First Flight – Student Experiences from Field Research in Barcelona, Spain

WHSz
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Academic Research in the Roma Student Colleges

Abstract

This study provides a framework for the research published in the volume, in which all student papers build on each other creating together a kaleidoscope of a complex research. The study „Equal Opportunities and Inclusion" briefly introduces the academic background of this joint endeavor by presenting the two organizations that implemented it, namely the Evangelical Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs (PERSZE) and the Wlislocki Henrik Roma Student College from the University of Pécs (WHSz). It details the pedagogical approach that helped cultivate and facilitate such a heterogeneous academic community which was based on the principle of cooperation in order to engage in advanced studies. The purpose of this volume is to bring our student authors and their supporting tutors closer to the reader as a collaborative academic community while presenting their results, which was based on a one-year-long academic teamwork following their fieldwork in Barcelona.

Introduction

You are holding an exceptional book in your hands: the first volume of the Evangelical Roma Student College of Pécs, authored primarily by university students. The students' professors and academic research staff worked with the students as a team, serving as editors and proofreaders for the final publication. The articles in this volume summarize the results of collective research in academic workshops over the period of one year. The research titled "Equal Opportunities and Inclusion" was initiated by two communities, the Evangelical Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs (Hungarian name: Pécsi Evangélikus Roma Szakkollégium, acronym: PERSZE) and the Wlislocki Henrik Roma Student College at the University of Pécs (PTE-WHSz).

The organizational background of the research communities

"The Wlislocki Henrik Roma Student College (WHSz) was founded in 2002 at the University of Pécs with the mission of bringing together students from all faculties of the university who are interested in Romani Studies. Many of our members come from Roma communities and grew

up in disadvantaged families. Therefore, it is understandable that our students receive individual and community grants for their university studies, supplemented by their participation in advanced studies and academic activities, which contribute to their professional and talent development. Their individual academic work is carried out in the community of the Wlislocki Roma Student College, where they can collaborate with peers and with more experienced researchers." (Trendl & Varga, 2018:16)

"The Evangelical Church of Hungary, as the support institution from September 1, 2018 is sustaining the Evangelical Roma Student College program in Pécs (PERSZ-E) as part of its commitment to serve civil society and help disadvantaged Roma youth access higher education at the University of Pécs. It provides them with a wide range of academic, community-building, and spiritual support to ensure that students can successfully continue their studies. As of the Fall semester of the 2019/2020 academic year, 30 students have been admitted to our university. They are primarily Roma students with multiple disadvantages. The institution is striving to help these students develop in all dimensions of their lives." (Pedagogical Programme, PERSZ-E, 2018:5)

The professional and scientific cooperation between the two Roma student colleges is quite diverse. One of its most important areas is to help students progress in their academic lives. This volume is the first milestone of a scientific process that includes joint research, field work, evaluation, and the analysis and dissemination of the results through various channels.

Cooperative research group as a pedagogical tool

In the field of higher education, the primary objective of a college for advanced studies is to support the academic and scientific progress of its students. The activities and academic cooperation carried out during joint scientific endeavors provides students with cultural and social capital that they can benefit from in the future as they integrate into the labour market. It is also of paramount importance to support student participation in academic research, for which we provide scientific and methodological preparation and various practical opportunities. The Roma student college members can study the discipline needed for scientific research, receive methodological training and participate in targeted tutoring in connection with specific academic areas. In addition, they can also receive support for individual or small-group field research, participate in joint studies with their teachers and other researchers, participate in conferences as organizers and participants, and also engage in regional and international field research. From the wide range of opportunities offered by the student colleges of PERSZ-E and WHSz, students can choose what they would like to participate in based on their study programmes, academic schedules and fields of interest. The experience of WHSz is that the longer the students have been members, the more actively they shape their community, and the more diverse academic roles they are willing to take on (Dobó – Kőszegi– Varga, 2018).

Building on these experiences, we have launched the academic research year titled "Equal Opportunities and Inclusion", which was built on mutual learning support and was established in the WHSz over the past 10 years in order to support the scientific progress and talent development of student college members. Various "partner research" projects were important developmental stages of WHSz because they provided excellent opportunities for mutual learning of participants. The principle of operation included heterogeneous research teams forming to collaborate using a micro-group structure, organizing themselves based on selected subject areas and

functioning as a complex research system. The essence of this system is that the research teams consist of members with different ages and levels of academic experiences (teachers, researchers, PhD students, and student college members). They perform research tasks together and find everyone a role best suited to their competences, learning from each other and observing the research process as a whole. The research teams that follow cooperative principles (Arató 2011; Varga, 2011) allow members to formulate their own research questions and group these questions together to develop research tools or develop joint instruments with other thematic group members. As the next step, they will conduct the research in consultation with their thematic group and also with the larger group. Finally, individual or first authorship and co-author papers are written and edited into a collective scientific volume. The individual responsibility of all participants come to fruition with constructive interdependence in a mosaic process. The viewpoints and number of analyses multiply and triangulate, and all participants (teachers, PhD students, Roma student college members) become essential parts of the research team in a personalized, self-directed manner. The research process not only yields results related to the subject matter of the research, but also supports the academic and scientific skill development of the participants, including that of student college members.

Two previous studies provide excellent examples implemented by the Wlislocki Roma Student College using the same complex research model. One study was the research conducted in the 2014/2015 academic year[1], in which the researchers considered the life stories, background of support, and the causes of success and failure for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds (mostly Roma student college members)[2]. In the same context, this investigation was aimed at exploring the identity of an NGO operating a community tutoring program ("tanoda") in the mid-1990s. The results of the above research, which used document analysis, participatory observation, surveys and interviews, were summarised in a volume edited from the papers of the research team (Varga ed., 2015).

As a continuation to this successful study emerged a volume titled *Resilience and Inclusion in the János Arany Programs*[3]. The focus of this study was also disadvantaged young people growing up in Roma communities, examining their life stories as well as the correlation between student success (presence of resilience) and the support program (inclusive environment). The research team also carried out macro-statistical analyses and spatial statistical representations, collecting all relevant scientific research on the topic with the purpose of analysing them in a reflective way. Additionally, they have also analysed resources on educational policy and examined the legal context. The team has conducted online questionnaires, surveys and field work to record focus group and life story interviews at 38 locations across the country. The members of the research team have carried out each activity with cooperative teamwork described above, summarizing the results in a volume of co-authored studies (Fehérvári & Varga, ed. 2018).

The formation and operation of the research team

Adapting the approach and practices from our previous research studies and building on the experiences presented briefly above, the research titled "Equal opportunities and inclusion" was carried out in the 2019/2020 academic year. I would like to describe the most important stepping stones that have resulted in the formation of the team, the preparation phase and the scientific research activities.

It was an elective seminar[4] in the Fall of 2019 that marked the beginning of our cooperation at the University of Pécs and aimed to enable participating students to see the role of society in the context of schools[5] and discuss their correlations based on literature, providing necessary knowledge and experiences related to terminology and research topics.

Almost half of the participants in the course were students of PERSZ-E and WHSz[6]. One student carried out independent research as part of the course, and four additional students conducted micro-research in two small groups. In addition to the context of the school and society, the vocational college students who took part in the course acquired theoretical knowledge and methodology related to social science research, and they were able to practice what they learned in their independent micro-research. At the end of the course, they all stated that they wanted to continue their investigation, joining the research project titled "Equal Opportunities and Inclusion".

Almost half of the participants in the elective course were students from PERSZ-E and WHSz student colleges. One student carried out an independent research, and four completed micro-research in two small groups to fulfill their course requirements. In addition to the context of school and society, Roma student college participants also acquired theoretical knowledge of social science research methodology and applied what they had learned in their own micro-research experiences. At the end of the course, they all stated unanimously that they wished to continue their investigation, joining the research project titled "Equal Opportunities and Inclusion".

In January 2020, preparations for our collaborative research continued with a thematic day. The aim of this event was to provide training and additional preparation organized by PERSZ-E in order to deepen students' knowledge of scientific research and research methodology skills based on their interest and experiences. The training programme took into account that the prior knowledge and experience of the participating students were at various levels. Therefore, in part of the event students shared their experiences in heterogeneous groups, while during the more substantial part of the day we differentiated students in three groups based on their fields of interest and level of research experience.

After the preparation phase, interested college students were able to submit individual joint research proposals on the topic of equal opportunities and inclusion. Selected candidates formed a research team of students and faculty members who were actively involved in the preparation and implementation of the fieldwork in Barcelona, as well as in the analysis of data and the subsequent sharing of results.

Out of the 18 Roma student college members from the research team, ten students study at the Faculty of Humanities (10), seven students study at the Faculty of Sciences, and one student comes from the Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology. According to the level of their academic programs, 11 students are enrolled in BA programs, six students are undivided teacher trainees, and one student is graduating from an MA program. According to the length of their university experiences, the student composition is also very mixed. Four students are in their freshman year having just started university during the first semester of the research. Seven students are sophomores, three students are juniors in the undivided teacher training programs, and one student is a senior working towards an MA degree. Students' scientific experience prior to this research was similarly diverse: some individuals have already conducted research, published papers and participated in conferences, while others have just started scientific research for the first time. Some of the "budding" students independently picked the topic of their research, and most of them examined that topic as part of a small

research team. More experienced students in the fields (with the exception of one individual) decided to form different research groups, pairing up with and helping less experienced peers. Students researching individually and in small groups were also assisted by academic faculty and more experienced experts of various research fields, who also edited student papers.

Objectives, research questions and possibilities for inquiry

The content of the research focuses on examining the social inclusion of people that experience different aspects of inequality. The research teams took into account all prior research experiences they conducted in the field and the topics chosen for their group research; therefore, the members could build on this information and collaborate to formulate a research plan.

Research was built from several smaller, interrelated parts, which were pre-developed according to the interest of the participants and adjusted where it was needed after the fieldwork. The interrelated micro-studies were examined individually or in small groups. The research team chose the Barcelona area as our location of field research because WHSz has developed years of contacts with researchers and organisations who focused on Roma communities in that area. Based on our preliminary knowledge, it became clear that there are many parallels between Roma communities in the Hungarian and Catalan regions that allow for comparison. Since our research team's studies have been primarily limited to Hungary up to this point, it was a much anticipated plan to select a location that would make way for an international comparison.

The basic question of our research is how and to what extent is social inclusion available to Roma individuals and groups in the selected area? What are the living conditions of individuals who, in addition to having Spanish/Catalan identities, also belong to the Roma minority? Other questions are related to the history of Roma communities in Barcelona and its suburbs: Is their housing situation segregated or integrated? What social policy efforts and state interventions can be observed in the area? What role do civic organizations play in the life of Roma communities, and how do they contribute to mutual inclusion? What are the characteristics of their school system, especially for the younger age group? What kind of support programmes are available for the school community and what does success look like in terms of school progress? What changes have traditional crafts have gone through as a result of current labour market demands in the Catalan region? Additional questions touched on the factors of resilience for successful Roma adults, as well how local research groups and universities study and share knowledge about the local Roma minorities.

Along the lines of these research questions, this study provides a snapshot of the Gitanos of Barcelona with a focus on equal opportunities and social inclusion. This volume is like a mural made of mosaic pieces and for that reason it is suitable for comparison with other areas, such as Baranya's research results with a similar focus.

The research team's field work and data collection was planned during the winter of 2019 in Barcelona by contacting people, organisations and universities. The team's schedule was planned by a researcher with many years of field experience in the field on this topic. By the end of February 2020, the fieldwork was all planned out for six days with 16 events, which offered sufficient data for the individual and group research participants.

During the planning period students were continuously preparing for the six-day field research in Barcelona. In the weeks leading up to our field work, research workshops were

held to coordinate and synchronize each sub-research plan to eliminate overlaps and make the most of the fieldwork opportunities. The six-day fieldwork originally included 2-3 programmes per day, but due to the pandemic, unfortunately some meetings were deemed too risky to attend in the first four days of the fieldwork, while all previously arranged data collection and interviews had to be cancelled for the last two days of our stay. In the case of the cancelled programs, research was done online instead of in-person after we safely returned home from the field research.

Following the field work, individuals and small groups from the Student College finalized their research plans with the help of their faculty supporting them. The plans were built on the tasks already carried out and included additional activities as well. Data processing and evaluation of results have been discussed continuously throughout spring and summer research workshops in order to coordinate topics and learn from each other. The research leader carried out the monitoring of the progress of the entire research process, the resolution of the problems that arise due to the pandemic, and the coordination of the joint work. In addition to the work of our student college members (individual and group researchers), some of the faculty members from University of Pécs also assisted the project by proofreading research papers.

A snapshot of the research papers

In the volume we can read the scientific product of a one-year long collaborative research project as detailed above. When you open this volume, you will likely notice the photos taken during the fieldwork by the photographer Samuel Bogdán, who will lead us through the Barcelona experience with a subjective viewpoint. Bogdán's research paper provides interpretation for his photographic documentation that was prepared with the help of his support teacher, János Schäffer.

The introductory study of the two research leaders - Ábel Bereményi and Aranka Varga - gives a brief presentation and comparison of the history and socio-economic situation of Hungarian and Spanish Roma from social policy approaches, providing context to the subsequent student writings. This is complemented by Péter Pálmai's socio-geographic approach, which brings us closer by mapping out the target group of our study, using macro-statistical data and cartographic analysis on the Roma or *los Gitanos* of Spain (or "el poble gitano de Cataluña," since Barcelona is the capital city of Catalonia).

From here we arrive at one of the districts of Barcelona, called la Mina, inhabited by Roma. In his study, Ferenc Józsa presents the history of this area, drawing on scientific papers and his field experience. Another research team, led by Zoltán Végh (and his team members, Zoltán Gábor Drubina, Rajmund Horváth and Péter Pálmai), examined the educational situation and the school support system of local Roma children living in the La Mina community. Their study of the school in La Mina analyses a possible model for school support based on the experiences of their visit, a focus group discussion with the Roma youth attending this school, and two in-depth interviews.

The next article was also written by a team of researchers who presented and compared a complex support program implemented by an NGO in the Municipality of El Prat to a similar program in Gilvánfa, a village in Baranya County, Hungary. The social geography of Krisztián Kőszegi is complemented by Dániel Csonka's evaluation of the educational situation, followed

by Lilla Laboda's labour market-related analyses and Katica Heindl's comparisons in the area of community development.

Following El Prat, Judit Rayman's study takes us to the Sant Adrià de Besòs Market (Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs). The article first presents the traditional crafts of Roma, the evolution of their job opportunities through history by drawing on literature, and the story of a local Gitano man giving them a tour of the market, explaining the opportunities this place offers to the community and the changes that occurred in this tradition.

The concluding article of this volume introduces a number of influential leaders and analyzes support programs aiming to better the living conditions of local Roma communities. Maryama Turay and Vivien Nagy evaluate two life story interviews that provide honest insight into the personal struggles and living situation of Gitanos in Barcelona. The people they interviewed operate civic initiatives that work for their own Roma community.

The research team of Ádám Fücsök, András Kotroczó, József Sárközi and Zsaklin Zselinszky wanted to write about gitano students in Barcelona based on the results of a survey and interviews they planned. However, the pandemic hindered the completion of their data recordings, and therefore a study which was placed in the volume undertook the analysis of local non-governmental organizations which support Roma university students instead.

Similarly, István Orsós's questionnaire and recordings about Gitano inclusion in higher education was prevented by the COVID-19 crisis. Instead, István Orsós and Katalin Vezdén conducted a study for the volume in which they examine documents and reports of an organisation from Barcelona that supports university students with migrant backgrounds. Their writing outlines the multifaceted activity that this organization does to increase inclusion.

Concluding thoughts

As editor of the volume, I am pleased to recommend these research papers to any reader who wants to glance "behind the scenes" through the eyes of our research team to see a different side of Barcelona. Through our studies we would like to show that in Barcelona social inequality is just as present as anywhere else in the world despite the miraculous historic sites such as Sagrada Família, Güel Park, La Rambla, and the Gaudi house. In addition to exploring the situation, our research team focused mostly on the opportunities available to compensate for inequalities, and we tried to introduce some of these practices in writing. There is no doubt that our opportunities in field work have been limited for countless reasons, but in this volume we may still be able to show something new about Barcelona based on our impressions and experiences.

Endnotes

1   The results of the research are published in a volume: https://wlislocki.pte.hu/sites/wlislocki.pte.hu/files/oldal_mo/00_amrita_beliv_print.pdf
2   Members of the research team: involved researchers and PhD students: Julianna Boros, Júlia Kovács, Dóra Pálmai, Boglárka Pápai, János Schäffer, Sára Serdült, Dóra Szabó, Fanni Trendl, Dr. Aranka Varga, Katalin Vezdén. Participants of the student college: Géza Búzás, Melinda Bogdán, Eszter Gergye, Ivetta Horváth, Krisztián Kőszegi, Márió Kőszegi, Sándor Kőszegi, János Orsós, Dalma Petrovics, Bálint Rigó, Lilla Laboda, Zoltán Végh.

3   Members of the research team: involves researchers and PhD students: Dr. Anikó Fe-
    hérvári, Dr. Tamás Híves, György Mártonfi, Anita Oláh, Boglárka Pápai, János Scháffer,
    Karolina Szűcs-Rusznak, Fanni Trendl, Dr. Aranka Varga, Katalin Vezdén, Kitti Vitéz. Par-
    ticipants of the student college: Dóra Azizov, Tibor Dobó, Zoltán Gábor Drubina, Rajmund
    Horváth, Péter Kalányos, Krisztián Kőszegi, Christopher Kristály, Georgina Laboda, Lilla La-
    boda, István Orsós, Mária Siftár, József Szegedi, Zoltán Végh.
4   The name of the course: School and Society (NETI0425), which occurred weekly in the
    library of the Department of Romani Studies.
5   Topics: Introduction to the elements of equality and the system of social co-existing strat-
    egies, disadvantaged groups and their attributes – factors of resilience, types of capitals
    (cultural, symbolic, social, positive psychological) and their effects on success at school,
    introduction to research methodology in social sciences based on exemplary research,
    inclusion in public and tertiary education
6   Zoltán Gábor Drubina, Ferenc Józsa, Vivien Nagy, István Orsós, Maryama Turay.

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ÁBEL BEREMÉNYI AND ARANKA VARGA

Notes on the Social Realities and Educational Opportunities of Roma: A Conceptual Framework for Field Research in Spain

Abstract

This study is an overview of the social realities of Roma people, especially in the context of Hungary and Spain. It aims to create a framework for the research studies that are addressed in the second chapter of this volume. First, the way these diverse minority groups identify themselves is examined, as well as how their surrounding communities label them in both countries with the international terms "Gypsy" and "Roma". This section is particularly important for clarifying proper terms referring to these minority groups, and providing a brief outline of the history of Roma people to understand subsequent research studies conducted in Spain and Hungary. This study primarily examines the changes that happened in the last 30-40 years in social policy approaches, focusing on educational policy interventions and model programs in both countries. The subsequent studies in this volume are based on micro-research projects conducted by our team, which elaborate on the topics outlined by this overview.

Introduction

Our writing is basically an overview of the situation of the Roma minority, in particular a brief snapshot of the *Gitanos* in Spain and the Roma/*Cigány* people in Hungary, with the aim of creating a framework for further studies in this volume.

It is important to briefly describe the groups and how they identify themselves and how others identify them using the collective term Roma in Spain and Hungary, as well as internationally. This section is intended to clarify the names that will be found in the research papers in this volume related to the Roma. In order to discuss Romani presence in Spain and Hungary, a short outline of their history must be presented.

The main section of this paper details the changes in the social policy approach that have occurred over the last 30-40 years, focusing on the education of Roma, educational policy in-

terventions and model programs in Spain and Hungary. The studies included in this volume are based on micro-research projects conducted by our team, and they all elaborate on the topics outlined by this paper in greater detail and with more specific examples.

Roma Groups and their Names

There are many terms for the description of Roma communities with different forms of self-identification depending on which community they are. However, their external labelling also varies in the historical, geographical, human rights and social policy contexts.

In 1971 at the First Romani World Congress in London, representatives of the various Roma communities accepted that the common and official name referring to all the Roma people in the world would be the plural form of the word "rom", thus "Roma" (Orsós, 2015a:153). In the period after the change of regime, the use of the term "Roma" became widespread in Hungary (e.g. in legal and strategic texts) as a pursuit of political correctness and neutrality instead of the word Gypsy/*Cigány*, which was considered pejorative (Cserti Csapó, 2015a: 80).

For international social policy texts (see *EU and National Roma Strategies*), interventions and their studies (see *Roma Decade Program, Roma Inclusion Index*), and organizations (see *ERRC, REF, ERIAC*), the word "Roma" is used to classify the various Roma groups under this collective term. Accepting this approach, we use the term "Roma" in the volume when making findings at the international level about Roma communities.

Social policy texts at the international level (e.g. EU and National Roma Strategies), interventions and their investigations (e.g. the Roma Decade Programme, Roma Inclusion Index) and organizations (e.g. ERRC, REF, ERIAC) already use the word "Roma", including various Roma groups under this collective term. *Adopting this approach, we use the term "Roma" in the volume if we report findings or make statements about Roma communities at the international level:*

> "In the group names we currently use, we can track the different immigration waves of Roma people and thus we can ultimately distinguish these groups from one another. Hence the members of the oldest Roma communities in Spain are now called "gitano" (pronounced "hēˈtä(ˌ)nō"), which is a term derived from the word "Egyptano", commemorating the myth of Egyptian origin, which was a prevalent medieval misconception. However, the term "calé" or "caló" is also very common in everyday usage. The next major wave of immigration to Spain took place at the late 19th century and early 20th century, mainly from the former territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Romania. They were mainly called "húngaros", i.e. Hungarians, based on the direction where they came from and probably one of the languages they spoke. The third wave of immigration began after the regime change in Eastern Europe. In the hope of a better life, a larger number of new Roma immigrants came, mainly from Romania. Those who used to live here, strongly distinguished themselves and distanced themselves from them, by calling them *Romanian Gypsies*." (Kállai, 2015:27)

However, in Spanish cities, we can often meet Bulgarian Roma communities, as well as Portuguese (ciganos) or Galician-Portuguese Roma people heading East in the wave of immigration in the 1960s and 1970s. The distinction based on their origin and use of language is just one of

the many criteria by which Gitano subgroups consider themselves different from other sub-groups in Spain. *For the sake of simplicity, the authors will use the "Gitano" term when they describe the Roma born in Spain.*

The origin of the name "*cigány*", which is commonly used in Hungary, is believed to have originated from the Greek word "*atinganos*", which was translated into Latin as "*cingarus*". The English word "Gypsy" can be traced back to 14th-15th century migration of Roma to Western Europe, which is explained by the fact that they were believed to be pilgrims from Little Egypt, hence the myth of their Egyptian origin, and the "people of the Pharaoh" expression (Kállai, 2015:20).

From the perspective of language use, linguists divide Hungary Roma people into three large groups: the Hungarian-speaking *Romungros*, the Vlach (*oláh*) Roma who use both Hungarian and Romani languages, and the Boyash (in Hungarian: *beás*) Gypsies who are also bilingual (speaking Hungarian and archaic Romanian). Such classification would only be appropriate from the standpoint of their identity, if we take into account that there used to be bilingual speakers who have become monolingual due to the process of linguistic assimilation. However, historically and culturally, they nevertheless identify themselves as members of the Vlach Roma or Boyash Gypsy community (Orsós, 2015a:152).

As for external labels, the Roma in Hungary mostly accept the "Gypsy" folk name. The main difference is the phenomenon that while the Vlach Gypsies also refer to the term "Roma", which is widespread in the international, public and political discourse, the majority of Romungros and Boyash call themselves "Gypsies" (Orsós, 2015a:153). Apparently, there are significant differences in Hungary in the naming and self-identification of a community that is culturally and socially diverse, and only considered to be homogeneous from the "outside" by the mainstream society.

Therefore, in the studies of this volume, the term Roma/Gypsy is used when discussing a particular group examined in the Hungarian context, and Gitanos is used when examining the Roma communities in the Spanish environment. Finally, all groups will be referred to as the Roma people when discussed in the European context.

The presence of *Gitanos* in Spain

Origin, migration and rural vs. urban
According to historical sources, the first Roma groups arrived in the Iberian Peninsula around 1415 and their history was marked by ruthless royal decrees, prohibition laws and local pogroms until the 20th century (Sánchez Ortega, 1987). Their aim was to either completely destroy the Gitano population, push them beyond the borders, or permanently assimilate them. Through the migration of the 19th century and then fleeing the horrors of the world wars, a larger Roma population arrived from Eastern and Central Europe and the Balkans, mingling with the urban poor Spanish Gitano population over the decades, although to this day there are families who call themselves "húngaros" (Hungarians) mostly with a South Slavic surname. After the horrors of the Spanish Civil War, but especially in the 1950s and 1960s, the Gitanos, following mainstream society, migrated to dynamically developing large industrial cities, first into poor shantytowns and then integrating into tower blocks.

These low-income housing districts of the late Franco dictatorship were home to an ethnically mixed population, from where the more motivated and successful families moved on.

These places from the 1990s were occupied by increasingly poorer families and immigrants in growing numbers, creating the well-known suburban "ghettos" with a large proportion of Gitano residents (San Román, 1994).

Heterogeneous identity, language, acculturation-integration
Naturally, the Gitano population in Spain has diverse, heterogeneous and rich cultural attributes that often vary from region to region. Groups are distinguished according to origin (e.g. Andalusians, Castilians, Catalans, Galicians, Portuguese, "Húngaros", etc.) (San Román, 1994), which by no means indicate that the ethnic identity of Catalan "Andalusian Gitanos" would be identical to the cultural orientation of Andalusian Gitanos. The study of acculturation and economic integration can, in fact, only be contextualized and interpreted in specific communities (Ardévol, 1986). Yet, general trends can be identified that have undoubtedly accelerated in the economic prosperity and global capitalism of the past thirty years.

