



*The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe:
Causes, effects, and future engagement strategies
(MigRom)*

REPORT ON THE EXTENDED SURVEY



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1.0 Methodology

Fieldwork for the current report draws on a variety of methodologies including participant observation in the Roma community and among local authority agencies, life history interviews with Roma informants, observations in two schools, archive research on local authority minutes and documents, and quantitative analysis of elicited data on fertility rates, family structure, employment and access to services collected through the project's outreach work. The data collected during recent fieldwork are analysed in light of five years of observation (2009-2014) during which all the team members interacted in different capacities with various local players engaged with the Roma community, including the local authority, other public agencies and NGOs.

1.1 The research team

Yaron Matras and Daniele Viktor Leggio form the core of the research team, and are supported by the project manager Charlotte Jones. They have been working together on various aspects of Romani language and culture as part of the Romani Project at the University of Manchester (<http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk>). Their engagement with the local community of Romanian Roma migrants began in 2008, when the team was invited by primary school P1 to provide background information on Roma to teachers. Ms Jones subsequently took on a teacher training placement at the school, and later became a part-time member of staff and member of the school's senior leadership team. Prof Matras and Dr Leggio carried out research among Romanian Roma migrants in the Gorton South area of Manchester in September-October 2009, commissioned by Manchester City Council (MCC), which resulted in a report and recommendations for an engagement strategy (Matras *et al.* 2009). In the aftermath of the release of that report the team continued to maintain close relations with local agencies engaged with the Roma community. As a result we are able to draw on a five-year period of observation and to some extent participant observations, and on an archive of personal correspondence, reports and minutes of ad hoc meetings, in addition to City Council documents that are in the public domain.

Leo Tanase and Ramona Constantin are both members of the local community of Romanian Roma migrants. In 2010 they participated in a training programme initiated by the Romani Project and run by the Big Life Group, a local voluntary sector organisation, which aimed at building capacity in the local community of Roma migrants. They have since held part-time jobs as classroom support workers, interpreters and mediators working mainly with Roma migrants, with City Council and voluntary sector agencies. They both have full-time positions as outreach workers on the MigRom project and are the very first members of the Roma community in Manchester to have taken on full-time positions in the advice and support sector and to have been awarded work contracts on the basis of an open recruitment process. Their integration into the project team is thus a significant milestone in the historical process of capacity building and inclusion of Roma in the city,

Mirela Sutac (Steel) is a teacher of English as Additional Language (EAL) and has been employed since 2008 by a number of schools to support pupils who were new arrivals, including Roma pupils from Romania. Mr Tanase, Ms Constantin and Ms Sutac are employed on the project as Outreach Workers to provide direct support to the community. The project's outreach component was originally planned to be run

by MigRom Partner 6 (Manchester City Council), but political constraints connected to severe cuts in the budgets of local authorities in England in late 2012 forced the consortium to make alternative arrangements. The outreach workers were consequently employed by Partner 1 (University of Manchester) and their work is guided by a joint Steering Group consisting of the research team and representatives of Manchester City Council's Regeneration Team, with occasional participation first of the City Council's International New Arrivals Team (part of the Children's Services) and later of the Equalities Team. This allowed us to integrate the outreach work directly into the research. The outreach workers doubled as research assistants whose work notes served as a key source of information on the profile and changes in the community, and under the supervision of the academic researchers they carried out most of the life history interviews and contributed to the contextualisation and interpretation of observations, both on the current state of the community and on its recent history.

For the current report the team draws on additional support from a number of student assistants, who helped compile reports based on notes from the project's outreach work, carried out additional interviews with Roma migrants and with teachers who supported them, and supported the compilation of archive materials.

1.2 Fieldwork components

As part of the project's outreach work, Ms Constantin, Mr Tanase and Ms Sutac run weekly drop-in consultation sessions for the Roma community. These have been frequented primarily by Roma migrants from Romania but the service is open in principle also to Roma of other backgrounds. The service was introduced in September 2013 and has since been held on a fixed weekday and at fixed times, at a local advice and childcare centre that is operated by the Big Life Group in cooperation with the City Council and situated in the neighbourhood in which the bulk of the Romanian Roma community that is the focus of our investigation resides (Longsight Sure Start Centre; see Figure 2 and Section 5 for more details). The purpose of the service is to provide targeted advice and referral support to Roma. In contrast to other advice and support services that are offered around the city, including one dedicated service for Roma offered periodically by BHA (Black Health Agency for Equality, a local voluntary sector agency with close links to the City Council; see below), the MigRom project's drop-in consultation session is characterised by several unique and distinct features:

- *Roma-led*: It is the first and the only advice and support service that is led by members of the Roma community and run exclusively in the community's own languages (Romani and Romanian), without the need to rely on interpreters. In this way it also benefits from the outreach workers' introspection and ability to contextualise issues.

