  | 186 |
| Table 9.2  | Estimated Subethnic Groups in Slovakia   | 190 |
| Table 9.3  | Estimated Educational Structure of Roma Older than 18 Years of Age in Slovakia   | 193 |

## About the Contributors

**Dana Bittnerová** (Czech Republic) is a Teacher and a Researcher at the Department of Psychology at the Faculty of Education and Department of Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague. She focusses on research of Roma and the relationship between Roma and majority from the point of view of cognitive anthropology, cultural psychology and philosophy of education.

**Julianna Boros** (Hungary) is Assistant Lecturer at University of Pécs. Main focus of her PhD thesis was the educational and social opportunities of young Roma/Gypsy people. She is a Romungro Gypsy woman; her husband is a Boyash Gypsy man, both first-generation Roma intellectuals and parents of two children, Anna and Matthew.

**Aurora Adina Colomeischi** (Romania) is an Associate Professor at Stefan cel Mare University, Suceava. Her main research and academic interests are counseling and emotional education, promoting social and emotional competence at school. She coordinates master studies programs in education. She is a Member of the international and national professional associations and participates in developing international educational projects.

**Maria Diacon** (Republic of Moldova) holds a Phd in Political Science and an Associate Professor. Her teaching area: European Economic Integration (bachelor level), European Systems of Education in Lifelong Learning Centre (Tiraspol State University); research area: political parties, European Integration process, European sistemas of education, good practices in teaching (Institute of Legal, Political and Sociological Research); and the project activity: Jean Monnet Professor, Coordinator of Jean Monnet Module, ERASMUS+ Programme. The title of the project: *Formation of Competences for Teaching the Course of European Integration for You in Modern School.*

**David Doubek** (Czech Republic) is a Teacher and a Researcher at the Department of Psychology at the Faculty of Education, Charles University in Prague. He focusses on research of Roma and the relationship between Roma and majority from the point of view of cognitive anthropology, cultural psychology and philosophy of education.

**Katalin R. Forray** (Hungary), is a Doctor of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Founder of the Doctoral School for Education and of the Department of Romani Studies at the University Pécs. She is also a member of Hungarian and

International Organisations for Roma. Her research interests include integration of minorities, multiculturalism, social and regional factors of education and women in education.

**Eszter Gergye** (Hungary) is a PhD student at the 'Education and Society' Doctoral School of Education and Assistant at the Department of Romology and Sociology of Education at University of Pécs. Her PhD dissertation topic is: 'Linguistic landscape – Schools-cape focussing on Gypsy languages in Hungary', mainly focussing on Boyash Gypsy language appearance.

**Natascha Hofmann** (Germany) lectures at IES Abroad EU Centre and the University of Education in Freiburg focussing on pedagogy of migration, mechanisms of discrimination and diversity. Furthermore, she is engaged in a qualification programme for Sinti and Roma educational advisors. She is currently writing her dissertation on Romnja educational biographies.

**Milena Ivoa Ilieva** (Bulgaria) is an Associate Professor for Theory of Education and Didactics (Multicultural Educational Environment) at the Trakia University, and has a PhD in Theory of Education and Didactics. Her scientific interests are in the field of multicultural education, inclusive education, juvenile and juvenile delinquency, health education and social education services for marginalised communities.

**Goran Lapat** (Croatia) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at the Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Zagreb. His research interest is in the field of school pedagogy, didactics and andragogy. He presented papers at international conferences and wrote various scientific papers.

**Markéta Levinská** (Czech Republic) is a Teacher and a Researcher at the Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, University of Hradec Králové. She focusses on research of Roma and the relationship between Roma and majority from the point of view of cognitive anthropology, cultural psychology and philosophy of education.

**Renata Miljević-Ridički** (Croatia) is a Full Professor of Developmental Psychology and Education for Development at the Faculty of Teacher Education of the University of Zagreb. She has presented her papers at numerous international conferences and wrote various scientific books and papers. She is a member of the Crisis Intervention Team – Society for Psychological Assistance.

**Andrea Óhidy** (Germany), Dipl. Päd. Dr phil. habil., is a Professor and Head of the Institute of Education Sciences at the University of Education in Freiburg. Her research interests include educational policy in the European Union, Life-long Learning and educational participation of Roma. She has published in these areas in German, Hungarian and English.

**Wiktór Osuch** (Poland) holds a Phd and an Associate Professor and Vice Dean of the Faculty for Geography and Biology at the Pedagogical University of Cracow, Institute of Geography, Department of Didactics of Geography. His major

research interests are in the field of didactic geography: teacher's education, teaching practice, geography teacher's professional competences, key competences, teaching methods, geography curriculum and school-books, national and ethnic minority education, and local and regional economic development and sustainable development.