Community connections, family and religion
Local Gitano communities are organized autonomously into patrilineal large families that are independent from one another and often have a conflict of interest between them without any agglutinating structure. Members of large families live scattered in different neighborhoods or in nearby settlements, but personal contact between them is common and intense. It is not uncommon for a family to dominate over other families, which, contrary to belief, does not stem from traditional Gitano "political" organization habits, but rather from the forced coexistence of families, which is an indirect consequence of housing policy (Ardèvol, 1986; San Román, 1984).

Similarly, the "cacique" or "patriarca" – the community leader or judge (voivode, or "vajda" in Hungarian) – is chosen not by the internal organization but by the local administration, who practically needs an appointed person so the intentions of the municipality can be communicated to the local Gitano population. In recent decades, the Pentecostal faith community has wedged a transversal organizing principle into the more traditional family division. In addition to belonging to large families, the Christian faith has also become an important element of identity and an organizing principle, forming closer-knit communities of interest, since marriages and friendships interlaced between families (Méndez, 2005).

Work
Since the 1970s, one of the most important forms of work and sources of income for Gitanos became trading at weekly markets as well as collecting non-ferrous metal in an increasingly organized network. As a result, many Gitano families have caught up with the consumer habits of the working class and have secured some financial stability, which has been reversed in the last two major recessions. In addition, many have been working as unskilled workers in the construction industry and in activities related to tourism and hospitality for generations. But in recent decades, there have also been masses of Gitano workers in the manufacturing and processing factories and service industries (cleaning, public transport, shops, etc.). According to statistics (FSG and EDIS, 2012), Gitano workers have worse working conditions than "payo" (i.e. non-Gitano) Spanish workers, receiving lower wages and short-term or part-time contracts.

Social situation, housing, discrimination

Finally, it is important to mention that the Spanish Gitano population live in worse-than-average financial, social and housing conditions, and this group therefore has fewer opportunities to access good nutrition and quality health care services, which results in worse health conditions and lower life expectancy (Laparra, 2011). To sum it up, we can say that Spanish Gitanos remain below the average of the Spanish population in the labor market, educational achievement, housing and health, while they are also facing discriminatory treatment grounded in stereotypes in almost all areas of their lives.

The Spanish integration model

The integration model of Spanish Gitanos is often considered as exemplary in comparison to other European integration policies. The main argument is that welfare policies keep the most deprived layers of society just above the level of impoverishment not based on ethnic membership but on civil rights principles, while programs targeting the Gitanos merely help these citizens get access to basic state welfare systems. Since the mid-1980s, Spain has developed comprehensive Gitano plans and policies in the traditional areas of much needed interventions: housing, health care, the labor market, and education – such as the following intervention programs:

- The elimination of shantytowns in the outskirts of big cities through exemplary follow-up mentoring projects, and in the 1990s and 2000s, the Iris Task Force supported and monitored not only fair family housing and cohabitation projects, but also labor market integration and other areas of support for years.
- In the field of labor market integration, the ACCEDER program (Fundación Secretariado Gitano) has gained widespread recognition among international observers for their complex training and labor market integration efforts.
- Numerous projects have been set up in the field of education, some of which are already long-term school initiatives. In Catalonia, for example, the *Siklavipen Savorença* (Fundación Pere Closa), the *Programa Promociona* (Fundación Secretariado Gitano, FSG) and the regional *Gitano School Promotion Project* (funded by the Catalan government) all support talent development and school integration programs.

Nevertheless, these programs targeting the areas described above cannot be considered successful unless they involve a more significant portion of the Gitano population; however, there has been no comprehensive assessment on the actual impact of these programs on the entire Gitano population or even a breakdown by regions. These very important public-funded programs, in which local authorities also take part, have revealed the cause of the problems, which is the state's diminishing role in implementing a sustainably run, well-structured social justice system with inclusive education, health care and housing policies.

At the same time, Spain has become one of the fastest-growing countries in Europe after the turn of the millennium, mainly due to the construction and tourism sectors. Both industries were characterized by the mass use of unskilled or low-skilled labor and relatively high salaries that did not reflect actual training levels. These factors have not only led to the possibility of social mobility,but have also diverted young people away from the education system. Economic development until 2008 also removed masses of the poorest Spaniards from extreme poverty, providing them with jobs and opportunities. By navigating the system of the existing social net, Gitanos found financial security, but only until the deep financial and eco-

nomic crises hit once again, which drew a deep divide between the lowest-skilled, worst-off workers and the rest of the more affluent workers in mainstream society.

The Spanish National Gitano Strategy (NRIS) was launched in 2012 and it has also been criticized for its ambitious expectations and for not taking into account the realities of the crisis and the economic downturn. Based on document assessments, it is difficult to connect any improving trend in public policy to NRIS (Laparra at al., 2013). Similar criticism has been made of the Decade of Roma Integration program (2005-2015), which Spain joined rather late in 2008. This initiative, however, has not actually resulted in any change with respect to already existing poverty and minority policies in relation to the above mentioned programs.

During the Franco dictatorship, the issues concerning the Gitanos were dealt with exclusively as a social issue by the charitable wing of the Catholic Church. This function of the church later got organized into a non-for-profit organization (NGO) called "Gitano Apostolate", which carries on its mission to this day. The first national document, titled "National Development Plan for the Gitano Population," was created in 1985 and it was organized and implemented by the "Gitano Bureu," independently of the church. In 1989, the Spanish Autonomous Territories began to develop regional Gitano action plans that evolved into territorial integration of the Gitano plan. Since 2003, the Integration Plan of the Catalan Gitano Population (PIPGC) has been continuously revitalized, and despite its modest budget and small staff, it manages to involve and engages more and more young Gitano people. The mostly symbolic importance of its work is manifested in policies recognizing the rights of Gitanos, remembering history and providing talent support for young people.

SANT ROC   is one of the well-known Gitano housing estates in the Barcelona area. The blocks of the   Sant Roc Housing Estate were completed in 1966 in order to provide accommodation for people who had become homeless in major floods or were displaced in connection with highway construction. The city of Badalona (and its section which is the closest to Barcelona), is home to residents of the infamous slums, called Somorrostro and Montjuïc, both with a significant number of Gitano inhabitants. The Gitanos were never the majority here, although their presence is prominent due to their particular habits and land use. Poor quality building materials, the prolonged landscaping process, non-transparent housing allocations and drug trafficking have led to ongoing conflicts in the neighborhood, which the press often portrayed with ethnic overtones. As typically happens, the financially more stable families eventually relocated from Sant Roc , being replaced by even poorer families who came via social housing programs and even home invasion (squatters), making this neighborhood the most deprived area and conflict zone in Badalona and Barcelona at large. Resulting from continuous infrastructural developments and building rehabilitations, this place is by no means a marginal area in the urban sense, being home to one of the largest, extremely heterogeneous Gitano and diverse Roma communities in the Barcelona area. Due to dilemmas in the school system, the state and church schools in the neighborhood were segregated, educating children of largely Gitano and immigrant families. Families with a better understanding of the system and higher aspirations educate their children away from this area, mostly where they live. Methodological projects, the use of external experts, and the massive presence of NGOs help curb early school leaving, but these programs only achieve modest results in promoting social mobility. Gitano students represent the highest numbers in school absenteeism and dropout, largely in segregated institutions. These students are supported by special Gitano mediators and talent development projects. However, there is almost no attention given to teacher training and interventions, school organization, and the development of an inclusive approach which could

counter the inequalities resulting from school choice. As a result, only an insignificant number of young Gitanos complete secondary vocational training or high school. Instead, most of the Gitano youngsters participate in low-skilled labor and work, often under adverse conditions in factories or in the service industry, or they follow in their parents' footsteps to attend weekly fairs for less and less profit. Consecutive economic crises also increased the number of young unemployed Gitanos in Sant Roc. The proportion of the active population that is inactive or has never been employed is skyrocketing above the rates in other parts of the Barcelona.

The following section of this study addresses the school system and all state-based support programs, as most of the papers in this study deal with issues related to education.

School system
An important milestone for democratizing the school system in Spain is the 1990 Education Act, which, among other things, introduces a positive attitude towards diversity, breaking with the deficit approach. The law abolishes "bridge schools", breaking from the "remedial model" for Gitano children and advocating for co-education and inclusive schools. It envisions a new kind of teacher training model with the school operating in a more democratic way with the involvement of external support staff and professionals. Unfortunately, money has yet to be allocated to the coherent implementation of the original ideas, and this mostly affects disadvantaged students and their families. Subsequently, more conservative laws (LOE 2006, LOMCE 2013) weakened these progressive concepts, and the fact that mixed-maintenance institutions receive additional benefits lead to further segregation. However, the Spanish school system still retains a somewhat more flexible character than the Hungarian counterpart, providing more transition opportunities between various forms and levels of education. For example, it facilitates access to vocational training or free entry to higher education for people over the age of 25.

Signs of improvement and ongoing difficulties
The educational expansion of the last three decades undoubtedly shows positive signs in the schooling and education of Gitanos in Spain. Virtually all young people complete the first six grades, but only a quarter of them obtain a certificate of completion of primary school (GESO), which is much higher than in the 1990s. In the 20-24 age group, 2.2% have a higher education degree, which shows an increase compared to previous generations (FSG and CEET, 2013). Nevertheless, the "ethnic gap" has not narrowed. While the option for schooling has become more complete and available for all, many other indicators, such as illiteracy, the number of grades completed, absenteeism, drop-out, early school leaving, and further education data are all indicators that show a far less favorable picture for Spanish Gitanos in comparison to non-Gitanos (Laparra et al. 2013; FSG and CEET, 2013). For example, in the 16-19 age group, 25% of Gitanos go on to obtain primary school certificate but do not continue their education. This is 47% of the total population. The proportion of young Gitanos (16-19) completing a two-year grammar school or vocational training is only 7.4% compared to 24.7% for non-minorities of the same age. In the older age group (20–24), the gap further increases between the minority and the mainstream to 31%, which is even more apparent from higher education data (FSG and CEET, 2013). Research shows that Gitano students and their families often find school to be a hostile or non-inclusive environment. All these (partly grounded) fears and prejudices about the education system, as well as the increasing impoverishment of many Gitano families (especially after the 2008 crisis), makes it difficult for families to direct their future ambition towards education in the long run (Laparra et al., 2013; Abajo & Carrasco, 2004; Garcia Pastor, 2005).

On the other hand, despite the educational reforms, schools (especially from the upper grades) are rather slowly turning towards inclusive and intercultural approaches at the institutional level, and in terms of pedagogy and instruction (BeremÉnyi, 2007, 2011b, 2011a). In teacher education, for example, the history and culture of the Gitano and Roma groups, their segregation experience throughout generations, and a comprehensive intercultural approach to training are lacking. The paradox of the situation is that the expansive pedagogical debates on interculturalism in the 1980s were practically about educating Gitanos, while in recent decades discourses on immigration, the internal diversity of Spanish national and minority identities, cultural homogenization, and other current issues are completely neglected (Lluch, 2013). In Spain, the situation of Gitanos – especially the education of children – is not a central issue (Bereményi, 2011a), but rather a marginal topic despite several sociological surveys showing that Gitanos remain to be the most rejected social group even ahead of immigrants and prisoners (CIS - Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 2005).

Targeted programs, projects, and civil society involved in education
While there are only traces of elements recognizing cultural diversity and compensating for social inequalities in primary school, programs and projects targeting ethnic groups (i.e. Gitanos) in education have multiplied. Of these, it is important to mention the Gitano Secretariat Foundation (*Fundación Secretariado Gitano)*, a publicly funded NGO and its Promotion program (*Promociona)* covering all regions in Spain, which has been transferring Gitano students from lower to upper grades since 2009 and providing them support for completing primary school. In Catalonia, the Pere Closa Foundation (*Fundación Pere Closa*), and a similar talent development and support organization, the "*Siklavipen Savorença"* program, help students showing initial success with strong family support. The *Integrated Catalan Gitano Plan* provides public funding for the work of Gitano school promoters (i.e. mediators) who work specifically with school-selected students and their families to reduce absenteeism and increase educational success. Many other regional or local organizations and university-affiliated project teams do similar ethnically targeted work, typically in neighborhoods with a high proportion of Gitano children.

In Catalonia, on the other hand, the available forms of support are becoming scarcer at the secondary school level, and young Gitanos cannot count on assistance unless they join ethnic organizations. On the way to higher education at the university, a group called *Campus Rom* was established a few years ago, which provides a protected, ethnically homogeneous, inclusive environment, as well as spiritual and academic support for young people of Gitano origin. It is funded by the state partly under the Gitano Plan. The educational data analyses examining the Gitano population, however, often fail to pay attention to the fact that after a few years of dropping out, young people return to education at a high rate in their older age through various programs, active labor market training, and adult training (FSG and CEET, 2013). This is mostly made possible by non-ethnic, locally available labor markets, youth policy or education bodies.

Undoubtedly, much progress has been made compared to previous decades, yet change in schools in the poorest neighborhoods is quite slow and results are volatile. The La Mina school, which was visited during the 2020 research trip, also reveals that the coordinated work of a creative, dedicated teaching staff and many local organizations are able to make a difference and break through with dozens of individual success stories. However, structural changes are not yet emerging in the field of education, nor in the transition process from school to work.

The presence of Gypsies in Hungary

Origin, migration, rural vs. urban, heterogeneous identity and language
According to the 2010 census, 317,000 people declared themselves to be of Roma/Gypsy origin ("*cigány nemzetiségű*", which translates as "of Roma/Gypsy nationality"). Various research studies and Roma organizations estimate this number to be between 650,000 and 1 million (Cserti Csapó, 2015a). The Roma population is concentrated in the northeastern and southwestern regions of Hungary, and they are overrepresented in the villages of less developed regions and segregated environments.

Attitudes towards the Roma/Gypsy people in Hungary were also strongly influenced by the historical era and its political environment (Dupcsik, 2015), which in many respects has similarities to the situation in Spain. All forms of social coexistence and exclusion have been experienced by Roma/Gypsy communities who arrived at Hungarian territories in the last 600 years in several waves. They experienced acceptance, peaceful or violent assimilation, and even persecution.

The largest group of Roma/Gypsy people in Hungary are called the "Romungros" (Hungarian speaking Roma) who were formed from Roma groups that immigrated from the east and pushed back from Western Europe (including Spain) into the Carpathian Basin (Mezey, 1986: 7). During the wars against the Turks (15th-16th centuries), these groups played an important role in Hungarian society, and their occupations, such as construction, metalwork, weapon production and horse trade were indispensable; therefore, they received certain privileges from the various rulers (Kállai, 2015: 25). The era of enlightened absolutism forced the Roma/Gypsy groups to settle down, which resulted in language change and involuntary cultural assimilation.

In the second half of the 1800s, a new wave of immigration began, and it was then that Vlach Roma groups ("oláhcigány" in Hungarian language) emerged, who preserved their traditions and the various dialects of the Romani language. These migrant communities continued to maintain their "gathering and moving way of life" for survival (if not necessarily their traveler or nomadic relocation) up until the second half of the twentieth century (Havas, 1982). The third wave in the early 1900s resulted in the emergence of another group of Gypsy people. They are Gypsy communities that already underwent a language change in Transylvania, speaking the archaic version of the Romanian language and calling themselves Boyash ("beás" in Hungarian) (Orsós, 2015a). Their traditional crafts included basket weaving, wooden washbasin making and bowl carving, but they soon settled into the lower strata of village society, and their assimilation took place only over a few decades.

The post-World War II socialist era until the change of regime in 1989 brought constant change for all three groups of Hungarian Roma/Gypsies. The approach of the 1961 party resolution represented an assimilation policy for the Roma/Gypsy communities living in deep poverty on the margins of society (Kállai, 2015: 36). In this period, the Roma/Gypsy groups' "gathering and moving way of life" was able to survive by adapting to the possibilities of the sociopolitical environment. Bilingualism served as a cohesive tool that helped maintain traditional family relationships, but there was also an immense amount of persecution of Roma/Gypsy folks being different from the "socialist type of man", which was portrayed by the regime as the society's ideal role-model. In line with the labor market needs of the socialist economy, the majority of Roma/Gypsy people were able to find low-skilled jobs in construction, mining, agriculture and other heavy industries, and thus their living standards improved (Havas, 1982).

Nevertheless, the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy continued to belong to the lower segments of society during state socialism based on their social realities and external perceptions of them.

Overall, in the decades before the change of regime in 1989, the employment rate of adult men in the Roma/Gypsy population was increasingly approaching that of the total adult population, their housing conditions also improved with the termination of some Roma settlements and urbanization, and the educational attainment of Roma communities also increased; however, the social distance between majority groups in society and the Roma/Gypsy population remained essentially unchanged (Kemény, Janky & Lengyel, 2004).

"Who is Roma or Gypsy?"
Research and social policies related to Roma/Gypsy people in Hungary cannot ignore the question of who is considered to be Roma or Gypsy. The two approaches – namely "the one who is considered to be such by his/her environment" or "the one who identifies to be so" – are approaches both present side-by-side, causing variances not only in legal standings, but also for census when trying to determine the exact population or when ensuring the rights of national minorities (Cserti Csapó, 2015a: 81).

The other problem is that a significant portion of Roma/Gypsies belong to the lower income bracket of society, which can be traced back to the historical reasons described above. One of the consequences of this is that from public discourse to social and educational policy, the terms "disadvantaged" and Roma/Gypsy appear as synonymous, often used interchangeably. Their synonymous use ignores the social stratification within the Roma/Gypsy communities, making the different cultural and social characteristics of the whole community merely a social problem. This approach could be seen with more or less the same emphasis throughout the history of Gypsies, and it was definitely present in the Kádár era (i.e. the socialist period after the 1960s). In recent decades, the term "disadvantaged Roma students/population" has been used, which reinforces the link between the two concepts, and it does not take into account those individuals who would not feel disadvantaged due to their social status, yet experience unfair treatment due to discriminatory atrocities.

Following the change of the regime, the legal guarantee of minority rights (1993) is a necessary but not sufficient condition for protecting the language, culture and self-organization or minority groups; therefore, neither Roma minority education programs nor the Roma self-government system were unable to live up to their hopes. Likewise, despite the 2003 act prohibiting discrimination[1], prejudices and exclusionary attitudes towards Roma/Gypsies at schools and in the labor market and housing to this day are often latent, but not explicit.

Emancipation period: minority law and "catch-up" policy
The political and social changes following the change of regime had a major impact on the Roma. Although the Minority Act (1993) granted Roma rights to ethnic minorities, the mobility started in the previous period was hindered by the development of the market economy, Roma/Gypsies being the "real losers of the regime change" (Kertesi, 2005:17). It is because the low-skilled socialist labor market sectors that "absorbed" the majority of employees were the ones first eliminated. Figures show the consequences: 76.1% of Roma/Gypsy men and 84.6% of the non-Roma/Gypsy population worked in the pre-transition period, and a 1993 survey found that 37.7% Roma/Gypsy men were excluded from the labor market as opposed to 9.7% non-Roma/non-Gypsy men being excluded (Kertesi, 1995:21). According to Havas-Kemény's studies (1995: 4), the higher proportion of the Roma/Gypsy population lived in small

settlements and industrial areas before the change of the regime (1971: 78.4%, 1993: 60.5%). After the loss of job opportunities – especially in the northeastern and southwestern parts of Hungary – the outflow and inflow of the population accelerated, and the "trapped" poor and uneducated population, including Roma/Gypsies, became inhabitants of "ghetto" cities, villages, and areas. The resulting settlement disadvantage further exacerbated the social inhibition and separation of Roma/Gypsies from mainstream society.

School, education

In terms of education, the situation of Gypsies improved significantly by the 1990s, especially in the younger age group. In 25 years, the proportion of those who completed eight grades has risen from one-third to two-thirds, and a layer of 10% skilled work force has also appeared. However, the negligible proportion of graduates remained unchanged (Kemény-Havas, 1996:356). The positive shift in the level of education of the Roma, however, did not prove to be an adequate asset, as the increased level of education in the mainstream society did not actually allow Roma/Gypsy people have an actual advantage on the labor market. Nevertheless, for Roma/Gypsy communities, the schooling of their children promised an opportunity to break out of poverty during the period of long-term unemployment. It is no coincidence that numerous innovations, mainly initiated by NGOs, have been targeted at improving the school success of Roma children.

The founders of the Gandhi Grammar School (i.e. the Gandhi Foundation) envisioned a secondary school awarding high school diplomas to Roma children who are the first in their families with plans to enter higher education. They wanted to bring these students to Pécs, house them in a dormitory at a critical age when it would still be possible to provide the needed interventions to make up for the gaps in their schooling, and help them obtain the essential skills necessary for graduation to enter college or university. At the same time, the teaching staff of this high school developed a pedagogical program with a Roma/Gypsy national minority curriculum, travelling to Southern Transdanubian settlements in order to search for and recruit talented gypsy students for the Gandhi school. The institutional principles were developed in the first phase: intensive and continuous contact with families; academic, social, spiritual and cultural support of students; and an emphasis on innovative pedagogical methods.

In February 1994, 56 students began studying at the Gandhi Grammar School, and since then approximately the same number of students have enrolled in the program every new school year. The institution has switched to a four-year structure and entered the *Arany János Dormitory Program* (Fehérvári & Varga, 2018), which requires participants to enroll in a preparatory year and an additional four years of high school. The institution is also characterized by its continuously reflecting and transforming pedagogical practice that aspires to meet the needs of its students, in addition to the maintenance of structural changes. A 25-year operation has stabilized the institution, modeling how to compensate for social disadvantages at school and strengthen the Roma/Gypsy identity of students. Some of the students leaving the institution obtain a vocational profession after graduation, while others continue in higher education. The institution has made a significant contribution to the development of the Roma/Gypsy middle class in the region.

With the support of the Gandhi Foundation and its professionals working there, additional institutions were established in Baranya. The *Amrita OBK Association* was the predecessor of other co-op style community tutoring schools established between 1994 and 2002, such as

the Collegium Martineum which was founded in 1996 (Takács, 2009). Simultaneously, non-governmental organizations providing out-of-school assistance in Pécs were organized, such as the *Faág BK* Association for people in public care or the *Khetanipe Association*, founded by Roma/Gypsy students. The Soros Foundation also operated a Roma Education Program during this period as part of its public education development program, playing a significant role in launching all these innovations. In addition to the Baranya initiatives, this program with its significant resources helped build a model of a cooperative tutoring program between Roma/Gypsy students and their teachers, providing a complex after-school support program and parent-student scholarships. Parallel to such progressive models, the mainstream education system was still restricted to the pedagogical practice called remedial "Roma catch-up education", which was a student support program that had minimal success. Over the ten-year period, the polarizing effects of social change could also be seen in the school system, with an increasing number of segregated primary schools where the standard of education lagged far behind that of other schools (Havas & Liskó, 2005).

Pre-accession and post-accession EU integration policies and their impact on education
From the end of the 1990s, Hungary had been preparing more and more actively for EU accession. The "Phare programs" served this purpose with significant pre-accession resources, and educational programs seeking to compensate for disadvantages were also funded as continuations of the innovations from the previous period, building on their results and experience. Thus, out-of-school support programs for disadvantaged and Roma/Gypsy students became more widespread, and initiatives to support such students in higher education were launched. In Pécs, Hungary in 2002, the Henrik Wlislocki Roma Student College (WHSz) was also founded with the support a Phare grant and the Department of Romani Studies was also established in previous years. The WHSz was set up to help Roma/Gypsy students and it included elements of support for the Romaversitas Foundation, which was established for a similar purpose in 2000 with the support of the Soros Foundation.

An important characteristic of the first decade of the 21st century is the prevalence of educational integration in line with EU strategic guidelines. Comprehensive research was conducted to acquire baseline data for targeting the relevant institutions with a strategic integration development plan that would penetrate the mainstream education system (from kindergarten to secondary school). This research revealed that systemic segregation of Roma/Gypsy students is present in 770 schools (Havas & Liskó, 2005). To counterbalance segregation in Hungary, the Integrated Pedagogical System (IPR) in public education was introduced in 2004 with legal support providing significant resources in almost half of the schools by 2012 (Varga, 2016). The legislation selected "disadvantaged" and "multiple disadvantaged" students as target groups for IPR, delineating and narrowing this legal category for the purpose of educational support to "children of uneducated, low-income parents". In many places, primarily Roma/Gypsy children and students were included in the disadvantaged category, maintaining the dichotomy discussed above. During almost a decade of operation, IPR has been integrated into the world of our schools, resulting in perceptible and measurable student progress, but it has not been able to eliminate segregation in the absence of sufficient legislative power and sanctions (Havas & Zolnay, 2011).

Following the accession to the EU in 2004, two rounds of EU application (HRDOP, SROP) also targeted development in the field of integration of "disadvantaged Roma" students with significant project resources. In addition to the IPR developments in public education, the rec-

ognition of the importance of extracurricular support resulted in the expansion of co-op based after-school tutoring programs funded by additional resources. It was also at that time that *Safe Start Houses* were established in the most disadvantaged areas in Hungary to provide early childhood development for families. These centers were an adaptation of a successfully operating model in England. At the high school level and under the umbrella of Arany János Programs, from 2000 several sub-programs emerged to support disadvantaged students with dormitory housing and meals. In addition, several scholarship programs were established to stimulate the willingness to learn from upper-primary schools all the way to university in a "teacher-student patronage system" adopted from an existing Soros Program (Varga, 2015). The latter also involved scholarship for self-declared disadvantaged or multiple disadvantaged Roma/Gypsy students who wished to continue their studies in higher education institutions (MACIKA).

In this decade (2000-2010), a complete system of education was developed, offering equitable educational benefits from birth to tertiary education – specifically for the legal category of "disadvantaged Roma/Gypsy students". The support system set up was in line with the EU Lisbon principles and strategies for educational integration. It placed domestic interventions in the legal framework, allocated EU funds to programs and "framed" them with complex subsidies for the labor market and housing development in the "the most disadvantaged areas" ("leghátrányosabb helyzetű térség", or LHH areas in Hungarian). However, the expected impact was only partially achieved due to the fragmentation of EU resources, the short time constraints of some of the projects, and the overall societal barriers that programs and legislation have not been able to completely offset.