- *Responsive*: The service is deliberately non-assertive. It does not involve initiated approaches to clients such as door-to-door visits or phone calls, but relies instead on the provision of a fixed open-door consultation that responds exclusively to the needs raised by the clients, and which provides the clients with a sense of ownership of the agenda.

- *Punctual*: The approach is purposefully non-holistic. It does not seek to elicit information from the client beyond what is required to understand and respond to the specific issue that the client wishes to consult on. It is in this respect non-intrusive, in

that no effort is made to record data on the client's overall circumstances or to arrive at any assessment of the client that would go beyond the client's own expressed subjective interest.

- *Client-centred.* To the extent that it is of obvious benefit to the client, and especially where advice requires specialised expertise that the outreach workers do not possess, clients are made aware of other advice services and encouraged to approach those, often with the active support of the outreach workers, who act as facilitators and interpreters. However, client confidentiality and data protection protocols are maintained very strictly. Information on clients is not passed on to other services except at the explicit request of and initiation through the client. In this respect, the service does not subscribe to a 'multi-agency' approach: it remain client-centred, not agency-centred, and sees its role as flagging options to the client rather than as tracking clients on behalf of and subject to the interests and priorities of any external agencies.

In respect of all of these features, the service offered by the MigRom drop-in consultation session is innovative and offers an alternative to other measures of support that are on offer in Manchester and elsewhere. We regard this as one of the project's most important contributions to setting new standards in targeted engagement toward Roma participation, professional capacity formation, and long-term self-reliance. This approach to the outreach work is guided by principles of research ethics, and it thus allows the team to deliver an advice service that is oriented toward protecting clients' privacy and sense of empowerment and dignity, while at the same time offering the research the benefits of participant observation through introspection. It is a reciprocal process through which we benefit from contextualised insights into the issues that community members flag as being of importance to them in a way that avoids many of the intrusive aspect of ethnographic observation, while using our resources and professional vantage to give something back to the community. The arrangement is advantageous not least in respect of the involvement of community members in the research, who are otherwise, on the one hand, not trained extensively or experienced in research methods, while on the other hand, bound by their loyalty to the community and thus sometimes wary of coming across as inquisitive toward fellow community members. The outreach work setup offers a constant process of negotiation that helps protect the community by ensuring that the evaluation is sensitive to community interests, while at the same time remains subject to academic rigour and not mobilised either in the service of self-representation or in that of the any effort to contain and manage the community that is often typical of external agency intervention. In sum, the combination of research, participant observation and introspection is novel to Romani studies and helps us carry out research that is informed, better contextualised, fair and ethical.

Records of clients' approaches at the drop-in consultation sessions were kept in the form of anonymous notes and evaluated to obtain a profile of changes and community needs (see discussion below). Some quantitative data were obtained in this way, in particular on the needs articulated by clients approaching the drop-in session, and on birth rates. It was difficult, however, to obtain consistent and representative quantitative information on family size or on economic aspects such as rent, incomes, or remittances. As a supplementary sample of qualitative data, we carried out eight life history interviews, with a total of about 24 hours of audio recordings (see Table 1 below). The qualitative survey is small in scope, but the statements represent a social context and collective practices, which can be interpreted

against the background of the day-to-day encounters. The interviews were carried out in Romani and in two cases in Romanian, with detailed notes written up in English.

As part of the Extended Survey, the team compiled and analysed minutes and official documentation from meetings of various MCC committees and from third sector agencies that discussed the Roma community in Manchester. The documentation covers a five-year period (2009-2014). The team also reviewed materials produced by the city council and its partner organisations that were intended to support the integration of Roma children in local schools.

During the report period Dr Leggio has been the main contact point for a group of young Roma that the MigRom project contacted in order to establish a Roma Consultation Forum. The aim of the consultation forum was to identify individuals among the Roma community that could act as contact points for local authority and neighbourhood actors and as a recognised, public voice for the community (see project work package 3, deliverable 3.305, milestone 8 and Section 6.3 for details). Since June 2014 Dr Leggio has supported three of them, as they interacted with local city councillors and council officers and various neighbourhood associations.