**Rastislav Rosinský** (Slovakia), PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. In his research studies, he focusses on the issues of children from socially excluded communities, particularly Roma, and their problems related to education.

**Agnieszka Świętek** (Poland), holds a PhD in Geography (titled *Education as an Element of the Standard of Living of the Roma Ethnic Minority*). She was born in Cracow and graduated from the Faculty of Geography at the Pedagogical University of Cracow. She is a University Lecturer employed in the Didactics of Geography Department, Institute of Geography at the Pedagogical University of Cracow. Her major research interests: Roma ethnic minority, national and ethnic minority education, and didactic of geography. She is the Author of two scientific monographs on the Roma minority in southern Poland: *The Standard of Living of Roma in the Lesser Poland Voivodeship* and *Education of Roma Students in the Lesser Poland Voivodeship* based on own research carried out among the Roma community. Experienced at working in Erasmus+ Programmes (related to the Roma minority): 2012–2015 – Transfer of innovation, multilateral projects 'Common Goals – Common Ways' and 2014–2017 – 'Reaching the Lost Generation'.

# Acknowledgements

## **English proofreading:**

Michael Forrest Baxter, Lia Boldt, Mary Carmody, Robin Valerie Cathey, Matthias Eickhoff, Nina Ortmann, Eva-Maria Strittmatter and John Zieseemer.

## **Layout:** Kerstin Wedekämper

Special thanks to: Michael Forrest Baxter, Lia Boldt, Mary Carmody, Robin Valerie Cathey, Carmel Cefai, Matthias Eickhoff, Katarzyna Jagielska, Solvejg Jobst, Tamás Kozma, Nina Ortmann, Ludmila Rigova, Eva-Maria Strittmatter, Kerstin Wedekämper and John Zieseemer.

# Introduction: Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe

*Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidý*

## Abstract

This introduction from Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidý provides a brief overview of the social and education situation of European Roma and also about the structure of this book.

Roma are here described as a ‘hidden minority’ (see the country study about Italy from Valeria Cavioni in the book *Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Western and Southern Europe* (2019)), because – although they are the largest minority group living in Europe for more than a hundred years – we still know very little about them. Although most of the Roma people have been living for centuries in European countries, their situation is still different from the non-Roma population; they often suffered from poverty and exclusion. There is a host of Roma, especially in Southern and in Eastern Europe, who is considered to be the most disadvantaged group in European societies; that is, regarding their (1) health situation, (2) on the labour, (3) on the housing market and (4) also in education. Questions of education are the central elements of politics making the situation of Roma better. To fulfil these requirements, some European countries have taken determined steps. As Natascha Hofmann in the country study about Germany wrote in the book *Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Western and Southern Europe* (2019), we are in the phase of the ‘dawn of learning’ because there are more and more policies and programmes to develop attainment and success of Roma in European education and lifelong learning. This book wants to change this and gives an overview about retrospective and prospective tendencies in the situation of European Roma in education and lifelong learning.

*Keywords:* Roma; Southern Europe; Eastern Europe; policy; lifelong learning; education

---

**Lifelong Learning and the Roma Minority in Central and Eastern Europe, 1–13**

**Copyright © 2019 by Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidý**

**Published under exclusive licence**

**doi:[10.1108/978-1-83867-259-120191001](https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83867-259-120191001)**

Access, attainment and success of Roma people in education and lifelong learning is one of the most urgent public policy issues in Europe. According to empirical data, Roma people are the most underrepresented group in schools and other educational institutions. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) found, in its survey about the situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States (2014), that – although the situation has been improved for younger age groups – there are still considerable differences between Roma and non-Roma students at all levels of the education system (EU-FRA, 2014b). This book takes a look at the education situation of Roma across Central and Eastern Europe. In the following section, we provide a brief overview about their social and education situation.

### **Roma: A ‘Hidden Minority’**

Although Roma people are the largest minority group living in Central and Eastern Europe for more than a hundred years, we still know very little about them. There is a general lack of information and knowledge about Roma in public awareness. Traditionally, there is repugnance against getting to know Roma people better, because they are often described stereotypically. Prejudice has accompanied the European Roma through their history since they arrived at the continent. Antiziganism can be seen as a part of European history (Agarin, 2014; Kóczé & Rövid, 2017; Selling, End, Kyuchukov, Laskar, & Templer, 2015; Tosi Cambini & Beluschi Fabeni, 2017), which is not very often reflected in public discussion or taught in schools. There are also a host of blind spots in scientific research regarding Roma, which precludes thorough discussion of their (education) situation. This book wants to change this and gives an overview about retrospective and prospective tendencies in the situation of Central and Eastern European Roma in education and lifelong learning.