After 2011, the horizontal axis of the EU education strategy became the reduction of early school leaving and defining the expected indicators, which in turn influenced the focus points in the education system (Fehérvári, 2015). In this context, a smaller part of the EU funding sources was labelled for education development (EFOP) as compensation for disadvantages students. Such funds helped the establishment of *student colleges for advanced studies* (called "Roma/cigány szakkollégium(ok)" in Hungarian) to mentor university students and the *after-school tutoring co-operatives* (called "tanodák" in Hungarian). In these two programs, Roma/Gypsy students appear as the directly targeted minority group in the grant applications. Both types of programs ("after-school tutoring co-ops" and "Roma student college mentoring programs") have been included in the state support system, and their operation has been funded from this system. There are currently more than 300 after-school tutoring co-operatives functioning in the country, mainly supporting disadvantaged Roma/Gypsy primary school students. There are 11 Roma student colleges helping nearly 300 students at various universities in the country, run by churches and secular organizations. It is considered to be exemplary that the programs launched at the two levels of schools (primary and tertiary) two decades ago with the support of EU funds were strengthened, developed a strong network, and eventually entered the state education and legal system with allocated funds.

However, it is a puzzling question why the integration and inclusion programs in mainstream education could not develop with similar success and gain the same legal and financial support. IPR (Integrative Pedagogical Program) will be replaced by a much simpler and unfunded program, and the future of the Arany János Program is also becoming increasingly uncertain at the secondary level because its sub-program, which supports the largest proportion of Roma/Gypsy students, will be discontinued and other secondary support programs will likely collapse due to the complete restructuring of the vocational training system with attractive scholarships. Another characteristic of the constantly restructured Hungarian education

system since 2012 is that church-based schools are increasingly playing a role in public educa-tion. Many of these religious schools unfortunately contribute to social segmentation by either accepting the higher status middle class families and offering them viable quality educational alternatives while keeping most lower status families relegated to state-maintained school districts or willingly operating completely segregated institutions by offering denominational education (Fejes & Szücs, 2018). The maintenance of school segregation is also caused by certain "survival strategies" used by small rural institutions, which apply to be Roma/Gypsy national minority school programs in order to remain open even with lower class sizes and to avoid school closures (Andl, 2015). Research among schools operating these program shows, however, that neither the training of teachers nor the legal regulators or the specialty curricula can be a guarantee for quality education for all (Orsós, 2015b).

EU Roma Strategy, its Hungary adaptation and the Decade of Roma Inclusion
It is worth noting that there has been an increasing focus on the Roma in the European Union since the early 2000s. Even before its accession to the EU, Hungary had legal and social policy documents and programs concerning the Roma/Gypsy population, which was complemented by the task of ensuring the integration of the Roma population as part of the EU Accession Partnership with Hungary (Cserti Csapó, 2019). According to the European Commission's re-port of June 2013, among other countries in the Central-Eastern European region, Hungary has not yet complied with some of the recommendations, highlighting the issue of educa-tional segregation (Cserti Csapó, 2019). According to an index used to evaluate and review results during the Decade of Roma Inclusion, Spain and Hungary's Roma population lagged slightly behind, and Spain remained more advanced in terms of the smallest social disparities between the Roma and the non-Roma population. In Hungary, segregation has increased and the proportion of Roma students who have not completed upper secondary education has increased. These statistical figures in all participating countries can be reviewed in the publica-tion titled "Changes in the educational gap of the Roma population in relation to the majority society in the countries participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2014)" (Cserti Csapó, 2019: 68).

In 2010, the EU launched the EU Framework for a National Roma Integration Strategy, call-ing on EU Member States to develop a national Roma integration strategy to achieve the com-mon goals set forth. Hungary is currently working on complying with these goals in the frame-work of the "National Social Inclusion Strategy". Participants in Hungarian civil society regularly publish an assessment of the impact of policies on the Roma population. As for public education, the following provides an overview of the latest civil society monitoring report[2] (2018):
- Developments in the mainstream education policy have had a particularly negative impact on the disadvantaged Roma/Gypsy students, making it more difficult for them to meet the requirements of these categories (and thus accessing support services). The relevance of these indicators in monitoring the segregation process declined be-tween and within schools (Civil Monitor, 2018:48).
- While the number of institutions "turning into ghetto schools" decreased, the number of institutions that became "ghetto schools" definitely increased between 2008 and 2016 (Civil Monitor, 2018:50). This process is also related to the change in school maintainer (growing number of church-run schools), the early segregation of Roma students and the growth of the Roma population in settlements and parts of settle-ments (i.e. territorial segregation). The centralization of the system of public education

could also have a positive effect on equal opportunities, but no such firm resolution has been made (Civil Monitor, 2018:53). Winning lawsuits demanding desegregation are viewed negatively by the state and have had no systemic impact over the past decade (Civil Monitor, 2018:53).

- The lowering of the compulsory school age from 18 to 16 years has provoked a heated debate, especially by making public work accessible to minors, which likely has changed in recent years (Civil Monitor, 2018:49).
- Mandating three-year pre-school education in 2015 and the Sure Start children's centers, on the other hand, have shown positive trends (Civil Monitor, 2018:49 and 55).
- The Public Education Bridge Program (targeting students who are not admitted to a secondary school after completing primary education) and the Vocational Training Bridge Program (for students who have already reached the age of 16 but only completed 6th grade) are additional selection points in the Hungarian education system and their effectiveness has been widely criticized (Civil Monitor, 2018:53).

The 2018 review of civil society organizations confirms the criticisms already discussed above, and while it documents hopeful results in several points highlighted (e.g. regarding free and accessible preschool and the growing network of after-school co-op tutoring), it is very pessimistic about the role of school in general as an institution furthering social cohesion and promoting equal opportunities.

The characteristic features of the three decades examined in Hungary is that social policy specifically focused on the Roma/Gypsy population, and therefore numerous initiatives and programs were launched with domestic and EU support. After the change of regime, it took more than ten years for civic initiatives aimed at improving the educational outcome of Roma to reach the public sector. Another decade passed before a system-wide strategy developed with equitable funding and subsidized programs from birth to the completion of higher education, with many programs getting implemented in cooperation with the social sector and in partnership with civic initiatives in mainstream education. Although socially disadvantaged children and students were specifically targeted by these programs, special attention was paid to Roma/Gypsy students. In the last decade, some elements of the established system have been strengthened while others have faded. The role of public education in the integration efforts for Roma has weakened dramatically, and education policy focus shifted towards preventing early school leaving in line with EU expectations. Although research shows that Roma/Gypsy pupils are over-represented among early school leavers, some of the interventions are not able to reach them in a targeted way due to the limitations in adequate data collection. Nowadays, the common practice is to increase the school success of Roma/Gypsy pupils mainly by operating out-of-school tutoring programs (e.g. after school co-op or "tanoda" in Hungarian); however, the development of an inclusive public education system is still pending.

Conclusion

It is exciting and informative for Hungarian researchers to examine the world of Spanish Gitanos. This country that is considered to be a model for Roma integration had many surprises. The researchers involved in this study were able to visit and examine three housing estates on the border of Barcelona, famous for their Gitano residents. The team found high-quality roads, a well-developed public transportation system, generously subsidized community services, and

well-equipped and modern school buildings. The team also engaged in positive interactions with educators, social workers and mediators who used the vocabulary of an inclusive, democratic school model. All of this raised many questions for the research team considering the poor school statistics for Spanish Gitano children and youth. School segregation, high drop-out and retention rates, low aspirations, insufficient involvement in continuing and higher education, early school leaving and perilous working conditions all suggest that the "Spanish model", especially in light of the economic crises during the last 12 years, has abandoned the poorest sections of society in Spain, including a significant portion of the Gitano population.

This negative picture is nuanced by the successful life stories of young, resilient Gitanos the team has encountered during the research, filled with individuals who have managed to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the system to overcome social obstacles in order to become more social mobile. However, the authors learned not only from the internal contradictions of the "Spanish model", but also from its comparison to their Hungarian experiences. Even if the "Hungarian model" is not yet a seamless model to follow at the systemic level, the innovations as well as institutional and methodological developments in Baranya County in South-Western Hungary in recent decades are by no means irrelevant compared to the top-down innovations achieved in Spain during the integration process in the midst of an economic crisis.

Therefore, this collection of papers, in addition to the described lessons learned from our field research in Spain prove the readers that the Barcelona research experience can be considered as a significant milestone for the young authors because it has enriched their interpretive skills and provided a framework for their critical thinking and fired their interest in methodological aspects of the research with a novel perspective.

Endnotes

1   Act CXXV. of 22 December 2003 on Equal treatment and promotion of equal opportunities.
2   Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategies in Hungary (March, 2018).

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SÁMUEL BOGDÁN

Through a Screen Darkly:
Thoughts On Documenting
a Researcher's Fieldwork

Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the socio-photographic aspect of documentary films and photo documentaries. In addition, it seeks to understand if it is possible for anyone to create a concise documentary, and if it is possible to approach a subject appropriately from a documentary and sociographic point of view. To do this, I used my experience of fieldwork in Barcelona, where I tried to capture the social realities of the Roma people living on the periphery, pursuing answers to the following questions: how do documentaries work, and how can one implement such a project while staying true to reality? I was also pondering if photos or documentaries were better means of expression when it comes to documenting in order to bring us closer to reality, and also which medium can have a bigger impact on the audience. This study analyzes and summarizes the differences between documentary films and photo documentaries exploring the same theme.

Reflections on documentation of a researcher's fieldwork

One of the most defining technological advances of our time, which began in the 19th century, affects our lives in its entirety: information and communication technology development on an incredible scale. The traditional visual interpretation was replaced by a new one, which was strengthened by the creation of photography, through which the body leaves an imprint: „Paintings lived on in photographs, movies on TV, and TV in what we now call new media in visual art. This means not only that images are detected in the mediums, but also that we detect the image of the mediums every time the old medium ceases to perform its primary function, and when we look at it again, it becomes visible in a way that has never been seen before" (Belting, 2008).

New technological achievements, such as the telephone and radio, have enabled real-time communication even over long distances. These innovations were precursors to the digital revolution and one of the greatest achievements of the 20th century – the invention of personal computers (Szabó, 2018). The rapid development of computers and the Internet has opened never foreseen doors to data storage and information sharing. According to Moore's

law, this development is so incredible that the performance of computing devices approximately doubles every 18 months. This claim was made 50 years ago as an accurate prediction, looking back at the progress made so far. As a result, these apparatuses have become much more accessible, compact and portable. Technical progress has been greatly accelerated and it has become an integral part of the lives of members of society. Man and his relationship to the world and himself has been transformed and reassessed. The mass production of machinery and urbanization have alienated man from himself and others. The proliferation of mass communications has resulted in an information explosion that rearranged consumption patterns. A modern mobile phone, or „smartphone", is also an important achievement of technological advancement, which has radically changed our habits and everyday behavior. It allows us to continuously document the details of events with us and in our environment, either with pictures or videos. Most people have the opportunity to capture and document almost anything, whether it's an object, themselves and others, or any event they're part of. We can even put it together in a collage or cut video with our smartphones, which has now become a "mainstream" thing that is increasingly accessible and advanced. According to surveys in 2020, 3.5 billion people (more than 45% of people) are smartphone owners (Statista, 2020). In developed countries, most adults have smartphones. In Hungary 89% of adults reported owning smartphones in the third quarter of 2019, which is 5.3 million people in this country (eNET, 2019). Traditionally, making a documentary required professional tools, teams and crews, as well as a lot of preparation, experienced workers and a high level of technical background. In many cases, only larger studios can provide these conditions, all in order to provide their documentation in the most convincing and authentic form possible. However, is it possible today for a person with a simple smartphone and without much preparation, who is only present as an observer and not a director, to make similar documentaries and take photos that are just as professional and moving? Is it possible to approach the level of professional documentaries and photos without professional tools and a team, conveying reality in detail? Can it stand up to quality and content of professional documentary makers and photographers? What does it take to make illustrate social realities correctly and accurately?

In March, during field research in Barcelona, my task was to document the situation of people living on the periphery of Barcelona, focusing on the Roma population. My goal was to present this as best as I could, making a genuine sociophotographic documentary with a strong impact. During the research, the following questions were raised as to whether photographs or a documentary film could have a greater impact on the viewer. Which artistic medium could give the viewer a more authentic reality, and which one could be more easily executed? In connection with the research, I made the recordings with a mobile phone to be used through post-production.

In order to answer these questions, we must first consider the differences between sociophotography and documentaries. Sociophotography is a type of documentary photography that deals with society, capturing society's problems to provide insight into social circumstances in order to help improve and change these circumstances. With visual feedback, it helps to interpret and give perspective to the world around us. In general, it presents and highlights the problems of disadvantaged groups in search of possible solutions. The body and image are closely related. The image itself doesn't exist because it requires a context in which to exists. An image fills a person's body. It is at the mercy of the body, which gains its meaning through a medium. The presence of the image assumes the absence of the body: it is embodied in man through remembrance. Man creates, displays, shapes, and keeps mov-

ing: „Our bodies always carry a collective identity because they represent a particular culture through nationality, education and a particular visual environment. Representative bodies are those that perform themselves, while represented bodies are separate or independent images that represent bodies" (Belting, 2008). Sociophotography is a combination of sociology and photography. Howard S. Becker (1974), an American sociologist, has written that the camera can be interpreted as a typewriter because communication works similarly. An image is created by the host, the host's identity and the space of the images are interdependent. Since the beginning of photography, photos have been used to familiarize and make society known. Most sociologists accept that the camera objectively captures what it sees in front of the lens, regardless of who is handling the camera. Of course, this is not true because those who are familiar with photography know that we press the recording button when we feel that the image setting is correct. A professional photographer adjusts his images however he wants, even changing what the photo has to say (Becker, 1974:3-11). Basically, that's what we can think about in terms of socio-photography.

However, the documentary, although based on a similar foundation, is slightly different, as there is a clear difference between photography and film. The biggest difference is in their nature. While the photo captures a moment in time and coming from reality, the film captures the continuity of reality. Yvette Bíró (1996), Hungarian film aesthete and film critic, was able to put this very well and also notes that at the dawn of photography, photography was special because it constitutes an unquestioned, accurate copy of reality from a certain perspective. The documentary, on the other hand, can display several new dimensions that a photograph cannot, such as the passage of time and the depth of space (Judge, 1996:110-120). That's why photography and film are suitable for documentation, but perhaps film is more so because of the extra dimensions. However, the answer to this is not so simple, as in the case of the image and the film, we receive a cut, or at least edited product composed and post-production by the photographer or director: „it destroys the illusion of direct realization and encourages us to reflect on the process by which the illusion itself is constructed using the tools of the montage" (Nichols, 2009:35). It is therefore not possible to see as objective truth what documentary photography and documentaries want to bring to our eyes, despite the fact that both seek to show this truth. However, the reality of documentaries and photos is rarely or not questioned at all, which is why Francois Truffaut, a French filmmaker and critic, says that „The fakest film is the documentary" (Bikácsy, 1996:04). Whether the photo or film makes a greater impact on the viewer depends on the relationship between the viewer and the work, most notably whether the viewer has personal experience with the work. For example, a photo we were present to take can evoke so many memories that we can lose in detail. However, a movie or video that we can't associate an overt personal experience with is harder to capture. However, in my opinion, the film has a better chance of having this effect, as it makes it easier to put the viewer in the situation seen on the screen, using space, time, movement and sound. But none of them can convey "true" reality.

The documentation of the fieldwork in Barcelona was therefore used to record events, locations and interviews with a camera, specifically a mobile phone. Technically, footage with acceptable quality can be produced in most cases, but unfortunately not all of the time, which was a bit of a hindrance. A quality camera as a target device would make these problems easy to eliminate, as a camera is more flexible, accurate and adjustable with plenty of accessories. The phone camera is much more compact and practical than a professional camera. The phone camera's essence is „point and shoot", which simplifies the need for recording setup

because the process is largely automated, while providing limited options for manual settings. Although phone cameras are also quite sophisticated these days, they are difficult to compete with modern cameras. In some cases, they are competitive, but less so in this case. For documentaries and photos, we expect a specific quality, which assumes that the image and composition can properly convey the information that the film itself focuses on. It should be clearly visible, clear and free of distractions, which depends not only on the cameraman and his composition, but also on the ability and setting of the camera for the scene (e.g. exposure, depth of field, etc.).

In the role of a sociophotographer and cinematographer, the aim was therefore to make the situation and reality of the minority of Barcelona known. The documentary was not the primary goal of the fieldwork, and there was no dedicated team or organized programs to complete the task. This situation required adaptation to the situation unlike a documentary with a script, which tries to present the circumstances in most respects and in great detail. Therefore, a smaller amount of video and image material could have been made. Looking back, the raw footage had more of a sense in a video report and interview, as most of the material consisted of interviews. The situation in the photos was similar, with the difference that images can also be taken from the videos, which in this case is a good alternative. Photos, on the other hand, need to be approached in a different way of thinking than film, as there is a definite difference between the two. However, photos can also be used as „videos" if we find a suitable image and make it more demanding, but this involves a lot more work if you highlight a frame from the video. In this situation, photos require less directing than movies. The biggest challenge with the film was post-production. In post-production, the primary goal was to improve quality so that the difference between a telephone camera and a normal camera could be reduced, editing it into a short, orderly, absorbing documentary-like video. György Kepes, artist and photographer wrote, „Today, artists have to solve three tasks in order for the language of vision to influence and re-form our lives. They need to know and use the laws of the imaging system so that the creation is once again based on a healthy foundation. They need to dig deep into the experience of plasticity in our time so that they can create a visual representation of today's space-time events. Finally, they must free up all reserves of the creative imagination and develop dynamic expressions, i.e. modern, dynamic iconography" (1975:337).

The recording process has proven to be more or less successful, but a real challenge. A quality documentary with a lot of preparation behind it, with interviews accompanied by numerous on-site recordings of events, can deliver reality in a much more presentable form. Nevertheless, I feel that I have been able to reach my goal and my question can be answered based on my experiences: Is it possible to approach the level of real documentaries and photos without a professional team or technology, even with the tools available to the average person? In short, the answer is yes, it is possible, but it is much more difficult to achieve this in the absence of a dedicated team and professional tools.

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PÉTER PÁLMAI

The Geographical Framework of a Barcelona Field Research

Abstract

The aim of the study is to visually present the different locations of a fieldwork conducted in Barcelona by the Evangelical-Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs (PERSZ-E). During the fieldwork, my research group's aim was to present the social status of the Roma people, or Spanish Gitanos, living in Barcelona. My study seeks to present the locations and the interactive seminars that our research group had a chance to visit, in the form of a map. During the process of the research, I created two maps that showcase the composition of the population living in Barcelona.

General Information about Barcelona

The city is located in the northeast of Spain on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and only 120 kilometres from the French border. Barcelona is the capital of the geographic area, called Catalonia, which is an autonomous province. The city is also the largest commercial and industrial center in the country and one of the most important ports of the Mediterranean. Barcelona is a popular tourist destination in Europe.

The area of Barcelona is 100.4 km². The city is located on five hills, that the urban disricts are also named after. The city is located between two rivers, Besos to the north and Llobregat to the south. To the west, the Catalan capital is protected by the Sierra de Collserola Mountain range, and from the east it opens to the Mediterranean Sea.

In 2019, the city had a population of 1.6 million. It is the most populated city in the shore of the Mediterranean and the second most populated in Spain (after Madrid) and the ninth in the entire European Union. The official language is Catalan, but almost all locals speak Spanish as well.

Naturally, as a port town on the Mediterranean, Barcelona has a mediterranean climate, with short, cool winters with an average temperature around 10 °C during the winter months. The summer is long, warm and dry, with an average temperature of less than 30 °C thanks to the constant sea-breeze from Mediterranean.

Barcelona was founded by the Romans about 2,000 years ago. First, an Iberian village, called Barkeno appeared on the site of the modern city. The area was a coastal plain surrounded by a mountain ridge. Today, the city plays an important role in the relationship between Central Europe and the Iberian Peninsula.

Stations of our field research with the Roma Student College

In the spring of 2020, the *Evangelical Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs* went on a research trip to Barcelona to learn about the Gitano communities living there and to compare their experiences to those of ours from Hungary. Today, the Gitano population in Spain is estimated to be between 500,000 and 800,000, according to the Unión Romani organization. This Barcelona-based Roma advocacy organization is also a member of the International Roma Union. Official statistics are not available on the Gitano population, as there is no such ethnic-based statistical survey in Spain. Data on ethnicity are not included in the database at the national census. Almost half of the Gitano population in Spain (about 40%) live in southern Spain, Andalusia (1st), while the rest live mainly in Catalonia (2nd), then in Valencia (3rd) and in the Madrid area (4th). (Minority Rights Group International, 2020). (See Figure 1) "The Gitano population in Spain should be divided into subgroups, such as the Andalusian, Romanians and Portuguese Roma. Andalusians are the most populous group: they now make up around 4% of the entire Andalusian population and half of Spain's total Gitano population. " (Szente-Varga, 2010:4)

Figure 1. The distribution of the Gitano population across Spain based on figures from the most populated areas (estimated data from Unión Romaní) (edited by the author)

(Source: OpenStreetMap; Unión Romani, 2020)

Figure 2. Barcelona and its suburbs – stations of our scheduled research trip shown on the map (edited by the author)

(Source: Google Earth, 2020)

Using special statistics in Figure 2., I would like to present the five most important stations where we scheduled events and meetings during our research trip so the reader can visualize the location of our field work in March 2020 in Barcelona.

On the first day of our program, we visited an organization operating in **El Prat de Llobregat** (1). El Prat is located southwest of Barcelona, territorially it is part of the Barcelona province, however, the famous river of the Catalan capital, El Llobregat, isolates the area from Barcelona. The area of this city is 31.4 km². El Prat was founded between 1720 and 1740, when the town became a frequented transportation hub.

El Prat has a population of about 65,000 people, and the ethnic composition of the population in the area is quite heterogeneous, thanks mainly to immigrants from African countries and the Gitanos as a national minority. Since the issue of immigration was not the focus of our study, so it will not be discussed in this article. The Gitanos living in El Prat are concentrated in the San Cosme district. Here we attended an interactive seminar where we got to know about an NGO program. After that, we were able to tour the neighborhood with a local guided tour offered by the organization.

Our next station was a visit to **Badalona** (2). Here we visited a market, called Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs. Badalona belongs to the north-eastern part of the Barcelona agglomeration. Badalona has an area of 21.2 km² and a population of 220,440. Here, with the help of a local Gitano man, we were able to walk around the market and get interesting information about the history and recent changes our guide recalled about the Badalona market.

On the third day of our fieldwork, we visited the **La Mina district** (3) near Badalona. This part of the city was discovered by tourists because of its favorable location by the sea. Soon a series of construction projects started and a long chain of hotels were built in this area, then parks, retail stores and restaurants mushroomed on the edge of the quarter near the sea.

In this district there is a non-governmental organization called *Casal Cívic de la Mina*, where we took part in a lecture and then merged into the life of the local La Mina school. At the school, we were able to learn about the school's everyday life through an interactive presentation given by the principal and asked interview questions to local students. In the afternoon, we got to know Catalan students at a football game on the school's sports field. The *Fagic Association* (4) is also located in the northern neighborhood of La Mina. This scheduled program had to be cancelled, unfortunately due to the current COVID'19 pandemic.

On the map in Figure 2, the last station is the University of Barcelona, the UAB Campus (5th). UAB is just 25 minutes away by public transport from central Barcelona. The leadership of the Evangelic Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs visited the administration and researchers of the local university to establish connection and to network.

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So keres,[1] La Mina? – The History, Living Conditions and Challenges of The Roma/Gitanos of Barcelona

Abstract

The European Roma minority's situation is a pivotal point that most leading politicians, civil society organizations, and humanitarian organizations of Europe somehow always seem to be glossing over. In addition, in the last 15 years or so, anti-Roma voices and actions resulted in a significant part of society openly starting to profess and pronounce their anti-Gypsyism (see Roma killings, deportations from France, Italy, and Romania, the case of Olaszlika, the intimidating marches of extremist paramilitary organizations). I am interested in how Roma people who live in Barcelona experience all life events that take place around them in relation to their peers. What kind of opportunities do they get from the public authorities of the Catalan capital to have representation and equal opportunity? How significant of a role do Roma civic organizations play and what action plan do they have for advocacy and legal protection? Does inclusion appear in the daily lives of Gitanos? How do they perceive it?

Introduction

La Mina is a Roma-inhabited district of Barcelona, but in fact more than that: the district is a social and historical slice of an era that accurately represents the situation of extremist life, not only in the Catalan capital, but in the entire Roma population (Gitanos) in Spain. People living here face the prejudices that have developed against them and the surrounding area, unemployment and poverty, the disadvantages deriving from illiteracy, and the decline of the market culture. Residents of the neighbourhood now clearly see that the future of their children is learning, and consequently, children are brought up to obtain a degree that provides a decent, secure livelihood. My research aims to present La Mina, getting to know the lives of the Roma people living here, and exploring their daily struggles with discrimination, poverty, and hopelessness. It follows the history of the district and its inhabitants, from the immigration processes within Spain, the creation of La Mina itself to various national and regional integration efforts. My aim is to bring this miserable, yet extremely valuable and culturally extremely inclusive district, La Mina, closer to the reader.