Finally, following an invitation from a local school trust, in June and July 2014 Dr Leggio, Ms Constantin, Mr Tanase and Ms Sutac observed pupil-teacher and pupils' interactions in two of the trust schools. The two schools, P1 (primary) and S1 (secondary) are located in Gorton South (see Figure 2) and accommodate a rather large number of Roma pupils (see Section 5 for details).

1.3 Profile of the community

Members of the Roma community surveyed mostly reside in three neighbouring areas of South Manchester: Gorton South, Longsight and Levenshulme (Figure 2), but some have settled in other parts of the city (Moss Side, Moston, Cheetham Hill) and in other districts of Greater Manchester such as Salford and Oldham (Figure 1).

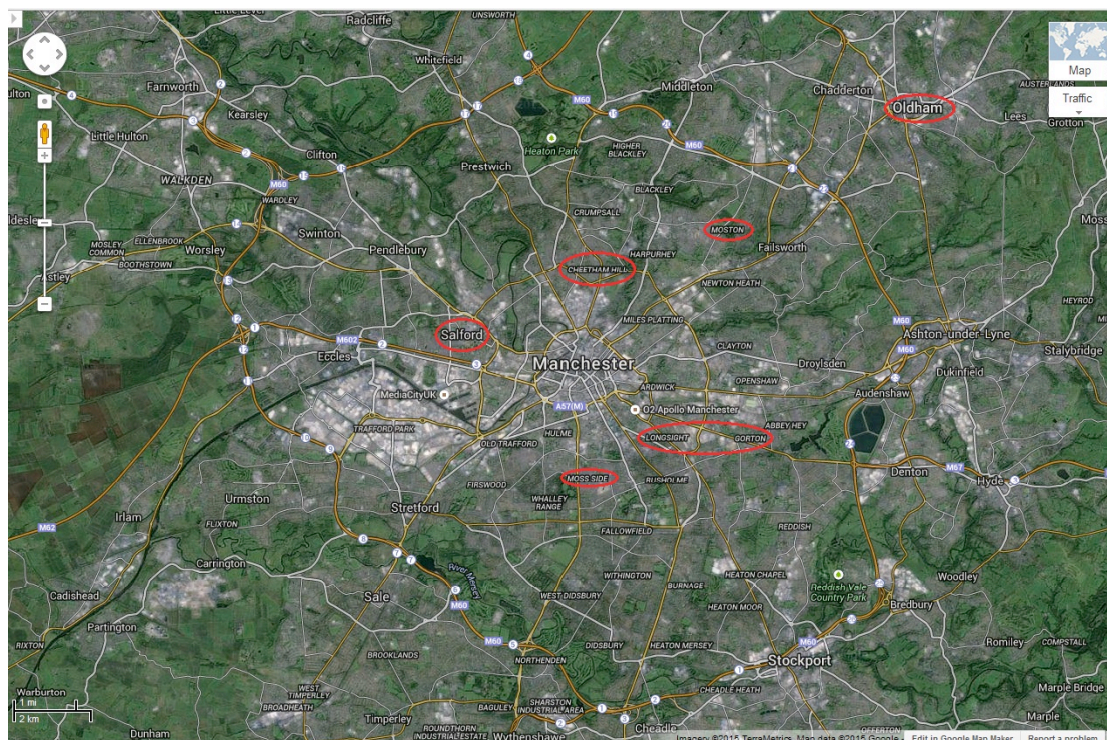


Figure 1: Greater Manchester metropolitan area. Roma settled in circled areas

Although all the Romanian Roma surveyed know each other and have regular contacts, clear distinctions exist based on different origin communities. The Roma themselves distinguish at least four sub-communities:¹

- the *Kangljari/Peptenari* from Țândărei and Fetești in south-east Romania (also referred to as *Țandareni* and occasionally self-defining as *Ursari*);
- the *Lingurari* from Mărășești in north-east Romania (this group is also called *Leași* by all others but refer to themselves as *Rudari*);
- the *Ardžintari* from Bucharest, Slobozia, Tulcea, Urziceni, Ploiești, Brăila, Buzău and other parts of Romania;
- the *Čurari/Kurturari* from north-west Romania, mostly from Cluj and Sălaj but also from other towns in the area (Roma from Cluj are at times referred to as *Pikulești*).