According to current estimates, there are about 10–12 million Roma living in Europe, among them about 6–7 million in the European Union (EU) (European Commission, 2011). Almost 70% of the European Roma live in the middle and eastern parts of the continent as well as in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The most significant presence of Roma can be found, among others, in Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia where they form about 9–11% of the whole population. Regarding the absolute numbers, Romania has the largest Roma population, estimated between 1.5 and 2 million people or more. Another 400.000 to one million Roma live in Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia, and there are more than 100.000 in the Czech Republic as well.

Despite the increasing public interest in statistical information on Roma, there are a number of reasons why it is impossible to collect and distribute exact data on this minority group: Firstly, in official statistics the category ‘ethnicity’ is mostly not recorded because in many European countries, ethnic registration is forbidden. Secondly, even if there are empirical data about them, it is often not clear about how is the identification with the category ‘Roma’ operationalised. Are we speaking about ‘nationality’, ‘ethnicity’ or ‘mother tongue’? Thirdly, a host of Roma attempt to conceal their membership to this minority because of the negative experiences they have had and the resulting stigmatisation and discrimination

which they face.<sup>1</sup> Hence, there are big differences regarding the number of Roma according to their internal terms and based on external designation.

In scientific research, the principle of self-designation is usually rejected as unreliable (Janka, Vincze, Ádány, & Sándor, 2018; Kemény, 1997). According to external designation, persons are defined as ‘Roma’ when their social environment recognises and handles them as Roma. János Ladányi differentiates between two main forms of external designation: in the first case, the researcher asks so-called experts (e.g. teachers, social workers or police people), who know the persons, which should be categorised very well, who are Roma in their opinion. The problem with this categorisation method is that it convolutes poverty with Roma ethnicity and with problematic behaviour (from the point of view of the major society). In the second case, people who conduct the survey determine who is defined as Roma. This method is considered to be very useful for research studies about assimilated Roma, but a disadvantage of this method is that the interviewees can meet the persons to be categorised only during the survey and, therefore, their attribution is based only on very limited information (Ladányi, 2009, p. 44ff).

In everyday understanding, the external description of ‘Roma’ is neither based on their ethnicity nor on their mother tongue, rather people are defined as ‘Roma’ who ‘live like the gypsies’ – in poverty, in bad living conditions, in segregation and unemployment. This means, on the one hand, that people who could be described as ‘Roma’ by the characteristic of their ethnicity, but do not live segregated, are not unemployed or poor, were not defined as ‘Roma’ from their social environment. On the other hand, people who are not Roma by the trait of ethnicity but live in poverty are considered as ‘Roma’ (Ladányi, 2009; Ligeti, 2002). The term ‘Roma’ is thus strongly associated with deprivation and burdened with strong prejudices. The Roma culture is often equated with poverty in everyday life (Farkas, 2002 in Szoboszlai, 2006). The current public discussion – both on national as well as on the international levels – mostly focusses on their difficult socio-economic situation. János Ladányi (2009), therefore, states that ‘being Roma is nothing else but ethicized poverty’ (p. 11).

Another problem is that the inner diversity of the Roma minority is seldom recognised in statistical and empirical data or in scientific studies.<sup>2</sup> Roma in Europe are a very heterogeneous minority group regarding their cultural, linguistic and religious diversity or settlement forms. Roma communities – not having any mother country – have always lived scattered in countries with different historical

---

<sup>1</sup>The attitude of Roma organizations to official statistics is different: Some of them refuse any kind of data collection because they are concerned that such statistics could be the first step of government action against them. Others tend to accept the need of central registers if the data collection involves government guarantees against Roma discrimination and antiziganism. On the other hand, there are some Roma politicians who prefer setting up statistics which help to get real information about the situation of Roma and to create policy measures to deal with them (Forray, 2009).

<sup>2</sup>These problems are characteristic not only for data of the European Union but also for national and regional surveys and studies.

traditions and social-cultural background; thus, they can be found almost in every European country. As a result of this, the European Roma minority is especially colourful. Despite this diversity, there is a 'Roma identity', which is based on a Sanskrit rooted common language Romani/Chib (with a broad variety of dialects), on recognition of a common origin from India, on similar norms, values and traditions, but also on common historical and current experiences of stigmatisation, discrimination and exclusion. Roma have proclaimed themselves as a unified non-territorial transnational nation,<sup>3</sup> which includes different subgroups. Although the Council of Europe recognises five main Roma groups (Council of Europe, 2012), these can be further divided into various subgroups whose exact number is uncertain. There are a host of different names (both internal and external) for them, which can diverge in different countries, like Roma, Romani people, Sinti, Gypsy, Kaale Roma/Kale/Kalo, Kelderash/Kaldashari, Polska Roma, Lovara, Manuš, Caminanti, Vlach/Vlah/Vlax, Vlachi or Walachian Roma, Boyasch, Romungro/Rumungro, Servike Roma, Ungrike Roma, Bergitka Roma, Carpathian Roma, Zigeuner, Tsigganoi, Cigány, Žuže, Degeša, Bougešti, Ferkosi, Drizari, Kalaidzhii, Gradesh, Laho, Fichiri, Yerlii, Burgudzhii, Gitano, Turkish Roma and Horahane Roma. In this book, we use the term 'Roma' or 'Roma people' because the first World Romani Congress (1971)<sup>4</sup> and the Council of Europe (2012)<sup>5</sup> have a current consensus accepting and using this term, but the different country studies might use other terms, according to their national and/or regional traditions.

