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For Judit Szira Senior Advisor

***THE INCLUSION OF ROMA STUDENTS
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN AP VOJVODINA – SER 032***

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Final Report and Project Evaluation

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BRIEF RESEARCH EVALUATION

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1. Serbian educational statistics, educational policy actions and ideas concerning the insurance of equal rights

1.1. State and regional demography

Serbia¹ has relatively numerous ethnic minorities (without Kosovo) the 17.14% of its inhabitants belong to various nationalities. Hungarians make up the largest group of ethnic minorities. 293,299 Hungarians form the 4% of Serbia's inhabitants. Besides Hungarians, there are Bosnian, Albanian and Vlach² ethnic minorities as well, but their majority live in Central Serbia, only a small number of the above mentioned minorities live in Vojvodina. The only exception is the Roma who are the third largest ethnic group in Serbia (108,193)³ and the second largest in Vojvodina. According to some expert opinions, the number of Roma is higher⁴ than 108,193, however, the actual number cannot be defined as a result of frequent migration and the fact that several Roma newborns are not registered⁵. According to some estimations the number of Roma in Serbia is indeed 450,000-500,000⁶, which means that Roma compromise the 6% of the total inhabitants of the country.

First Roma settled in the territory of present-day Vojvodina during Ottoman rule in the 16th century. In Ottoman times, Roma mostly lived in the towns and cities, but also in the villages, usually in their separate quarters called "cigan-mala". They were forgers, manger makers or musicians. Large number of Roma settled in the area in the 17th and 18th century, when Austrian authorities issued several provisions about Roma (in 1761, 1767, and 1783). During the 1848/1849 revolution, Roma people were on the side of the Serbs. During World War II, Roma people, together with Serbs and Jews, were persecuted by Axis authorities, thus many Roma participated in anti-fascist struggle against Axis occupation⁷. The first reference to the Roma people in Serbia is found in a 1348 document, by which Stefan Uroš IV Dušan of Serbia, Emperor of Serbs and Greeks donated some Gypsy slaves to the Monastery of Prizren, in Kosovo⁸. The number of Roma according to various census data:

1866: 24,607 (2.02%)
1895: 46,000 (1.84%)
1948: 52,181
1953: 58,800
1961: 9,826
1971: 49,894
1981: 110,956 (1.19%)
1991: 138,799 (1.21%)
2002: 108,193 (1.44%)

¹ Lakosságszáma: 7.498.001. Source: Zavod za statistiku Republike Srbije:

<http://webrzs.statserb.sr.gov.yu/axd/index.php>

² A szakirodalomban találkozunk ilyen megjegyzéssel, hogy: *Oláh cigányok* cigányul: vlaho, vlaxiko-, vlahiko-, vlašiko rom; a szerbiai vlahok viszont nem vallják magukat se romának, sem pedig romának.

³ Source: 2002-es népszámlálás, 1. könyv, 14–15

⁴ Source: Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava Državne zajednice SCG, *Nacionalne manjine u SR Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 2001. (Savezno ministarstvo za nacionalne i etničke zajednice, *Nacionalne manjine*).

⁵ A civil szervezetek jelentései alapján Németországból 11.000 Romát küldtek haza (2000–2004). Lásd: „Save the Children“ és Centar za prava deteta, *Više od nezvanične procene – položaj romske dece u Srbiji*, Beograd, Save the Children, Srbija, 2006. 8. oldal.

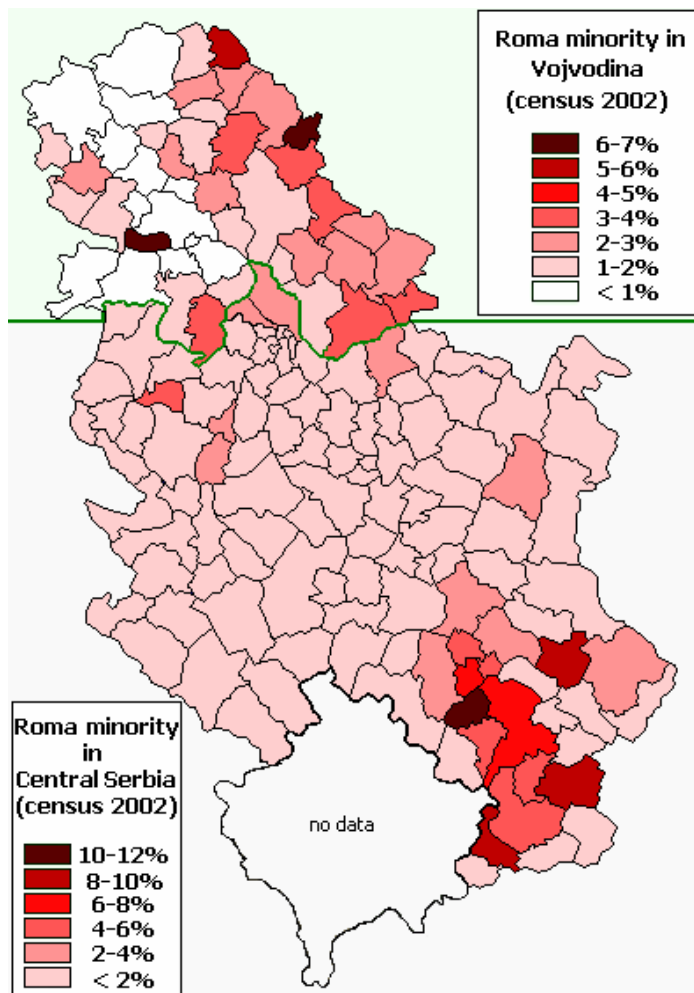
⁶ Source: Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava Državne zajednice SCG, *Nacionalne manjine*.

⁷ Source: Dr. Rajko Đurić, *Istorija Roma*, Beograd, 2006. and Dr. Dušan J. Popović, *Srbi u Vojvodini*, knjiga 1, Novi Sad, 1990

⁸ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roma_people_of_Serbia



Picture 1. Roma family from Serbia (1905)⁹



Graph 1. Roma minority in Serbia (census 2002)¹⁰

⁹ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roma_people_of_Serbia

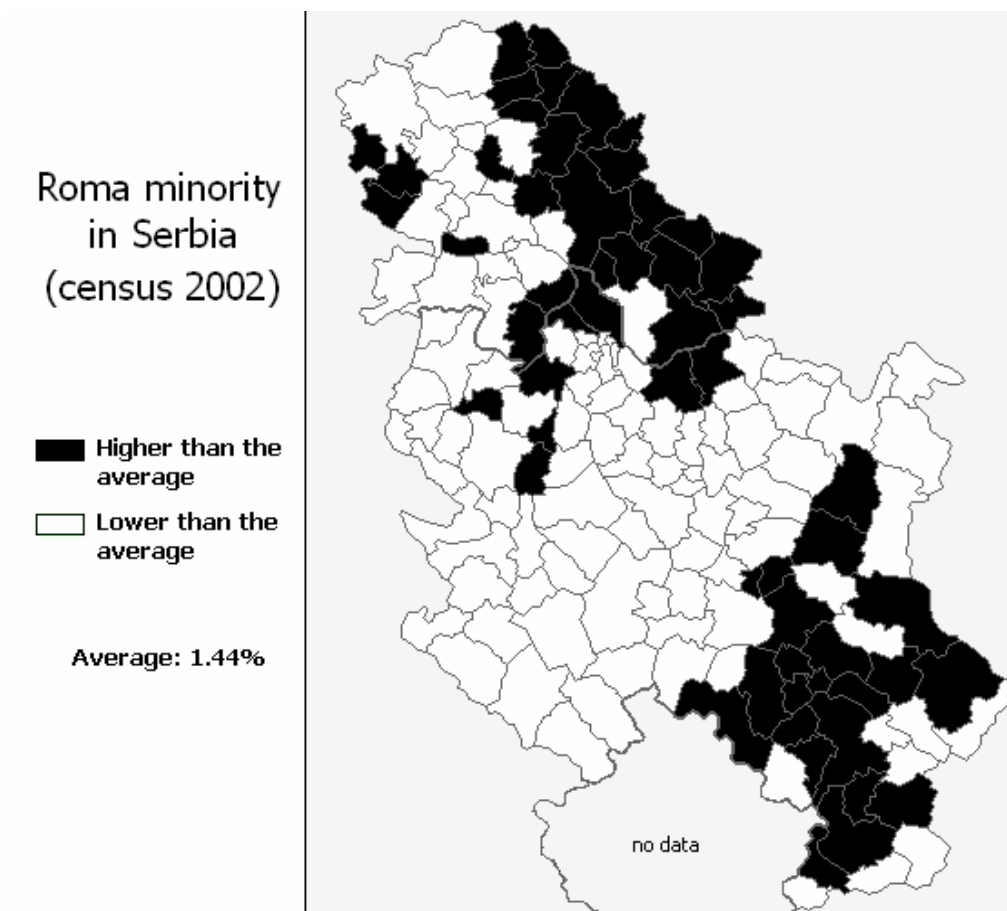
¹⁰ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roma_people_of_Serbia

According to the 2002 census, there were 108,193 Roma in Serbia or 1.44% of the population. Of those, 79,136 Roma are concentrated in Central Serbia and 29,057 in Vojvodina. Another 40,000 Roma are estimated to live in Kosovo together with the subgroups of Ashkali and Balkan Egyptians. The Council of Europe estimates that 400,000 to 800,000 Roma live in Serbia without Kosovo and 100,000 to 120,000 in Kosovo (150,000 before 1999).

Vojvodina is a multiethnic region, since the 2/3 of the total inhabitants are Serbs. Besides Hungarian (14.28%) and Roma (1.43%) ethnic minorities, there are other autochthonous ethnic minorities such as Croats, Slovaks, Romanians and Ruthenians. The Montenegrins are immigrants of the 20th century and the Yugoslavs “turned up” during the Tito-era, indeed as the outcome of mixed marriages. The number of Yugoslavs reduced as a result of the fall of Yugoslavia, but their existence is still present (as for mixed marriages).

<i>Table 1. The ethnic structure of Vojvodina 2002</i>		
<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>%</i>
Serbs	1 321 807	65.05
Montenegrins	35 513	1.75
Yugoslavs	49 881	2.45
Albanians	1 695	0.08
Bosnians	417	0.02
Bulgarians	1 658	0.08
Bunjevaces	19 766	0.97
Vlachs	101	0.01
Gorans	606	0.03
Hungarians	290 207	14.28
Macedonians	11 785	0.58
Muslims	3 634	0.18
Germans	3 154	0.16
Roma	29 057	1.43
Romanians	30 419	1.50
Russians	940	0.05
Ruthenians	15 626	0.77
Slovaks	56 637	2.79
Slovenians	2 005	0.10
Ukrainians	4 635	0.23
Croats	56 546	2.78
Czech	1 648	0.08
Else	5 311	0.26
No data	55 016	2.71
Regional identification	10 154	0.50
Unknown	23 774	1.17

Source: Census 2002 - Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia



Graph 2. Roma minority in Serbia (2002)

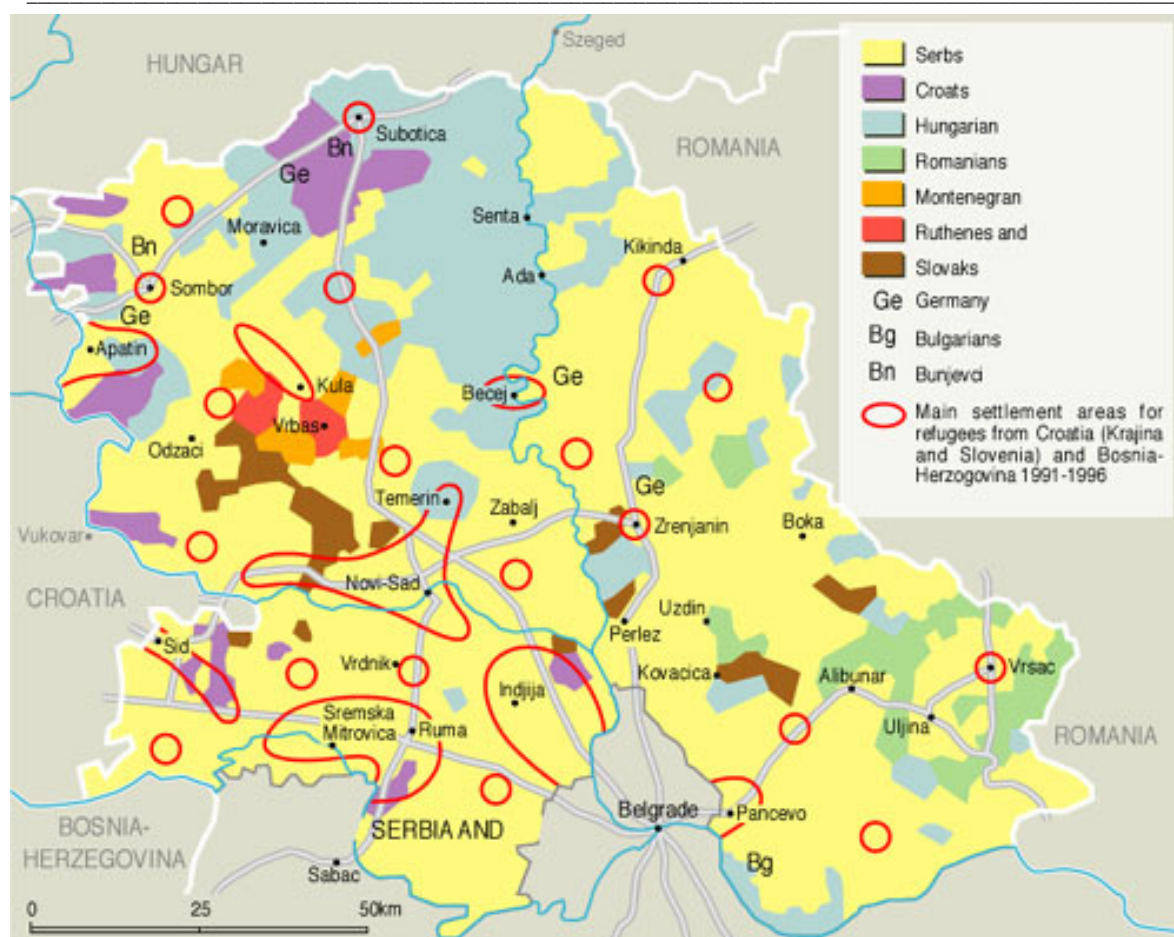
Number of Roma in Vojvodina by districts (2002 census)¹¹:

- South Bačka District: 6,053
- West Bačka District: 1,941
- North Bačka District: 1,680
- North Banat District: 3,944
- Central Banat District: 5,682
- South Banat District: 6,268
- Srem District: 3,489

There are no settlements in Vojvodina with Roma majority, but there are several city neighborhoods and suburbs populated mainly by Roma:

- Bangladeš, a Roma-inhabited suburb of Novi Sad.
- Depresija, a Roma-inhabited neighborhood of Novi Sad.
- Šangaj, a Roma-inhabited neighborhood of Novi Sad.
- Veliki Rit, a Roma-inhabited neighborhood of Novi Sad.
- Mali London, a Roma-inhabited neighborhood of Pančevo.

¹¹ Source: http://www.vojvodina.gov.rs/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=178&Itemid=86



Graph 3. The national structure of Vojvodina – 2002

The large number of refugees arriving to Vojvodina has considerably changed the demographic and social structure of Vojvodina in the recent years, namely it has affected the constitution of nationality, sex, age, qualification, occupation¹². Concerning the national division, the 94% of the refugees are Serbs. As a result of mass refugee-wave of Serbs and the emigration of 30,000-30,000 Hungarians and Croats, the proportion of Serbs has risen to 2,200,000 in Vojvodina. In other words, in the mid-1996 the 64.3% of the total inhabitants of Vojvodina were Serbs. Roma refugees mainly came from Kosovo in 1999.

Living in the multiethnic region of Vojvodina, Roma people are integrated with other ethnic groups, especially with Serbs, Romanians and Hungarians, thus, depending of the group with which they are integrated, Roma are usually known as *Serbian Roma*, *Romanian Roma*, *Hungarian Roma*, etc. The largest concentration of Roma could be found in the municipalities of Nova Crnja (6.83%), Beočin (6.51%), and Novi Kneževac (5.04%)¹³.

Notable Roma from Vojvodina: Trifun Dimić, romologist and literate, Dr. Rajko Đurić, professor, journalist, and politician, Srđan Šajn, politician, Džej Ramadanovski, folk singer, Janika Balaž, a famous tamburitza musician, Boža Nikolić, folk singer.

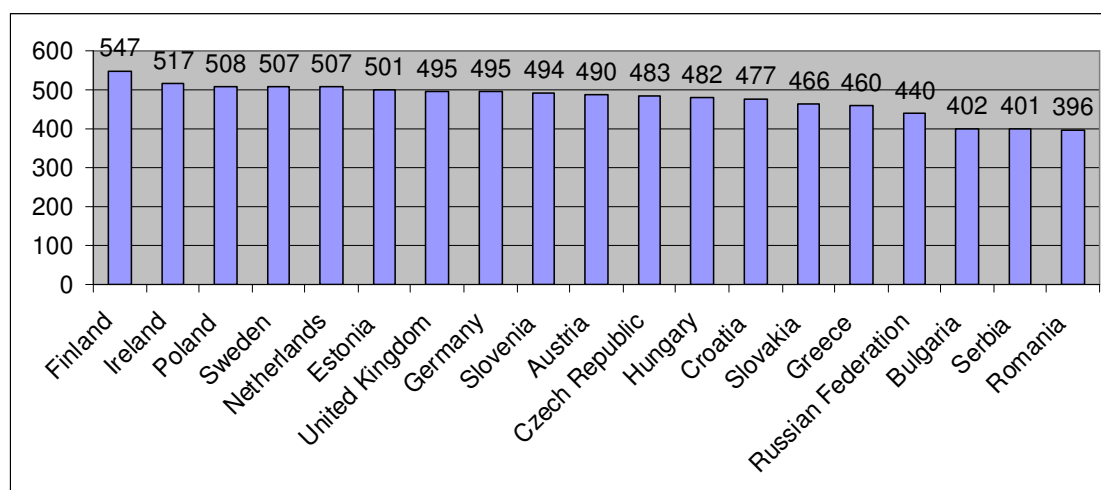
12 Lásd: SAŠA KICOŠEV - KOCSIS KÁROLY A menekültügy társadalmi-demográfiai aspektusai a Vajdaságban, In: Regio. Kisebbség, politika, társadalom 1998. 9. évf. No. 3.

Source: <http://www.epa.hu/00000/00036/00033/pdf/04.pdf>

13 Source: <http://www.vojvodina.gov.rs/index.php>

1.2. Serbian and Roma school statistics

Serbia took part in the PISA international educational measures in 2003¹⁴ and 2006. According to the PISA results, the efficiency of the Serbian educational system shows paternal similarities with the South-European Balkan countries and the educational achievement falls behind the average of the OECD countries. Out of the tested competencies, reading skills showed to be the weakest (401 points) and the best results were achieved on the field of mathematics and natural sciences. However, even these results fall behind the international standards: 436 points on both fields.



Graph 4. The average reading and comprehension task achievements in some European countries (PISA 2006)

The international research have also revealed that almost in each country those students in whose homes not the state languages was spoken (either autochthonous or immigrant minorities) performed weaker in comparison to the students who belonged to the majority nation. This finding forecasts that those students who speak Roma at home or are immigrant students (especially from Kosovo) perform even weaker than the country's average achievement since the use of Serbian language is difficult for minority students. In relatively open families, the use of Roma language is played down; in addition, there are Roma communities/families who consciously refuse to teach their children Roma language, probably in hope of rapid and smooth assimilation and social accommodation of their descendants.

The 3.45% of the adult inhabitants is illiterate in Serbia, which means 232,000 people. On the state level the 70% of the illiterates is older than 65 years. However, according to the experts¹⁵ the half of the Serbian primary school pupils leave school as functional illiterates and they will become the illiterates of the modern era, because the half of the adult population does not have secondary school qualification. The 6.5% of the population has never received education. The majorities of the illiterates lives in Central Serbia and are Roma. The 90% of Roma older than 15-years does not learn to read and write properly. Every fifth Roma illiterate older than 10-years does not finish primary school and the average age of the illiterates among them is 40. In order to change the situation the Ministry of Education also with the support of the OEBS and

¹⁴ 2003-ban még Szerbia és Montenegró név alatt szerepelt az ország, ám az adatok elérhetőek mindkét egykori tagköztársaságra vonatkozóan.

¹⁵ Source: Jednaka dostupnost kvalitetnog obrazovanja za Rome u Srbiji - Monitoring Reports (Izveštaji o monitoringu), Kladó: OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE EU MONITORING AND ADVOCACY PROGRAM EDUCATION SUPPORT PROGRAM ROMA PARTICIPATION PROGRAM, Budimpešta, Mađarska, 2007.

the Europe Agency sent 54 assistants to schools who were instructed to communicate with Roma students' parents and to deal with Roma students' educational issues.¹⁶

According to the 2002 census the 15.4% of the Roma are pre-school aged. If we consider the lowest number of Roma and the estimated highest number of theirs, our of 41,000-82,000 Roma the number of 7-year-old children can be between 5,125 and 10,250 who should be attending a primary school¹⁷, at least, according to the Serbian laws¹⁸.

Table 2. The proportion of age groups in Serbia - 2002

Age groups	Serbia - %	Roma - %
0-4	4,6	11,4
5-9	5,3	10,7
10-14	5,9	9,8
15-19	6,6	9,3
Under the age of 20 (total)	22,4	41,2
0-6	6,9	15,4
7-14	8,9	16,4

Source: 2002 census – Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

In Serbia, only 2% of Roma children attend preschool institutions, less than 40% of Roma children attend primary schools, approximately 70-90% of Roma children leave primary school before the 8th grade. The 60% of Roma, consequently, do not finish primary school. The Roma constitute the 50-80% of special schools¹⁹.

According to the 2002 census, in Serbia 16,337 Roma pupils attended primary schools (if we add up the Roma students of normal schools: 14,232 and special schools: 2,105). The number of Roma pupils is the 2-2.4% of the total population of primary school pupils.

Table 3. Number of pupils of primary schools – 2002/03

Grade	Non-Roma	Roma	
	Total	Total	%
I	84,096	3,206	3.81
II	82,804	2,348	2.84
III	83,120	1,882	2.26
IV	82,710	1,747	2.11
V	87,408	1,732	1.98
VI	85,686	1,355	1.58
VII	85,841	1,018	1.19
VIII	88,795	944	1.06
Total	680,460	14,232	2.09

¹⁶ Source: <http://www.romskinacionalnisavet.org/>

¹⁷ Source: 2002 census; Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava Državne zajednice SCG

¹⁸ Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja, *Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije*, br. 62/03, 64/03, i Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja, 58/04 i 62/04 (életbe lépett 5. június 2004.)

¹⁹ Source: Petar Lađević, sekretar Republičkog saveta za manjine, sastanak na kojem je predstavljena radna strategija Romskog obrazovnog fonda (Roma Education Fund – REF) za Srbiju, koji je održan u Ministarstvu za ljudska i manjinska prava DZSCG, Beograd, 20. April 2006.

Source: Republički zavod za statistiku; i Ministarstvo prosvete i sporta RS, Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava i Centar za istraživanje etniciteta, *Romska naselja, uslovi života i mogućnosti integracije Roma u Srbiji*, Beograd, 2002.

If we consider the non-official data provided by civil organizations, the number of school-aged children who are obligated to go to school has risen from 41,000 to 82,000. In the light of this estimation, currently only the half of Roma children receives education.

Table 4. The educational level of the adult population older than 25 (1991, 2001)

<i>Qualification</i>	<i>Proportion of population (%)</i>		
	Roma		Total
	1991	2002	2002
No qualification	36.6	27.4	12.5
Have not finished primary school	26.1	34.8	20.5
Primary school	27.1	28.2	25.0
Secondary school	8.1	9.2	32.2
College/University	0.9	0.4	8.9
Unknown	1.2	0.0	0.9
Total	100	100	100

Source: On the basis of the 1991 and 2002 census

The above presented table shows the educational level of the Roma and non-Roma adult population (older than 25). According to the census of 1991 and 2002, every third and fourth Roma remains illiterate without any qualifications. In addition, the 26.1-34.7% of Roma did not finish primary school, while concerning the attrition of the total population is 20%. The 10% of Roma did not finish secondary school and less than 1% of Roma graduated from a higher educational institution, while the 9% of non-Roma who are older than 25 years received a degree.

Analyzing the school results, according to the National Council of Roma Ethnic Minority²⁰, one part of Roma pupils drop out after the first grade, but later after second and third grade the half of Roma pupils drop out. Half of the Roma children do not know the mathematical base operations; their 56% do not speak Serbian. The next occasion when Roma pupils drop out is between the fourth and fifth grade when no longer teachers, but technical teachers start teaching them. The rest drop out at sixth grade and practically only 10% enter the seventh grade. This means that out of 10 Roma children 5 can enter fifth grade (on the basis of school results), but only 1 enters seventh grade and finishes primary school.

The Roma community's linguistic diversity in Vojvodina is a special phenomenon: the Roma in many cases take over the language of the majority nation, therefore, certain groups speak Serbian, the others speak Romanian, while some others Hungarian. The linguistic disadvantage of those who speak Romanian or Hungarian is even more obvious when they enter schools of majority language instruction.

It was noted that in Serbia (like in the majority of neighboring countries) it was not the school that accommodated to the differences of children who have a socially-economically and culturally diverse background, but the standard educational system expected its pupils/students to live up to its expectations and standards. Such, not flexible school programs can rarely generate pedagogical values unless they have a quality control system, apply positive

²⁰ Source: <http://www.romskinacionalnisavet.org/>

discrimination towards certain student groups or programs that insure opportunities for disadvantaged students.