Figure 2: Longsight, Levenshulme, Gorton South. Circled area indicates highest concentration of Roma

The eight life history interviews were collected among members of all four groups and we tried to reflect the different sizes of each group in Manchester in our sample: the *Kangljari* constitute the largest group, while the *Čurari* are the smallest. Table 1 gives an overview of our consultants.

ID	Sex	Year of birth	Group	Town	Arrival in UK	Notes
VT	m	1975	<i>Kangljari</i>	Fetești	1999	First <i>Kangljari</i> in Mcr, brother of IM
IM	m	1982	<i>Kangljari</i>	Fetești	2002	Brother of VT
CG	m	1962	<i>Kangljari</i>	Țândărei	2011	Husband of MG
MG	f	1959	<i>Kangljari</i>	Țândărei	2011	Wife of CG
CI	m	1959	<i>Ardžintari</i>	Giurgiu	2014	

¹ Note: we use the conventions common in Romani linguistics to transcribe Romani words and names, but retain the Romanian spelling of Romanian place names, institutions and administrative terms.

ID	Sex	Year of birth	Group	Town	Arrival in UK	Notes
				(Bucharest)		
DD	f	1969	<i>Ardžintari</i>	Bucharest	2011	
HT	m	1970	<i>Lingurari</i>	Mărășești	2009	Husband of WT
WT	f	1973	<i>Lingurari</i>	Mărășești	2009	Wife of HT
DR	m	1977	<i>Čurari</i>	Arad	2009	

Table 1: Interviewees for the extended survey

Another distinction between the groups is drawn along religious lines: the *Kangljari* and *Lingurari* groups share their belonging to the Pentecostal faith and the *Ardžintari* and *Čurari* are Orthodox Christians. The Pentecostal Roma attend a Roma church established in 2001 by a pastor from the *Kangljari* group that is currently hosted in the premises of a local Baptist church. The two groups of Pentecostal Roma also share a history of mutual support dating back to the 1980s (see section 3).

Furthermore, a linguistic difference exists between the groups. While all Romanian Roma speak Romanian, only the *Kangljari*, *Ardžintari* and *Čurari* speak Romani, with the dialect spoken by the *Kangljari* being easily distinguishable from the closely related dialects of the other two groups. The *Lingurari* do not speak Romani, although some individuals in the group maintain that their grandparents were speakers of Romani.

The time of arrival in the UK differs among the groups. Some families from the *Kangljari* and from the *Čurari* entered the country in the late 1990s and were later joined by other families, mostly during the second half of the 2000s. The *Lingurari* started to arrive in 2009, having heard of the opportunities Manchester was offering from some of the *Kangljari* families and relying on their help and support (see section 3 for further details). The first *Ardžintari* person arrived in Manchester in 2011, migrating on his own to work as a delivery driver, and was later joined by about 15 related families.

2.0 The impact of migration on origin communities

2.2 Transfer of resources: effect on origin communities and patterns among migrants

Although the topic of how the communities of origin are changing as a consequence of migration was only marginally touched upon during the interviews, all team members have had various informal conversations about how Roma invest the money earned in the migration countries in a new house or in improving existing ones and how some are setting up businesses. Since these changes are dependent on the ways in which families transfer resources to other locations, we will discuss the two points together.

Interviews with Roma in Manchester reveal that, across all groups, their aspirations to return to their origin communities are intertwined with and shaped by fears of deportation and expulsion. Although most Roma in Manchester say that they feel at home here and would like to stay for as long as possible, they think that, since they are Romanian citizens, Romania is the only place that can offer them safety in case they are asked to leave the UK. However, some are thinking of applying for UK citizenship and one young *Kangljari* became a UK citizen in 2014. At the same time CG, also a *Kangljari*, explained how the Roma need a ‘home’, ‘a good situation’ in a safe place where they cannot be deported from. Similarly, HT and WT said that they see themselves living in the UK for as long as they are allowed to. In case they have to leave, however, they know that they still have their home, a modest house but their

own, in Mărășești to go back to. According to them, other members of the Mărășești community feel the same way, even those who live in Spain and Portugal.

Because of these ambivalent feelings, all groups transfer part of the resources earned in the UK to Romania and, albeit more rarely, to other locations where relatives have migrated. These transfers of resources between Manchester, other locations across Europe and the origin communities can be broadly categorised as taking place in three different ways: circulation of money, circulation of goods, and circulation of people. The flow of resources is not unidirectional from the migration locations to the origin communities, but multidirectional with resources moving from and to all locations.