## **The Roma Minority in Selected Central and Eastern European Countries**

This book discusses the education situation of Roma in eight Central and Eastern European countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. Seven of them are members of the EU; four members of the Schengen agreement. Most of the countries discussed here – Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Slovakia and Poland – lay in Central and South Eastern Europe and share a common tradition through their long Soviet occupation in the twentieth century. After WWII, they became so-called satellite states, which meant that they were formally independent but stood under the control of the Soviet Union. The exception is Croatia, which – as a part of Yugoslavia – had a communist regime, but was not occupied. They

---

<sup>3</sup>Delegation for Roma Issues Fact Sheet, JU 2006:10.

<sup>4</sup>The first World Romani Congress was organized in Orpington near London in 1971. It was attended by representatives from nine nations (Czechoslovakia, Finland, Norway, France, Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Spain and Yugoslavia) and observers from Belgium, Canada, India and the United States. For further information see: <https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=World+Romani+Congress>

<sup>5</sup>Council of Europe (2012): Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues. Version dated 18 May 2012. <http://a.cs.coe.int/team20/cahrom/documents/Glossary%20Roma%20EN%20version%2018%20May%202012.pdf>

built so-called ‘socialist or communist societies’, a ‘dictatorship of the working class’ with common ownership, governed by a centralised single party apparatus and guided by Marxist–Leninist philosophy. After the Fall of the Iron Curtain, most of them have become members of the EU and also of the Schengen agreement. The Roma minority in these countries has lived there for centuries. Legally, they are usually full citizens, even if they are mostly marginalised. In the communist period, Roma were forced to integrate. Although this forced integration had its price – the assimilation of successful Roma – they could participate in the labour market and education. Therefore, Roma people are the greatest losers of the political and economic changes of the 1990s and now suffer more than before from multiple deprivations and social and geographical segregation, also in education and lifelong learning. Through the political liberalisation, especially the new freedom of speech and expression, nationalist and racist ideas – also antiziganism – have (re)emerged and are discussed publicly. János Ladányi describes this negative development in Hungary as ‘from concealed selection to open discrimination’ (Ladányi, 2009). In their study ‘*Poverty, ethnicity and gender*’, which was carried out in six post-communist states – Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia and Slovakia – in 1999 and 2000, János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi (2004) differentiate between two types of post-communistic states: neo-liberal and neo-patrimonialistic systems. They characterised neo-liberal states – such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland or Slovenia and the Baltic States – through their political and geographical closeness to the EU, and through the fast and shock-like liberalisation of their economic and political systems. However, they describe neo-patrimonialistic systems – such as Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia and the states of Ex-Yugoslavia – as less liberal, rather authoritarian and paternalistic, where employers and employee have a patron-client relationship. According to their findings and based on the theory of Julius Wilson (1978, 1987), they formulated the hypothesis that in neo-liberal states an underclass-building process is characteristic – which means that only a part of the Roma minority is excluded – while in neo-patrimonial states an under caste building process – which means that the whole Roma minority is excluded – can be observed (Ladányi & Szelényi, 2004, p. 166). In 2000, as part of this survey, they made an international comparison of the connection between Roma ethnicity and poverty in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. Their interest was to describe the developments in the transitional period to market economy after the democratic systems change in the 1990s in post-communist states and in the consolidation period of capitalism structures in the 2000s.