The intentions concerning the Serbian Roma's education aim at accomplishing the various requirements of educational policy documents (such as equal opportunity, social mobility, social functions), but behind these intentions there is no continuous support and concrete extensive concept. There are several Roma cultural organizations and civil associations that aim at the passing on the Roma culture; however, they are well aware of the fact that there is no benefit of Roma culture and language on the labor-market. The cultivation of Roma languages exists in schools, but its function differs from that of other minorities, such as Hungarians who learn and maintain their language in order to maintain their identity.

In spite of the prohibition of segregation, the phenomenon of segregation exists in Serbia/Vojvodina. Its reasons are the following: structure of municipalities, various socio-economic processes, immigration. School direction turns to segregation when non-Roma parents threaten school directories with taking out their children from schools, should the children need to learn with immigrant children or children who have discipline problems. In order to avoid the "emigration" of students (especially in primary schools) Roma classes are formed (which are usually ceased by Roma parents). On secondary school level, there are no separated Roma classes in Vojvodina.

The ethnic constitution of the 73,018 secondary school students in Vojvodina was the following in the school year of 2008-2009: 55,378 Serbs, 1,479 Montenegrins, 8,778 Hungarians, 1,285 Slovaks, 533 Romanians, 415 Ruthenians, 1,817 Croats, 425 Yugoslavs, 401 Bunjevacs, **606 Roma**, 50 Albanians, 138 Ukrainians, 308 Macedonians, 35 Slovenes, 54 Germans, 51 Czechs, 130 Bosnian-Muslims, 1,129 else. Roma students do not attend separate classes, but mainly Serbian and Hungarian classes. Currently, there are 600 secondary school Roma students in Vojvodina, out of which more than 220 are first grade students. (*See Appendix 12 for more details*).

On the basis of the data provided by the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights²¹ certain higher educational institutions seasonally pay attention to Roma students. Some positive examples will be listed. According to the *Jedinstvenim akcionim planom za obrazovanje* (Uniform educational action program):

- Voluntary work of the Teacher Training Faculty of Belgrade under the name „Otvorena učionica – inkluzivni program namenjen romskoj deci“ (*Open classroom – inclusive program for smallest Roma children*)
- Several seminar papers were written by psychology students upon the topic of discrimination against Roma at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Belgrade
- The Faculty of Arts at the University of Novi Sad opened a specialization course called „Romološke studije“ (Romology Studies) with the support of Fund for Open Society (the course was initiated by personal and not institutional efforts)
- In 2000 the Alternativna akademska obrazovna mreža (AAOM – Net for Alternative Academic Education) organized postgradual lectures about the Roma's religiousness titled, „Religija – tačka kulturnog spajanja ili razdvajanja?“ (Religion – cultural connector or disconnecter), on the basis what in the school year 2001-2002 there was an optional course, titled „Sociologija romskog identiteta“ (The Sociology of Roma Identity), but the next school-year the course was deleted.

²¹ Source: Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava SCG

- IQ-testing of Roma in Serbia, 2006, The University of Western Ontario, Canada and the Serbian Academy of Sciences, Belgrade²². (See Appendix for more detail)
- The awareness of multiethnicity in Vojvodina is crucial to be present in the media as well. Radio Television Vojvodina prepares and broadcasts programs in ten languages. The Provincial budget allocates money intended for co-financing 27 papers in 10 languages - Serbian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Croat, Roma language, Bunjevac language, Macedonian and Ukrainian language. The Province advocates the active policy of providing stable financing to local and regional radio and television stations having programs in different languages.
- In February, 2007 the Ministry of Education, with the support of OEBS and Europe Agency sent 54 assistants to schools who were instructed to communicate with Roma students' parents and who dealt with Roma students' educational issues
- In June, 2009 the Secretary of Education announced the establishment of a Pre-school Teacher Training College in Vršac with a major for Roma students from the school-year of 2009/10. (See Appendix for more detail)
- The Provincial Department of Education and Culture, Council for Roma Integration in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and Roma Students Association won the competition supported by the REF (2007-2011) in order to facilitate Roma students' development and advancement in their secondary school studies on the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Picture 2. Map of schools participating in the project of „THE INCLUSION OF ROMA STUDENS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AP VOJVODINA” - SER 032



Source: <http://www.obrazovanje.vojvodina.gov.rs/index.htm>

²² Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roma_people_of_Serbia

2. Experience concerning project implementation

2.1. The sample

Interview with (4)

- *Dr. Jeges Zoltán, Provincial Department of Education,*
- *Jelena Kriš Piger, Advisor of the Provincial Department of Education (besides basic work conditions for Project Coordinator),*
- *Ing. Duško Jovanović, director of the Office of the Inclusion of Roma and representative of the Council for Roma Integration in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina*
- *Dr. Lepes Josip, educational referent of the municipality.*

Interviews (9)

1. With the school directory - Headmasters (2)

- a.) *Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, headmaster*
- b.) *Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, headmaster*

2. Mentors (3)

- a.) *Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, Hungarian mentor*
- b.) *Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, one Serbian and one Hungarian mentors*

3. Secondary school students (4)

- a.) *Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, Hungarian Roma student*
- b.) *Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, two Serbian and one Hungarian Roma students*

2.2. Interview-analysis

In order to evaluate the actual project implementation we have interviewed those who were responsible for the program, in addition, we have also made case studies in two schools to investigate the local realization of the program.

According to the interviews the project is based on the REF's idea that is in harmony with the autonomy as well as Serbian requirements concerning their educational policy. The project highly reclined on the similar project of Macedonia. The Macedonian colleagues have also helped to formulate the documents needed for the competition. *“The Macedonian colleagues' experience was very helpful, they told us the basic goals, tasks, and they also allowed us to photocopy certain elements that were successful during their project. I have been working at a bilingual secondary school as a pedagogue for 25 years. They engaged me to prepare the basic documents. This is how it started. I got to know the co-coordinator of the Serbian REF, s/he helped me with the text, with filling in the questionnaires and planning the budget.”* (P1)

According to the competition documents, the goal of the project was to increase the attendance number of Roma students in secondary school education and to amend their school results. The interviewees identified themselves with the project objectives; however, they also noted that the project also supported the establishment of Roma intellectual groups which serves as an

example for the other Roma. One of the interviewees said that since the scholarships were attached to school results not only the rights, but the obligations for Roma students were also emphasized. The interview subjects also highlighted that the scholarships were not social, but educational, therefore, raised the educational opportunities of Roma students.

„We try to form the scholarship to be educational and only on the second hand social. Our aims is to achieve that many Roma students finish school with good results and that many of them attend higher educational institutions.” (P1)

„The positive side of this program, which is rarely emphasized for the society when Roma issues are analyzed, is that besides the rights there are certain obligations that everybody needs to engage with irrespective of nationally. So this is the positive side of the program which is not emphasized enough, in my opinion. And simply they do not mention it as an example that this is good since students perform well, not only concerning their rights, but their obligations as well. ” (P3)

During the planning process of the project and its later realization indeed the successful cooperation of the state and civil sphere can be witnessed. The main competitor of the scholarship program was the Provincial Department of Education and Culture which operated the program together with the Council for Roma Integration and Roma Students Association. It is important to note that the cooperation, at least, with the students is innovative, since the organizations have not worked together before. In this sense, the project also resulted in a new partnership between the state and civil sphere. The division of work among the partners was also successful.

„We have two partner organizations: Council for Roma Integration in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (Duško), Roma Students Association (Nenad), the REF, the donator. (...) It was the donator's request to include Roma people in the project, not only the secretary. There is the project co-coordinator, the director and the assistants who are Roma. Concerning the financial part, there are two assistants from the secretary who deal with it, the financial transactions are also done by the secretary. The Roma Students Association deal with the other financial part which is the educational promotion and monitoring.”

„Various programs are organized, the Roma Students Association really establishes link between students and try to engage them into further education.” (P4)

The cooperation of the state and civil spheres in order to successfully realize an educational program is really significant. However, their relationship is negatively affected by the fact that the sphere of municipalities is put into shadow since the Provincial Department of Education and Culture coordinates the program, in which helps the civil sphere, the school, however, is attached to its maintainer. In addition, the maintainer also has local supports for the integration of Roma students, which are not present in the project. It is true that the target groups of these local initiatives, supports are not really secondary school students, however, the support of Roma educational routes are planned and organized on a local level.

„I understand the state supports. The financial resources of the province are very useful and the scholarships from the REF as well. There are other foreign funds, too, which support some individual Roma children maybe not monthly, but at least with a single aid. Dozens of Roma students can or could receive help from mentors, parents could be motivated (with money) to encourage children to stay at school. The situation is quite confusing. Unfortunately, I have

also seen situations in which the child received support from various financial resources, while somebody else none. The local governments could control more successfully who receives support and how much. For instance, the municipality inspector or an engaged person could visit schools and Roma organizations to check upon their situations every half year.” (P10)

Through the prism of the above reviewed opinions, it seems that the REF scholarships are such state actions that are very useful, however, are not always in accordance with the pre-school and primary school programs of local municipalities. This, of course, raises the question already mentioned by several interviewees and it is also in the data of school statistics, namely that the challenge of the education of Roma children is their involvement into and their retention in the educational system. This effort results from the fact that Roma children's attrition is the highest on the primary school level. The educational policy should, first, aim at preventing the Roma pupils' attrition on primary school level since it inevitably influences Roma students' further educational chances. The present programs make efforts on secondary school and higher educational levels, however, the reinforcement, that is indeed the primary school level, also needs to be insured.

During the realization of the project various committees were established whose members were appointed from the partner organizations: Project Council (13 members) and the Monitoring Groups (11 members). The Project Council included 13 members, instead of the planned 9, which could have resulted in difficulties during the Council's operation, though, the members mentioned no problems concerning the size of the body. The Council fulfilled its tasks according to the requirements:

„The members are on a consultative level, they approve of the list of those who can get a scholarship, who the mentor will be, under what conditions students will lose their right for the scholarship, they also control the reports, give recommendations in connection with our tasks for the next school year. They make suggestions concerning any required extensions. During our last meeting we noted that there were 20 problematic students in the sense that they had really bad grades and were absent very often from school.” (P1)

In both committees the proportion of Roma and non-Roma members was established on the basis of the REF's requirements.

„The president of the Council is the secretary, it has 13 members, out of which 7 are Roma and 6 are non-Roma. The Monitoring Group has 11 members, one co-coordinator who is the vice-secretary, 5 Roma university students and 5 non-Roma ones.” (P1)

The Monitoring Group paid attention to its interethnic features, since the aim was to pair up Roma and non-Roma experts to monitor and help the mentors' work.

„The Monitoring Group's task is doing fieldwork and the control of the mentors' work. How much do they help or not? The university students speak to the pupils and parents. The Roma university students are the so-called B group and the non-Roma ones are the A group. When on fieldwork, the monitoring pair always goes together. It is also determined to whom certain regions belong to and how many schools they need to visit. When the monitoring pair is on fieldwork the headmaster, the mentor, the students and parents are also there. First, they have a mutual conversation; second, the monitoring pair speaks to the pupils.” (P1)

During the process of interior monitoring, the pair may have no possibility to meet each pupil who gets a scholarship, however, the mentors and schools can provide information about each pupil. The Monitoring Group and the mentors are in a regular and active contact with each other.

„Usually they come to see us. The frequency of their visits, I believe, depends on the significance of their message. They sometimes come to visit us. There were cases when several mentors gathered here and then we discussed the children’s issues, but not the mentors. We usually write e-mails on a 2-week basis and call up each other, but do not meet personally very often.” (P8)

The mentors are chosen by the Project Council. During the realization of the program the schools also recommended mentors and potential pupils who could receive scholarship. Since the selection of mentors and scholarship holders went parallel, it was not obvious in advance how many mentors would join each school. The actual recommendation of mentors was done by schoolmasters and the project committee and the Project Council practically accepted the schools’ recommendations.

„The competition went parallel, because we were running out of time. When we had the list of students, we decided upon the mentors. The schools totalized the data of students and mentors and they sent us, therefore, the schools already knew how many mentors were needed. The project committee scanned through the names and data once again and suggested some mentors. (...) We asked for the basic data from the mentors. One of the preconditions was that the person to be accepted as a mentor needed to be fully employed by schools and also to write down their own expectations from the project. The Roma members of the competition committee recommended the mentors and the council made the final decision.”

„The mentors were included in a separate competition, but the Provincial Department of Education and Culture asked for the schools’ opinion concerning the mentors and also gave the schools the opportunity to recommend mentors. Though they asked their opinions and respected their suggestions, they chose the people I had personally recommended.” (P3)

But who could become a mentor? Who could schools recommend? The Serbian project could not follow the Macedonian example, namely that the main subjects needed to be taught by mentors since there were not enough applicants for mentorship. Therefore, the Council opened the competition for those people as well who had a special pedagogical service.

„Here, we started out differently from our Macedonian colleagues. In Macedonia, the point was that the most important subjects had to be taught by the mentors. In our case, there were not many applicants, so we gave the opportunity to include pedagogues, psychologists, and teachers as well. If possible we wished the mentor to be giving lectures as well, but it could not be achieved in all instances.”