Gitanos in Spain

It is difficult to determine exactly what proportion of the local Roma community (or as they call themselves: Gitanos or Calos) make up the population of Spain, as registration is prohibited by Spanish law as well as in Hungarian. Sociological researches estimate the number of Gitano citizens about 630 to 800 thousand. Based on the latter data, it can be stated that one of the largest Roma communities in Europe is located in Spain. Like in the countries of Europe, they first appeared in Spain in the 15th century and most of them settled in Andalusia. The Spanish Gitano minority is very heterogeneous, consisting of different communities, people with different qualifications and lifestyles. The Council of Europe's Committee against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) has found that discrimination, marginalization and exclusion from the majority nation(s) affect them in all areas of life.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, there was a serious wave of immigration within Spain during a military dictatorship led by General Francisco Franco. The migrants were mostly Gitanos, a significant proportion of whom came from Andalusia, leaving their homes, their animals, their relative well-being in the hope of a better life. The regime did not like the migration of the Roma to larger cities, and as a deterrent, Franco forbade Gitanos by law to move to cities and start a new life there. The army gave permission to the Guardia Civil to forcibly prevent the urbanization of the Roma if necessary. When the authorities noticed the Gitanos traveling on the trains, buses, they beat them and then dropped them off the vehicles. The Roma families who had moved into the cities by that time, were immediately deported to the outskirts of the cities and forced to live in stalls in the midst of misery and suffering. Franco died in 1975 and was replaced by his previously designated heir, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón, who was crowned King of Spain under the name of Charles I. He directed Spain all the way towards a democratic monarchy and released political prisoners. In 1978, he banned the far-right, Phalangist party, the Falange, and issued a new Spanish constitution that provided an answer to the question of minorities that was unique. "He connected the issue of minorities living in the territory of the state with the issue of the territorial division of the public administration and the decentralization of competences" (Szajbély, 2003: 695).

45% of the Roma population in Spain live in Andalusia, but larger cities such as Madrid, Barcelona or Valencia are home to a large proportion of Gitano/Calo descendants. Unemployment and early school leaving are high among them because of exclusion and discrimination. Most of them (50-80%) are engaged in housework and commerce, or support themselves and their families from casual, temporary work. Only approx. 10-16 % are officially employed. Basically, market trading was the primary source of income for the Gitanos, but the emergence of cheap and poor quality Chinese goods, illegally trading merchants, mostly of African descent, and various online stores, markets such as E-Bay, AliExpress or Wish caused the slow demise of the previous market culture. This was told us by our guide while introducing us to the local market and drawing our attention to changes in market culture.

The majority of Gitano children leave school at the age of 14, and 70% of boys and about 90% of girls choose to finish their studies early. The reasons are to be found among the Gitano families in their aversion to the education system, discrimination and unfavourable selection. There are also significant financial reasons, such as expensive school supplies, the constant commuting between the school and the place of residence. There are schools where classes are made up of mixed social groups, in which Roma young people lose their motivation due to the constant discrimination and lack of interest in them, and then eventually drop out of

school. It is also important to mention that the majority of Gitano youth attend segregated institutions. The reason for this is that parents feel that their children are safer in Roma districts against negative prejudices and discrimination, on the other hand they are easier to be controlled. A very good example is the kindergarten in La Mina, Barcelona, whose courtyard is well visible from the block of flats, so that parents can watch their children. The proportion of young Gitanos who continue their studies at university and graduate is very low. Most graduates are women, which is in stark contrast to the image that traditionally local and European communities have developed over the centuries. It is already a great thing for someone to obtain a vocational qualification and be able to find a job in the labour market (Hellgren & Gabrielli, 2016).

The rate of illiteracy is directly proportional to early school leaving. The proportion of this is exactly the same among those over 16 as it is among school leavers. Young Gitanos tend to find it difficult to accept themselves. Zenia Hellgren and Lorenzo Gabrielli investigated in a 2016 study whether parents could accept if Gitano children attended their children's class. About 25 percent of the surveyed parents are unwilling to take their child to class with Gitano children, which may seem to be a small proportion, but is actually discouraging and worrying at the same time. However, the rejection of Gitanos is considered relatively significant, as a far-right political party with anti-Gitano agenda could gain a remarkable number of supporters of rejecting parents (Hellgen & Gabrielli, 2016).

The European Union is involved in a number of initiatives and programmes to reduce and stop the gradual drop-out rate of Gitano children from the education system and to provide them with qualifications to build a stable future for themselves. One such initiative is the "When I grow up, I want to be" campaign launched jointly with the Fundación Secretariado Gitano, which seeks to promote the importance of continuing education among young Gitano people. The programme reaches about 2,800 children across the country, involving 200 families in 38 cities. The other major project is the "Roma with an education, Roma with a future" campaign, which takes up the fight against early school leaving. Nearly 300 Gitano children in 21 cities in Spain participate in the programme, forty of whom also receive mentoring (Hellgen & Gabrielli, 2016). The campaign seeks to provide all kinds of support for Gitano children by involving ten well-known Spanish companies. They receive school supplies, writing instruments, meals, and the costs of commuting is covered, and further education and career promotion programmes are organized for them. How is the "Gitano question" represented in Barcelona and one of its suburbs in La Mina?

Sant Adriá de Besos and La Mina

Sant Adriá de Besos is located in the east of Barcelona, on the banks of the River Besos, near the Mediterranean Sea. The town consists of six large and small districts: Sant Adriá Nord, Sant Joan Baptista, Montsolís - Trajana, La Catalana, El Besos and La Mina. The settlement covers an area of 3.27 km2 and has a population of 33,223. One of the first written sources about Sant Adriá de Besos dates back to 1012. In order to develop the settlement and its agriculture, the swamps of the River Besos were drained in the 18th century, but during the Industrial Revolution the industrial development of the town was rather modest. As a result of the 1860 Cerra Plan (Barcelona's extension plan), Sant Adriá de Besos became part of the agglomeration. The plan aimed to create an embryonic urban network that would create the image of Barcelona

as the capital of Catalonia. There is also a power plant set up by two companies in Sant Adriá de Besos, which provides employment opportunities for those living here: FECSA (Fuerza Eléctricas de Catalunya SA) and La Catalana (Colantonio, 2010).

La Mina was founded in 1969 and is still the poorest quarter of Barcelona and Sant Adriá de Besos. Its population is mostly Roma, but there are also a good number of immigrants from different regions of Morocco, Pakistan and Africa. Initially, La Mina consisted of five-storey buildings, and from the mid-1970s onwards, taller ten- to twelve-storey block houses were built, providing new housing for movers. However, despite more and more block houses were built, due to the pace and reckless construction, the district cut itself off from Barcelona. All this was aggravated by the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympics, in preparation for which a wall was set up around La Mina to hide the poor district from the eyes of athletes, supporters, politicians and the media, and showing Barcelona's positive image instead. Although there were efforts in the 1990s to improve the district out of poverty, unemployment, and promote the social integration of the Roma, all such attempts (albeit with minor successes) failed. The support, now in 2020, will be a huge help for the people of La Mina to catch up and protect each other during the coronavirus epidemic.

La Mina can be divided into two parts: La Mina Vella, where the district was created in 1969 and only five-storey houses could be built, and the "New La Mina," which got its current look in 1975. The quarter is crowded with residential houses built in '75, as mentioned above, they can be up to 10-12 floors high. If one takes a walk in the district, they can see how hermetically sealed La Mina is from the other districts of San Adriá de Besos. Most of the Gitanos and immigrants here live in poverty in their daily lives. In addition to discrimination and the fight against stereotypes, they struggle with hopelessness. They rent their apartments from the local government, for which they have to pay a significant amount each month, but if they have the opportunity, they can even buy it. However, it is also typical that when an apartment is vacated, new occupants immediately take possession and start a new life. The Gitanos still practice their traditions to this day, show considerable respect for them, constantly preserve and nurture their past in order to show others: that they are no different from the Spanish/Catalan people, yet they are still oppressed and cannot represent themselves and their interests (Colatnonio, 2010).

The district itself has a very negative reputation in people's minds. La Mina is considered the shadiest district not only of San Adriá de Besos, but also of Barcelona. Rumour says La Mina is a centre of crime, where prostitution, car theft and drug trafficking take place in an organized manner. It is partly due to the stereotypes about the Roma, but the media plays a more serious role in this case. Many films have portrayed the area as a citadel of local criminal gangs, where they carry out their various illegal transactions. Because of this, La Mina bears the weight of this negative reputation to this day, with a significant proportion of Spanish people simply viewing the Gitanos as criminal freeloaders. Various NGOs have flagged the fight against prejudice. The lack of basic urban and social infrastructures such as public transport, markets, medical centers, lack of educational opportunities for young immigrants and settlers, illiteracy, and cultural diversity and deteriorating community life are among the most pressing issues in La Mina. Until the 1990s, the importance of La Mina was neglected at the local, regional and national political levels, and the issue was downplayed. In the late 1990s, the city council of Barcelona set aside a significant amount to improve La Mina (Colantonio, 2010).

As written above, the daily lives of the Gitanos living in La Mina are determined by misery and hopelessness. It is very difficult for them to find their way around and find a job in the la-

bour market. Although there are many positions on paper where they would be needed, they are simply lost in the open labour market system because of the direction of public transport and the treatment of Gitanos. In many cases, they also remain invisible among job seekers. Although the situation has improved somewhat by now, most of the Gitanos in La Mina make a living from market trade. In their day-to-day work, they spend most of their days in the San Adriatic market, in many cases already taking young people with them which is the primary reason for early school leaving. While children learn how to trade, their important skills such as counting, reading or writing are pretty slowly forgotten after a while, causing children to suffer significant disadvantages. Not to mention parents who are steadily moving away from the world of commerce due to the slow decline of market culture, but have realized that their children and future generations will only have a chance for a better life if they continue to their education (Hellgen & Gabrielli, 2016).

Thus young Gitanos in La Mina now have a supportive environment, as a result of which, albeit slowly but gradually, more and more Gitanos get a degree. In the fulfilment of these goals, the kindergarten and school of the district fully participate as partners. In addition to primary and secondary school, the school provides internships and placements, as well as programmes for them to continue their studies, aimed at making the Gitanos' dreams come true, thus promoting further studies among young people. A significant proportion of students are studying in a commerce, and professions such as car mechanics and metal workers are also hugely popular. Meanwhile, the appearance of Gitanos in higher education is gradually increasing, which may even predict a positive future for them. Gitano learners are backed by supportive parents who are constantly pushing their children to find a sought after job and integrate in the labour market. They are the ones who immediately recognized the importance of change in the "decay" of market trade and the social and societal problems of the neighbourhood, and are raising their children in this belief.

The NGOs working in La Mina play a big role in the lives of the Gitano people. In addition to various aid projects and adult education, they play a significant role in preserving Roma culture and promoting a healthy lifestyle. In addition to continuously strengthening their identity, it is important to help them find a job and even to protect them from discrimination in the labour market. They support the Gitano youth to make starting the school as cheap and easy as possible, thus relieving parents of this heavy burden, as well as providing them with free meals. Civic professionals and social workers have a clear view of the areas where they can help Gitano families make a significant difference in their lives, and they place great emphasis within the Gitano community on job search, financial and private counselling, and catering. There is a growing idea in the Gitano community that girls are no longer expected to drop out of school early and become mothers. The proportion of Gitano girls in college is very high, they are motivated and persistent in their studies, and they try to give as much as possible back to their community.

Summary

Although La Mina faces a huge opportunity to overcome various stereotypes and prejudices and achieve equal treatment, their future is very uncertain. The geographical location of the district is very favourable, as it is very close to the Mediterranean Sea. Taking advantage of this, sometime around the 1990s, larger hotel chains began building their hotels, creating a

neighbourhood designed for the wealthy near La Mina. While it may be hopeful that trade will provide a stable, secure livelihood for the Gitanos living here once again, the fate of La Mina itself is highly questionable. If hotel chains embark on an even stronger expansionary policy, within 10-20 years, the Gitano minority will be further displaced on the outskirts of Barcelona, which would severely affect them. As the Gitanos have no experience in tourism, perhaps the most obvious is for young people to start getting to know this industry with its positive and negative effects. It would be a labour market opportunity for them to present the identity and value of La Mina to visitors, not only to recompense the Gitano community in Barcelona, but also to become a success story in European Roma history that would set an example for the Roma communities on the continent.

Endnotes

1   *So keres* in Romani language means "what's up?"

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ZOLTÁN GÁBOR DRUBINA, RAJMUND HORVÁTH, PÉTER PÁLMAI AND ZOLTÁN VÉGH

The "La Mina School Institute" and the Integration of Roma Students

Abstract

Our research focuses on the institution of La Mina School *situated on the outskirts of Barcelona, which offers preschool, elementary school, a four-year high school and additional intermediate and advanced vocational training programmes. In the spring of 2020, we conducted research in Barcelona with our Roma Student College. During this field trip, we had the opportunity to gain insight into the educational efforts of a segregated suburban school. At the location, we have managed to conduct a focus group interview with five young people with the help of our translator. Our experience of this interview process helped us find the topic for our research. Our research is about the good practices aimed at reducing drop-out rates, integrating educational inclusion strategies targeting disadvantaged Roma children with immigrant backgrounds, and decreasing their disadvantages with the help of educational resources. Numerous Hungarian research studies have been conducted regarding this topic, from which it became clear to us that the Spanish case we have observed could also serve as a best practice for the Hungarian education system. Our descriptive research consists of analysing various documents and online press materials published about the school, as well as interviews we conducted with people who are involved in the school's efforts. Looking at our experiences and results so far, we concluded that the key element leading to this school's successes was family engagement ensuring continuous cooperation and communication. It was also crucial to secure financial aid to compensate for the disadvantages these families were facing. Our research pursued to answer the question: Which elements were key to the school's breakthrough success with regards to reducing dropout rates among their students? Our research findings in their current state are not yet representative; they were based on the sources available to us. In order to understand this topic in more detail, further research would need to be conducted, in which we could get a more nuanced picture of the school's results.*

Introduction

In the last decade, the development of Roma education has been given a prominent place in the direction of the European Union's education policy, with the aim of achieving the most inclusive societies possible. In addition to education, the priority is to broaden access to health and social services, and the focus has also been on addressing housing and employment issues (Torgyik, 2012). Our research examines an educational institution that strives to ensure the widest possible schooling of Roma students living in segregation on a daily basis, and the programmes are detailed in the next subsection. A number of disciplines have also highlighted that advancing education is key to Roma integration. Across Europe, the educational level of the Roma population is far below the level of the majority. Roma children are much less involved in compulsory education than non-Roma. According to a report from the FRA (FRA 2011: 12), almost 14% of children in compulsory education in the surveyed households - while only 3% of non-Roma children - do not participate in education. "*Better education means higher qualification and better chances of getting a job that will lift people out of poverty, and the benefits go far beyond this better labour market competitiveness. Education has an inherent intrinsic value: it prevents human talent from being wasted. It goes hand in hand with better social skills, a greater degree of flexibility and the ability to adapt to a dynamically changing world.*" (FRA, 2011: 7) In connection with the quoted text, we think it is safe to say that in addition to material knowledge, many other benefits of education are known, such as advocacy skills, the situation in the labour market, improved housing conditions and more. Disadvantaged people who are able to obtain an education can often use this to move towards social mobility in other areas of their lives. For this reason, the key question is how the European Member States are responding to this issue. Is it in their interest to integrate a minority of this size through education? Do they want to raise the number in the Roma population who are educated, have vocational or higher qualification higher than those who remain uneducated, have low levels of education and thus form the most exploitable segment of the neoliberal labour market?

In this paper, a potentially positive example is presented where a primary and secondary school in a segregated area has wanted to improve the quality of life of local Roma people. La Mina Primary School is located in a suburb of Barcelona where a research was carried out in the spring of 2020 with the teachers and students of the Evangelical-Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs and the Henrik Wlislocki Roma Student College. During the fieldwork, in addition to the work of local NGOs, we had the opportunity to get an insight into the education in a primary school in a suburban, segregated area, which is the subject of our school research. Focus group interviews were conducted with five Gitano (Spanish gypsy) young people with the assistance of an interpreter. Starting from the discussions, the subject of our research was outlined, which aimed to map the steps taken to compensate for the disadvantages of La Mina Primary School and to support children. The results of our research rely on the above mentioned focus group interviews, online media, and two in-depth interviews. Further details are presented in the Means of Research section. We emphasize that our fieldwork was interrupted by the outbreak of COVID-19, so our short empirical experience helped us deepen the questions instead of finding answers, and as such it enriched our knowledge of Hungarian schools doing similar work as a comparative study.

La Mina Primary School

The primary school in the focus of our research was founded in 1974. Until 2005, the elementary and middle schools were in separate buildings. As part of a wide-ranging reform, the old buildings were demolished and the two departments merged. They have since been essentially one school, although they are still in two parts of the building. Prior to the education reform of the late 1990s, the 8-grade school was divided into elementary (essentially 3 to 12 years old) and middle grades (13 to 16 years old) similarly to the Hungarian system. The latter also provides high school education. In addition to many of the positive effects, the change was difficult to recognize in the least-educated families, and the upper grades tended to be valued as a degree. The early change of institutions generated dropouts, furthermore the merging of the middle and secondary school, that is the coexistence of wide age groups caused great distrust among Roma parents, who thus did not see the protection of their children, especially their daughters. Recognizing this, the authorities and the faculty of pedagogy decided to merge the two departments, thus ensuring a smooth progression to all elementary school children into the middle school. The school currently has more than 500 students. In one building there is a kindergarten, a primary school and a vocational school. Based on the ethnic composition of the students, the school community is far from heterogeneous, as the vast majority of students, 90% as a percentage, belong to the Gitano minority (personal statement by Ivan Cortez, School Mentor, 2020) This far exceeds the proportion of the Roma population in the neighbourhood. Wealthier, more ambitious and non-Gitano families seek to educate their children in out-of-district, often mixed-funded institutions.

Catalan school system

Further data on the school system are outlined based on what was said by Ábel Bereményi, the local leader of our research (living in Barcelona). La Mina Primary School, located in the immediate vicinity of the Catalan capital, is completely different from the Hungarian primary school system. From the second half of the 1990s, the compulsory school age in Spain was raised from 14 to 16. In parallel, abandoning the traditional 8-class structure, a two-tier school system was developed. Grades 1-6 are elementary school grades 7-10 are middle school. In addition to the compulsory 7-10th grade, the institute (that is middle school) also provides non-compulsory secondary school or vocational training, in addition to various second chance programmes. Kindergartens were housed in elementary schools for the age of 3-5. The latter, although not mandatory, has almost 100% general coverage in practice. The Catalan school system is more interoperable than the Hungarian one. In case someone does not complete the middle school (7-10), it is possible to enrol in free courses, through which they can obtain a primary school qualification, or provide further education in both secondary and vocational trainings. This is far from eliminating early school leaving, but it is important that there is a chance of re-entry at all levels of the system. Admission to secondary school is not subject to an entrance exam. If there are many applicants into a given school, they are selected based on primary school results. So everyone has a chance to continue their studies in secondary school, even if the marks are not the best. This is a significant difference compared to the structure of the Hungarian secondary education system, as there is a lot of competition for secondary schools, and it is typically possible to enter the more prestigious based on primary

school and pre-admission results. Of course, selection can also be found in the Catalan school system. There are three types of secondary school programmes to choose from depending on what school career young people have. It is possible to participate in humanities, science/ technological and social science programmes, as well as art training. Vocational secondary school programmes, similarly to the Hungarian system, are not really recognized socially, but some professions can be attractive and popular (programmer, hospital nurse, etc.), but in general, vocational training does not have a high reputation. Basically, vocational training takes place on two levels. There is a 2-year basic education (secondary vocational education), which is typically housed in the same building as the middle school. The other 2-3 years of so-called tertiary vocational training, in Hungary known as FOSZK (higher education vocational training), which can also take place in primary schools or other training centres. It is a very important fact that the diverse range of training is far from balanced, even between different neighbourhoods. As a result, more attractive secondary education often requires long-distance travel, while less competitive secondary or vocational education can be found nearby. This will undoubtedly generate further inequalities between poorer and better-off areas. Another important feature of the Spanish education system from the point of view of the maintainer is that there are state and mixed-funded schools. The latter was largely the result of the conversion of church schools to state funding. Public schools are wholly owned by the Catalan government, while mixed-funded schools, which typically, but not exclusively, work under church control, have been subsidized by the state for about 20 years, in exchange for regulations similar to those of the public school system. The phenomenon of selections can also be found here. In principle, mixed-funded schools are free, but there are so many additional expenses for schooling that this causes poorer and lower-skilled families to divert to public schools, while those in the mixed social group can afford the mixed-funded schools. As a result, state-funded schools form a more heterogeneous group, with a much more ethnically mixed composition of students than non-state-funded ones. In more details, there are fewer children from Gitano, immigrant, and disadvantaged families in mixed-funded schools. As for the examined school, it acts as a kind of sample school for schools of similar background in the area. According to our resources, La Mina Primary School has gained many special resources in recent years, making it an advanced, accepting, and collaborative school. The human capacity and preparedness of trainers should be highlighted. The board, unlike other schools, has been given the opportunity to select a significant portion of the teaching staff, while the recruitment of teachers in other institutions is based on a drawing system. It is also characteristic that La Mina school is particularly open to local families and the community. It uses every means to make a real difference in the lives of the children who attend the school, by which they are able to create better living conditions later on. (personal statement by Bereményi, 2020)

Research tools

Basically, our current research relies on two interviews, a focus group interview, and Internet resources that provide coverage about the school. In the course of our research, we could not find a specific case study or other researches related to the school that would have fit into the topic mentioned earlier. Our research tools are source analysis, interview analysis, and personal statements. A visit to the school was a defining experience for all of us. In the following, these experiences will be described reflecting on what was previously mentioned.

Personal impression, experience

The current research was carried out by a total of 4 students studying at the University of Pécs. The research work was led by Zoltán Végh, who is studying Social work at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. The other 3 researchers, Rajmund Horváth, mechanical engineering major, Faculty of Engineering and Informatics, Péter Pálmai, geography major, Faculty of Sciences and Gábor Zubán Drubina, Geography and History teacher, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. In this chapter, the reader can learn how the 4 university students interpret researching in Barcelona from their own perspective regarding their field of expertise, with a focus on La Mina Primary School.

Zoltán Végh
As a social work major, I have come across the issue of education marginally in my studies so far. I gained the best of my knowledge from the teachers of the Roma Student Colleges and the students studying in the field of education. I have experienced of living in segregation and its disadvantages both in my studies and in my own life. I think education is perhaps the only possible way out for disadvantaged children. During our visit to Barcelona, we were introduced to an exemplary school. In my opinion, their method, approach to the problem and their treatment could be adapted for all institutions that do similar work in a similar field. My personal impression took an increasingly positive direction during the research. During the visit, we were able to see the school building, talk to the headmaster, and then conduct a focus group interview with the students (5 people) studying there. The headmaster of the school is a very enthusiastic and willing person who really aims to help integrate the children who go to his school. In addition to his personal involvement, his professional background is unquestionable, as he previously worked in the Catalan Education Office as a coordinator in creating an inclusive school system. The programmes that have been implemented so far and are planned for the future to keep the students in school and to help them obtain a degree that will enable them to enter the labour market. Although the structure of the school differs from the Hungarian one in many ways, I think it is absolutely functional and efficient. It takes into account local specificities and responds to the families and their children. I would definitely like to highlight the Gitano mentor teacher (promoter in Catalan) working at the school, with whom we conducted an online interview. As a local resident, he helps the children living there. It felt from the interview that he put his heart and soul into his work. It was amazing to listen to his determination as he was speaking. We met another example who experienced multi-staged intragenerational mobility and, despite all his difficulties, was able to change his basic social embedding. However, despite the social mobility he has experienced, he has remained in his own environment and thus sets an unquestionable example for the adults and younger generations of the community.

Zoltán Gábor Drubina
As you can read in the introduction to this chapter, I am currently a teacher major at the University of Pécs. As a result, the research in Barcelona, especially the visit to the school, was a very good internship and experience for me. The increasingly centralized and rigid education system in Hungary is radically different from the decentralized and somewhat more flexible Catalan one. It is not my intention to criticize any of them, but rather to draw consequences. I would like to emphasize the difference in approach and interpretation. From the research ex-

perience, I would like to highlight that for me, the expansion of the possibilities of pedagogical work is the main example to follow. Looking into the work of the school, I saw that there are so many programmes and projects that are aimed at enabling children and their relatives to move smoothly through the education system. It was a very positive experience for me to see that the teachers working in the school really put their heart and soul into their work, which also includes keeping in touch with the parents. During my research work, I was able to gain a better insight into the work of the school's instructors. I would also like to highlight one thing that was very exemplary and to be followed for me: the institution managed to create and operate a catch-up programme that later led more former students back to school as mentors or teaching assistants. This kind of approach, I think should be followed by everyone. It has a tremendous power if a local person starts teaching in their former community. It sets a very good example for those who live there and the children who go to the school. In conclusion, I consider La Mina Primary School, which I visited in Barcelona, to be a good professional experience as a will-be teacher.

Péter Pálmai
During my university career so far, I have not had the opportunity or chance to participate in a research either individually or in a team. For me, this area of the scientific world has been completely new and so far unknown. As a novice researcher, I was involved in the preparation of the research, drawing up the interview questions, and the search and analysis of the sources. As for the school, I think the primary and secondary school in the La Mina district carries out a very important mission. The advancing programmes offer wide-range activities and seek to reflect directly to the problems of disadvantaged students. Talking with the headmaster, we experienced their positive and problem-solving attitude. The interview with the mentor teacher was very amicable, and we learnt that he was a local man. His career is honourable as he returned to education from the working life and then began working in the school which he himself had attended. Like others, I think this can be very powerful and it would be important to have as many of these people as possible who can set a good example in their environment.

Rajmund Horváth
As a student of the Faculty of Technology and Informatics of the University of Pécs, my knowledge and understanding are completely different from that of students who study at the Faculty of Humanities. I took part mostly in the preparation of the research, in the analysis of the interview questions and analysing the sources. The research process proved to be very exciting, I am glad that I was able to gain insight into this field of science as a member of the research team. The school of subject is a well-functioning educational institution that helps many disadvantaged students change their lives. For me, the greatest experience was to resolve the situations during the research. I learned a lot from how an educational sociological research works. Regarding the school, like my fellow researchers, I got a positive impression and I think we saw a good example of a possible solution for dropping out of school. Overall, I gained a lot of new experience over those few months we spent on the research.