According to their analysis in Hungary, the Roma ethnic minority broke apart along social class lines after the democratic system change. There is a process of underclass-building, which, for about 1/5 of the Hungarian Roma, means that their social position became significantly better. They practically become a part of the (lower) middle class. This social advancement also means that they come through an association process, so far, that their social environment does not define them as Roma anymore (Dupcsik, 2009; Ladányi, 2009). But for most of them, this process means that they became a part of the underclass, lost their function in society and suffer from permanently unemployment, poverty and

have no future vision. They live in social and regional segregation; that is why, [Claus Offe \(1994\)](#) calls them ‘the Unnecessary’. It is very likely that their children will live in the same situation. [Ladányi and Szelényi \(2004\)](#) also described this underclass-building process in Romania, but less pronounced than in Hungary (p. 156). According to Markéta Levínská, Dana Bittnerová and David Doubek, there are similar tendencies in the Czech Republic where around 245,000 Roma live (2016), which represents 2.3% of the overall population. Approximately, one half of the Roma are integrated into the Czech society while the other half faces risks of social exclusion (see page 70 in this book). According to Agnieszka Świątek and Wiktor Osuch, in Poland there is part of the Roma minority, which is entrepreneurial and effectively involved in legal economic activity but their majority, however, has difficulties on the job market (see page 139 in this book). In Bulgaria, [Ladányi and Szelényi \(2004\)](#) found rather a caste-like exclusion of Roma people because more or less the whole Roma minority is affected (p. 155). There is a strong ethnicity-based residential segregation, which we can describe as ghettoisation ([Ladányi & Szelényi, 2004](#), p. 124). Milena Ivova Ilieva confirms these tendencies in her country study (see page 26 in this book).

There is a constant Roma migration from Southern and Eastern Europe to Western Europe because of their better living conditions, especially since the 1990s. After the Fall of the Iron Curtain, the Romanian Revolution and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, a host of Roma has moved from Romania, Bosnia and Kosovo, applying for asylum. After the Eastern enlargement of the EU (2004–2007), a host of Roma migrated from the new member states – for example, Romania and Bulgaria – to Western Europe, because the Schengen agreement allows them as EU citizens to live in all member states.

## **Disadvantages and Multiple Deprivations**

Roma in Europe are not only the biggest minority, but also the most disadvantaged ([European Commission, 2004](#); [EU-FRA, 2012, 2014a](#)). Although most of the Roma people have been living for centuries in European countries, their situation is still different from the non-Roma population; they often suffered from poverty and exclusion. There is a host of Roma, especially in Southern and in Eastern Europe, who are considered as the most disadvantaged group in European societies, that is, regarding their (1) health situation, (2) on the labour market, (3) on the housing market and (4) also in education:

- (1) According to research findings on national and international levels, the European Roma minority usually has a less healthy lifestyle and its health situation is much worse than of the non-Roma population. Roma people regularly suffer from higher rates of chronic diseases and infant mortality and have lower life expectancies than the rest of European societies. For example, in Moldova life expectancy at birth for Roma people is estimated to be 65.3 years, which is nearly three years shorter than for the population in general (see page 121 in this book). In the Czech Republic, Roma have a higher premature mortality rate in comparison to the majority society by about 10–15 years on

the average (see page 75 in this book). In Bulgaria, in a survey 60.5% of the Roma-respondents had no health insurance at all (see page 27 in this book).

- (2) There is also a significant gap in employment opportunities on the labour market between Roma and non-Roma: Rastislav Rosinský stated – citing [Jurásková \(2004\)](#) – that in Slovakia the most important reasons for the low employment rate among Roma are: (1) low educational and qualification levels, (2) the presence of hidden discrimination against the Roma ethnic group by the majority or employers, (3) the negative influence of low status of housing and living conditions on the health status and on their reproduction of labour force and (4) the loss of work habits resulting from permanently high long-term unemployment rates and the related devastation of human capital (see page 186 in this book). These tendencies are also characteristic for most of the Roma (not only) in Central and Eastern Europe. It is, therefore, no wonder that Roma often do not reveal their ethnic affiliation to facilitate social mobility and participation and prevent institutional discrimination ([Jonuz, 2009](#), p. 290; [Strauß, 2011](#)).
- (3) Disadvantageous housing conditions – dwelling status and available infrastructure – represent a major problem for most of the Roma people in Central and Eastern Europe. Not only substandard living conditions, but also residential segregation and barriers to the subsidised and free housing market are characteristic for them. In Moldova, a host of Roma households do not have a secure dwelling; a representative survey from 2007 showed that about one third of the Roma population lives in houses which are in very poor conditions or even in ruins (30%) in comparison to only 7% of the non-Roma households. An average member of the surveyed Roma households benefits from 18 m<sup>2</sup> of living area in comparison with 24 m<sup>2</sup> for a non-Roma (see page 117 in this book). Added to these problems is also segregation in the housing of Roma, which is related to their special difficulties in finding housing. On the one hand, they often do not have formal employment, personal savings or a chance to take out a mortgage, which are requirements for obtaining social housing. On the other hand, there is discrimination against them regarding the access to the free housing market. Markéta Levínská, Dana Bittnerová and David Doubek report that in the Czech Republic, due to the absence of housing policies at the national and municipal levels, housing has become one of the areas of the ‘poverty business’. It means that a host of landlords and house owners misuse the social system and claim large sums for housing supplements to which people in need are legally entitled to. As a result, there is an increasingly spatial segregation of Roma people, who are often pushed into ghettos where they live not only in residential buildings, but also in overpriced lodging houses (see page 74 in this book). There are also segregated settlements in Hungary, where the traditional segregation of Roma during the era of communism – when the low-comfort houses were built next to each other in the villages – was strengthened through new governmental policies, leading to new segregated settlements on the peripheries or segregated streets inside of the villages. Julianna Boros and Eszter Gergye report that very often, if Roma wants to buy a house in the neighbourhoods