Money is the only resource whose flow is most commonly unidirectional to Romania. IM explained that, before the introduction of the Euro, currency earned in various countries was exchanged into Deutsch Marks whereas now families in the UK exchange Pounds Sterling into Euro before sending money to Romania. All families, at all stages of their migration, keep sending money back to support relatives who remained in Romania. These relatives are normally members of the older generations (individuals born before the 1950s), siblings of the oldest generation of migrants (individuals born during the 1950s and 1960s) and young children left in the care of the previous two groups. The practice of leaving children, particularly those between the age of 2 and 5, with their grandparents or uncles in Romania is generally common in the early stages of a family's migration, when they do not know what life in the new setting will be like (see section 3.1).

Another reason to send money back to Romania is to cover the cost of buying land and building new houses or maintaining and improving those already owned by the family.

The practice is common across all groups in Manchester and families save some money each year specifically for this purpose. The building of a new house is a lengthy process, which often starts before reaching the UK and is spread over many years. While the *Kangljari*, *Ardžintari* and *Čurari* mostly started building new houses in the 2000s, many of the *Lingurari*, such as HT and WT, had already built new houses during the 1990s (see 3.2).

The first stage of the process is the acquisition of a plot of land, possibly with some existing structure already on it. Once a plot is secured, a family will start construction or the improvement of existing structures, if any. Works are carried out intermittently, based on available resources. For example a family might build the ground floor during the summer months while they are visiting Romania. During the following year, while abroad, they will send money to relatives that remain in Romania to buy and store building materials. Upon returning for another visit during the next summer they will raise an upper floor or decorate the ground floor, and so on.

Normally, the men of the family, as they generally have the skills, will take charge of the realisation of the work. However, while in the past the Roma would have been unable to hire non-Roma to help them, many families are now in a position to do so.



Figure 3: .Fetești. Red oval marks older area of Roma settlement. Blue circles mark locations of new houses

The availability of money also allows the Roma to buy more expensive plots in the mixed, more central areas and thus to move away from the peripheral, Roma-only areas where they traditionally lived. DR, for example, reported how the houses of his relatives from Derșida, Sălaj were built on very small plots of land and were usually overcrowded, while they now have larger houses in the mixed districts of the town. Similarly HT and WT, although they are currently only keeping the house they already had in case they need to go back, mentioned that other *Lingurari* who had not built houses in the 1990s are now saving in order to do so. Furthermore, they added, these families are moving into mixed areas and are increasing their interaction with non-Roma. The same tendency to move from peripheral, often Roma-dominated areas to more central, mixed areas has also been reported by all *Kangljari* we interviewed both for Țândărei and Fetești (as shown in Figures 3 and 4).