Closing remarks and questions for further research

Our research is a micro-research based on few scientific sources. It is basically based on our experience, which we aimed to systematize. We tried to supplement our impressions described above with questions after the field visit. Based on our own school experience and the relevant literature, we have collected the aspects that would be necessary for a more well-founded critical summary.

- What pedagogical and school organization practices are manifested in the inclusive approach and what results have they achieved? Beyond the well-being of students, how does the approach promote their social mobility? Beyond the belief, what knowledge and experience do educators and policy makers have about this? If this school is a positive example, what is an "average" Catalan school like in a segregated neighbourhood?
- What are the indicators that can be used to determine whether a segregated educational institution in a segregated neighbourhood is really working "well" and "effectively"? Is the board's inclusive, culturally open approach sufficient for a change? What evaluation processes can inform school staff, families, and students about the changes in quality and outcomes?
- How are the students followed and what mechanisms help the children to stay in and return to the public-school system? Or, what kind of subsidies will help them get into a more competitive private system?
- Do the aspirations of school professionals also affect system-level factors? For example: is there an adequate choice of public schools in the district? Is there a realistic alternative for families from kindergarten to secondary education?
- What are the factors that continue to steer low-skilled families towards a school that does not necessarily provide social mobility? From what perspectives do families choose a school and how does the school help them in the process?

The process of research, from preparation to arranging information provided participating students with a learning opportunity about the structure of the research genre and its pitfalls. The description of La Mina Primary and Secondary School could be further detailed through further source research and personal interviews. The above consequences were deduced from the available materials and sources. As mentioned in the introduction, the main result of the empirical experience was to deepen the questions, which would enable a more coherent comparative research.

We would like to thank the teachers of the two student colleges, for the Henrik Wlislocki Roma Student College and the Evangelical-Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs, for their participation. We believe that the past period has been very useful for all of us.

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KRISZTÁN KŐSZEGI, DÁNIEL CSONKA, KATICA HEINDL AND LILLA LABODA

Comparative Study of NGO Activities Aimed at Reducing Disadvantages

Abstract

The focus of our research was to present and compare the operation of civil society organizations operating in the Roma/Gypsy community in Spain and civil society organization operating in the Roma/Gypsy community in Hungary. We relied on prior research examining community programmes, and programmes aimed at educational integration, as well as integration into the labour market (FÜZI, 2016, VARGA, 2015, MOLNÁR, et al., 2014). Based on these research studies, we analysed the modus operandi and the best practices of the two organizations examined in our comparative study. Our qualitative study aims at examining civil society organizations whose work play a vital role in supporting marginalized groups. We wanted to find out what kind of activities well-functioning civil society organizations use to reduce disadvantages. Do they have "good practices", and how can they be adapted? Our hypothesis was that both Hungarian and Spanish organizations would respond to the specific challenges of their given area with complex programmes, and that the similarities that result in the effectiveness of these programmes can be grasped. In the process of our document analysis, we were also considering the environments in which these organizations were located. We also examined the geographical-historical context of a particular Catalan quarter of Barcelona as well as a settlement situated in southern Baranya county. Our study has confirmed that in addition to the territorial specifics, there are also similar methods used by both organizations, and their "good practices" can be adapted for NGOs with similar activities.

Introduction

Our study was carried out as a joint research project of the Evangelical-Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs and the Henrik Wlislocki Roma Student College. Our research began with a field work in Spain, following a preliminary source analysis, within the framework of which we had the opportunity to visit educational institutions and NGOs. Our research focused on the presentation and comparative analysis of the work of an NGOs operating in the Gitano community in Spain and in a Roma/Gypsy community in Hungary.

We relied on researches of community organizing, labour market and school integration programmes (Füzi, 2016; Varga, 2015a; Varga 2015b; Varga 2015c; Molnár, et al., 2014). In our case study, we analysed the work and good practices of the two organisations in the focus of the study.

This is a qualitative study; it aims to expose civil society organisations whose work plays a vital role in supporting marginalised members of society.

Context of research

Following the change of regime in Hungary, several books, studies and articles on NGOs have been published. Most of the writings organize and analyse the characteristics of their work and management. The novelty of our study lies in the fact that, in the form of a case study, it examines two organisations that operate in different countries and cultures, but the two organisations essentially operate according to the principles of European Union regulations. It is worth noting, however, how this value system is implemented in their programmes, the similarities and differences that can be observed (Geszti, 2003).

However, before we begin a detailed analysis of organisations, we need to define the general conceptual framework used in our work.

The concept of an NGO is difficult to define; as European countries define it differently. For the sake of simplicity in our study, we will usually use the designation "non-governmental" ("civil") as it is most common in Hungarian terminology (Kákai, 2009). In Hungary, the Civil Law, which has been in force since January 2012, introduced the NGO into the Hungarian legal system as a new collective. This category includes civil society, associations and foundations (Kaprinay, 2015). In democratic countries, NGOs play an important role in society, as they can react relatively quickly to various social problems and focus on specific needs. The main profile of the organisations we are investigating is disadvantage compensation. Their target groups are mainly Gitanos in Spain and Roma/Gypsy in Hungary (Szabó, 1998). The members of the target group of these organisations usually lack certain capital for integration and progress in society.

Groups belonging to the disadvantaged majority of Roma hold less *cultural capital* than the average of mainstream society. In other words, they lack the necessary knowledge and habits to help them move forward in the school system and integrate into the labour market. *Their social capital* is also incomplete, i.e. they do not have the amount and quality of human relationships that can help them make successful progress in the above mentioned fields (Bourdieu, 1978).

The most important task of Roma NGOs is to solve the challenges arising from the bicultural socialisation of the members of the target group and to approximate the two socialisation fields. Bicultural socialisation is a general feature of the socialisation process of Roma minorities. The primary socialisation environment for Roma youth is the family, where they indirectly acquire the general norms and values of their community. "While they learn the norms and values of mainstream society in their secondary socialisation environment, in educational institutions, they also learn in part indirectly, but not in small part through targeted knowledge transfer, i.e. in a direct way" (Varga, 2015b:248).

As in Gilvánfa, Roma residents live in a segregated community with a low standard of living in El Prat, so the cultural content of the primary and secondary socialisation environments shows little overlap. "The explicit aim of the NGOs we are looking at is to act as intermediaries between the primary socialization environment, i.e. the family, and the secondary socializa-

tion environment, i.e. the education system, to help those they support progress in life" (Forray & Hegedűs, et al., 1998:391).

The work of these NGOs dealing with disadvantaged people is also generally found to promote the development of "empowerment" and "enablement". The two concepts represent two stages of a process. "Enablement" represents the stage of the process in which changes occur at the individual level and "the individuals recognize their own internal resources, their confidence is strengthened, they are able to articulate their own needs/desires, to realize their own ideas". "Empowerment" refers to the stage in the process that applies to the community. In the "empowerment" phase, the community, living through the phase of self-determination and belonging, "openly take on its interests/goals, become able to talk to representatives of other power groups, recognize its own position of power and use the means of this power for the good of the community." (Miller, et al., 2014:34)

The Roma community is a minority in both Spain and Hungary. For social and historical reasons, their members have been marginalized, so it is an important task to promote their inclusion in both countries.

NGOs play a major role in promoting the inclusion of the Roma and Gypsies in both countries. Inclusion is a social strategy that promotes mutual inclusion between the community and mainstream society through equal opportunities and fairness. "The objective of the inclusive approach and practice is to ensure that marginalised groups have real access to fair and personalised services that help the coexistence of minority groups and majority society" (Varga, 2015b:241-273).

Well-functioning support organisations not only aim to achieve *equality*, i.e. equal treatment, but also place great emphasis on the development of *equity* at social level. "Based on the principles of fairness, true equal opportunities require not only the prohibition of discrimination at social level, but also the need to counteract the social inequalities present through active measures, including active programmes such as the work of NGOs" (Varga, 2015b:241-273).

Among the peculiarities of the examined organisations is that they operate in a municipality or part of a municipality where *segregation* is a constant phenomenon. "Segregation is a strategy that, unlike *assimilation,* does not seek to blend individual and group specificities, but uses isolation as an essential tool for social co-existence. Isolation can be based on the separation of individuals or groups based on their perceived or real properties" (Varga, 2015b:23). In general, organisations dealing with disadvantaged people have an important task of seeking to create an integrated environment by eliminating the segregated environment. Integration is a strategy to promote the co-living of different groups. In the integrated medium, the process of *resilience* can also become successful. Resilience indicates the individual's ability of successful coping and spiritual flexibility, the development of which is facilitated when childhood development takes place in an inclusive environment (Varga, 2015b).

Tools for research

We started our work by analysing the literature of Sociology, Romani Studies and Educational Sociology. There was little scientific material available on the work of the NGO in Gilvánfa, while almost no scientific material examining the work of the NGO in El Prat was published, so we examined the self-presenting writings of the two organisations. We then did field work in Barcelona. Then, in El Prat, which borders the Catalan capital, we interviewed the head of the Fun-

dación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) and the municipality together, and in Gilvánfa, the head of the Számá Dă Noj – Take Care of Us Association (SZDN), based on a pre-written series of questions. The analysed material for source analysis, fieldwork and semi-structured interviews is summarised in this study.

Research Questions

In our investigation, we have been looking for answers to what disadvantage compensation activities are carried out by well-functioning NGOs, do they have good "good practices" and how can they be adapted? We assumed that both the Hungarian and Spanish organisations would respond to the specificities of the area with complex programmes and that the similarities of the programmes, which would result in efficiency, could be captured.

Socio-historical context

In our work, therefore, we compare the disadvantage compensation activities of two NGOs. However, in order to understand the reasons for the operation of organisations, we need to know the environment in which they operate and to know the socioeconomic characteristics of the two settlements.

The municipality of Gilvánfa is located in the south western plains of Baranya County. Before the conquest, the settlement may have been inhabited, but Hungarians only settled in the last third of the 10th century. The name of the settlement is assumed to refer to an old Hungarian name (Gilván) or a type of mushroom, the word "gilva" also has a "dome" meaning in some old Hungarian dialects, and the word "goiter" is also related. Several geographical names in the area indicate that the settlements here were built on the hills of the once swampy countryside. The very word "Ormánság" or " Ormányság" refers to this: an area where places of settlement are on the „hills" ("orms") that stand out from the swamp. But the name „Besence" (besenci in rural dialect), which refers to the former „trenched" form of the settlement, also indicates a dry area raised from a swamp. (Trenching protected the property around the houses from swamping due to high groundwater levels.) In view of the above, the name Gilvánfa may also derive from the „dome" that was once built on one of the „hills" that once came out of the swamp. (The word „fa" linked with the word „gilván" is a shortening of the word „village" ("falu") everywhere in this region. E.g.: Kisasszonyfa, Gyöngyfa, Rózsafa, Katádfa, etc.) The terminology of the settlement name is uncertain, i.e. there are several theories, but it is certain that the first written record of the village first was issued in papal document during the reign of Charles Robert (1332-1335). The settlement remained inhabited in the later Turkish period, and at the end of Turkish rule it became part of the Sellye district. Serf families of Hungarian nationality lived here and mainly carried out agricultural works, but there were also industrial activities (PÖRÖS, 2013:118-177).

In the second half of the 19th century, Roma/Gypsy families appeared in the forests belonging to the village. Gypsies (or Boyash gypsies or "beás" as they call themselves n Hungarian) who spoke the archaic dialect of Romanian language, which according to linguistics had already become an independent language, mainly engaged in wood working (carvings, making tools), but also involved in agricultural work too (PÁLMAINÉ, 2007). At the end of the century, some of the Boyash Gypsies moved to the edge of the village, where the Kálmán, Géza and

Varga settlements were established, but they were not allowed to enter the village and could not even leave their residence without permission from the 1930s. Those living in extreme poverty and huts were able to secure their income from seasonal jobs for farmers, the sale of products made by themselves (carving, baskets, shovels, spoons) or begging. However, in exchange for their work, they could not receive money, they usually worked for food.

Since the 1950s, a significant proportion of the young people of the non-Roma/Gypsy population have moved away, so the population in the village has aged. As a result of the negative population process, non-Roma/Gypsy were forced to employ the Boyash Gypsies, which made several families move into the settlement. By the 1960s, half of the population of Gilvánfa consisted of Boyash Gypsies, and those who did not move into the village were concentrated in the above mentioned Varga settlement. In 1972, according to council reports, 71% of the settlement was of Boyash Gypsy origin. As more families moved into the village from the settlements the non-Roma/Gypsy population gradually left the place. As a result, and due to the decrease in the labour demand of increasingly industrialized agriculture, the permanent population of Gilvánfa decreased (Pörös, 2013:118-177).

The closure of the school in the village was the result of a large-scale migration, impossible material conditions and significant shortcomings in educational services (Varga, 2018). Looking at the current nationalities in the village, according to a survey by the Central Statistical Office, 100% of people living in Gilvánfa, i.e. 380 people, declared themselves Hungarian, but 65% of the population also declared themselves Roma/Roma. Based on data from the 2011 census, looking at the population over the age of 7, it was found that students' progress in schools needed support and improvement. The numbers are clear, since 14 people did not even graduate from the first grade, 29 persons had vocational qualification, only 6 people managed to obtain a BA degree, and 1 person had a university or college degree. The study analyses data from 2011, so it does not accurately reflect today's conditions, but it is indisputable that the community development, labour market and pedagogical work of the NGO operating here is quite necessary.

El Prat de Llobregat is considered to be part of the Barcelona agglomerate; Barcelona is separated by the Llobregat River. El Prat was founded between 1720 and 1740, when the village became a transport hub. Until the 19th century, the inhabitants of the city were involved in traditional agriculture. At the beginning of the 20th century, the construction of the infrastructural foundations of the settlement began. They then started building an independent airport in 1923, and in the 1940s the construction of the international airport was completed. Today, the airport provides the most job opportunities for the inhabitants of the area (Marshall,2007:395-414).

From the mid-20th century, poor, mainly Gitano families from western and southern Spain came to the area, living in wooden, planked, temporary dens until the 1960s. Under Franco's regime, a policy to improve large-scale housing was drawn up, but the apartment buildings in the El Prat area suffered from serious infrastructure deficiencies (Rothea, 2014). Since then, one of the main goals of local people, NGOs, Roma and non-Roma has been to reconstruct poor-quality buildings. However, it can be said that thanks to housing policy and work programmes, the inflow of Gitanos into cities intensified in the era, and the urbanisation of Roma accelerated significantly (Alfaro, 2008).

Currently, El Prat has a population of about 65,000. The ethnic and national composition of the population living in the area is quite heterogeneous, thanks to immigrants from mainly African countries and Gitano minorities. However, the issue of immigration will no longer be addressed in our study. Gitanos in El Prat live mostly in San Cosme.

Education

Education programmes play a prominent role in the work of the two NGOs we are investigating. Both organisations operate in deferring areas, in a minority social circle. In such an environment, support for education programmes is key, as education support programmes explicitly help the target group to find employment and thus become resilient.

The two NGOs implement school mentoring through extracurricular activities, in an assigned and reserved building. The aim of the extracurricular system is to help students successfully integrate into the traditional school system, taking into account not only equal opportunities, but also equity, in line with the needs of the group. As previously pointed out, in these assistive environments, equalisation of differences in capital ownership plays an important role. The need for this is due to the family background of young people, in which achieving higher education and participation in education is either not a major effort or there is no cultural and social capital to support the achievement of this goal. Civil society organisations in Gilvánfa and El Prat act as intermediate actors in the intersection of the education system and the family environment with the aim of helping Roma students overcome the challenges they face in their bicultural socialisation.

Extracurricular occupations take these challenges into account and strive to provide adequate and functioning programmes. They use methods that are not used in public education, as institutions and teachers do not have the personal or material conditions necessary for education that adapts to children's complex problems (Blonde, 1998). It is therefore an important task for the two NGOs to communicate with and educate parents, as this is of paramount importance for their successful operation. Parental and family space is the primary space for socialisation, so it greatly affects the adaptation of the individual to social norms and, at the same time, the process of creating an individual and a community identity (Varga, 2015c). However, relations with parents do not yet play a prominent role in the Hungarian or Spanish traditional education system. Thus, NGOs dealing with disadvantaged students play an essential role in this respect. According to studies: "No special nurturing and educational programme for disadvantaged or Gypsy children can be successful on its own, only with the help of parents, by including them in the programme. Without it, the actors (child-parent-educator) are not able to cooperate effectively and help to ensure that children are effective in school, to have a chance of secondary education and to find a job in the future." (Balatoni, 2015:20)

The most important activity of the SzDN in Gilvánfa is the deficiency programmes created for the Roma/Gypsy community. Their aim is to integrate the social group at the periphery of society on the basis of the principles of fairness and to promote social mobility.

The bicultural socialisation of local Roma youth can be difficult for them in the secondary socialisation environment at school, as traditional standards taken from home and the expectations set by the school often go against each other: " (...) their success in school (...) depends to a large extent on their family's approach to learning, on the trustful relationship between the professionals working there and the locals, which can make the actors believe that they can successfully go through this long process together, thus overriding the short-term interests of beginning a gainful activity as soon as possible for family members in order to survive everyday life." (Balatoni, 2015:26) In a Roma/Roma family living in extreme poverty, it is common to expect a young person who is able to work, financially to support their family. However, in addition to work, young people have difficulty staying in school, and although the time for starting a family is gradually shifting, starting a family early is still typical in the village. The

organization refers to the difficulties of Boyash women in further education to find a partner as a common phenomenon. By choosing to go on to study, these women slip out of the average pair finding time in the community. Because of their higher qualifications, they seem strange among the lower-skilled Roma/Roma men socialised among traditional male-female roles, but in mainstream society they often face severe discrimination in the search for a match.

The social workers of the association maintain close relations with local families and regularly visit families and schools to help the two socialization environments cooperate smoothly. From the beginning, the most important element of the work of the Kászá Dăsztyisză – Open House School, which is maintained by the SZDN, is to prevent young people from dropping out of school. Mentors help children achieve this goal in the school. Students have the opportunity to study together with their mentors in the afternoons and to take part in specific activities tailored to their needs. However, this kind of learning is not enough in itself, according to the school's guidelines.

The association consciously strives to fill the gaps in the social capital of the students. Going to cinema, theatre and excursions are regularly organised, which students can take part in, in exchange for active work together in the school. On the one hand, these programmes reward the schoolwork carried out and, on the other hand, introduce young people to the cultural and social knowledge that is usually part of the basic experiences of middle-class, intellectual young people in the primary socialisation environment.

The work of the NGO Fundación Secretariado Gitano in the El Prat district extends throughout Spain. The NGO's education activities in El Prat are mostly directed at the Gitano population of the district. About two-thirds of Gitanos living in El Prat do not accomplish the six years of primary school. Therefore, the organisation places particular emphasis on intervention in the school life of students, which typically takes place in the fifth and sixth years of primary school. Intervention at that time is of particular importance, as in Spain the obligation to go to school at grade 6 of primary school is eliminated, which often leads to dropping out without a qualification among disadvantaged Gitano populations.

Gitanos often face the phenomenon of racism in the education system. A survey showed that 25% of Hispanic parents do not want their children to attend the same class as Gitano students. The non-Gitano population refuses to send their children to schools with a high number of Gitano pupils, but at the same time, in schools with many Gitano students, the quality of education is gradually deteriorating (European Roma And Travellers Forum, 2016).

Spain tends to have the segregated education of Gitano students, although such education is prohibited by the European Convention on Human Rights. The general problem is that negative discrimination in the school system against Gitano young people also promotes early school leaving, and in the vast majority of cases teachers do not have adequate means to address such prejudices (Discrimination and the Roma Community, 2019).

The degree of inequalities in education between Gitanos in Spain and members of mainstream society can be supported by a number of research studies. "Teachers' interpretation of cultural diversity is rooted in the fundamentally negative social representation of the Gitanos and stems from the limited ability of educators to analyse their own sociocultural context, and this often results in practices that raise barriers rather than eliminate them." (BEREMÉNYI, 2011).

A higher proportion of students participating in the programme will be able to become resilient. This is also helped by a higher level of education, in which the FSG helps them with monitoring. The success of the programme is reflected in the fact that FSG students are now able to complete primary school training with 80-90% success, according to the employees.

Currently, in El Prat, the students of their group of oldest ones are ninth graders, most of them girls. They are now helping these students prepare for university. The organization defines these results as a result of the joint work of the student, school and family, and families are gradually becoming more supportive of the possibility of sending their children to university.

If they have the opportunity, FSG will motivate young people in El Prat to continue studying with Gitano young people. The organisation's mentoring programme currently has 600 students, with 20 mentors. This type of mentoring takes place within the framework of workshops for approximately 20-25 people.

The two NGOs we have examined therefore play a similar role in the field of education. They help to reduce the early school leaving of local Roma within the framework of essential education in out-of-school institutions. This is achieved through early intervention and the close work of the family-student organisation, with a strong emphasis on addressing the difficulties faced by Roma young people resulting from bicultural socialisation. In addition to supporting young people in schools, the work of the two organisations is also concerned with the education of adults; we will discuss this in more detail in the chapter on providing assistance to organisations in the labour market.

Labour market

History affects our present in a number of situations. The former measures have not always been adequate, and the difficulties of an era have often had a negative impact on the labour market situation of the Roma in a long-term way.

In Hungary, the issue of employment of Roma/Roma is constantly present as a central element of employment policy. Many national, regional and small regional concepts and strategies have tried to find solutions to address the problem. And although successfully implemented programmes can be presented in this area, there are still many municipalities and regions that need to be helped with additional programmes.

The current labour market integration programme of the two NGOs is essential in the context. The aim of these programmes is to reflect to specific problems in their field and to help their target group successfully integrate into the labour market. During our research, we obtained information on the ways how organisations integrate people into the labour market, their technique, their personalization and the strategy for monitoring.

Fundación Secretariado Gitano's most extensive programme is to promote labour market placement among local Gitanos. The organization provides a personalized service program that anyone, regardless of nationality, can use. The process of putting them into work has multiple stages. First, they analyse the client. This is how they learn about their education, work experience, competences and plans. Having this information, they develop an individual plan for them. They help the client get the competencies needed to find a job. If they recognise that there are few job opportunities in the client's field of interest, they will plan together what other competences need to be developed in order to be more involved in the labour market and in finding a job. The organization tries to use these steps to promote "enablement" in its clients.

In Spain, it is still very common for people to submit CVs for vacant positions, despite experience showing that traditional paper applications are now less effective. Therefore, the organisation's staff primarily help people to switch to finding work online. Applications are offered on various internet portals. In fact, community members have difficulty recognising that

the process of finding a job has been transferred to the Internet. They lack the knowledge that is part of the cultural capital of mainstream society in this respect. Clients are individually prepared for job interviews and are provided with competence development courses related to that job. One of their goals is to move them from traditional, increasingly unprofitable Gitano jobs (marketing, metal works, etc.) to areas that have so far been less well known among the Gitano population.

The organisation successfully not only was able to place a large number of Gitano workers in the labour market, but they were able to attract many young people back to the state school and for various training courses. Currently, the majority of the locals complete compulsory education, but the number of people who do not continue their studies at secondary school level is high. However, it is not insignificant that there are more and more people within the Gitano population in the city district who already have a university and higher education degree.

There are a lot of returning clients in the organization. A common problem is that in 2-3 months, jobseekers will ask for help again at the termination of their employment contract. A problem specific to Spain is that employment contracts are for a fixed period of time.

The problem of discrimination and prejudice also appears in El Prat. The general experience is that if a jobseeker shows external characteristics typical for a group of people, there is almost regular difficulty in finding a job. It is typical that certain companies, after identifying the job applicant as Gitano, refuse to interview them or decide not to employ them despite having the skills to fill the job (European Roma Travellers Forum,2016).

Workplace cases have also been documented where Gitano workers have been subjected to stereotypical comments or bullying – harassment – for racial discrimination. In search of solutions to these problems, the organization provides a number of sensitivity programmes for companies, including returning clients. In addition, specific programmes will be set up to show cases of discrimination.

The Fundación Secretariado Gitano offers its own different courses and trainings for the target group who want to learn. Their short courses usually last 2-3 months consists of theoretical and practical parts. Their longer courses take place once a year and last for 6 months. This involves 5 months of internship in a company and then a month of theory during the course. Commercial professions, such as shop assistant, are the most popular among locals. The airport has given locals a lot of work over the past few decades, but at the moment this market is closing and almost no one of the local Gitanos is working there anymore. The brewery near the village, takes up unskilled labour and provides job security for many. Economic prosperity from the 1990s to 2006 helped the Gitanos to prevail in the labour market and obtain adequate housing conditions, but the economic crisis of 2008 reversed this positive process. The number of jobs available to Gitanos has decreased significantly; a significant part of the work they carried out was increasingly low-prestige, less permanent jobs. After 2008, the Spanish labour market gradually became more complex, but increasingly closed to Gitanos (European Roma Travellers Forum,2016).

The SZDN in South Baranya operates not only in Gilvánfa, but also in several other settlements where a large number of Roma/Roma population lives in poor conditions. In our research, however, we are only looking at the Gilvánfa programme. Here, only children's programmes were initially implemented and later, at the request of adults, they started their labour market programme. Over the years, they have developed two main areas of activity: on the one hand, working with children and young people, on the other hand, helping adults into work, raising their level of education and thus improving their shortcomings in their social capital.

In Gilvánfa, a so-called "Complex Settlement Programme" is implemented, and its main objective is to "help disadvantaged people living in segregated residential areas and extreme poverty to catch up and integrate socially" (TáMOP COMPLEX SETTLEMENT PROGRAM).

"The part of the complex settlement programme is to improve the educational and employment opportunities of adults, to increase the level and scope of children's education (kindergarten rates, school advancement opportunities and leisure programmes) and services in the on-site environment." (TáMOP COMPLEX COLONY PROGRAM).