of non-Roma, the majority of non-Roma people would not sell it to them (see page 100 in this book).

- (4) The disadvantaged social situation of the European Roma minority is considered to come from their low level of participation and success in education and lifelong learning (EU-FRA, 2014b). This impedes not only their chances for employment and income prospects, but also for getting better housing conditions and having a good health status. These problems in turn have a negative impact on their access to, and attainment and success in, education. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Framework of the European Commission for National Roma Integration Strategies emphasised the necessity of policy measures in these areas.

## **Lifelong Learning for Roma in Europe**

Questions of education are the central elements of politics making the situation of Roma better. To fulfil these requirements, some European countries have taken determined steps. There are more and more policies and programmes to develop attainment and success of Roma in European education and lifelong learning.

The idea of lifelong learning has become the most important educational paradigm of our times and also an umbrella term for educational political reform ambitions in the EU over the last decades. Since, at the very latest, the proclamation of the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996, lifelong learning has been considered the only possible answer to the political and economic changes in modern times in Europe. According to the interpretation of different organisations of the EU, lifelong learning shall be the precondition for the sensitive, peaceful and democratic solution to the difficulties arising from political, social and economic changes. As an educational policy concept, lifelong learning, through the extension of the socially mandatory learning period throughout one's whole life, aims at changes in the individuals' subjective biographies, on the one side, and at political and structural changes in the whole society, on the other (Óhidy, 2008). For individual learners, lifelong learning is

a cognitive process which starts in early childhood, ends in late old age, and includes formal or school education, non-formal learning (in self-organized, non-formal organizations, which do not award degrees) and informal learning, such as learning in one's family, at one's workplace, or in the wider social environment. (Harangi, 2003, p. 225)

According to the European Report on Quality Indicators of Lifelong Learning, it 'comprises the continuous directed formal and informal activities whose aim is the development of knowledge and skills' (Setényi, 2004, p. 21). Our focus in this book is mainly, but not exclusively, on formal education in the regular education system in each country.

According to research findings, for example, from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, the access, attainment and success levels of European

Roma people in education and lifelong learning are significantly lower than those of the non-Roma population (EU-FRA, 2012, 2014b). To change this situation in 2005, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and the Slovak Republic declared the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015) and George Soros and the World Bank funded the Roma Education Fund

to contribute to closing the gap in educational outcomes between Roma and non-Roma, including through desegregation of educational systems in Central and Eastern Europe, especially the countries that have formally joined the Decade of Roma Inclusion. (Surdu & Friedmann, 2013, p. 36)

Twelve countries – Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain – took part in the Decade of Roma, while Slovenia, the USA, Norway and Moldova participated with an observer status. The policy measures were focussed on the following priority areas: health, education, employment and housing. In 2010, the European Commission’s Roma Task Force emphasised the need for more and more effective measures for Roma inclusion. Therefore, in 2011, the EU decided to work out a specific strategy to improve Roma inclusion and asked its member states to develop national programmes for it. The EU Framework raised Roma inclusion to the EU level for the first time and linked it with the Europe 2020 strategy for ‘smart, sustainable and inclusive growth’ (European Commission, 2010). The following goals were formulated regarding access to education, employment, healthcare, housing and essential services:

- Ensuring that all Roma children complete at least primary school.
- Cutting the employment gap between Roma and the rest of the population.
- Reducing the gap in health status between the Roma and the rest of the population.
- Closing the gap between the share of Roma with access to housing and public utilities (such as water, electricity and gas) and that of the rest of the population (European Commission, 2014).

A public consultation on the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 has found out that since 2011 there has been no major change regarding the situation of Roma in employment, healthcare, housing and discrimination, but there has been improvement in the education situation. This book shows these developments in selected Central and Eastern European countries.

## The Structure of the Book

In this section, we provide an overview of the individual chapters, highlighting common themes and structural similarities. The first group of chapters focusses on the most important policy measures for increasing attainment and success in education and lifelong learning for Roma in Europe. This introduction from

Katalin R. Forray and Andrea Óhidy provides a brief overview about the social and education situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe and also about the structure of this book. Natascha Hofmann discusses the policy measures for improving the (education) situation of Roma in Europe.