The project focused on Roma students of attending 4-year secondary schools, but it did not prevent Roma students of 3-year vocational schools to be included. There were more applicants than we could have accepted already in the first year. All students of secondary schools received a scholarship and those of vocational schools also, however, under certain circumstances, such as their school results had to reach a certain level and they needed to be studying an occupation that was possible to study in a secondary school later as well.

„In the first year, there were 355 scholarships and 474 applicants. Those students received scholarships who attended a secondary school or a vocational school, but they studied well and could be further educated in a secondary school depending on their occupation.” (P1)

„We needed to include the students of vocational schools. Meanwhile, we contacted the National Employment Agency who defined the occupations that were in lack on the labor-market in order to give reason to further educate student of vocational schools later in secondary schools.” (P2)

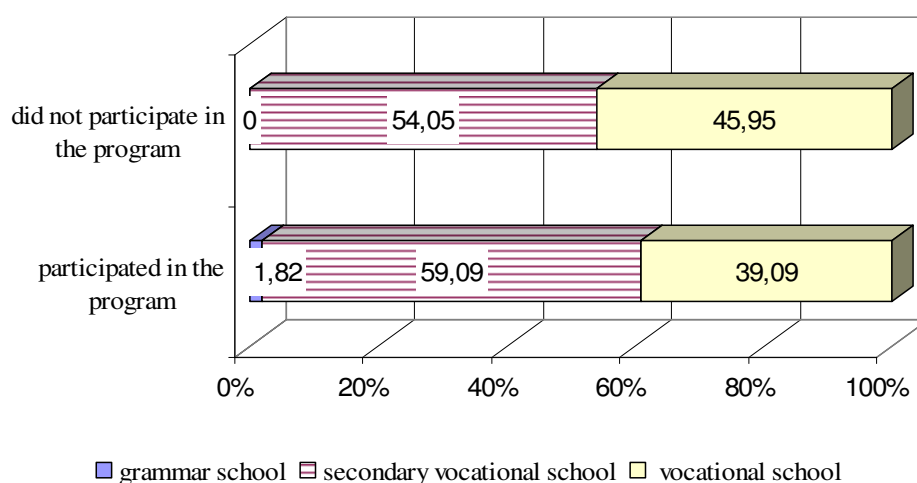
3. The experience of the questionnaire analysis (extract)

The sample and basic information of the interviewees

In total, 190 secondary school students filled in the questionnaire in Vojvodina. Out of which, 57.8% were men, 42.2% were women. The age of students, therefore, varies from 16 to 21. As for the type of their place of living: the 73.3% of the program participants and 71.6% of the non-program participants live in urbanic-type of municipality. Most of the respondents' parents live together. The 77.66% of the parents are married and 6.38 not. Almost 8% is the ration of divorced parents, 8% of the children are orphans.

According to the official census data the 90.4% of Serbian Roma do not have a qualification higher than primary school. On the basis of the questionnaires' answers, Roma children of more qualified Roma parents managed to get into the program, in addition, it is also possible that the parents of Roma children who make it to secondary schools are also more qualified than that of the average Roma parents in Serbia. There are more secondary vocational and grammar school students among program-participants in comparison to non-participants.

Diagram 1. The type of schools that respondents attend according to program participation (%)



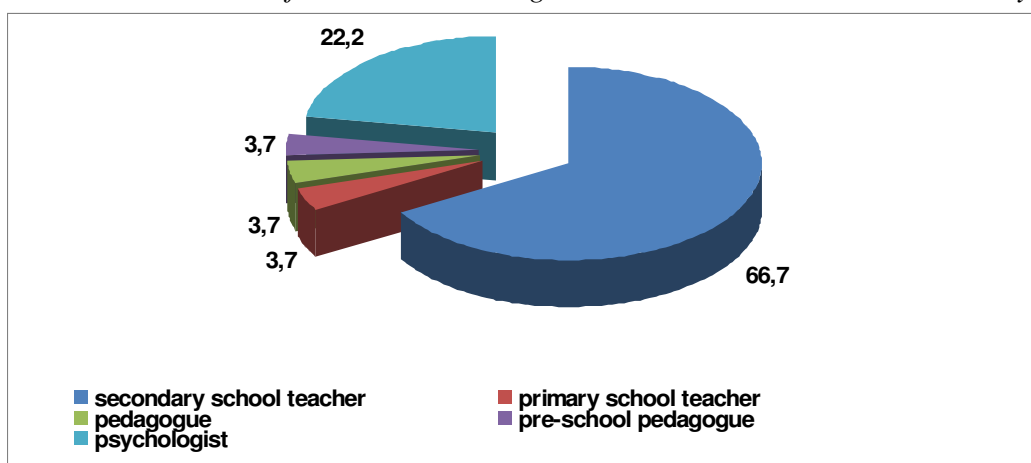
Students from all four grades in the school year 2007-2008 filled in the questionnaire. More than half of them (54.5%) were first grade students, almost 1/3 of them were second grade students (31.7%), while 26 students represented the third and fourth grade students, namely 25 third grade (13.2%) and 1 fourth grade student (1%).

Out of the respondents 110 students (57.89%) took part in the program titled, The inclusion of Roma students into secondary schools of Vojvodina. The questionnaire consisted of 84 questions, out of which the first 55 questions had to be filled in/answered by each respondent. The rest of the questions had to be filled in/answered only by students who participated in the program. The analysis of the questionnaires, therefore, consisted of two parts, first, the socio-demographic characteristics, the students' school results, their future plans, their prejudice and school conflicts and second, the cooperation with the mentors, opinion concerning the scholarship, etc.

1. The analysis of Mentor questionnaires

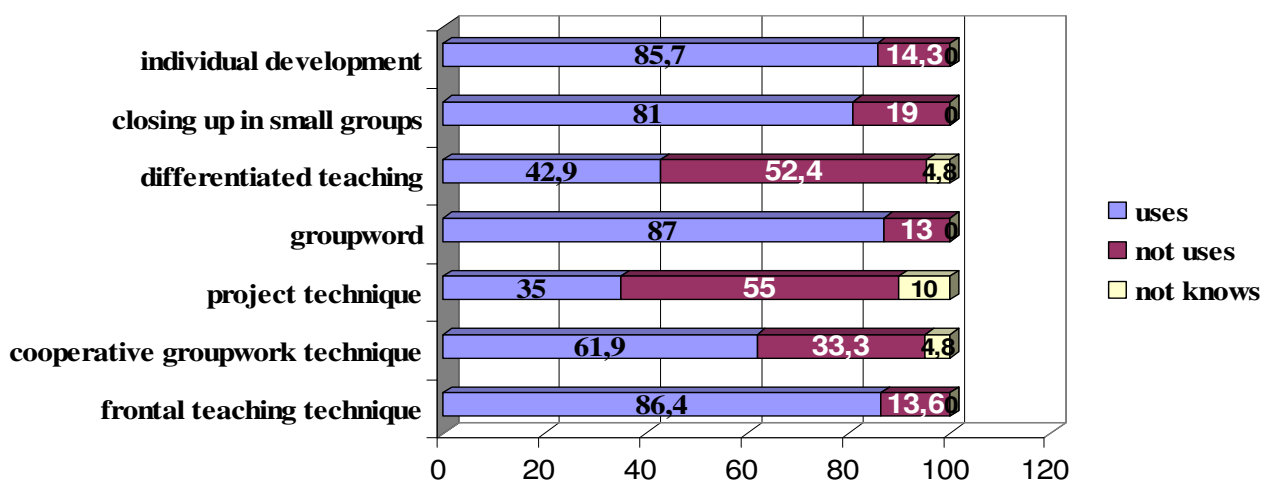
The mentors' status in the ducational system was the following: 2/3 of the mentors were secondary school teachers, 22.2% psychologists. The rest of them were primary school teacher, pedagogues and pre-school pedagogues (3.7%-3.7%-3.7%).

Diagram 2. The distribution of mentors according to their statuse in the educational system (%)



During the assessment we also tried to analyze the pedagogical culture of the mentors. The pedagogical techniques used most frequently by the mentors were the following: group work, frontal teaching and individual development. These three techniques and the development in small groups were applied by 8 mentors out of 10. The project technique was the least frequently used. The 35% of the mentors used it. The differentiated teaching (42.9% of the mentors used it) and project techniques were not eve known by each of the mentors. 10% of the mentors were not familiar with the technique of differentiated teaching, while 4.8% did not know the project method.

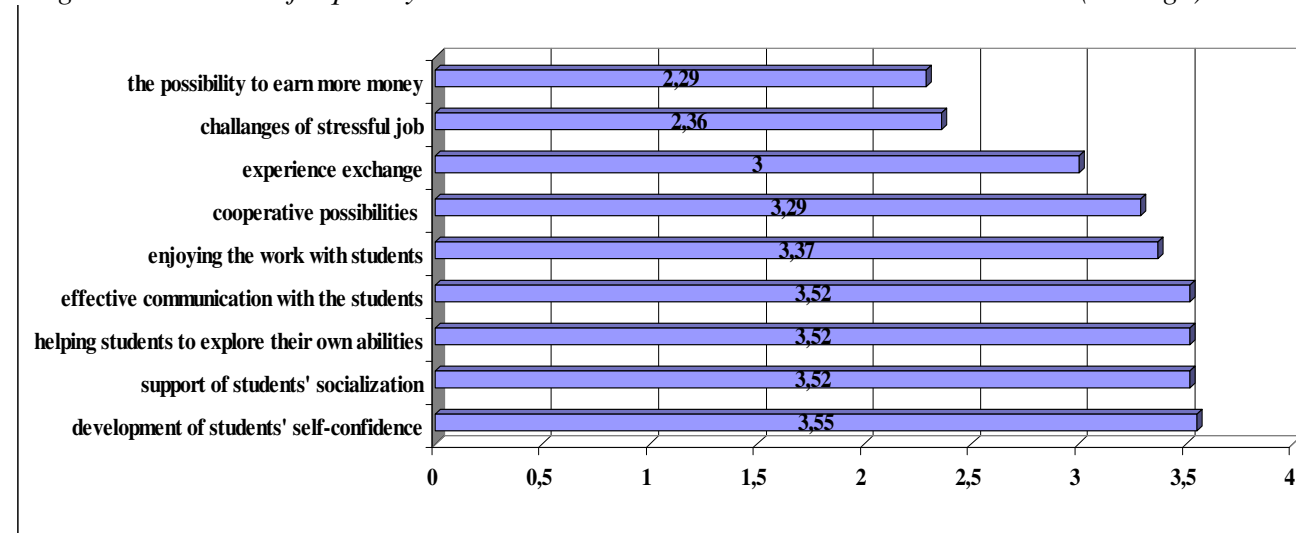
Diagram 3. The pedagogicl techniques applied by the mentors during the teaching process (%)



Factors that mostly motivated the work of mentors were those that could develop the knowledge and character of students (self-confidence, development of various skills including

communication) and their socialization as well. The average value of factors on the basis of mentors' answers is 3.5 which fluctuate between the questionnaire answers “much” and “very much”. Mentors were the least motivated that they received money or the challenges of stressful job.

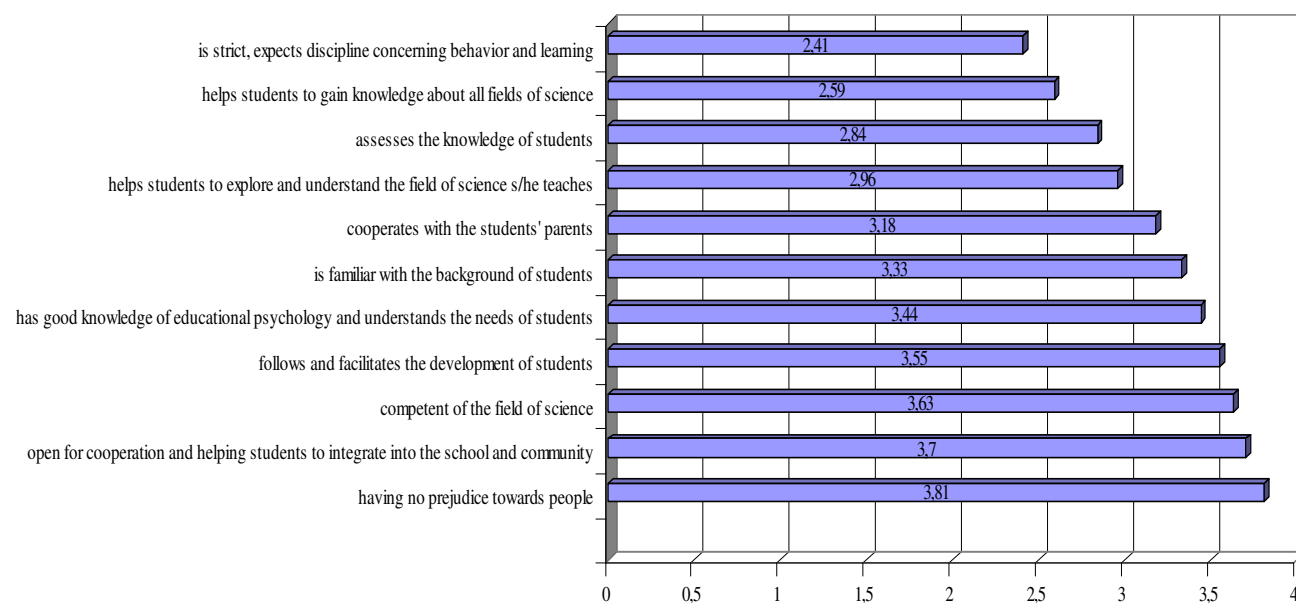
Diagram 4. The most frequently mentioned actors that motivated the mentors work (average)



(1 – not much, 2– much, 3 – quite much, 4 – very much)

According to the subjects, the features of the successful mentor are the following: no prejudice, willingness to cooperate, competence on one's own scholarly field, following and supporting the development of students. On the four-scale grid of characteristics the value of answer was 3.5 which show a high agreement among mentors concerning the characteristics of a good mentor. At the end of the list those features are found that refer to the control, discipline of students and their learning of school subjects. The average volume of these features was under 3.