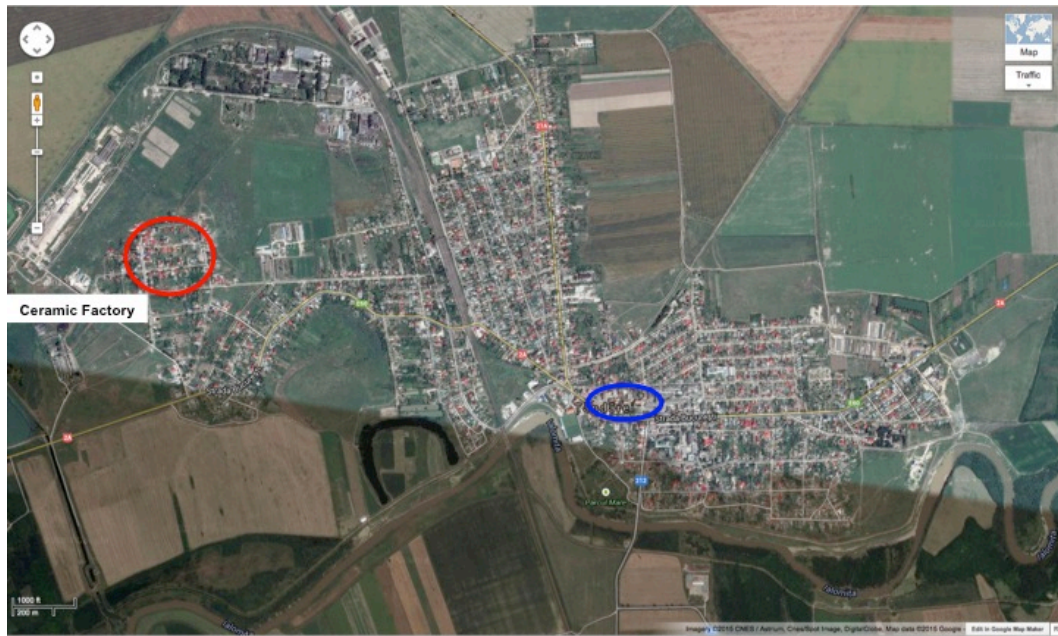


Figure 4: Țândărei. Red oval marks the *jiganie*. Blue oval marks location of new houses

The *Ardžintari* also send money to help older relatives that keep lambs and pigs to be sold before Easter and Christmas. The money received from the UK is used to buy food and medicine and to pay for veterinary bills and other expenses needed to keep the business running.

Finally, the Pentecostal church in Manchester organises collections to support poorer congregation members who remained in the origin communities. This money is sent to twin churches in Romania, whose pastors then pass it to the needy members of the congregation.

Occasionally, money also moves within a single migration location and, even more rarely, between different migration locations. This normally happens when a family is financially struggling. As VT reported, if he found himself in need of money, he would first ask his brothers, who all live in Manchester, to lend him some money, then his cousins in Manchester, and only if none of them was able to help, he would approach cousins or in-laws in other countries.

The circulation of people is connected with the need to assist relatives in cases of serious illness, to participate in life-cycle celebrations such as weddings and funerals and to supervise the development of new houses.

When older relatives who remained in Romania are ill, members of all the groups in Manchester travel back and remain with them for long periods. In the case of illness affecting someone in the UK, if the relatives who are with them cannot provide all the support required, they will move back to Romania where the older relatives will assist them. Considering the fears expressed by many Roma in Manchester about being forced to leave any given country except Romania, the move back to Romania of individuals who are in ill-health allows people from different migration locations to travel back and support the struggling relatives with the knowledge that they won't be required to leave them.

Funerals take place in Romania, even when the person died abroad, as reported by CG, whose daughter died in Spain and is buried in Țândărei. In these cases, relatives from other migration locations will try to join the grieving family and will then travel

with them to Romania. However, this is at times difficult and it is accepted that some relatives will be able to join only at the funeral in Romania. Furthermore, since taking the corpse back to Romania and, for the Orthodox Christians, arranging the funeral vigil, are expensive procedures, relatives are expected to offer financial support. If they are unable to personally join the grieving family they will send money, either by wiring it or by entrusting it to other relatives who are able to travel.

While this pattern of moving to assist relatives who are ill and to support grieving families is common among all groups, patterns differ in regard to travelling for other reasons.

Lingurari families do not visit Romania frequently, generally less than once every two years, especially those with young children, due to the high cost of travel for the whole family. HT and WT, for example, since moving to Manchester in 2009, visited Mărășești only once in 2012. Weddings, however, are celebrated in Romania and these events are occasions for the *Lingurari* to travel back to their hometown.

Kangljari families, on the other hand, tend to go back to Romania almost every year during the school summer holidays. They usually stay for the whole duration of the holidays and in most cases the whole family travels to Romania together. The men who have been able to start building a house use this time to supervise and further advance the lengthy building process (see above). Property development is a further reason for some of the men to travel more often to Romania. When they travel outside the summer holidays they might take their older sons, those not attending school, with them to help. During these trips they also engage in building and decorating for other people.

Weddings in the *Kangljari* community tend to take place in the migration locations and marriage partners may come from any country where there are other *Kangljari*. This leads to, first, contact by phone or social media such as Facebook, and then visits between different migration locations when families are arranging a marriage. On these occasions, only some members of the family will travel. The *Kangljari* no longer celebrate weddings attended by both extended families, as they consider this practice to clash with their Pentecostal faith. Therefore, when a marriage requiring a bride to move to a different country is finally arranged, the groom and his parents will move to where the bride lives to formalise the union and then take the bride to her new home.

In contrast, the Orthodox Christian *Čurari* and *Ardžintari* still celebrate weddings. While the contacts and travels to arrange marriages take place in the same way as among the *Kangljari*, once a marriage is agreed upon the entire extended family of the groom will travel to attend the wedding.