Going to work in Gilvánfa was not a solved problem until 2013. As public transport in the area is rare, bus services cannot be used to take double shifts. At the same time, a significant number of residents do not have a car. Initially, with the help of the Complex program, the organization had the opportunity to transport people to work by microbus in 2013-2014. The organization's staff also helped locals find work (as they still do today). The situation was not easy at first, as they were often rejected by employers because of their typical Boyash Gypsy names. That still happens today. However, labour shortages in the area have become so high in recent years that it is easier for locals to get a job today, despite prejudice. In the meantime, it has also become a common phenomenon that several people have teamed up and used a car to get to work. It is also typical of the local Boyash community that only men work in the family at a greater distance from where they live.

Many of the people of Gilvanfa work in Pécs for the Honsa international automotive supplier and the dairy in Kacsóta. Because of the proximity of the dairy, there are also more women workers. Several people from the village have obtained professional driver's licenses, so many men work as truck drivers. At the same time, working remotely has the disadvantage of tearing family members apart for a long time. Several villagers work in logging. Some make a living as skilled welders or masons. Typically, there is at least one, but often two, money-makers in each family. For the village, however, the lack of mobility is still a problem.

Within the Complex Settlement Programme in Gilvánfa, the Számá Dă Noj Association as a local NGO employs four social workers. The family mentoring social workers of the settlement programme help people prepare their CVs and stay in the workplace. Social workers often visit the workplaces of their clients, taking on the role of conflict mediator.

The criteria for the settlement programme include the need to train 78 locals. The organization strives not to implement mass training, but to serve the needs of the villagers. Currently, they provide nursing training for 7 people, kitchen helper training for 13 people, welding for 5 people, professional driver's license for 8 people and bus driving for one, and excavating machine operation for 15 people. These trainings help to increase the overall level of education and labour market value of the locals, but the general low qualifications still greatly typical for the population of the village. The future of the settlement programme is covered until April 2021. The organisation considers the "Establishing a long-term programme of advance in settlements" project of the Ministry of Interior as the continuation.

The functioning economy is constantly evolving in terms of labour demand, in both quantitative and content, i.e. professional terms. NGOs need to keep up with current needs and keep an eye on the unfilled gaps in the economy. In order to function properly, they need to be aware of the capabilities and attitudes that the economy deems important and to pass them on to clients. They should also be able to provide programmes that help clients develop.

The organisations examined carry out their activities using different methods, but their common characteristic is that they place great emphasis on early intervention and that they

use adult training to help local disadvantaged Roma integrate into the labour market. It is also important to stress that both organisations strive to develop "empowerment" in the individual.

Community development

The two NGOs examined in our research need to respond to similar community development challenges, but the programmes of the organisations in this field adapt to the specific needs of the locals due to their territorial and social situation.

A community development programme is an essential part of a complex programme of a well-functioning NGO. It is important to note, however, that "... community development alone cannot address structural problems, but as a contributing profession, in cooperation with other professions, it can bring about changes in local communities." (Molnár, et al.2014:4) The primary goal of community development is not physical or infrastructure development, but the development of human resources. "By human resources, we mean people themselves— their abilities, their knowledge, their mental and physical state, their qualities through their social connections, and their micro-environmental relationships." (Molnár, et al., 2014:7)

An appropriate, complex community development programme adapted to the specifics of the area promotes the development of "empowerment" and "enablement" in the community in the long term and fills gaps in social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1978).

The target groups of Gilvánfa and El Prat are primarily determined by co-living in isolated environments, so it is important to note that living in proximity does not necessarily mean living in a community. "Relationships, connections and informal networks make them a community: families, friends, neighbours, civil life and other variations." (Molnár, et al., 2014:7)

The geographical situation of Gilvánfa in the Ormánság, which has about 400 inhabitants, is inherently isolated from the rest of society. Gilvánfa is in an unfortunate situation from the point of view of infrastructure. As already mentioned, the village is difficult to reach by public transport, and the rare bus transport makes it very difficult for its inhabitants to get to work, go to school, participate in the entertainment opportunities provided by the nearby bigger city – overall, leaving the village.

There is no adequate communal space in the village: the pub has long been closed, the convenience store has been replaced by moving shops, so the street has basically become the scene of community life. The population of the village consists of Boyash Gypsies and the lack of acceptance of mainstream society greatly complicates the integration of the locals into mainstream society. The inhabitants of the village are almost all people living in disadvantaged extreme poverty.

There are historical reasons for the current economic situation in Gilvánfa. In the early 1990s, the entire region, including the village – the Ormánság – was in crisis. "As a result of the economic changes following the change of regime, 1.2 million jobs were lost in Hungary between 1990 and 1993." (Pörös, 2013:118-177) Coal mines in Pécs and Komló, which provided a large number of jobs for local residents, ceased to exist, as well as large public construction companies in the nearby city. Gilvánfa has been trying to recover from these difficulties caused by sudden economic changes ever since, which is a particularly difficult task because, as Heindl and Pörös say it: "... the people of Gilvánfa living in the countryside have been hit by prejudice against the Roma in addition to being unskilled and the costs of travel in increased." (Pörös, 2013:118-177)

In the life of the village, unemployment caused a fundamental break among the residents who remained at home, and the institutions that serve as the last social space were gradually closed. This resulted in an even lower social status of the people living in the segregated residential environment, being uneducated and the negative external perception of the community. These factors greatly facilitated the development of a highly fragmented social network in Gilvánfa. There is a great demand for the development of communities formed by the people of Gilvánfa, both among the inhabitants of the village and with members of the external environment.

The school opened in 2009, and became a community scene for children from the outset and gradually for older people to meet their needs.

The school regularly invites family members of the students to programmes related to the major holidays they have prepared together. On these occasions, family members will have the opportunity to celebrate their children's successes and meet and get to know the rest of the village from a new perspective. These events help families to develop "enablement" and contribute greatly to strengthening positive social relations between the families of the village. The organization constantly employs a staff member of local Roma/Gypsy origin to help strengthen the relationship between the locals and the Association.

Participation in the school is subject to conditions for students. Students are required to achieve successful school performance according to their abilities and regular learning in the afternoons. The school offers a wide range of extracurricular programmes, excursions, as well as visits to cinemas and theatres for enrolled students. On the one hand, it motivates them to stay in the programme and thus in school, and on the other hand, it tries to fill the gaps in cultural and social capital for children. The school regularly organizes summer and themed camps (including craft, math and drama camps) for children inside and outside the village, thus facilitating the development of "empowerment".

The school has a good relationship with the local government as the two institutions help each other. The larger holidays of the village are usually hosted by the school, and they manage the logistical challenges necessary for the conduct of the holidays, while the municipality gives its name and financially supports them. The school therefore supports the realization of "enablement" in the community in a number of ways.

In order to achieve social solidarity, the association has a close relationship with a private school in Budapest. Students from Gilvánfa regularly attend visits to the Budapest school, while students from the capital often travel down to the Ormánság to participate in joint camps with local students, thus strengthening the village's relationship with mainstream society.

In El Prat de Llobregat with 65,000 inhabitants, Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG) is partly looking for solutions to similar challenges with their community development programme, and cooperates with the municipality. The NGO defines itself as a mediator, which helps the relationship between the municipality and the local Gitano population. FSG is funded by the state, tenders and donations. The work of the organisation in El Prat de Llobergat is intertwined with the work of the municipality at such a level that it is difficult to separate and therefore difficult to talk about the two separately.

The community-building policy of their joint work is determined by the typically thematic occupations they carry out, in which both the Gitano and non-Gitano inhabitants of the city participate; by doing so, they help to develop "empowerment" and harmonious co-living between different communities in the Gitano population.

FSG places great emphasis on helping gender inequalities, gender issues and the cultural and social recognition of Gitanos. They stress that their programmes are complex, so if they are deal-

ing with a child, they place great emphasis on keeping in close contact with family and school, thus helping to solve the difficulties arising from the bicultural socialization of Gitano children.

The vast majority of the work of social workers in the organisation takes place in community spaces; social workers walk the part of the city to establish close personal relationships with families. Their most important method is to build trust. They help families solve their everyday problems, run their relationships within the community smoothly, and also help them connect with the school. It is often a problem that locals do not have the necessary advocacy capabilities to handle their affairs unhindered with the authorities. The problems arising from the lack of these capabilities are essentially due to the cultural and social capital gaps of disadvantaged residents living in El Prat. Social workers often provide legal assistance in these cases. FSG also considered it important to highlight in the text presenting its activities that: "... it is also a common phenomenon that the Roma often do not report cases of discrimination against them to the authorities." (Discrimination and the Roma Community, 2019). This problem also stems from the lack of ability of locals to assert their interests.

The work of the organisation's employees is also greatly characterised by continuous cooperating and regular coordination meetings. Participation is an important pillar of their work. They encourage people to participate in the development of the city district; as well as in entertainment, social work, development and decision-making. Holidays and annual carnivals are organized regularly, and residents participate in the organization and creation, thus helping to achieve joint work and cooperation, which is part of the development of "enablement". They think it is important to involve the locals in all the common affairs of the city. The district informs residents of events pre-planned in that year, which involve external visitors, with an event calendar accessible to all; in doing so, they help to broaden the social acceptance of the community and to develop 'empowerment'.

In the work of SzDN in Gilvánfa and FSG in El Prat, it can therefore be defined as a common positive element that the community development programme of both organisations is integrated and is an active part of a complex disadvantage compensation programme. Close cooperation with local governments plays an important role in the work of both organisations, which has a mutually positive impact on both. The two organisations are characterized by a flexible programme specific to the needs and expectations of locals in community development.

Summary of the study

We can therefore conclude that the two NGOs we are investigating are responding to the problems of their target group with complex and flexible programmes. Both organisations place great emphasis on education, labour market and community development programmes. They are equally characterised by a strong focus on solving the challenges arising from the bicultural socialisation of the Roma target group. They are also characterised by their role as a bridge between the target group and mainstream society and their essential role in terms of education, labour market integration and community development. A common feature of the work of the two organisations is their close relationship with the local government, with which they mutually support each other from a material and cultural point of view and legitimise each other's presence in the community.

El Prat (FSG) -	Common characteristics of the two municipalities and organisations examined -	Gilvánfa (SZDN) -
HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES		
Since the mid-20th century, poor, mainly Gitano families have come to the area from western and southern Spain.	As in Gilvánfa, in El Prat, Roma residents live in a segregated community with a low standard of living.	In the second half of the 19th century, Roma/Gypsy families appeared in the forests belonging to the village.
EDUCATION PROGRAMME		
A unique feature of the education programme of the organisation in El Prat is that it encourages local Gitano young people to continue to study with the involvement of graduated Gitano young people.	Both organisations pay particular attention to increasing the level of education of disadvantaged populations. Their School-style programmes help students acquire their missing funds through extracurricular mentoring. They play an important role in the programmes to strengthen the relationship between family and student school.	SzDN's work in Gilvánfa is includes rewarding students' school successes with various leisure programmes that motivate students to learn and strengthen students' different capital.
LABOUR MARKET PROGRAMME		
FSG implements a multi-step getting into work process. On the basis of a jointly prepared diagnosis, an individual plan is developed for the client. The organization has developed its own sensitizer programs to help destroy discrimination and prejudice against Gitanos in society.	The two organisations respond in a unique way to specific labour market problems in their area. Their aim is to help people from disadvantaged backgrounds integrate into society. Emphasis will be placed on early intervention and the implementation of a wide range of adult education. Both organisations strive to develop „empowerment" in the individual.	Gilvánfa is a geographically isolated settlement, so helping to get to work is a primary concern for the SZDN. Families are assisted by social workers assigned to them, who often visit the workplaces of their clients, taking on the role of conflict mediator.
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME		
An integral part of the FSG's community development programme is the preparation of thematic sessions carried out by the organisation and the preparation of an annual calendar of events jointly prepared with the municipality, in which the entire programme of the district is made available to anyone.	An active part of the community development programmes of both organizations is a complex settlement-specific programme. Organisations have a close, mutually supportive relationship with the local government, and their community development projects are typically implemented together.	Due to the isolated geographical location of Gilvánfa, its infrastructure is inadequate and there are almost no community spaces in the village. The school, run by SZDN, partially serves the village's need for a community scene.

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Notes on the Market Traditions of Gitanos in Barcelona

Abstract

The social situations of the Roma and their presence in the labor market have been explored in several studies across Europe. Based on these studies it can be concluded that the rate of unemployment for the Roma is higher than the average population due to the low level of education that is prevalent in their communities, which country reports also confirm (FRA, 2016; FSG, 2005; FSG, 2018). In this context, the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy people have limited opportunities on the labor market; therefore, they engage in other income-generating strategies to ensure their survival. One of the traditional ways of this is to sell various goods at markets (KOTICS, 2012; MESSING-MOLNÁR, 2011; SZUHAY, 1999), which is an old-established survival strategy not only in Hungary but also abroad (CASA-NOVA, 2007). This research explores and presents the market traditions of the Spanish Gitanos of Barcelona. The research for this study was implemented using the methodology of participatory observation. The results show that in Spain, selling goods at local markets has been a traditional income-generating strategy for Gitanos both in the past and present, having undergone changes in recent decades due to increasing globalization.

Social situation and employment

A number of research studies provide reliable data on the social situation of Roma. The EU-MIDIS STUDY II (FRA, 2016) presents the results of research carried out in a total of nine EU Member States (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Spain, Croatia, Hungary, Portugal, Romania and Slovakia) between 2014 and 2016. These studies show that 80% of the Roma population in the Member States concerned live below the poverty line in their home countries; one third do not have plumbing systems in their homes; one-tenth do not have electricity; and between 27% and 30% of Roma children live in households where hunger has occurred at least once during the month prior to the survey. In the field of employment, the same research found that only a quarter of Roma people over the age of 16 were "employed" or "self-employed". In addition, significantly lower employment rates were detected for Roma women (16%) than for men (34%). Overall, the results show that the proportion of Roma between the age of 20 and 64 with regular paid job is 43%. The situation of young people is significantly worse, as on average 63% of the Roma population aged 16-24 were not employed during the survey period, and

they were not taking part in education or training programs either. There is also a significant gender gap in the latter age group: 55% of young Roma men are neither employed nor receive education or training, compared with 72% of young Roma women (FRA, 2016).

The situation of the Gypsies (Gitanos) in Spain is somewhat different from the above quoted European figures. Based on a 2011 study (ESF, 2012), which shows respective results for working or job seeking individuals over the age of 16, we can say that the employment rate of Gitanos is quite high (68.9%) compared to 8.9% for the general population. This is due to the lower average life expectancy of Gitanos and their early entry to the labour market compared to the general Spanish population. On the other hand, lower education and the lack of skills make it more likely that Gitanos have access to poorly paid, temporary employment with precarious working conditions. Another significant distinction can be found in the proportion of self-employed Gitanos compared to employees, and in the high number of participants in family business activities. Among Gitanos, the proportion of self-employed entrepreneurs is 35%, which is only 16.4% for the total population. At the same time, the proportion of people employed in the total population is 83.6%, compared to 37.6% among Gitanos. Finally, the number of participants in family businesses is 26% for Gitanos, which is much higher than the 0.7% figure for the general population (ESF, 2012). In addition, it is important to mention, on the basis of a 2005 study, that Gitanos also have a high proportion of employees in the commercial transportation sector (FSG, 2005).

A more recent 2018 Spanish study (FSG, 2018) also describes the social status, educational indicators and labour market standing of Gitanos. According to this, their typically low education level is one of the main factors determining their labour market situation, their social disadvantages and, in general, their unequal socioeconomic status. A total of 17% of Gitanos over the age of 16 have graduated from secondary school, which is very low compared to 80% of the general Spanish population. This is the factor primarily responsible for the significantly lower standard of living of the Gitanos, compared to the standard of living of the rest of the Spanish population. Another consequence is the low labor market presence of Gitanos with an unemployment rate of 52%, almost three times higher than the 14.5% rate for the total population, which indicates that there is uncertainty and poor minority protection. In all areas, Gitano women face further disadvantages due to their dual status, and their extreme 84% unemployment rate (FSG, 2018) confirms the effects of intersectionality (Vincze, 2012; Sebestyén, 2016).

According to labor-market research in Hungary, the employment of Roma/Gypsies to secure livelihood is very diverse (Kotics, 2012). Employment can be separated into two main categories: income from the formal and informal labor market. All legally contracted taxable employment belongs to the formal labor market. In 2012, József Kotics conducted a survey on the incomes of Roma/Gypsy households in Hungary. Based on his results, income generated from the formal labor market by Roma/Gypsy households appeared to be a trivial amount. Out of 35 households only two were identified where the head of the family had a contracted, long-term job. This can be explained by the fact that it is extremely difficult for Roma/Gypsies to find jobs, largely due to a lack of marketable skills, low educational attainment, limited transportation options and ethnic discrimination. In the households surveyed, all respondents took advantage of the public work opportunity offered by the municipality, at least for a few months each year. As a result, Roma/Gypsies who have the opportunity try to earn incomes in the informal labor market (gray and black economy), such as in agricultural activities or the construction industry. In addition, in all the settlements examined, the collection of wild plants

and herbs from the environment for use or sale has appeared, which, although temporary, may in some cases significantly increase the amount of income. In addition, they often try to generate revenue from the sale of certain goods, which in most cases appears to be an illegal activity (Kotics, 2012). Related to income generation, Kotics shares a short dialogue in his study to illustrate this phenomenon:

> *"Q: I saw your man is weaving baskets here.*
> *A: Well, that's what he is doing now, but they want to pay enough for them at the fair.*
> *Q: What fair do you sell it at?*
> *A: The Ónodi fair. That's where they take him. But he says it's really not worth it. Let's say for this big basket that is 3000 Ft, they only offer 1100-1200 Ft, but we must sell them. Well, he's been dealing with this for a very long time. His father taught him when he was a child, but sometimes he doesn't weave, because even though they ask for it, they won't buy it." - Village C, Borsod County, 37-year-old Roma woman* (Kotics, 2012:19).

Messing and Molnár carried out a research similar to Kotics in two small rural towns in Hungary, looking at how Roma/Gypsy and non-Roma/Gypsy households make a living. In the examined population, they rarely found legal employment on the primary labour market, which was usually the main cause of poverty. Those who could not relocate or receive some form of state benefit after the reorganization (modernization or closure) of the local industrial plant became long-term unemployed (e.g. could not obtain early retirement, disability pension, or health benefits). In the population they studied, Gypsies/Roma (or precisely those who are considered to be Gypsies/Roma by their environment) were living in the most difficult circumstances because employers usually prefer non-Roma for job openings.

The combined effect of ethnic discrimination and structural factors puts low-skilled Roma/Gypsies at a disadvantage. For them, only two multinational companies operating in the county can be considered as formal workplaces. These companies employ workers trained in two or three assembly belt work shift positions for a minimum wage. Almost exclusively, these two companies are the only ones where the low-skilled workers get jobs regardless of ethnicity and can find legal employment. However, these jobs also have the disadvantages of distance because the companies are located about 30-40 km from the two cities surveyed. In this context, daily commuting as well as low payment and poor working hours are not really attractive for employees. Although these jobs offer a slightly higher income than the amount of social assistance and income earned through assistance or other social transfer, there is not a significant difference; therefore, the interviewed individuals were not motivated enough to work formally (Messing-Molnár, 2011).

The quote above from Kotics also evokes traditional Gypsy crafts. One of the most well-known of these is horse trafficking, which ensured the livelihood of a group of Vlach Roma (the Lovari). At first, horses were bought at one fair and then sold at another fair for a higher price. In principle, profitability was ensured by bargaining and exploiting the different average market prices at fairs. Later, it became more common for horses not to be sold right away, but to be kept and trained to sell in a few months. Many people left traditional horse-trading to deal with quality horses, travelling long distances from cheaper markets in Eastern Hungary to more expensive fairgrounds in Western Hungary (Szuhay, 1999).

Michael Stewart, a British anthropologist who lived with Hungarian Roma/Gypsy communities for an extended period of time to study their everyday life and culture, shared his observations that Roma/Gypsy talk about very few things with such passion as horses. According to his experience, Roma/Gypsy men make new business plans for horse sales every day and then discuss the smallest details of the sale including gestures, which are all part of the role play for the bargain. It was as if the opportunity of making a great deal was floating in front of every man who dreamed of making an incredible profit that would support him for the rest of his life (Stewart, 1994).

From this traditional horse trade emerged trade in used cars, which later became widespread. The simpler form takes place within the country, and the more complicated form between Western Europe and Hungary. In addition, the collection and sale of antiques at fairs is widespread. Extremely popular forms of illegal, unregistered trading involve tobacco, coffee, alcohol, and clothing. The main goal of traders is to get the goods cheaply and to sell them at the highest possible price. It is often the case that goods are procured domestically in wholesale markets or directly from producers, usually in large batches, and then the products purchased are sold in subways, public areas, or near high-traffic stores (Szuhay,1999).

This phenomenon can be observed not only in Hungary, but also in other European countries. Casa-Nova (2007) conducted a study in Portugal in different cities where Roma were observed in communities. His research describes the existence of a Roma community in Portugal, whose members initially sold clothes and shoes in areas designated by them –primarily fairs. Later, in order to take advantage of and diversify the impact of the "capitalism of flexible accumulation" (Harvey, 1989), counterfeit DVDs were also sold at these fairs. Many Roma say this is the job they are talented at, as they believe they are very persuasive speakers who can negotiate skillfully and persuade non-Roma to buy from them. Several members of the shopping community surveyed stated that "there is no person who can sell something better than the Roma/Gypsies" (Casa-Nova, 2007).

What are the options for the Gitanos in Barcelona?

The aim of this research is to map the Gitanos in the labor market in Spain (primarily in Barcelona), focusing on the phenomenon of shopping and selling commercial goods at markets.

Is shopping in Barcelona present as an activity in the form of informal labor market income? How has it evolved, and what possible changes has this traditional way of living undergone in recent years? What impact does this activity have on Gitanos who choose this kind of livelihood strategy?

To answer the above questions, participatory observation was used as a research method. A suburban market in Barcelona was visited, where local Gitanos sold clothes, shoes, cosmetics, perfume, lottery tickets and electronic devices. A Gitano man living there led the researchers around and told the history of the fair.

Field experiences

In Barcelona, a fair known as the Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs was visited by the research team. Here the researchers met Santos[1], who was happy to introduce us to the market. Before we reached the destination fair, we had our first stop on the side of a secluded road. Gitano

men and women were selling used belongings spread out on the ground on the side of the road. These "porters" were not thematically arranged or sold – both men and women sold clothes and perfume. Everything in bulk could be found at the vendors. One man was selling a football jersey, a pair of shoes, a pocket watch, some electronic items (kitchen appliance, phone charger) and an old lamp. After viewing, Santos explained that this type of shopping is illegal, with vendors here not buying a license to sell their items. He said those who sell on the side of the road are the poorest and have no choice but to be unemployed. Therefore, they do not trade in goods bought cheaply, but in goods brought from their own homes or possibly found on the street. All their livelihoods depend on how much of their belongings they can sell each day.

The research team walked over to Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs, located a few minutes away at a location under two overpasses, and the team was shocked by its massive size. There were about 30 vendors selling goods here, compared to the 5-6 people selling at the roadside fair. The marketplace was divided into several rows where anyone could rent a place to sell goods legally. The vendors offered their products for sale not on the ground, but on tables, counters and stationary racks – mainly clothes, small electronics, fridge magnets, keychains, perfumes, cosmetics and lottery tickets. Although the team saw examples of people selling second-hand or barely used clothes, it was more typical that a vendor obtained new goods cheaply and then sold them at an increased price. These premium products were still cheaper than in other places. At the fair, local Gitano vendors waited and attracted their customers with a smile and a call to grab one's attention. Sometimes, looking at a counter, a local vendor would accost us, explaining that he had three pairs of socks for two Euros, pointing firmly at his sign above the table, which said the same thing. Santos explained that the people the team met at the roadside fair earlier also would like to sell goods at Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs because here they do not have to fear the consequences of illegal activity.

Santos talked in detail about how shopping has evolved in recent years and decades. As a result of globalization, more and more imported goods are appearing in the country and more shops are opening (he talked mostly about cheap Chinese stores), which means that gradually fewer people go to local fairs because they get the same products that are often cheaper. Gitanos sell at the Mercat de Sant Adrià de Besòs. As a result, more and more vendors are being forced to look for other ways to make additional money, or they even give up shopping so that they can make a living. In this context, Santos recounted that he himself was selling in this market and recently decided to quit this job, preferring to pursue academics by studying sociology at a university. In the context of these historical trends, it can be assumed that many others share his perspective. Perhaps the declining number of fairs is bringing about a change. Vendors who are themselves parents prefer to encourage their children to continue their studies so that they can have better livelihoods and opportunities.

A secondary school in the La Mina area of Barcelona is taught primarily by young Gitanos majoring in commerce. The school is increasingly supporting its students in completing their studies and finding a successful profession. Presumably, in parallel with the declining attendance and importance of fairs, the younger generation is already trying to enter the mainstream commercial labor market either as shop assistants or restaurant caterers. The school in La Mina and the various support programs running at the school play an instrumental role in this process. In this context, it can be seen that most Gitano youth who successfully complete secondary education can find their professions. They are usually immediately placed in the labor market, and very few are prepared to continue their studies at a higher education institution. Sometimes, however, after decades of work, higher education is still chosen, as Santos did.

Concluding thoughts

After our visit to the fair, we asked Santos if he speaks the Gypsy language. Santos said that many people in Spain do not speak the language because they used to cut out the language of the Gitanos if they did not speak the language of the country. History also suggests that the acceptance of Gypsies in Spain as a nationality has not taken place to this day, even from a legal point of view. Prejudice about Gitanos, according to the latest research (Beltrán Salvador, 2016), is also higher than prejudice against immigrants and prisoners. At the end of the fair tour, Santos talked about how sad it is that racism that can be found everywhere in the world. According to him, the whole thing is absurd because we are all one – "man is one race" – and our differences should strengthen this unity and not incite ethnic groups and minorities against each other.