Diagram 5. The features of successful mentors (average)



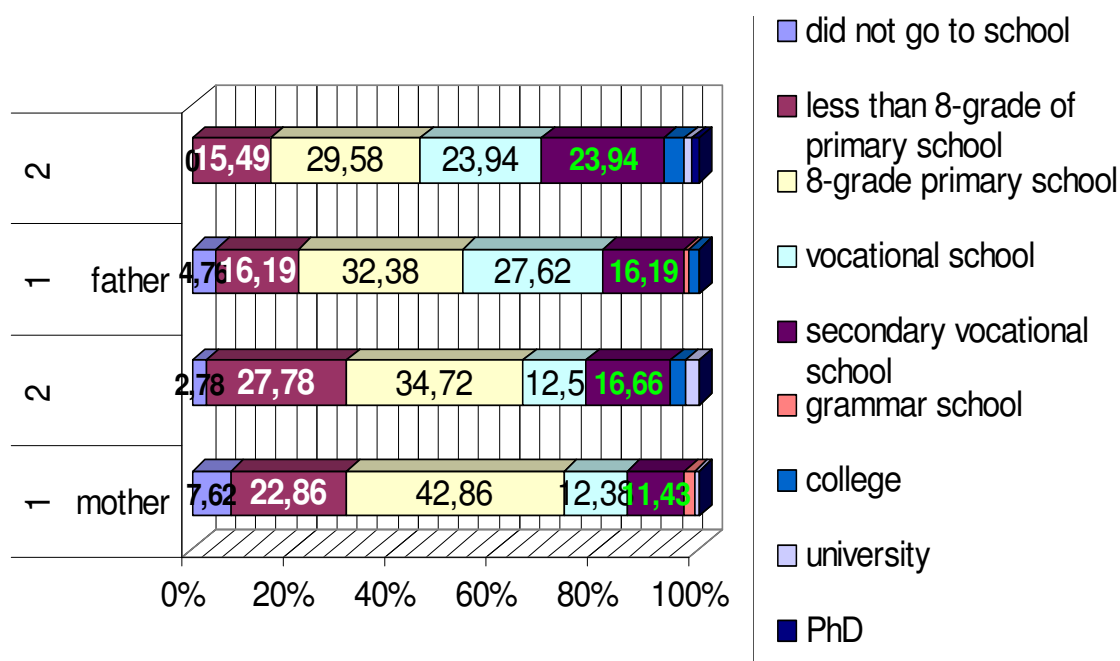
(1 – not much, 2– much, 3 – quite much, 4 – very much)

2. Assessment conducted among secondary-school students and scholarship holders

Questionnaires were conducted among scholarship holders as well. The data were compared to the control group formed by secondary school students not participating in the program.

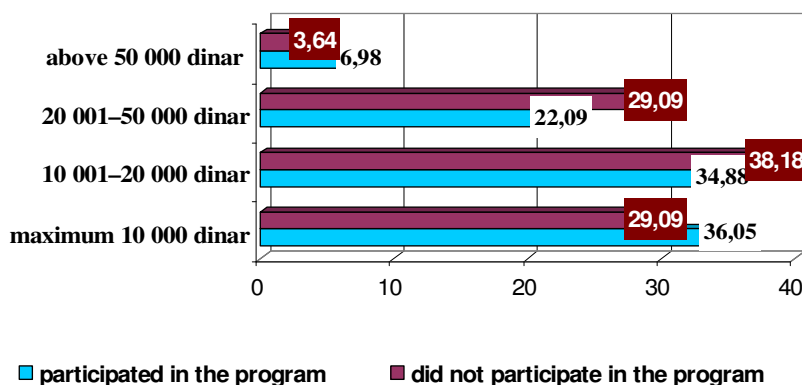
Given the fact that there were students participating in the program who did not consider themselves Roma, we looked at the parents' qualifications among students who considered themselves Roma. The analysis showed that the 77.7% of mothers and 55% of fathers finished the primary school. According to the census of 2002, however, the 90.4% of the Serbian roma have no qualification higher than primary school. On the basis of this data, we can assume that the children of more qualified parents got into the program and it can also be assumed that the parents of the participating students are more qualified than the average Roma inhabitants of the country.

Diagram 6. The qualifications of students' parents on the basis of program participation (%)



The families whose children participated in the program had more money each month than those families whose children did not participate in the program. The former families' average monthly income was 22,132.79 dinar (std. dev. = 24,181.65), the latter had 19,822.91 dinar (std. dev. = 17,577.7). Still, the number of those families whose monthly income is under 20,000 dinar is higher among families whose children participated in the program (70.93%) than the ones whose children did not participate (67.23%). This is, however, outbalanced by the fact that the number of those families that had a monthly income higher than 50,000 dinar is higher than among those ones whose children did not participate in the program. We can assume that the majority of the students receiving a scholarship really were in social need of it. However, there is a narrow layer of people whose monthly income is higher than those who did not participate in the program.

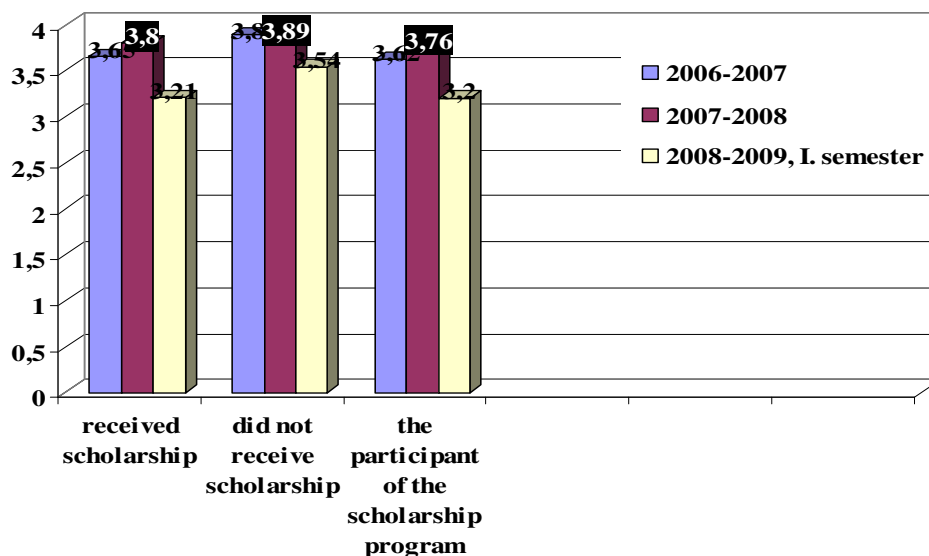
Diagram 7. The average income of student's family on the basis of program participation (%)



During the data analysis, the average grades of students *csoportosítottak* were grouped according to three time phases: the end of school year of 2006–2007 (when entering the program, before receiving any support), the end of school year of 2007–2008 (the end of the first year of program participation) and the end of the first half of school year of 2008–2009. School results were analyzed on the basis of absence and the annual average student results. It can be claimed that the average of student results increased more rapidly in the first semester, however, also decreased more rapidly in the second semester (0.59 and 0.42) in comparison to students who did not participate (0.35). The latter group had higher average results than the participating students in each of the three occasions of testing.

Concerning student absence, it was the students receiving scholarship who were absent more often. The total number of absence of scholarship holders is higher with 2.98 than that of non-scholarship holders. Scholarship holders were absent more often with 3.62% than non-scholarship holders. It is important to note that participating students had the most unjustified absences (6.5). In sum, those students who received a scholarship and participated in the program did not have better school results or fewer occasions of absence than those who did not participate in the program. In other words, it is not the admittance of money that resulted in better school results or discipline.

Diagram 8. School results on the basis of scholarships



In case of those who did not participate in the scholarship program, similar tendency can be observed, with the difference that the advancement of the non-participants' concerning their school results is less obvious and apparent after the first year. Consequently, it can be concluded that the school results of the participants of the program advanced during the year of receiving scholarship.

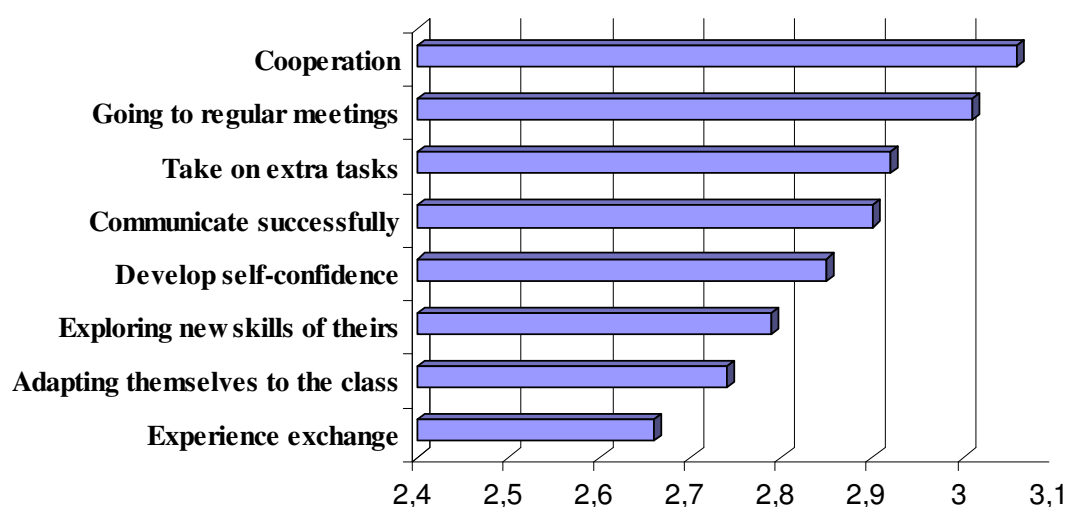
One of the most important question of the questionnaire aimed at investigating the meeting with the mentors. 27 possible activities were listed in the questionnaire and the respondents were asked to mark if the activitied listed were performed or discussed. According to the 2/3 of the students the following activities were usually performed:

- talking about the scholarship program, its objectives and the duties of its participants
- talking about the scholarship and money
- the discussion of students' problems at school, the analysis of students' school results
- talking about further education.

Besides the above mentioned, more than 2/3 of the students usually discussed their relationships with other professors during the meetings with the mentors. The reports that needed to be written for the provincial educational institutions were also a frequent topic of meeting. However, library visit, practicing computer skills with the mentor and the development of various skills (reading, writing, communication) of students were not frequent performed during the meetings with the mentors.

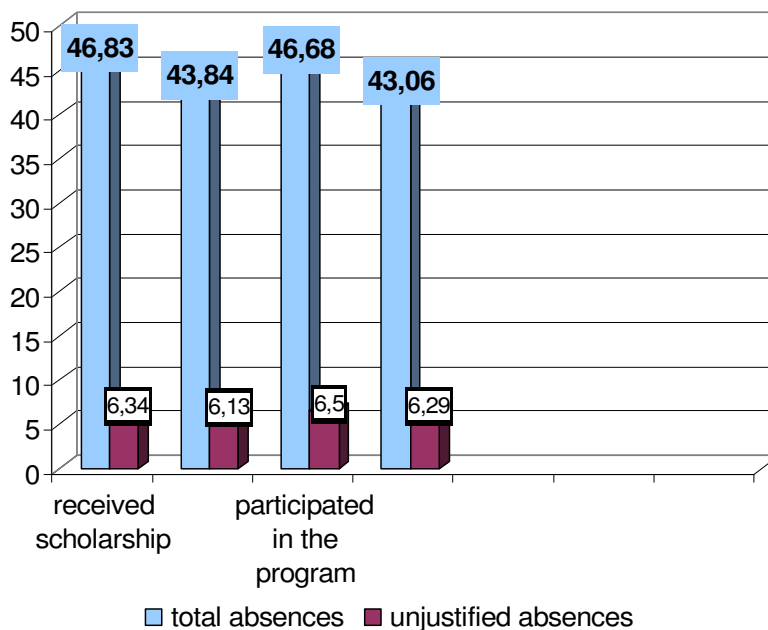
The questionnaire also intended to reveal how motivating mentors were. Students could judge evaluate the motivation power of mentors on a 4-grade scale, in which 1 meant 'not motivating at all' and 4 meant 'very motivating'. The diagram includes the result for the mentor motivating ability. The mentors ability to motivate students can be put between the two middle rates which means that none of the mentors managed to motivate students to a great extent, however, 'not motivating at all' was not a frequent answer. The mentors' motivation was the most significant concerning making the students to cooperate, to come to the meetings regulary and to take on extra exercises. Mentors were the least succesfull in motivating students to adapt themselves to the classrom and encourage them to exchange experience with other students, which indicates their closeness to some extent.