For the Pentecostal Roma (*Kangljari* and *Lingurari*), water baptisms are another occasion for people to travel within one country and from one country to another. Members of the church in Manchester often travel to join other congregations for special functions such as water baptism and night vigils in London, Leeds, Birmingham, Coventry, and Bradford. They also travel to other churches around Europe, such as in Paris and Lyon (France), Dortmund (Germany), Madrid and Barcelona (Spain).

The *Čurari* and *Ardžintari* tend to travel back to Romania more often than those from other communities and when they do they also bring back to Romania money and goods.

Čurari men reinvest what they earned in the UK to set up small businesses in Romania, such as buying fruit and vegetables from local farmers and selling them door to door in towns and villages without a market. Other types of work are trading

cars, building and decorating. What is earned is usually reinvested locally into the same business or in building new houses.

Some *Ardžintari* travel to Romania to sell second hand objects acquired in the UK. Others try to continue their families' trade in flowers, Christmas trees, mistletoe, Christmas decorations and small jewels on particular days of the year. Some families send money to relatives back in Romania to buy such products and to sell them before these special occasions. Others go to Romania to be directly involved in the trading process during February and March (for Valentine's Day and Mother's Day) and in November and December (for St. Nicholas, Christmas and New Year). In both cases, profits are equally shared between people in Romania and those in or returning to the UK.

The flow of goods from Romania to the UK is also common across all groups. As relatives in all communities of origin keep animals, whether to trade or just for self-consumption, they send homemade lamb and pork products such as sausages to their families abroad, all over Europe, especially before Christmas and Easter. Pickles are another popular food product that the older generation prepare back home in Romania and send to their relatives abroad.

3.0 Networks and migration history

3.1 Networks as pull factors

In the following section we will report about the *Kangljari*, *Ardžintari* and *Lingurari* experiences.

The role of networks in shaping the decision to migrate, where to go, and how to get there, and in supporting families in the early stages, are remarkably similar across the Roma groups present in Manchester.

In all cases, migration started with individuals acting as pathfinders for the rest of the community. The pathfinders resolved to migrate after having heard from people outside their extended families of the opportunities available in a different country. VT was the first *Kangljari* to leave Țândărei in 1992, having heard about asylum in Germany from a non-Roma friend who had migrated in 1990. Around the same time as VT, CI (*Ardžintari*) learned about asylum in Germany from non-Roma who had worked with him and who migrated as soon as possible as they saw no other alternatives in post-revolution Romania. The experience of the *Lingurari* is slightly different in that they learned about opportunities abroad not from non-Roma, but from the *Kangljari*. HT, the first of this community to migrate, decided to move to the UK in 2009 when a *Kangljari* man who used to spend the summer at his family house (see 3.2) and had settled in Manchester, offered to help him to get started in Manchester. At this stage, the pathfinders migrated either alone or with part of their nuclear family. In 1992 VT, for example, had recently married, had no children and went to Germany only with his wife. In early 2009 HT left his wife and children in Romania.

When the mobility of Romanian citizens was still restricted, the way pathfinders entered the new country was also influenced by their contacts outside the community. VT's friend instructed him to travel through Hungary, Slovakia and Poland, then to cross the border into Germany at an uncontrolled area of the river Oder somewhere close to Frankfurt an der Oder and from there to travel to Hamburg.

Once the pathfinders were safely established and sure that the opportunities they had been told about were real, they brought the rest of their family over, starting with the nuclear family if they had been left behind, and then the extended family. So for

example, after six months in Hamburg, VT sent money to his parents so that they could travel to join him and a few months later his brothers, an uncle and a cousin also moved to Germany. Similarly, HT brought his wife and children to the UK toward the end of 2009 and later more relatives joined them.

The pathfinders who went to Germany established connections with other Roma of various backgrounds (mostly Romanian and Yugoslav) and it was often through these connections, rather than through the non-Roma ones, that they managed to bring the rest of their families over. So, while VT still had the help of the non-Roma friend to bring his parents over, CG, also *Kangljari* but unrelated to VT, was helped by a Yugoslav Rom who picked him up with his wife and child after crossing the Oder.