Based on our field experience and research from Hungary (Kotics, 2012; Messing-Molnár, 2011) and the Iberian Peninsula (Casa-Nova, 2007) related to Roma market attending traditions, we can conclude that trading at regional markets appears to be a traditional livelihood strategy among Spanish Gitanos. It has resulted from accelerated development and globalization, and changes also began in the working conditions and labor market position of Gitanos.

Endnotes

1   The name is fictitious and does not cover the real name of the informant.

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VIVIEN NAGY AND MARYAMA TURAY

Roma NGOs in Barcelona

Abstract

In our study, we would like to briefly present the experiences and the results of our qualitative micro-research we conducted in March 2020 in Barcelona. Our research focuses on the actively involved and committed volunteer workers of civil society organizations in Spain and Catalonia, for whom it is of utmost importance to take responsibility and to improve the general situation of the Roma people of the country. The Roma population internationally, as well as in Spain, has much worse indicators than other minority groups. These unsatisfying indicators were also confirmed by the first-hand experience of our informants. In our study, we aim to present our readers two civil society organizations, the SURT and the Nakeramos, as well as their goals, programs, future plans, and their overall work as described by our informants.

Introduction

In our study, we present the results of our research in Barcelona in March 2020. The aim of our qualitative micro-research is to obtain and provide information about the largest minority in Europe, the Roma or Spanish *Gitano* communities, who have been residing in the area of Barcelona, Catalonia since the 15th century. Our aim is to report on their general social situation and the types of activities local civic organizations (NGOs) who are successful working with them.

The supranational Roma communities, which do not have a home country, are confined to a special legal situation, and its members have been on the fringes of society in all European states for decades. Most of them do not have easy access to a significant proportion of social goods, while collectively bearing the consequences of the vicious circle of discrimination at various junction of their social life on a daily basis. Compared to members of the non-Gitano groups, they are characterized by poorer health status (susceptive to diseases, and having a lower average life expectancy), poorer housing conditions (both in terms of housing conditions and its infrastructure), low education profile (lack of marketable degrees) and weaker employment indicators (amount of taxed income from a permanently declared workplace). In the words of a researcher of Romani Studies, Sir Angus Fraser, „If one could take into account all the trials they (Roma) faced, it would seem to be a great achievement that this people survived at all."(Fraser,1996:9).

We formulated our research questions about the services available to members of the Roma community, and we were interested in the personal views of our civil informants, more

specifically in the current situation of the interviewed Roma women and young people. This research report aims to present information that we obtained during the course of the re-search, our experiences of personally visiting two NGOs, as well as conclusions drawn from our data with a lookout to possible future solutions.

Gitano Communities in Spain

One of the most valued Roma communities of Europe is located outside of the South-East European region in Western Europe, in the country of Spain. Spain's total population, accord-ing to the 2018 census, is 46,733,038, which includes immigrants in addition to the Spanish population and other minorities living in the country. The country's least popular minority, the Gitano is estimated to be only 2% of the total population, which is 600-800,000, which is sur-prisingly the same number sociologists estimate the proportion of the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy population to be. According to written documents, the first Gitano groups appeared in Aragon and Catalonia almost 500 years ago and since then they scattered throughout the peninsula, more concentrated in numbers in Andalusia, Murcia and major cities such as Madrid, Barce-lona, Seville, Granada or Zaragoza (SZAJBÉLY, 2003).

Spain was one of the areas where, in the era of enlightened absolutism, harsh assimilation efforts promoted the development of a unified nation. In line of these efforts, the main task was to assimilate Moors and Gitanos, and rulers often enforced extremely violent acts against these minorities whom they considered to be social outcasts. The anti-Romani laws ranged from the obligation to perform heavy physical labor (e.g. public flogging, galley slavery) to forced depor-tation from the country, and they were broadly supported even by middle class intellectuals and by the Catholic Church due to religious convictions and the peculiar interpretation of the holy scripture. Many people opposed to the inclusion of the Roma in the church, so they could not receive the sacrament, enter many churches, or if they could, they had to sit in separate rows of benches designated for them. These laws included several prohibition measures taken from rulers of other Western European countries during absolutism. Thus, it was forbidden to continue migration; forbidden to "dress like Gypsies"; keeping horses or trading them and weapons; participating in fairs; running a pub; settling too close to each other (not to nurture relationships smoothly), as well as the holding Roma gatherings and using a language affiliated with Roma (it was considered suspicious and dangerous by outsiders). Persons who have been shown to have returned to their traveler lifestyles have been given special sanctions, their chil-dren were taken from them and they could even get death penalty. Groups believed to be Roma were obliged to take up the Christian religion and way of life, as Roma had no separate religion throughout history. These reasons led to the creation of the first religious Roma associations.

In addition, they forbade the identification of themselves as Roma in the hope that they would be more mixed with the majority population if they lost their identity. They set out a goal of settling only in towns with a population of 200 or more, as a result of which their proportion did not exceed 1% in any municipality. As far as occupations are concerned, Roma people were only allowed to work on cultivating the land. As a result of the above mentioned restrictions, people of Roma origin hid in the prairies and forests of the borderland.

Many Roma have also fled to Portugal from the relentless persecution in Spain, where Roma people who could not fit into the mainstream society were considered criminals and got deported to other countries and continents for forced labour. This practice was later adopted

by Spain as well. As a result of all these strict, assimilationist central measures, by the time of the 1785 census, most of the Roma in Spain were already living in settled lifestyles (according to censorship data, twelve thousand Gitanos lived in the country of Spain, most of them in Andalusia). The much-coveted settlement of the entire community was carried out in Catalonia the last (Fraser, 1996).

Nowadays, for many Gitano, a part of religious traditions is the Romería pilgrimage. Ceferino Giménez Mall, better known as El Peré, was the first person of Roma origin to be beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1997. Most Roma find their place in the new Christian denomination. Most notably, the Pentecostal Evangelical Church of Philadelphia has acquired believers among Gitanos in Spain, where pastors are of Roma origin. In addition, among the Spanish Gitanos, we can also find followers of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Bahá'í faith (Vidas Gitanas, 2013).

Language use and self-identification of Gitanos in Spain

The Indo-European (Indogerman) language family has several language versions of Romani in the world, and for example, there are only about 60 dialects in Europe with South Slavic influences due to historical reasons (Fraser, 1996), whose native speakers are identified as Roma. The version of these dialects used by Gitanos settled on the Iberian Peninsula is the "pararoman" language version, kalo/caló (plural kale/cale), which is now used mixed with Spanish and Catalan grammar and vocabulary: Spanish "caló" with Romani words and Spanish grammatical structures, while the Catalan version is now used in Romani words and Catalan grammatical structures. Although, recently Romani expressions have also been increasingly replaced by Spanish words. In addition to marking the Romani language version, the "caló"[1] terminology is in many cases also the self-identification of Gitanos (Locksmith, 2015).

"Caló is therefore used (...) for its expressiveness as well as for its identity-forming role among the Spanish Gitanos. Words such as "camelar" (seduce), "lajar" (feast), "pinrel" (foot), and "chaval" (young boy) all come from "caló". One of the aims of the Gypsy Culture Institute is to restore and spread the language. To achieve this, in 2012, he published the first standard Romani language book, called "*Sar san?*" (How are you?)" (Vidas Gitanas, 2013:3).
Several Roma groups like to call themselves Gitano or "xoraxano/jorajano", while non-Roma are called "payos" (Fraser, 1996).

Role of NGOs

NGOs are essential for reducing and eradicating social inequalities for Gitanos. Non-profits advocate for minority rights and for the marginalized sections of society, organizing and lobbying for fairness, and encouraging and assisting in the investigation of suspected cases of discrimination against certain social groups. Unfortunately, to a certain degree in all states of the European Union, (...) the non-profit sector continues to be characterized by frequent and one-sided dependence on resources, low intensity of financial and in-kind contributions, modest volumes of state aid and a lack of trust in government-civil cooperation." (Fórika et al, 2015, p. 305).)

The two Barcelona NGOs we examined are "Fundació Surt", led by Paquí Perona, and "Asociación Intercultural Nakeramos".

Surt Foundation

The Surt Foundation (Fundació Surt, hereinafter: SF) is a social organization aimed at protecting women's economic, social and cultural rights and eliminating gender discrimination in order to create an efficient gender-equal society. Since its establishment in 1993, the organization has been committed to inclusion and solidarity and has transparent, professional and socially effective governance. SF is striving for a 'social transformation' project, with one of the main aims being to achieve gender equality and non-violence. SF received several awards for its work. It received an honorable mentioned award on *Generalitat Day* (Catalan Justice Day) in 2016 for its contribution for women's rights, and for its efforts and achievements so far. Catalonia's Institute of Human Rights awarded SF a Solidarity Award in 2009. In 2018, Onda Cero and the Zona Franca Consortium awarded Paquí Perona the "Ciutat Solidaria" Award and since 2019 SF has also earned Gold Medal from the Social Workers' Association.

This feminist organization mainly helps to strengthen the role of Gitano women, support women's autonomy and even leadership with a comprehensive, holistic approach. It focuses on the needs and experiences of women and the differentiated impacts of policies and programs.

The organization has four different areas: personal empowerment, economic empowerment, socio-political empowerment, and community empowerment. There are various programs within each area. The aim of the *"personal empowerment"* program is to give women a helping hand in give women a helping hand in identifying and thereby maximizing their rights. Its mission to contribute to the development of a life based on free will in which women can develop. The personal empowerment program is the SIARE Mentor Network Project (Comprehensive Care, Rehabilitation and Authorization Services). It supports and strengthens women who are victims of gender-based disenfranchisement and marginalization. The program, on the one hand, encourages the integration of women into the personal, socio-economic and labor dimensions by mobilizing community resources, and on the other, they accompany them to their recovery, in which a mentoring group of women also play an important role for *survivors of domestic violence or sexual abuse*. The program is committed to encourage the creation of a network and mutual support between women. In addition to these objectives, it supports the development of entrepreneurial skills for women participants in order to successfully implement their own career ideas. SF also aim to participate in awareness-raising projects with other organizations in order to prevent discrimination against women and educate to eliminate sexual harassment and rape.

Another central objective of SF's activities is to develop the economic situation of women and promote their autonomy. In this area, the organization provides integration, employment support and business development programs, while combating the unsatisfactory social situation and the consequent existential insecurity. It supports women's economic independence through a vital and professional project, offering personalized expert advice to women who are considering setting up entrepreneurial initiatives. Among the programs of economic authorization, the so-called "open doors" social care program helps *chronically disadvantaged women*, especially those who have already dropped out of support networks and are therefore at increased risk of exclusion.

Within the SADI program, comprehensive support is provided for *migrant women*, from social care to legal counseling. The DIMO (Orientation and Recruitment Program) provides a personalized opportunity for women to acquire occupations and improve their employability who have or are having forced sexual activity. The area of "community empowerment" inte-

grates programs and projects, promoting *community development* processes in a variety of ways. Their "inclusion program" aims to facilitate the *integration of new arrivals* into society. This included the Annisa programme (El Besós), established by the Barcelona City Council in 2014 in the Sant Martí district of Barrio Besós, with the aim of building bridges and links between different groups, facilities and services.

In addition to social engagement, the Surt Foundation (SF) is also committed to *making policy proposals*. Its members believe that it is important to understand the environment in which we operate, to define discrimination as accurately as possible and the possible root causes of gender exclusion, to strengthen women's rights, interests and knowledge. The next stage is consultation, which aims to prepare organizations to effectively integrate gender equality into their actions. (https://www.surt.org/coneix-nos/qui-som/)

Nakeramos Intercultural Association

Another NGO we visited is the "Asociación Intercultural Nakeramos" (hereinafter: AIN), which was partly funded by the Barcelona City Council and the Spanish Government. It was established in 2002 as an informal platform. AIN' philosophy teaches that social cohesion is best achieved and strengthened by interactions between people from different cultures and joint participation in organized activities.

It acts as an open organization, a group of Roma and other activists. It cooperates with countless social organizations, as well as students and teachers from the University of Barcelona. Since 2004, it has strengthened its multicultural and intercultural activities, paying particular attention to young people. Its members provide learning assistance, trying to teach Romani language and organize leisure activities. They work together with other minority groups for the common values of society, of which they see minorities as part. Over the last few years, the organization has successfully promoted the participation of many Roma and other young people in various trainings and European exchange programs.

Summary

It is our hope that we have been able to give a comprehensive picture of the two NGOs in Catalonia, which we had the privilege to be able to visit. In our opinion, while the activities of the organizations we have come to know and decided to present in this study were all welcomed, persistent joint efforts will be needed in the future to improve the socio-educational situation and overall life quality of the Roma community in both the province Catalonia and the country of Spain.

Endnotes

1   The term kalo (calo) means „black" in Romani.

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ÁDÁM FÜCSÖK, ANDRÁS KOTROCZÓ, JÓZSEF SÁRKÖZI AND ZSAKLIN ZSELINSZKY

The Structure of an Organization in Barcelona: Federation of Roma Associations in Catalonia (FAGiC)

Abstract

"Improve performance addressing the needs of the Roma community, gathering their desires and worries, and creating a channel of communication between Romani and non-Roma in the Catalan society." (Memòria FAGiC, 2019) This sentence sums up the mission of the organization, called Federació d'Associacions Gitanes de Catalunya (FAGiC), *which translates from Catalan as the Federation of Roma Associations in Catalonia. The organization gathers people who are committed to the Roma people and whose goal is to advocate for equal rights and social change by building bridges between the Roma and non-Roma through their aspirations and concerns. It is of great importance to them to work with the Catalan government to help them become observant of Roma rights locally as well as internationally. Our research presents the largest Catalan organization working on optimizing the situation of the Gitanos in Barcelona. The organization consists of nearly 100 different, smaller units the core of which is FAGiC. The staff is distributed among the head office in Barcelona and various associate offices who organize volunteers, students and trainees that constitute the engine of FAGiC. We aim to present the history of the organization descriptively. Though our work, one can gain a deeper insight into the structure, the programmes, and the finances of FAGiC.*

Introduction

As members of the Evangelical Lutheran Roma Student College of Pécs, we had the opportunity to take part in an organized study trip to Barcelona, and within this framework we were able to gain insight into the life, difficulties and opportunities of the Catalan Gitanos. In addition, the various organizations present in Barcelona, which aim to improve the living standards of the Catalan Roma minority, the Gitanos, have played a major role. During our stay there, it became clear that the situation of the Roma in Barcelona can be considered specific in Spain, as they are not only considered a minority because of their Roma identity, but are also marginalized as people from Catalan territory. This duality places a heavy but special emphasis on the Roma in Barcelona, and this particular situation makes our research even more exciting so

that we can carry out a study with such a unique Roma society. We visited many Roma organizations in Barcelona, the largest city in Catalonia, and in our study we had the opportunity to present the largest one of these. In this article, we aim to provide an insight into the history, structure, programmes and goals of FAGiC, an NGO. The data we report about the association was provided to us during our consultation with FAGiC, and with this data we try to further specify the size and importance of the NGO for the inclusion of Roma society in Barcelona.

Presentation of the organization

FAGiC (Federación d'Associacions Gitanes de Catalunya) in Barcelona was set up in 1991 and now includes around a hundred organizations throughout Catalonia. FAGiC is the most distinctive Roma organization in the region, aiming to protect and promote Roma culture in Catalonia. Their mission is to reduce action against the Roma community and to make extraordinary efforts to build bridges between the Roma and non-Roma, and it is important for them to work with the Catalan government to help the administration promote respect for Roma rights at local and international levels. All this is done by a governing body and they are assisted by a staff of forty people with different scientific backgrounds, as we could find out on the organization's website. The organization is an association cooperating with the Roma community, the aim of which is to promote human rights and facilitate social change. The staff are employed among the headquarters in Barcelona and the offices of the association, who, together with volunteers, students and trainees, are the driving force of FAGiC. As this is a huge organization, it is necessary to set up different bodies which allow them to discuss the topics on the agenda much more comprehensively and in more detail, thus it is also easier to make decisions.

One of the most important decision-making bodies is the General Assembly, in which representatives of organizations within the FAGiC are present. This assembly is a key body of FAGiC, as decisions on an agenda can only be made if each group is represented, as these issues are affecting all organizations that are in collaboration with FAGiC. All those present at the meeting are leaders and/or members of smaller organizations that joined FAGiC. The responsibilities of the General Assembly include defining the goals of the organization, leading, discussing and approving budgets, approving the accession of new allies, and electing board members every four years.

The next important body of the organization, according to the information on the FAGiC website, is the board of directors which is the political body of the organization. This is the group that represents the organization in front of other institutions. The Governing Board draws up the annual budget, reports on the progress and costs of the annual projects and proposes future activities and projects.

The Council of the Elderly is worth to mention, which is an independent body and which only advises the organization, member organizations and individuals when agreement and unity are needed in a conflict within the community.

FAGiC is made up of approximately one hundred organizations throughout Catalonia. The member associations develop the projects and FAGiC supports them - promoting their activity and development.

One of the goals of the organization is to encourage activities and projects that promote the coexistence of the Roma and non-Roma community. The strength of the community and community-based initiatives through the support of member organizations are considered es-

sential. They also seek to unite and represent the rights of the Roma associations in Catalonia in order to make them stronger and get more representation. In addition, the protection, promotion and study of the Roma language, history and culture is an important segment of the life of the FAGiC organization. They see their fight against Romophobia, xenophobia and different forms of racism as a challenge, but their programmes seek to alleviate these problems.

In addition, they consider that their main task is to reduce the various social difficulties affecting the Roma and to show an improving trend in their living standards, employment and participation in education.

Their website and their summary paper, Memòria, revealed that they have various programmes that promote the development of these areas. Their social project is an example for the latter which includes job placement, and its primary goal is to successfully integrate Roma youth into the labour market. This project mainly helps young Roma, aged 16-30, who are unemployed and/or are in a difficult social situation. In addition to job search and integration into the labour market, conflict prevention programmes are also considered important. It works as a service, providing support, education and information on housing, making accessible the available tools and information on public transport. The service aims to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts between Roma and non-Roma residents, and to improve an intercultural dialogue. Within the framework of the project, separate agreements will be concluded with the Sant Adria de Besòs town hall - due to projects in La Mina area, which also aim to develop good practices between the Roma and non-Roma population. They also have an agreement with the public transport company TRAM Besòs to prevent and reduce conflicts.

European projects

They also take part in various EU projects, targeting mainly the younger age group. As FAGiC operates as a multi-unit organization with the primary aim of improving the lives and living standards of the Roma population in Catalonia, it is necessary to set programmes and goals to achieve them. They aim to reduce prejudice and discrimination against the Roma, explore the ideas, problems and needs of the Gitano population, and create channels of communication between the Roma and the Catalan society. "Millorar les actuacions dirigides al Poble Gitano, recollint les seves aspiracions i preocupacions i establint and canal de communation entre els gitanos i la societat catalana." - we learned the primary purpose of the organization from the 2019 Memòria (Federación d'Associacions Gitanes de Catalunya, 2019: Memòria 2019). According to them, in developing FAGiC programmes, they pay considerable attention to reducing the rate of action against Roma people and to creating a channel of communication between the Roma and the Catalan society. In order to achieve these goals, it was necessary for the organization to launch various supporting programmes that could help to improve the situation of the Roma in Catalonia. The programmes, which are present in the life of the organization in order to promote the situation of the Roma, were all created with the support of the European Union, within the framework of the Erasmus + programme. The programme identifies six areas for improvement that are considered essential to fulfilling the organization's mission. These six factors include adult education, adult learning and the development of the skills and abilities required by the labour market today. "Individuals pursue adult learning for a variety of reasons: to improve their employment prospects, to develop their personal or professional development, and to acquire transferable skills such as critical thinking. Adult learning contributes to improving social

cohesion and promoting active citizenship."[1]- This can be found on the website of the European Commission, Education and Training, EU policy in the field of adult learning. So, in order for the organization to achieve its goals, with the help of various professionals and through training, it is important to show people some opportunities to gain up-to-date skills, as a result of which it is easier to enter the labour market and that may reduce the rate of unemployment. In addition, it is important to emphasize that their activities focus not only on adult people seeking work and education, but also on providing various programmes for high school and university students to help reduce drop-out rates and youth unemployment. "Early school leaving is linked to unemployment, social exclusion, poverty and poor health. There are several reasons why some young people stop attending educational institutions too early: personal or family problems, learning difficulties or a fragile socio-economic situation. The way the education system is structured, the school atmosphere and the relations between teachers and students are also important factors."[2] (European Commission, Education & Training, Early school leaving). As drop-out is also a huge problem in the Catalan Roma society, the organization considers it essential to help children during their school years, thus avoiding drop-out of school. As this factor can have a huge number of causes, the organization should also focus on finding the causes and a solution to them as well. However, the organization also has social programmes that target the main underlying factors of drop-out - such as housing, financial and family problems, learning difficulties - in order to improve the standard of living of families that are supported by the organization. Last but not least, within the framework of the programme, encouraging young people to participate in democracy and to support and participate in various innovations, cooperation and reforms are in the spotlight. It is an important factor for young people to make their voices heard, thus standing up for themselves and the Gitanos living in Barcelona.

In addition to social benefits, there are also developments in the cultural fields. For example Europe for Citizen is a project related to historical memory and commemorations. Another noteworthy programme is the ESC, or European Solidarity Bodies (formerly European Voluntary Service), which places significant emphasis on promoting the mobility of the Roma youth, intercultural dialogue and the values of volunteering.

In addition to European Union projects, they also participate in various international projects. They consider it important to highlight the path of the Roma and the history of their diversity. The aim of this project is to share the richness of Roma culture with the public. To this end, they are researching the origins and migration of people with Roma origin in Europe. This project has two purposes: scientific and cultural. A scientific research was aimed at reconstructing the migration habits of Roma people, with the support of Professor David Comas and the Human Genome Lab (University of Pompeu Fabra), as can be found on the organization's website. The cultural study was led by FAGiC itself, with the aim of understanding how Roma culture affected the folklore of people living in the area affected by migrations, as well as how the traditions of the Roma were influenced by other European folk customs.

Financing

The most puzzling part of an NGO is the scope of financial issues. The financial background of FAGiC can be divided into seven supporting bodies: revenues from the Ministry and town halls, such as Barcelona and St. Adria de Besós, donations, Barcelona Provincial Council, "Generalitat Catalunya", sales and other revenues.

FAGiC also collaborates with other organizations, including other Roma and non-Roma associations. They are partnering with a number of public and private initiatives providing financial assistance. These organizations include Generalitat Catalunya', which, as mentioned above, is one of FAGiC's main sources of revenue. Two of their non-Spanish donors include grants from the European Union and the Erasmus + supporting programme which is also part of the funding of the European Union, which is the Union's education, training, youth and sports support programme, according to the FAGiC website.

In 2018, FAGiC had an annual budget of 1,030,000 Euros converted with a 355HUF/1Euro exchange rate, it corresponds to 365,650,000 HUF. 70% of the budget comes from state subsidies, which means 721,000 euros, which is 255,955,000 HUF, calculated with the same exchange rate. Then, in terms of proportions, the second most significant income comes from the "Contractes de serveis públics", or Public Service Contracts, which account for 18% of the revenue, amounting to 185,400 EUR, which equals to 65,817,000 HUF. The European Union funds give the 4% of the annual budget, which means 10,300 EUR, which is converted into 3,656,500 HUF. From these data we can see that it would be impossible to finance the organization without state support as the European Union financial grants are only the third largest form of support, but this third place does not fully show the right ratio, which is 1: 24850 between the state financial incomes and the EU grants.

Social projects

FAGiC as an NGO also has projects to improve society. These initiatives in different areas of life help Roma people to take a better direction in their lives. These areas include (1) jobs, (2) health, (3) housing, and (4) community integration.

(1) Job creation is an important pillar of people's lives, and for the Roma it is often not a simple process. Discrimination makes it more difficult/challenging for Roma people to enter the labour market. The job creation programme of FAGiC aims to involve Roma young people in the labour market. This initiative addresses people between the ages of 16 and 30, targeting unemployed and socially vulnerable Roma. As part of the programme, a youth recreation leadership course was advertised in collaboration with the Pere Tarres school, and in collaboration with the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, they offer a range of training courses such as make-up, hairdressing and courier training.

(2) In the field of health, the objective is to improve the quality of life of Roma people. Women's health care has a special place within the programme. The aim of the initiative is to assess the risk factors and provide advice and guidance in the world of healthcare. Lectures are given via workshops also attended by health care professionals. They can also ask questions during the lectures, making the seemingly complicated health care system more transparent to many.

(3) The purpose of their housing programme has multiple dimensions. On the one hand, they provide counselling for those who are studying or working but cannot find a suitable housing facility for themselves - FAGiC will help them to solve this problem. On the other hand, which is a more difficult task, they help vulnerable families to find housing and combat the eviction of families in need.

(4) The prevention of conflicts between the Roma and non-Roma is a top agenda for

their Community integration programme. Efforts are being made to alleviate this very long process through preventive, current, and post methods. Their preventive methods include the avoidance of conflicts, the current methods include the management of existing conflicts, and the post-processes include the solution and clarification of existing problems. They work with the Catalan Population Agency, with whom they play an important role in resolving disputes and reducing the number of conflict situations in Roma-populated Catalan areas. Through their agreement with the Sant Adria de Besòs town hall, they are working to establish a good relationship between Roma and non-Roma people living in La Mina. The main goal of their unity with the public transport company TRAM Besós can be considered to be the prevention and reduction of public transport conflicts.

Programmes related to Roma culture

FAGiC organizes conferences, seminars and workshops on Roma culture. The association organizes three important events each year. During 2018, more than six thousand people attended their events.

The first is held on April 8, International Roma Day. In cooperation with the Parliament of Catalonia, FAGiC organizes a joint meal every year, followed by a large dancing Roma celebration.