Diagram 9. The mentors' motivational success on students



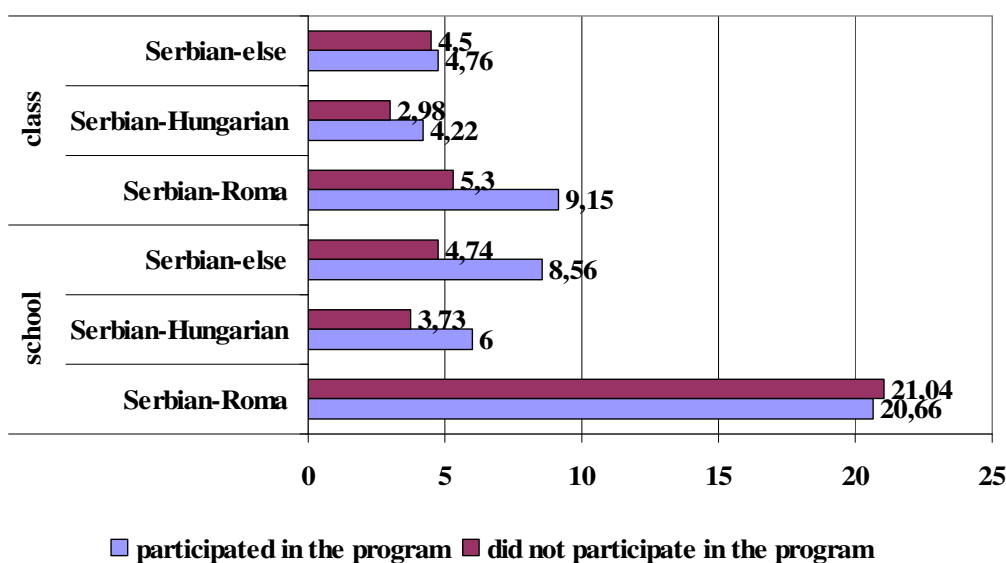
(1 – not much, 2– much, 3 – quite much, 4 – very much)

Diagram 10. Student absence on the basis of scholarship and program participation (average)



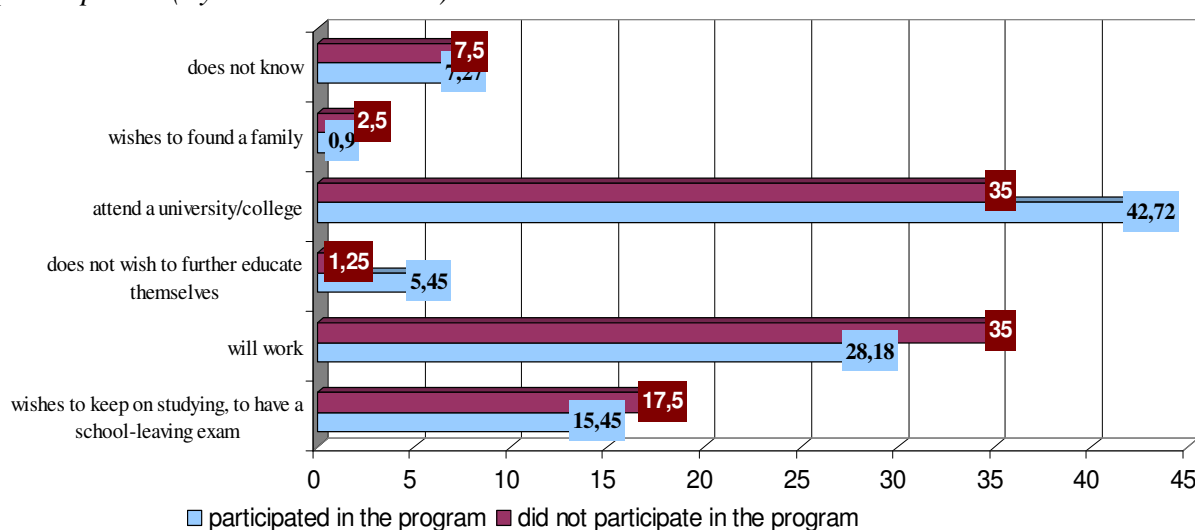
The research methodology of questionnaire gave the possibility to map out the subjective integrative environment of the scholarship holders. We noted that the proportion of Roma students is 20% in classes of non-scholarship holders, while that of Roma students is only 11% in classes of the scholarship holder. It can be assumed that those students were more likely to participate in the program who studied in a more integrated environment. In other words, the scholarship program did not reach students who attend a class of high proportion of Roma students.

Diagram 11. The distribution of Serbian-Roma, Serbian-Hungarian, Serbian-else students in schools/classrooms of roma students on the basis of program participation



We also wanted to know whether program participation affected further educational decisions. The number of those students who intended to attend college/university among program participants is higher than those who did not participate (42.72% in comparison to 35%), however, the proportion of those who did not intend to further educate themselves at all is also higher among program participant in contrast with those student who did not participate in the program (5.45% in contrast with 1.25%). Students not participating in the program rather intend to work having finished school and among these students the proportion of those who wish to found a family is also higher than students who participated. In sum, program participation positively affected students' willingness to further educate themselves. It is important to note that there is no statistically significant difference between the responses of the two groups.

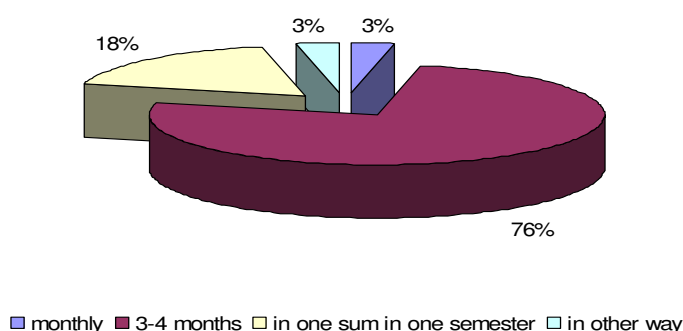
Diagram 12. The students' future plans after finishing school on the basis of program participation ("yes" answers in %)



* At this question, students could choose more answers

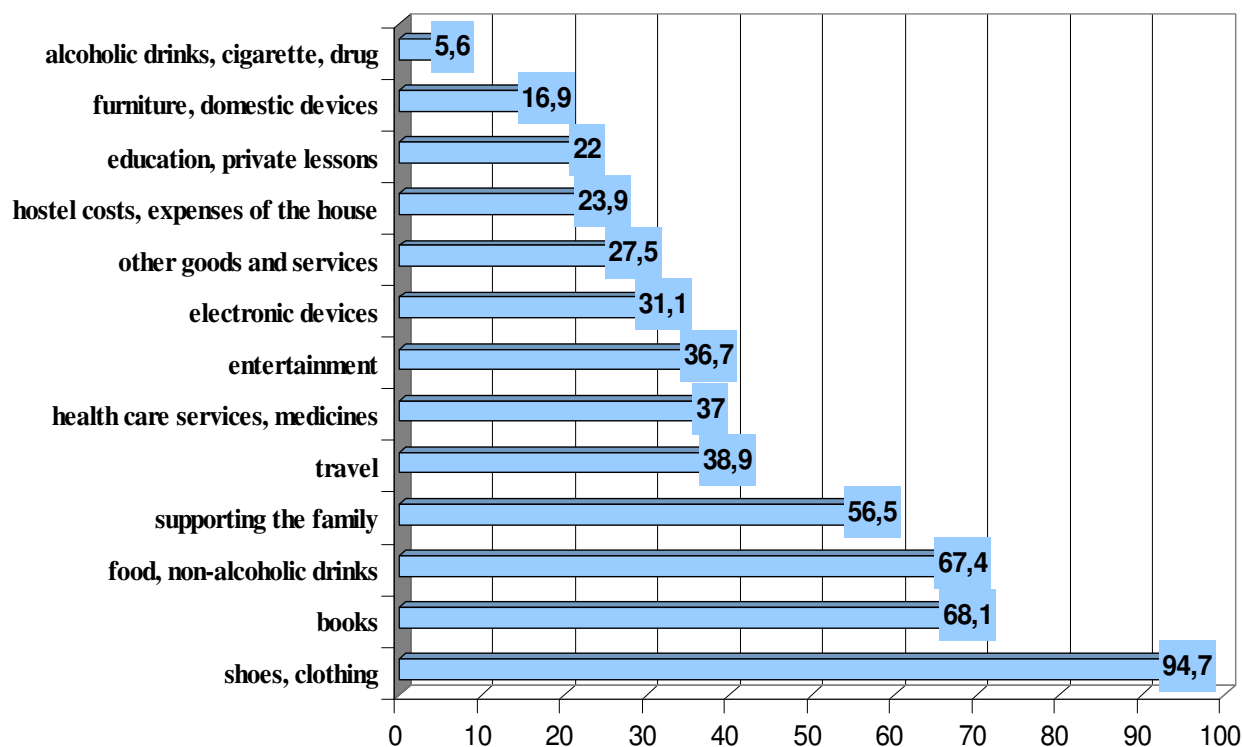
The ¾ of the students received their scholarships every third-fourth month. 18 students, however, answered that they received their grants in one sum in one semester. Further 3-4% of the students received their scholarships each month or in some other way. More than half of the students (54%) received their scholarship in cash, 41% of them through bankcards and 5% in some other form (at school, on bank account). The proportion of those who answered that they did not receive their grants in time was quite high (64.6%), only 35.4% of students claimed that they received their scholarships in time.

Diagram 13. The frequency of scholarship (%)



We also wanted to know what the scholarship holders spent their money on.

Diagram 14. What was the scholarship spent on? (“yes” answers in %)



Data show that more than 90% of the students has already spent their shoclarship on clothings, 2/3 of them bought books and food/non-alcoholic drinks. 56.5% of the scholarship holders supported their parents by complementing the family income with their scholarship. At the beginning of the list, those goods and sevicees can be found that are necessary for school and for maintaining normal life standards, in other words, social aid that could raise students' educational chances. At the end of the lsit, the goods and services are the following: alcoholic drinks, cigarette and drugs. On these goods the 5.6% of students spent. 16.9% of them spent the scholarship on furniture and household devices. It is important to note that less than ¼ of students answered that they spent their scholarship on education or private lessons.

3. Primary school pupils

In order to insure the future maintenance of the scholarship program, we have surveyed the potential future group of scholarship holders, namely, the primary school pupils' school results and also their willingness to take part in further education. The inclusion of a control group consisting of non-Roma pupils insured the comparability of the data.