The second group of chapters discusses the education situation of Roma in eight Central and Eastern European countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, which are presented in alphabetical order. The country studies have a common structure according to the following guidelines:

- (1) Describing of the situation of the Roma minority in the selected country:
  - a. Number, groups, names and legal status.
  - b. Social situation.
  - c. Culture and language/s.
- (2) Roma in the education system:
  - a. The education system of the selected country.
  - b. Educational attainment of the Roma:
    - in elementary schools;
    - in secondary schools;
    - at colleges and universities; and
    - in adult education.
- (3) Policies and support programmes for Roma education in the selected country.
- (4) Presentation of a/an (own) study about a successful programme.

The country studies express the opinion of the authors which are not necessarily in accordance with those of the editorial team and the publisher.

In the concluding chapter, we return to the central theme of the book with regard to similarities and differences of education and lifelong learning for Roma in different national contexts and within the wider European context. These themes are considered in relation to the issues addressed in the country studies, including the social economic challenges, the policies and programmes to change the current situation for the better, and the problems and challenges in research and practice, towards Roma inclusion. Evidence from the country studies is used to explore the similarities in the challenges to increase the participation and success of Roma people across (Central and Eastern) Europe.

## **Acknowledgements**

We would like to thank all contributors, especially the authors of the country studies. They are experts who often not only describe and analyze the (education) situation of the Roma minority in their countries but also take part in policy-making, program-developing and practical realization to improve the Roma inclusion policies of the European Union. Some of them are members of the Roma minority themselves. This allows an important new scientific perspective: not only to write about Roma but to let them participate in discourses about themselves. The editors hope that this participation will increase in the future.

All chapters of this book underwent a blind peer review process by two colleagues. We also had some kind help from native speakers.

We would like to thank them all for their marvellous work! Special thanks to Michael Forrest Baxter, Lia Boldt, Mary Carmody, Robin Valerie Cathey, Carmel Cefai, Matthias Eickhoff, Katarzyna Jagielska, Solvejg Jobst, Tamás Kozma, Nina Ortmann, Ludmila Rigova, Eva-Maria Strittmatter, Kerstin Wedekämper and John Ziesemer for their kind help.

## References

- Agarin, T. (Ed.). (2014). *When stereotype meets prejudice: Antiziganism in European societies*. Stuttgart, Germany: Ibidem Press.
- Council of Europe. (2012). *Estimates and official numbers of Roma in Europe*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.
- Dupcsik, Cs. (2009). *A magyarországi cigányság története. [History of gypsies in Hungary.]* Budapest, Hungary: Osiris.
- European Commission. (2004). *The situation of Roma in an enlarged European Union*. Brussels, Belgium: Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. Retrieved from <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/b628783f-622a-4e33-9133-141329672d6e/language-en>
- European Commission. (2010). EUROPE 2020. A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. COM (2010) 2020 Brussels. Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20%20EN%20version.pdf>
- European Commission. (2011). An EU framework for national Roma integration strategies up to 2020.COM (2011) 173 final. Brussels. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/DE/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52011DC0173>
- European Commission. (2014). Memo: Roma Integration – 2014 Commission Assessment: Questions and Answers. Brussels, Press release from 4 April 2014. Retrieved from [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-14-249\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-249_en.htm)
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2012). The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States – Survey results at a glance. Retrieved from <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2012/situation-roma-11-eu-member-states-survey-results-glance>
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2014a). *Roma survey – Data in focus poverty and employment: The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States*. Vienna, Austria: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Retrieved from [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-roma-survey-employment\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-roma-survey-employment_en.pdf)
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2014b). *Roma survey – Data in focus Education: The situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Retrieved from [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014\\_roma-survey\\_education\\_tk0113748enc.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014_roma-survey_education_tk0113748enc.pdf)
- Harangi, L. (2003). A lifelong learning paradigm and its effects. [The effects of the lifelong learning paradigm.] In J. Mayer & P. Singer (Eds.), *A tanulás kora. [The age of learning.]* Felnőttoktatási Akadémia, Gyula 2002. október 16–19. Budapest, Hungary: Országos Közoktatási Intézet Felnőttoktatási és Kisebbségi Központ.
- Janka, E. A., Vincze, F., Ádány, R., & Sándor, J. (2018). Is the definition of Roma an important matter? The parallel application of self and external classification of ethnicity in a population-based health interview survey. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 15(2018), 353–375. Retrieved from <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/15/2/353/pdf>