The second important event has been held since 1992. A huge workshop called Gypsy Cultural Days has been set up where people can exchange ideas and experiences with each other. The aim of this programme is to promote Roma culture in order to create new forms of social intervention.

At the third ceremony, the so-called FAGiC Awards are presented, during which those who have contributed to the development of the Roma people and their culture will be honoured.

FAGiC has created two exhibitions based on the historical memory of the Roma and the fight against stereotypes which can be visited free of charge. The aim of the exhibition is to introduce the history and culture of the Roma. In Catalonia, in 2018, an exhibition commemorating the victims of the Roma Holocaust was held for the 14th time, attracting more than 1,800 people.

Summary

In the planning phase of our research, we set the goal that in our study, our readers should not only get acquainted with FAGiC itself, but also get a general picture of the structure of non-governmental organizations. We hope that those whose awareness was increased by the topic will be able to find other organizations more easily based on our guidance.

We believe that the description of organizations occupies an important place in the writings on the Roma. Especially since for many people, the term non-governmental organization is also strange, especially if they see it in an ethnic context. Its importance lies in the unfamiliarity of the topic: if more people knew about their work and goals, and realized the importance of their work, more people would respect the effort that volunteers and workers do selflessly on a day-to-day basis in order to make the lives of others better.

Endnotes

1   European Comission: Education and Training, Eu policy in the field of adult learning. Re-
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ISTVÁN ORSÓS AND KATALIN VEZDÉN

Open University for Sustainable Development Introducing the Principles and Practices of the University of Barcelona

Abstract

Our study seeks to present programmes operated by the University of Barcelona (UB) which are aimed towards achieving the goals of sustainable development. The direct implementer of these activities is the Solidarity Foundation of the University of Barcelona (Fundació Solidaritat UB). This organization directly supports the university's strategies within the framework of UB. In this study, we primarily present the social aspects of the strategies and programmes related to the goals of sustainable development; we do not address the involvement of economic and environmental factors. Our study covers the programmes within the scope of the activities of the Solidarity Foundation of UB. The data and the information used in this study are sourced from the University of Barcelona, and from the programme reports, as well as the institutional-, organizational- and strategic documents of the foundation. The aim of this paper is to explore the "good practices" established by the programmes of the Solidarity Foundation that can be adapted by other higher education institutions and their organizations that are committed to sustainable development.

Introduction

In 2015, 193 UN member states adopted Framework for Sustainable Development 2030.[1] The Agenda 2030 contains a total of 17 goals, 169 sub-goals and 230 indicators that set sustainable directions for development and improvement for the ratifying states. The determined objectives "*form a whole and are inseparable and strike a balance between the three dimensions of sustainable development, economy, society and the environment*".[2]

The visions and goals set out in the Agenda pose a serious challenge to the ratifying countries, as the goals include visions such as the complete eradication of poverty and hunger, or the creation of societies free from all forms of fear and violence, and the creation of universal peace. Considering the long-term goals, it can be seen that today's education has a greater re-

sponsibility than ever before in enabling future generations to achieve the formulated visions and goals, to maintain the global balance in the long run.

"In a globalized world, universities are global players" - a quote from a strategy of the University of Barcelona can be read in our article. Globalization, as one of the greatest challenges of our time, involves the reorganization of society, and in addition to traditional foundations and traditional social organization structures, the joint consideration of new aspects is inevitable. In a globalized world, the priority of education is to develop the ability to be open to global problems and issues that affect everyone, based on knowing and understanding the nature of the problems*.*

Our study seeks to present programmes run by the University of Barcelona to achieve the goals of sustainable development. The direct implementer of these activities is the Fundació Solidaritat UB (Solidarity Foundation of the University of Barcelona), which is an implementing organization operating within the framework of the University of Barcelona, directly supporting the achievement of the university's strategic goals for sustainable development. In this paper, we present the strategies and programmes primarily related to the social aspect of the system of sustainable development, and we do not address the involvement of economic and environmental factors. The presentation covers the programmes within the scope of the Fundació Solidaritat UB. The source of the written data and information is the institutional, organizational and strategic documents and programme reports of the University of Barcelona and the Fundació Solidaritat UB. The aim of this paper is to explore "good practices" that can be more widely adapted to other higher education institutions and their organizations committed to sustainable development.

Fundació Solidaritat UB - Organization and mission

The Fundació Solidaritat UB (Solidarity Foundation of the University of Barcelona, hereinafter: *the Foundation*) was set up in 1996 at the initiative of the Universitat de Barcelona (University of Barcelona) and Fundació Món-3[3] (Món-3 Foundation) with the aim to ensure and promote the protection of human rights on a large scale in cooperation with the university, while encouraging a commitment to social responsibility among university citizens. To this end, the Foundation supports and implements various initiatives to expand and strengthen development cooperation, in particular with regard to inter-university relations.[4]

Their activities focus on encouraging social action and volunteering, generating collaborations for development while mobilizing members of the university community, and supporting human rights and democratic commemoration. In addition, the Foundation represents the social responsibility strategy of the University of Barcelona in a declared way outside the university community: at local and national level, through initiatives for social participation and action, and at the international level, by promoting development cooperation.[5] The University of Barcelona manages the coordination of its activities in support of sustainable development with the implementation of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals set out in the United Nations Sustainable Development Framework 2030, declared in 2015, which together aim to achieve a global social, economic and environmental balance.[6] The University of Barcelona - in a document on the subject[7] - declares its commitment to "*a more fair, more developed, more democratic and more inclusive society*". The Foundation, as an organization set up by the University of Barcelona to achieve these goals, is "*responsible for promoting and determining*

commitment, together with the university community" [8]. Accordingly, the Foundation "*supports development, peace and human rights, and social exclusion projects based on the initiatives, resources and capacities of the university community*" [9].

The strategy for the development of education declared by the University of Barcelona and the Foundation[10] nuances the principles described above by approaching them from the perspective of education re-evaluating its role. The strategy is based on the principle that in a world of diverse societies and in an increasingly globalized world, there is a need to teach and educate citizens who are able to think and act globally. However, it is essential to have an adequate pedagogical model that is open to diverse and different social actors from different backgrounds to educate and tutor global citizens. This type of education model considers education for development, sustainability, peace and human rights, the expansion of education as a priority, which allows, among other things, peaceful coexistence, dialogue, respect for human dignity, direct action against various forms of violence, symbolic or structural action. The strategy sees education as a 'generator of global citizenship', through the effective operation of which the individual and collective mentality interprets the issue of solidarity as a realistic social responsibility. Through education, the construction and definition of values such as human dignity, justice, solidarity and freedom are born in interaction with each other and are formulated by consensus. All these can help move towards critical, participatory, inclusive and active citizenship, in which democracy becomes a real value. In this model, the task of education is also to understand the conflicts, the different situations arising from coexistence and their background, so that through cognition and understanding, the participants in education recognize, accept them and learn to face them. Another goal is to develop skills that enable the creation of new, more just ways of life and the functioning of human relationships to promote sustainable social development.[11]

The Foundation, as a non-governmental organization linked to a university institution, seeks to contribute to the social recognition of education for global citizenship and cooperation for development, and to build bridges between the formal, non-formal and informal spheres to promote their common goals. In their efforts, they target the students and lecturers of the university, the participants involved in the protection of human rights working for public administration, non-governmental organizations and social organizations, and basically every member of the society.[12]

Areas of Action

Along with the stated goals, the Foundation carries out its activities in three main thematic areas: volunteering and social participation; promoting and protecting human rights, democratic commemoration and peace; and the generation of university collaborations and the development of training for sustainable development, the latter primarily in the environmental and economic dimensions. The organization simultaneously performs social, research and development tasks, building on a wide range of local, national and international collaborations.[13]
Our exploratory work focuses on the first two directions of the three areas of action described above, in which programmes and "good practices" directly aimed at promoting social inclusion are presented.

Volunteering and social actions

The university initiative, coordinated by the Foundation, encourages the university community to carry out voluntary activities and social participation in civil society organizations, with the aim of promoting the construction of a university that is more sensitive to social problems and committed to supporting civil society. In the wording of the organization, "*the programme interprets volunteering as means of empowerment, collective action, achieved through participation and cooperation*".[14]

The Foundation has been managing the voluntary programme of the University of Barcelona since the academic year of 2018-2019. Voluntary activities focus on vulnerable groups and individuals with a wide range of disadvantages: the elderly, people with disabilities, children and young people with social disadvantages, and individuals and groups with an immigrant background. The Foundation organizes and implements voluntary work in cooperation with social organizations and institutions established to help individuals and groups with various disadvantages. The foundation also places great emphasis on preparing for volunteer work. There are three thematic preparatory courses related to the activities in focus ("Introduction to Volunteering", "Volunteering in Health" and "Volunteering in the Fight against Poverty"), which are not only open to students at the University of Barcelona - they welcome anyone who would like to volunteer in a given field and gain prior knowledge related to it.[15] In 2019, the University of Barcelona collaborated with 51 organizations in the field of volunteering and carried out 75 activities with 2,095 volunteers.[16]

The socio-educational intervention programme implemented by the University of Barcelona and the Foundation in the area of Nou Barris appears in the field of action of social role and social action. Nou Barris is the northernmost district of Barcelona, home to a significant Gitano community, and the presence of immigrants has been growing in recent decades. Under the programme, the foundation organizes social and educational activities in the northern part of the Nou Barris district (around Torre Baró, Ciutat Meridiana and Vallbona) and in other provincial towns along the river Besòs (Montcada i Reixac, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Sant Adrià del Besòs and Badalona) in order to boost their cultural and community life. The central element of the programme is the management of a building called Eucaliptus in the Torre Baró area of the Nou Barris district, the rights of which have been transferred to the University of Barcelona by the Barcelona City Council. The building has 22 flats, which are allocated to socially deprived university students or members of other groups at risk of exclusion for a symbolic amount of rent.[17]

In the field of social actions, supporting secondary school students getting into higher education is a priority. The Prometheus project is a collaborative initiative between four local universities, including the University of Barcelona, and local social organizations and public institutions involved in education, primarily to increase the number of young people entering higher education in district El Raval of Ciutat Vella. The crime rate in the El Raval district of central Barcelona, next to the port, has long been high compared to other parts of the city, and the immigrant communities are overrepresented. The progress of young people living in the El Raval district is hampered mostly by social and economic disadvantages, language skills deficiencies, academic expectations and a lack of personal support. Launched in academic year of 2016-2017, the Prometheus project aims to address these gaps in a complex way in order to make higher education accessible to as many young people as possible in the El Raval district - partners believe this leads to a long-term positive direction from today's negative trend.

In addition to wide-ranging professional and institutional cooperation, the programme places great emphasis on the active involvement of parents and local communities in shaping positive processes - they organize informative and awareness-raising events, forums, and initiate active social dialogue in the community. With the support of the project, the monitoring and support of young people entering higher education will be continuous during their university years in order to prevent them from dropping out. After completing their university studies, they join the implementers of the programme themselves and become involved in supporting newly arriving students and young people. The primary function of the universities participating in the project is strategic planning and coordination related to the programme, monitoring of the achieved results, conducting impact assessments, extending best practices to other parts of the city.[18] The project won the Innovation in Education of Barcelona Award in 2018 (Premi Barcelona Innovació Educativa 2018) in the category of initiatives that contribute to the expansion of educational opportunities and the promotion of social inclusion.[19]

The Foundation focuses on partner networking and plays an advisory role in promoting human rights and expanding social responsibility, and in generating other collaborations for development. As part of these activities, it provides technical assistance to both the community of the University of Barcelona and local administrations, as well as local civil society organizations. Technical assistance may include the identification, formulation, monitoring and evaluation of projects to address the problem and ideas; elaboration of plans and studies on interventions in the field of cooperation; counselling through courses and other awareness-raising activities.[20]

Promoting and protecting human rights, democratic commemoration and peace

The Foundation has a strong focus on human rights education and the development of a culture of peace in the spirit of its vision of global citizenship. Their programme, which has been running since 2005 named PAULA, aims to integrate education in support of peace, human rights and global citizenship into school curricula through the support of teachers. The programme focuses on joint interventions with teachers and educators, from primary education to adult education.[21] The Foundation operates an online educational resource center[22], where theoretical and practical knowledge and guidelines are shared on classroom opportunities for global citizenship education, both thematically and in response to global challenges. as well as for the school age group.

The education development system of the PAULA programme includes the support of the development of research on human rights and global citizenship, among high school institutions, teachers, and high school students. It launched a research grant to support high school researches that broadens methodological opportunities for human rights and global citizenship education. The aim of the research programme is to support high school students and, at the same time, their schools and teachers: it helps high school students who want to approach their research topic from a human rights perspective, combining it with teacher training and development activities for teachers with supportive tutoring and the acquisition and strengthening of competencies necessary for the management of research work. High school students enrolled in the programme gain research methodology knowledge during a research workshop. The students' research work is supported by the monthly workshops, where they have the opportunity to get an insight into issues related to the chosen topic. During the workshops, students

researching in the same subject area work in thematic groups. Besides student support, the programme also provides ongoing counselling to educators assisting students in their research work in order to perform their tutoring tasks in a coordinated and effective manner. The research work takes place over a two-year period, with students starting in the first grade of high school and then closing the research work at the end of the second grade. The results are presented in the form of posters. After the closure of the research project, the participants jointly evaluate the results of the programme and make suggestions and steps for maintaining the results.[23]

In addition to the PAULA programme, which supports methodological and research work, the Foundation has set up an initiative called EUROM (European Observatory on Memories). EUROM is a multidisciplinary and transnational network of institutions and organizations that analyzes, discusses and reflects on the memory policies of their countries, regions and continents. Through this network, they promote a range of activities and projects dealing with the management and dissemination of memory policies related to the major conflicts of the 20th century and historical eras that still have an impact on our daily lives today. EUROM's work programme focuses on research, debate and training, and the creation of public content for citizens. By promoting interdisciplinary research and scientific activities related to the construction of public and collective memory, the programme contributes to the analysis and management of memory policy and influences the right of citizens to use and interpret the heritage of memory.[24]

The Foundation operates its "Observatori Solidaritat" programme, which is essentially an online conflict and human rights observatory, along similar methodological considerations. The programme collects, describes, analyses - and at the same time condemns - violent situations and events around the world in which human rights are violated as a result of overt or covert conflicts. The online project[25] serves as a useful tool for all those interested in international affairs, peace policy and human rights. The website is interesting and useful for journalists, academics, social and aid workers, educators and anyone working in general to raise awareness of situations of violence and human rights violations.[26]

Support for refugees and those from conflict-affected areas

Actions in support of refugees have been regularly taken by the University of Barcelona in a structured form since 1992. During the Balkan wars, the university was deeply committed to helping and supporting refugee students with its resources and the best of its knowledge. Students from Bosnia continued their studies at the University of Barcelona on a scholarship and provided them with Catalan and Spanish language courses. In addition, support groups of university students sought to facilitate the social integration of those coming from the war zone. In parallel, a number of actions have been launched in Barcelona since 1992 to support refugees from all over the world. The University of Barcelona has been involved in several actions and developed programmes aimed at involving other universities and civil society in facilitating the peace process (for example, in the case of Colombia or the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The establishment of the human rights and conflict observatory called Observatori Solidaritat, as described above, can also be linked to these efforts.[27]

The beginnings of the current refugee support programme can be traced back to 2015. Following the mass influx of Syrian refugees and the recognition of the global refugee crisis, in September 2015 the University of Barcelona decided to establish a support programme for

students with refugee status, which would simultaneously develop the university's institution in the field of social responsibility. According to the university's creed, "*in a globalized world, universities are global players, and the University of Barcelona is firmly committed to contributing its resources, tools and knowledge to building a peaceful and just society based on cooperation and solidarity*." [28]

One of the first initiatives of the current programme was the Mare Nostrum project, coordinated by the Foundation. The aim of the programme implemented between 2016 and 2017 was to integrate the multidimensional vision of refugees into the units of local organizations and institutional actors who are able to legitimize the right to peace and are able to create the conditions for law enforcement. The programme identified refugees as parties constructively involved in peace making in cooperation with local institutions and social organizations.

The Mare Nostrum project focused on three strategic objectives: exploring, analysing and publicizing the causes of the conflict triggering migration, raising awareness of the role of the local society and refugees in post-conflict peace-making, and rebuilding the host society. [29]

Along the strategic objectives, the project included three areas for action. A course of trainers has been implemented in Sant Feliu de Llobregat, in the province of Barcelona, as part of a pilot project where trainees can help local administrations and other organizations to achieve the strategic goals outlined above. Detailed articles exploring the origins and causes of the conflict leading to the escape have been posted on the "Observatori Solidaritat" website for information and consultation. The implementation of a thematic photo exhibition also aimed to reach the general public. In addition, a practical guide has been developed for the local community, highlighting the importance of community involvement and building on solidarity with refugees, outlining "good practices" for the success of joint peace-building and post-conflict social reconstruction. [30]

The University of Barcelona with the Foundation has a complex programme for refugees and those coming from conflict zones in addition to awareness raising programmes on the refugee issue, the promotion of social participation based on dialogue and reciprocity, and practical guidance for peaceful coexistence. The programme is based on the development of a human rights perspective and has two main areas of action: study support and social integration (which includes study and educational counselling, housing, social integration, legal counselling and psychological assistance), also networking and cooperation (which includes scientific and research tasks and information, training and awareness-raising activities of civil society) . [31] A host programme aimed at opening up safe alternative routes of refuge (through access to university studies) and facilitating the pursuit of academic careers for young people who have experienced war, persecution and violence in their country of origin during their lives. [32]

The main activity of the programme is the so-called "university transition course" (Curs de transició a la universitat) initiative. The transition course is a pioneering initiative in both Spain and Europe, aimed at facilitating the transition of students from conflicted areas to undergraduate, masters or vocational training in Barcelona, that is facilitating access to higher education. The course is attended by young people who have completed secondary school or even started university in their country of origin, but have been forced to flee and have dropped out of school. However, they could not continue their training abroad because their studies had not been accepted by other institutions. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, only 1% of young refugees reach higher education, compared to 34% of the total population. UNESCO identifies improving refugees' access to higher education as a key element in achieving the right to education. [33]

In order to improve the indicator mentioned above, the programme is working to support the participation of refugees in higher education through Catalan and Spanish university language courses, tuition grants, mentoring programmes, accommodation, legal counselling and psychological assistance, in addition to the "transition course".). To develop these activities and projects, the programme has set up an internal network of around 20 working groups at the University of Barcelona. The external network includes other universities as well as local administrations, schools and refugee organizations. The project is also represented in European and international collaborations, such as the "inHERE" programme to support the higher education of refugees in Europe or the RESCUE programme to promote the presence of refugees in higher education in the Middle East.[34]

Closing thoughts

The Education Development Strategy[35] declared by the University of Barcelona and the Solidarity Foundation identifies the creation of an *"Open University" ("Universidad Abierta")* as a key horizontal objective, for the achievement of which the strategy sets out specific directions for development, namely:

> *"Encouraging the participation of the university community in campaigns and associations for the protection of human rights.*
> *Facilitating the relationship between the university community and its social environment.*
> *Promoting the connection between the university and the surrounding area and the districts of Barcelona.*
> *Supporting and consolidating voluntary initiatives.*
> *Supporting social agriculture through urban and sub-urban gardens.*
> *Awareness raising and training activities at the university, in cooperation with social organizations and public administration."[36]*

The University of Barcelona and the Solidarity Foundation, which implements its sustainability strategy, strive to realize the vision of an "Open University" through the described activities and developments, based on human relations, mutual knowledge, dialogue and cooperation. The acquired "good practices" and the principles and values behind them can contribute to the implementation of the "Open University" and, at the same time, a global approach to education.

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La Universitat hongaresa de Pécs visita entitats i l'institut escola de la Mina interessada per la inclusió de les minories

Detalls Creat el 16 Març 2020

Una representació de l'Associació d'Estudiants Universitaris Gitanos de la Universitat de Pécs d'Hongria es reuneix amb entitats, l'institut escola i projectes socials del barri de la Mina interessats per les qüestions de gènere, la inserció laboral i els programes d'inclusió de minories i immigrants.

Es tracta de la institució d'educació superior més antiga del país, successora de la fundada per Lluís I d'Hongria l'any 1367, amb 20.000 estudiants, 4.000 d'ells, estrangers. Entre el seu alumnat hi ha cada cop més estudiants que participen en programes internacional d'estudi com a part integral de la seva educació, i, per altra banda, estudiants i investigadors internacionals que desenvolupen part dels seus treballs a la Universitat de Pécs. De manera que el centre treballa constantment en l'ampliació i millora de la seva cooperació amb d'altres universitats i institucions d'investigació d'arreu. Un dels seus programes més destacat, dins l'àmbit de les humanitats és el de minoria ètnica i estudis romanís (gitanos). D'aquí l'Associació i l'interès per visitar el barri de la Mina. El grup de quinze estudiants i dues professores va venir acompanyat del professor hogarés, Ábel Bereményi, investigador de la UAB i de la Universitat Centre-Europea, qu va exercir de traductor per a l'ocasió.

Xarxa sociolaboral del Consorci

La jornada es va iniciar amb una primera trobada amb l'Àrea social del Consorci per presentar-los la Xarxa de serveis d'inserció sociolaboral que treballa de manera especialitzada segons diversos col·lectius de la població activa, que a la Mina tenen especial dificultat per accedir a un lloc de feina (majors de 45 anys, joves, dones, salut mental o addiccions), ja sigui al mercat ordinari com especial. De tots aquests, el grup havia mostrat especial interès en el servei "Itineraris d'Inserció per a Dones" dedicat a la promoció de la dona des de l'àmbit laboral, que per compte del Consorci gestiona la Fundació Surt que treballa contra la desigualtat de gènere i per l'empoderament personal, econòmic, comunitari i sociopolític de les dones i que té establerts vincles de col·laboració amb la Universitat de Pécs. L'altre focus d'interès era la tasca educativa que du a terme l'Institut escola del barri. En aquest cas, hi va haver una primera trobada dels universitaris hongaresos, estudiants de diverses disciplines, amb el grup d'alumnes de l'institut escola que cursen el cicle formatiu de comerç que va donar molt de joc per l'interès mutu que es va despertar. Justament, l'intercanvi de coneixement i experiències

és l'objectiu del programa subvencionat per l'estat hongarès que beca els estudiants per tal de mantenir activitats bisetmanals i viatges d'estudis i recerca a l'estranger com aquest. Dins la visita a l'institut escola la directora, Marta del Campo, els va presentar el projecte educatiu del centre amb la seva complexitat, el repte de l'èxit escolar i la igualtat d'oportunitats, juntament amb el factor de la gitanitat que n'és un element essencial. I, van acabar la jornada amb els grups de tercer i quart d'ESO amb qui van parlar del valor de l'educació post obligatòria de cara al seu futur professional.

Al llarg de la setmana que van ser a Barcelona, es reunir amb diverses associacions i entitats gitanes, amb el Consell municipal del Poble Gitano de la ciutat, i amb estudiants de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), entre altres.

Consorci del barri de la Mina

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University of Pécs from Hungary visited the LA Mina School Institute and Organizations Interested in the Inclusion of Minorities

Representatives from a Roma Student College from the University of Pécs, Hungary meets with organizations and schools from the La Mina neighborhood of Barcelona interested in gender issues in employment and the social and educational inclusion of minorities and immigrants.

University of Pécs is the oldest institution of higher education in Hungary, founded by King Louis the Great in 1367, with 20,000 students, 4,000 of which are foreigners. Among the students, more and more of them participate in international study programs as an integral part of their education, and, on the other hand, welcomes international students and researchers who carry out part of their academic study or field research at the University of Pécs.

Therefore, the institution is constantly working to expand and improve its cooperation with other universities and research institutions around the world. One of its most prominent programs in the field of humanities is the Ethnic Minority and Roma Studies. Hence, the Roma Student College was interested in visiting the neighborhood of La Mina with a group of fifteen students and two professors. They were also accompanied by a host professor, Ábel Bereményi, a former researcher of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), currently a Marie S. Curie research fellow at the Center for Policy Studies, Central European University, Hungary, who worked as a translator during the group's visit.

Social Networks for Labor Market in the Consortium

The day began with a meeting with the Social Department of the Consortium to give a presentation about their social networks specializing in services that help integrate groups of active but at-risk population that have difficulty in accessing jobs at La Mina district (over 45 year olds, young people, women, and individuals with mental health issues and addictions), and as we know some of them would experience disadvantages in the workforce even under ordinary circumstances.

Out of all the social groups we serve, the visitors expressed a special interest in the services we call "Itineraries for the Inclusion of Women" dedicated to promoting the employment of women in workplaces. On behalf of the Consortium the Surt Foundation helps managing this struggle against gender inequalities and promote the personal, economic, and socio-political empowerment and participation of women. They have established connection with the University of Pécs and brainstormed ways to collaborate on these issues.

The other area of focus was on the educational mission carried out by the school in the neighborhood. For this purpose, the Hungarian university students met local college students from various disciplines and a group of high school students studying the training cycles for various trades, which made ways to exciting conversations and generated mutual interest among them. Precisely, the exchange of knowledge and sharing of experiences from different parts of Europe is the goal of Wlislocki Roma Student College from the University of Pécs. They are supported by the Hungarian state via grants which gives opportunity to students to maintain biweekly activities, and take research trips abroad, like this one. During their visit at the "Institute Escola de La Mina", director Marta del Campo gave a presentation about the school's educational project with its complex mission. She proudly shared some of the achievements of the school and the ongoing challenges they face while striving to achieve equality, being an essential element of being Roma. They ended the day with the third and fourth year ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education) students with whom they talked about the value of post-secondary education and training that is necessary for becoming a professional in the future.

During the week they spent in Barcelona, the Hungarian group also met with various associations and Roma organizations, the Municipal Council of Roma People of the city, and with students from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), among others.

The Consortium of the La Mina District