Diagram 15. Results of primary school pupils (average)

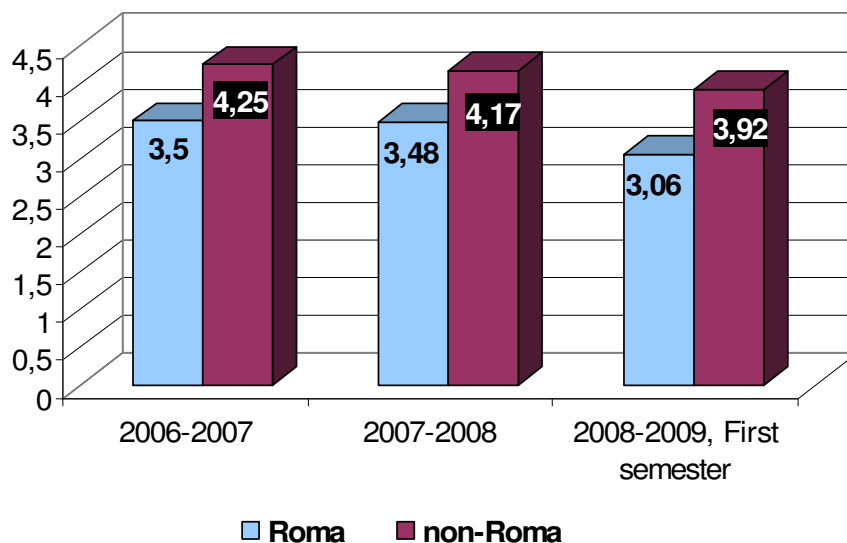
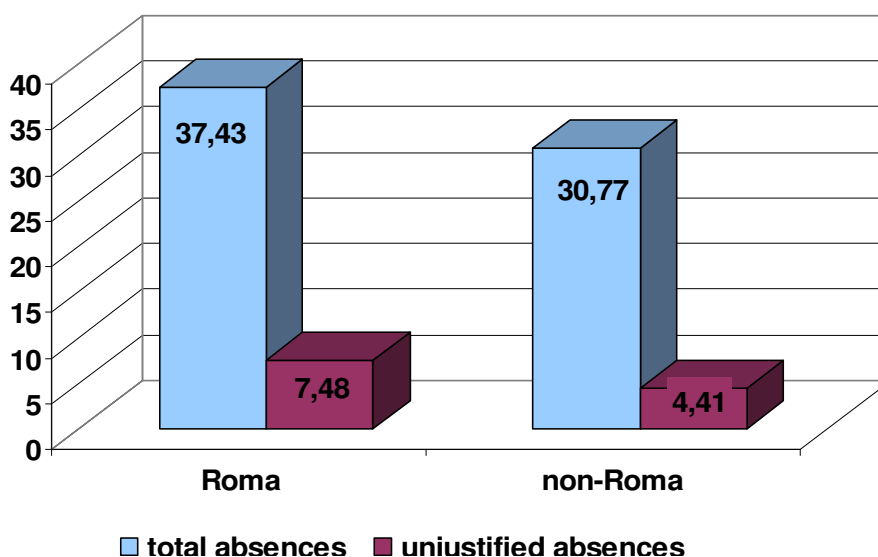


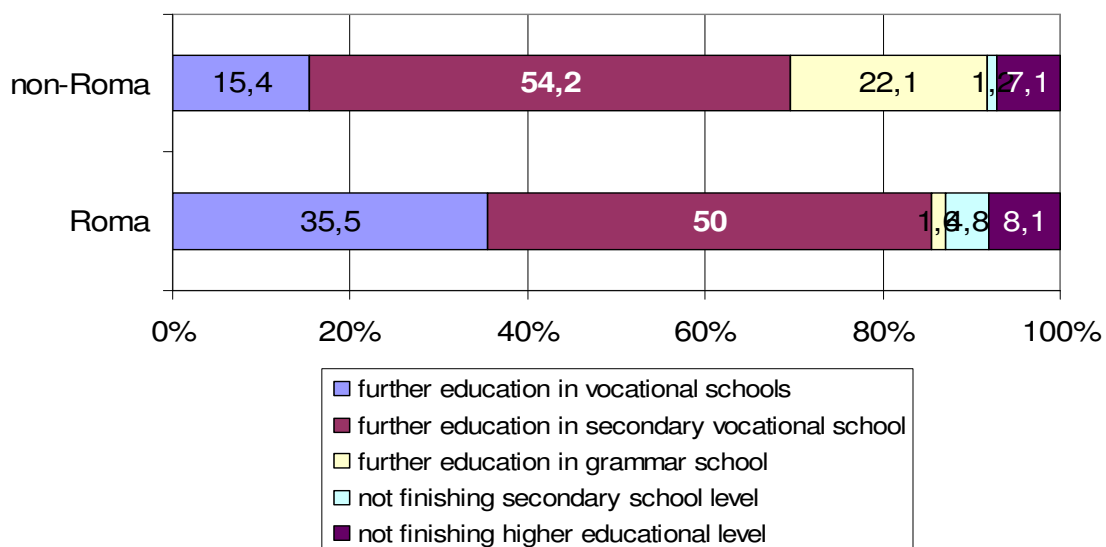
Diagram 16. Absence in the school-year of 2007–2008 (average)



Data show that the school results of roma pupils are weaker than that of non-Roma in each of the three occasions of testing. Continuous decrease of school results can be noticed either among Roma (0.44) or non-Roma (0.38) pupils between the school years of 2006-2007 and 2008-2009. On the basis of research results, it can be seen that Roma pupils are more likely to face school failure than non-Roma. The proportion of absence is similar: Roma pupils have more justified and unjustified absence than non-Roma.

Finishing primary school all pupils – irrespective of their nationality – intend to keep on studying. The 4.8% of Roma pupils does not wish to study, 8.1% does not know yet, while the 1.2% of non-Roma pupils does not wish to study any more and 7.1% has not decided upon their future yet. Both groups intend to study in 4-year vocation secondary schools, but there is a difference concerning the choice of their second option of schools, namely, Roma pupils would rather attend 3-year vocational schools, while non-Roma 4-year grammar schools.

Diagram 17. The students further educational options after primary school (%)



4. Conclusion

4.1. General statements

1. The 6.5% of the inhabitants of Serbia has never received education. The number of illiterates is the highest in Central-Serbia, most of them a Roma. The 90% of Roma older than 15 years never learn to read and write. Every fifth Roma older than 10 years is illiterate (so they do not finish primary school) and the average age of the illiterates is 40.

In Serbia, only the 2% of Roma children attends pre-school institutions, less than 40% attends primary schools, approximately 70-90% drops out of primary school before finishing it. The 60% of Roma, therefore, does not finish primary school. The 50-80% of pupils/students in need of special education is formed by Roma.

On the basis of 1991 and 2002 census, every third-fourth Roma is illiterate, without any school qualifications. The 26.1-34.7% of Roma does not finish primary school, while the ration is 20% among the rest of Serbian inhabitants. The 10% of Roma does not finish secondary school, less than 1% receives degree.

2. The tendency of the formation of educational systems appropriate for multicultural societies has begun. The new system encourages the disappearance of cultural and linguistic disadvantages and regards the representatives of otherness to be a value. This process in Serbian depended on the changing and waving political and social directions during the recent decades. In the Tito era, the ethnic minorities and Roma faced the policy of slow assimilation (Yugoslavism), later, during the critical era of Milošević the exclusive assimilation dominated, while today we have come to the phase of integration through the presence of bilingual schools. The policy of assimilation had a very serious cultural effect on Roma who did not have cultural representatives or elite who could pass the culture on or any independent institutions that could serve the same purpose. Today the greatest challenge of Roma is to integrate into the various spheres of social life without giving up their ethnic and cultural identity.

3. Official statistics also prove that the education of Roma children and the prevention of their attrition are very difficult. The attrition of Roma is the highest on the level of primary school. The educational policy actions, therefore, should target this level of education since it inevitably influences the next level of education, i.e. secondary school education.

4. The analysis of questionnaire data show that there are segregational practices both on the level primary and secondary school education, for the reason that the number of Roma pupils/students are often higher in classes than in other classes of the school.

5. Discrimination and conflict sources re-enforce each other in Vojvodina. Pessimistic ideology behind the Roma respondents' answers can be noticed when reporting about their own experience of discrimination (especially social and cultural discrimination). In our research conducted among secondary school students, it turned out that Roma students had the most frequent conflict with Serbian classmates or schoolmates and also teachers. Hardly any

conflicts were reported on between Roma students and school directory, administrative staff, porter.²³

6. Children can be attend primary schools with incomplete identification. Roma parents find the charges of school equipments and traveling the most problematic factors that result in the drop-out of their children.²⁴ Parents often enroll their children in special schools since school equipment is for free and accommodation (sleeping, nutrition, travel) of children is also ensured. This, however, result in the loss of talented Roma children. Governmental or municipality supports and aids²⁵ need to ensure the constant enrollment of Roma children in schools and should also prevent their attrition. In stead of forcement, children of disadvantageous living circumstances should be financially supported, as well as, programs and pedagogues should also be ensured to prevent their attrition. Small groups of 5 to 6 children could be formed guided by a mentor constantly assure their educational development.

7. The disadvantageous life circumstances, unsatisfactory hygiene and lack of basic infrastructure do not enable Roma children to study at home and the parental support is also incomplete. Therefore, the establishment of programs is necessary in order to prolong the presence of Roma children at school, so that the development of their self-esteem and personal skills could be promoted.

8. The Roma children's language learning problems is very complex in the multilingual Vojvodina. The majority of Roma children understands or speaks (70%) their Roma language, but the number of balanced bilinguals is rare. Incomplete linguistic knowledge or the interference of several languages often results in sending Roma children into special schools. In Vojvodina, the language of Roma children's education is Serbian, but in the north region it is Hungarian or in East-Vojvodina Romanian.

9. On the basis of case studies, we can conclude that in Serbia, it is not the educational system that adjust itself to the children of differing social, economic and cultural background, but children are expected to live up to the expectations of the educational standards. However, should schools aim at providing and fulfilling certain specific needs, the level of instruction is weaker than that of normal schools. Concerning the issue of Roma, according to mentors' opinion, it can be assumed that among Roma there is a special so-called "culture of poverty". The majority of the pedagogues does not engage the same criteria towards their Roma and non-Roma students. It seems to exist a "hidden ethnical curriculum" that is engaged towards poor (Roma) students. As a result, indeed, the disadvantageous status of Roma children remain and even intensifies the failure of Roma children.

²³ Lásd Örkény Antal hasonló megállapítását: A roma migrációs potenciál szociodemográfiai és etnikai okai tanulmányában.

Source: http://menedek.hosting1.deja.hu/files/docs/menni-maradni/16_rk_ny%20Antal_A%20roma%20migr_ci_s%20potenci_1%20szociodemogr_fiai%20_s%20etnikai%20okai.pdf

²⁴ Havi iskolaköltségek körülbelül 15%-át teszik ki az átlagos és/vagy az alatti nettó havi jövedelemnek (240 EURO).

²⁵ A Centar za prava deteta és „Save the Children“ adatai alapján az egyes iskolák, vagy a lokális közösségek, és önkormányzatok támogatással ingyen könyveket és iskola-felszerelést biztosítottak a szegénysorú gyerekeknek, akik között 60% a roma gyerek. A jelen kutatás kérdőíves felméréséből kitűnik, hogy a családok egyharmada kevesebb, mint 10 000 dinárból gazdálkodik havonta, másik alig több mint egyharmaduk pedig 10 000 és 20 000 dinár közötti összegből. Azon diákok aránya, akiknek családja 50 000 dinár (kb. 530 euró) feletti összegből gazdálkodik, mindössze 6,2 százalék.

10. Bi-directional development of relationships is needed. First, the Roma should get to know the culture and environment of the majority, otherwise, Roma children would never get along in the educational system and as a consequence in adulthood neither which would prevent them from joining the labor market. Students and also communities and non-Roma nationalities should also need to explore the Roma culture and life ideology.

4.2. Statements concerning the scholarship program

1. During the planning and realization of the project, the successful cooperation of the state and civil spheres can be noticed. The main competitor of the scholarship program was the Provincial Department of Education and Culture that brought the program to realization with the cooperation of Roma Integration Council and Roma University Students. It is important to note that the cooperation with the organization of university students is innovative since no cooperation with them existed before. In this sense, the program resulted in the establishment of a new partnership between the state and civil spheres. Labor division between the partners was also fruitful.
2. The original objective of the program achieved its goal since the prevention of Roma secondary school students' attrition was successful and, in addition, the number of higher educational students who receive a scholarship also increases. Before the realization of the project in the school-year of 2006-2007, the attrition of Roma secondary school students was 26%, while in the school-year of 2007-2008 their attrition was only 7.32%.
3. The maintenance of the project is justified by the primary school pupils' high willingness to further educate themselves. The majority of both Roma and non-Roma pupils wish to attend a 4-year secondary vocational school. However, among Roma pupils the tendency to aim at studying at a 3-year vocational school is more frequent than among non-Roma pupils who rather prefer attending a 4-year grammar school. The 60.9% of secondary school students wish to attend higher educational institutions.
4. The continuous support of Roma secondary school students in Serbia/Vojvodina is very crucial for the educational development of the whole Roma community. The supports, reported by the target group, are not always delivered on time. Even if the Tartományi Provincial Department of Education and Culture sends the monthly supports, the schools do not deliver/send them on time. The number of those who reported that they did not receive their scholarship on time was high (64.6%), only 1/3 (35.4%) of scholarship holders obtain their money on time.
5. The participation of mentors in the process of learning had a very positive effect on the students. It is thoughtful that student responses show huge differences depending on whether they were surveyed before the work with mentors started or by the end of the program. Before the launch of the mentors' work, the instruction organized by the Tartományi Oktatási Titkárság and the Roma civils was very important for the mentors. The 84.6% of the mentors participated. 77% of them answered that should they have the possibility to take part in more instructions and courses, that would make their mentor work also more successful. The factors that motivate the work of mentors were the following: helping, supporting and developing students' skills and character (self-confidence, development of various skills, including communicational too) as well as facilitating their socialization. Money was the least motivating factor.