- Jonuz, E. (2009). *Stigma: Ethnizität*. [*Stigma: Ethnicity*.] Opladen, Germany: Budrich Verlag.
- Jurásková, M. (2004). *Diskriminácia Rómov na trhu práce*. [*Discrimination of Roma on labor market*.] Bratislava, Slovakia: IVO.
- Kemény, I. (1997). *A magyarországi roma (cigány) népességről két felmérés tükrében*. [*The Hungarian Roma (Gypsy) population in two surveys*.] *Magyar Tudomány CIV, új évfolyam XLII*, S., 644–655.
- Kóczé, A., & Rövid, M. (2017). Roma and the politics of double discourse in contemporary Europe. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 24(6/2017), 684–700. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2017.1380338>
- Ladányi, J. (2009). *A burkolt szelekciótól a nyílt diszkriminációig*. [*From hidden selection to open discrimination*.] Budapest, Hungary: MTA Történettudományi Intézet – MTA Társadalomkutató Központ.
- Ladányi, J., & Szelényi, I. (2004). *A kirekesztettség változó formái*. [*Various forms of exclusion*.] Budapest, Hungary: Napvilág Kiadó.
- Ligeti, Gy. (2002). *Kikről van szó?* [*Who are they?*] In G. Bernáth, R. K. Forray, Gy. Ligeti, E. Mohácsi, & B. Wizner (Eds.), *Esélyek és korlátok. A magyarországi cigányközösség az ezredfordulón*. [*Chances and limits. The Gypsy community in Hungary at the millennium*.] Pécs, Hungary: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Romológia és Nevelésszociológia Tanszék.
- Offe, C. (1994). *Moderne barbariei*. [*Modern barbarism*.] *Journal für Sozialforschung*, Bd., 34(S), 229–247.
- Óhidy, A. (2008). *Lifelong learning. Interpretations of an education policy in Europe*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Setényi, A. (2004). Élethossziglani tanulás: Az új paradigma. [*Lifelong learning: The new paradigm*.] In A. Monostori & B. Kósa (Eds.), *Nyitott iskola – Tanuló társadalom*. [*Open school – Learning society*.] Az Országos Közoktatási Intézet konferenciája 2003. október 2–3. Budapest, Hungary: Országos Közoktatási Intézet.
- Selling, J., End, M., Kyuchukov, H., Laskar, P., & Templer, B. (Eds.). (2015). *Antiziganism. What's in a word?* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Retrieved from <http://www.cambridgescholars.com/download/sample/62401>
- Statistisches Bundesamt. (2011). *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund. Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus*. [*Population and employment: Population with a migration background. Results of the microcensus*.] Wiesbaden, Germany: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Strauß, D. (Ed.) (2011). *Studie zur aktuellen Bildungssituation deutscher Sinti und Roma*. [*Study on the current educational situation of German Sinti and Roma*.] Retrieved from [https://mediendienst-integration.de/fileadmin/Dateien/2011\\_Strauss\\_Studie\\_Sinti\\_Bildung.pdf](https://mediendienst-integration.de/fileadmin/Dateien/2011_Strauss_Studie_Sinti_Bildung.pdf)
- Surdu, M., & Friedmann, E. (2013). The Roma education fund – Developments and prospects for Roma inclusion. In S. Hornberg & Ch. Brüggemann (Eds.), *Die Bildungssituation von Sinti und Roma in Europa*. [*The educational situation of Sinti and Roma in Europe*] (pp. 35–53). Münster, Germany: Waxmann Verlag.
- Szoboszlai, Zs. (2006). IDEA vagy VALÓSÁG? Az élethosszig tartó tanulás a roma társadalmi csoportok körében. [IDEA or REALITY? Lifelong learning among Roma social groups.] In L. Lada (Ed.), *Közvéleménykutatások az élethosszig tartó tanulásról*. [*Opinion polls on lifelong learning*.] (pp. 31–52). Budapest, Hungary: Nemzeti Felnőttképzési Intézet.
- Tosi Cambini, S., & Beluschi Fabeni, G. (2017). Antiziganisms: Ethnographic engagements in Europe. *Anuac*, 6, 1(2017), 99–117. Retrieved from <http://ojs.uniaboutit/index.php/anuac/article/view/2927/2593>

- Úřad vlády české republiky [Office of the Government of the Czech Republic] [OGCR]. (2017). Zpráva o stavu romské menšiny v české republice za rok 2016. [Report on the status of Roma minority in the Czech Republic for 2016.] Vláda ČR © 2009–2017. Retrieved from <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/ppov/zalezitosti-romske-komunity/dokumenty/zpravazo-stavu-romske-mensiny-za-rok-2016-158612/>
- Wilson, J. (1978). *Declining significance of race*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged. The inner city, the underclass and public policy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.