6. The 90% of students spent their scholarship on clothing, the 2/3 of them on books and food/non-alcoholic drinks. The 56.5% of students support their family with their scholarship. Less than 1/4 of the students spent their scholarship on education or private lessons. The most frequently bought goods and services were those that were necessary for going to school and maintaining the normal life standards. In this context, the scholarship can be considered to be social aid that increases the educational chances.
7. The project did not cover the effort to include Roma parents into the program. The mentors kept in touch with the parents, though, it happened traditionally, without any institutionalized involvement of theirs.
8. We noticed that among those who received scholarship or participated in the program the increase of school results was noticable (0.59 and 0.42), however, the decrease of school results was also noticable in the next semester (0.35). Student not participating in the program had better school result in each occasions of testing (three times) than those who participated in the program or received a scholarship who were possibly the poorest students of the class.
9. Concerning the absence of students, those who received scholarship were absent more often than those who did not receive scholarship. The total number of absences of scholarship holders is higher with 2.98 than that of non-scholarship holders, while in case of the program participation the difference is 2.84. The number of unjustified absence among scholarship holders is also higher with 0.21, while among program participants the difference is 0.37. In sum, we can conclude that neither the school results nor the rate of absence of students participating in the program or receiving a scholarship is better than that of students who did not participate in the program or receive any scholarship. In other words, money did not result in better school results or discipline. So, it was the work of mentors that bore huge significance.
10. The research conducted with the help of questionnaires revealed that in the class of non-scholarship holders the proportion of Roma students is 20%, while that of scholarship holders is only 11%. We can assume that those students who are more integrated in the majority nation are more likely to participate in the program than those who are less integrated. In other words, the scholarship program does not reach students who attend a class of high number of Roma students.
11. The number of those students who had an in-school conflict during the last two years and also participated in the program was lower (17.5%) than those who did not participate (26.4%). Conflicts with other Roma and head of teacher are also lower among scholarship holders. This also indicates the high chance of integration of these students.
12. Scholarship participation positively influenced the students' willingness to further educate themselves: the scholarship holders intended to attend a higher educational institution and also aim to postpone their entrance of the labor market.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The relationship with the local municipalities should be institutionalized. School strategies and scholarship arriving from the Provincial Department of Education and Culture should be in accordance with the educational policy of the local municipality.
2. The level of Roma language knowledge is quite weak among Roma living in the region which negatively affects their competences developed in the majority language. The scholarship program and the instruction of mentors should pay more attention on Roma culture.
3. The project bears in itself the possibility to accreditate the qualification of mentors that should highly concentrate on the development of pedagogical culture of mentors besides, of course, the thorough study of Roma culture.
4. The number of psychologists and pedagogues is high among the mentors. It would be useful to engage teachers as well in the program.
5. For the reason that the attrition of Roma pupils is the highest on primary school level, for the maintenance of the project it is absolutely crucial for the educational policy actions to concentrate on primary school level. The majority of Roma children do not receive pre-school education that highly influences their future school results. Roma childrens' participation in pre-school institutions would facilitate the acceptance of the institutionalized form of instruction and the behavior forms of the majority and the language as well.
6. On the basis of our data, segregation within primary and secondary school educational institutions exists in Vojvodina. It would be crucial to map up this phenomenon and also ammend it in the scholarship program. Those schools, for instance, whose students receive scholarship from the municipality could be required to prepare plans that facilitate equal chances within their own institutions and also on vertical school level in order to insure further educational chances.
7. It is also important to receive and continuously gather information about the Roma students after their finishing of various institutions, which is operated through informal ways today, mainly with the help of Roma civil organizations. On certain school and municipality levels it would also be important to follow the emergence and mobility of Roma students.
8. It is also very important to follow the path of students participating in 3- and 4-year long qualificaltional instruction since the main objective of the project was to decrease the number of those students who attend a 3-year vocational school (39%) and to increase the number of those students who attend a 4-year vocational secondary school.
9. The inclusion of parents: the parents/caretakers of Roma students are not integrated enough into school life. It would be essential to organize programs that facilitate active relationship between the Roma parents and the educational institution.

10. It is also important to ensure the continuous flow of scholarship transactions since our research revealed that there are serious interferences in the process of scholarship deliverance. It is important to ensure the predictability of the arrival of scholarship for the students as well.
11. It bears significance that scholarship holders' school absence is higher and school results are weaker than that of non-scholarship holders. This raises the importance of preparing the mentors to deal with such problems and also to consistently comply with the criteria of the scholarship project (the number of unjustified absences cannot be more than 5, according to our data, however, unjustified absences occurred in more than 6 occasions per student).
12. The scholarship project of Roma secondary school program resulted in significant positive effects in relation to the Roma students' willingness to further educate themselves. According to the opinions of the projects key actors (students, mentors, head masters) the interruption of the scholarship program and the mentors' work would have very negative effects on the results and successful achievements of the program and would stop the positive tendency generated by the program.
13. The financial support appears as a motivating factor when considering the issue of leaving or staying at school, therefore, it is crucial to establish a comprehensive policy of scholarship program that enables the system to oversee and follow the support of Roma children from pre-school institutions to university. It is important to form a system of motivations (nutrition, school equipment) on regional and municipality levels that encourage educational enrollment and also further education (scholarships, excursions, cultural meetings).

6. Appedices:

Appendix 1. THE LIST OF PROJECT TASKS AND DOCUMENTS RELEVANT FOR THE ASSESSMENT

1. The analysis of the documents

1.1. Serbian educational policy actions and ideas concerning the insurance of equal chances (official Serbian strategy decisions and statistical data).
See Final Refort for detail (Irén, Gábrity Molnár).

1.2. Data elicitation – In the light of the documentaries of the scholarship project

The analysis of the basic documentaries of the project titled, *THE INCLUSION OF ROMA STUDENTS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AP VOJVODINA – SER 032*:

A.) cumulative documentaries:

The analysis of the documentaries and supplementary documentaries of the project titled, „The inclusion of Roma students in secondary schools in AP Vojvodina”:

1. The competition documentaries of the project titled „The inclusion of Roma students in secondary schools in AP Vojvodina” (September, 2007 – September, 2011), 2007
2. The report list of the supporters (228) of the project titled „The inclusion of Roma students in secondary schools in AP Vojvodina” for the Provincial Department of Education and Culture
3. The database of the scholarship holder Roma secondary schools students (205) according to municipalities, schools and school results (2007-08)
4. The name list and database of the supported Roma secondary school students as well as the data of mentors (84) according to municipalities and schools - 2008.

The above listed database and list of applicant and supporters was done by the Provincial Department of Education and Culture. The cumulative documentaries of the program, the name list of Roma students and their mentors according schools (classes and majors) and also their addresses (municipality and town) were organized in Excel Tables by the staff of the Provincial Department of Education and Culture. The employees of the Provincial Department of Education and Culture were supportive in the presentation of any statistical data.

The mentor reports were handed in; however, in lack of time, thier analysis is not attached to the present final report.

B.) cumulative documentaries:

The Excel tables of the Provincial Department of Education and Culture:

1. The number of primary school classes according to the language of instruction in Vojvodina according to municipalities, 2008-2009
2. The ethnic structure of the primary school pupils in Vojvodina according to municipalities, schools and language of instruction, 2008-2009
3. The ethnic structure of the secondary school students in Vojvodina according to municipalities, schools, 2008-2009
4. The ethnic structure of the University of Novi Sad students (basic studies) according to faculties, 2008-2009

The aim of the analysis of school statistics is to detect a tendency concerning the education of Roma in Vojvodina. In certain occasions, the comparative analysis is also possible.

In the Appendix the following original documentaries and commentaries can be found:

- a.) *School statistics of Vojvodina, 2008-09 (ethnic structure of students of primary and secondary schools, universities)*
- b.) *The database of the project:*
 - *list of scholarship holders according to schools and municipalities, paying out scholarships,*
 - *list of mentors according to schools and students,*
 - *list of mentors according to their average students in school-year of 2008-2009 and their absences*

1.3. Experience concerning the project implementation (Attila, Papp Z.)

Objective: the discussion of the project results, successes and difficulties

Interview with (4)

- *Dr. Jeges Zoltán, Provincial Department of Education,*
- *Jelena Kriš Piger, Adviser of the Provincial Department of Education (besides basic work conditions for Project Coordinator),*
- *Ing. Duško Jovanović, director of the Office of the Inclusion of Roma and representative of the Council for Roma Integration in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina*
- *Dr. Lepes Josip, educational referent of the municipality.*

2. Efficiency analysis on the field

Objective: the analysis of the efficiency of the project and the discussion of the results of the data elicited during fieldwork

2.1. Questionnaires (3)

Objective:

- *the translation the questionnaires (Attila Papp Z., Irén Gábrity Molnár),*
- *administering the questionnaires: 22 April – 8 May (303+190+28 = 521 questionnaires)*
- *computerization of the data (Beáta Kabai)*
- *data analysis with the help of SPSS program (János Márton)*

The plan and realization of questionnaire administration
22 April - 8 May

<i>Name of fieldworker</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Number of questionnaires handed to the fieldworker</i>			<i>Number of filled-in questionnaires</i>		
		<i>Primary schools</i>	<i>Secondary schools</i>	<i>Mentors</i>	<i>Primary schools</i>	<i>Secondary schools</i>	<i>Mentors</i>
Jelica Nikolic	Becej - Óbecse	120	12	5	95	21	3
Aleksandar Balinović	Stara Pazova	60	83	16	60	40	7
Andrea Rosival	Zrenjanin-Nagybecskerek	30	39	9	21	24	0
Nada Petrović	Novi Sad-Újvidék	30	21	4	30	21	4
Branislav Jovanović	Stari Banovci	0	40	6	0	50	3
Molnar Verona	Subotica-Szabadka	50	36	8	40	29	8
Kabai Beáta	Cantavir-Csantavér	30	0	0	25	0	0
Rekecki Dóra	Kanjiza-Magyarkanizsa	50	19	3	25	3	2
Herédi Ildikó	Senta-Zenta	30	0	1	7	2	1
Total		400	250	52	303	190	28

Factors taken into consideration when administering questionnaires:

- regional diversity (Bácska, Bánság and Szerémség)
- municipality type: out of 12 municipalities 5 were big towns, 5 small ones and 2 villages
- the number of Roma students according to municipalities and schools on the basis of school statistics
- according to language of instruction (Serbian, Hungarian)

Realization:

1. Mentors - mentors for Roma students who were enrolled into secondary schools on the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina

- Out of the 84 mentors participating in the program the questionnaire database includes 28 mentor responses who dealt with 110 students in total (none of them were Roma).

2. Secondary school students – out of the planned 250 questionnaires 190 successfully conducted among secondary school students of Vojvodina. 110 students (57.89%) participated in the program „The inclusion of Roma students in secondary schools in AP Vojvodina”.

3. Primary school students - 7th and 8th grade primary school Roma pupils on the territory of AP Vojvodina in school-year of 2007-2008 (303 out of 750).

Out of the planned 400 questionnaires 303 were successfully conducted among 7th and 8th grade primary school pupils. The 21.3% of the pupils considered themselves to be Roma, the majority of them regarded themselves as Serbian (45.3%), 28.4% were Hungarians and 5% belonged to some other nationality.

The analysis of the fieldworkers' reports: Molnár Verona, Kabai Beáta, Herédi Ildikó, Rác Ági, Rekecki Dóra.

2.2. Interviews (9)

See Appendix for the Interviews and their Hungarian translation (Gábrity Molnár Irén and Papp Z. Attila).

1. With the school directory - Headmasters (2)

a.) Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, headmaster

b.) Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, headmaster

4. Mentors (3)

a.) Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, Hungarian mentor

b.) Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, one Serbian and one Hungarian mentors

5. Secondary school students (4)

a.) Magyarkanizsa, Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, Hungarian Roma student

b.) Szabadka, Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, two Serbian and one Hungarian Roma students

2.3. Focus-team discussion with the Roma students - April 22 in Novi Sad

The discussion is analyzed in the final report (Gábrity Molnár Irén).

Participants, the Roma students of the University of Novi Sad:

Jelica Nikolić (Óbecse; student of the Faculty of Arts), Aleksandar Balinović (Stara Pazova, student of Faculty of Law), Andrea Rosival (Žrenjanin, student of Faculty of Law), Nada Petrović (Novi Sad, student), Branislav Jovanović (Stari Banovci, student of Faculty of Polytechnic).

2.4. Two cases studies

The experience of the case studies (2) – (Papp Z. Attila and Gábrity Molnár Irén)

Objective: The analysis of school documents in:

- Beszédes J. Agricultural-Technical School Center, in Kaniza
- Lazar Nešić Chemical-Technological Secondary Vocational School, in Subotica

Subotica, Juny. 20. 2009.

Prof. Dr. Gábrity Molnár Irén

Appendix 1. The list of project tasks and documents relevant for the assessment

Appendix 2. „THE INCLUSION OF ROMA STUDENTS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AP VOJVODINA” - SER 032 (competition and contract, reports of the project)

Appendix 3. The list of Roma secondary school students supported by the project (2008)

Appendix 4. The database of their mentors according to municipalities and schools (2008)

Appendix 5. The database of Roma secondary schools students who receiving a scholarship, according to municipalities and schools, educational results (2007-2008)

Appendix 6. Questionnaires (3)

Appendix 7. The typed and shorted texts of the interviews

Appendix 8. The experience of the secondary school student case studie (2)

Appendix 9. Provincial Department of Education and Culture – document analisys, Mentors meeting (3), 2008-09

Appendix 10. The list of Roma secondary school studnets supported by the project – 2009

Appendix 11. Results Focus-team discussion with the Roma students - April 22 2009, in Novi Sad

Appendix 12. School statistics of Vojvodina (the national structure of secondary school and university students)

Appendix 13. Bay Information - IQ-testing of Roma in Serbia