As all families who went to Germany returned to Romania in the second half of the 1990s and then moved to Italy, France and Spain (see 3.2), this pattern was repeated as the second migration wave started. The pivotal role of pathfinder individuals and nuclear families is confirmed again by the experience of VT. When he moved to Italy in 1999 he took his wife, their new-born son and their oldest son, at the time 6 years old, with him. After a few months spent between Italy and France, they moved to the UK towards the end of the year. Only in 2007, 8 years later, once they were well established in Manchester, VT brought the other 3 children to the UK. However, it seems that this time the contacts that started the migration were not only with non-Roma but also with those Roma from different groups met in Germany. So for example, IM (*Kangljari*) was helped by a non-Roma Romanian while in Italy, but then asked a Rom for advice about moving to Spain. On the other hand both CG (*Kangljari*) and CI (*Ardžintari*) all mentioned how they moved to camps in Italy and France where they had Roma friends from various locations both in Romania and in former-Yugoslavia.

Mutual support among Roma, from the same origin community but also from different groups, was extremely important during the migration between Italy, France and, to a lesser extent, Spain. In Italy and France families were frequently evicted from one site (*campo* in Italy, *platz* in France) to another and they had no stability in terms of housing, schooling for their children, access to health services and employment. Our *Kangljari* informants CG, VT and IM all recalled the appalling living conditions in these sites, often located in rural land, with no running water and electricity and rare transport connections with the urban areas.

VT and a few other nuclear families immediately looked for other options in order to improve their life. They travelled from Italy and France on freight trains and took great risks to get to the UK. Once they arrived in London, these families went through the standard Home Office procedure for asylum seekers. In some cases, such as VT's family, the first to arrive in Manchester, they were offered support to settle in the UK; in others they were sent back.

IM and CG, instead, were among those families that remained in Italy and France. They recall frequent harassment and in some cases even clashes with police forces. Both also recounted how they would not have been able to get through these experiences if it had not been for the support of other *Kangljari* and how they found a better situation in Spain. IM settled in Madrid, where he also acquired the Spanish citizenship, which later allowed him to travel to the UK in 2002. CG, after a brief period in Madrid, moved to Badalona, a suburb of Barcelona, where he joined a Pentecostal church attended both by Roma and local *Gitanos*. Through the support of the church he was able to settle and even joined a neighbourhood association. However, their employment was unstable as they worked in the construction industry without proper contracts and, therefore, no welfare support.

The establishment of a Pentecostal church in Manchester in 2001 by a *Kangljari* pastor proved to be a crucial pull factor. Initially, services were hosted in the house of one of the families. In 2004/2005 the congregation was able to rent meeting space at a local church. The first services in Manchester attracted families from Leeds, Bradford and Liverpool where no congregation had been set up yet. While supporting families with their spiritual needs, the church also helped new families who were struggling financially. Although the *Kangljari* acknowledge the positive impact of the church in supporting families in need, some members of the community think that the church could make a much greater contribution to the life of the community if the pastors were more willing to engage with other organisations.

The availability of self-employment as street vendors of the Big Issue, a newspaper produced by the Big Life charity to support people in vulnerable housing conditions, or as scrap metal collectors, allowed these families to access welfare support measures such as child and housing benefits and thus counterbalance the limitations on employment imposed on all Romanian citizens until 2014.

All these factors granted the first families that came to the UK a certain measure of stability, which in turn prompted more *Kangljari* families to leave France, Italy, Spain and Romania to move to Manchester in the following years.

The Pentecostal church has also been one of the reasons that allowed the *Lingurari* to maintain their links with the *Kangljari*. As mentioned above when presenting the case of HT, during the 1980s and 1990s the *Kangljari* went to Mărășești for trade purposes and stayed with *Lingurari* families there (see 3.2 for further details). Once established in Manchester and when the *Lingurari* started to experience difficulties in Romania, some of the *Kangljari* families offered to help the *Lingurari* to move to the UK. In exchange for support in finding accommodation, employment, school places for children and registering with the National Health Service, the *Kangljari* asked for help with childcare or, as reported by HT and WT, for a share of the *Lingurari* families' initial earnings after settling in Manchester.

The majority of the *Ardzintari* had similar experiences to the *Kangljari* while they were in Italy and France. However, their arrival in Manchester followed a different path. The cousin of DD was the first to arrive in Manchester in 2011. He planned to set up his own door-to-door selling business and needed a driver to help him. As DD's husband had a driving licence, the cousin offered them to join him. Shortly after arriving, DD and her husband (when he was not working with the cousin) started to sell the Big Issue. After 3-4 months they rented a house in Oldham and then brought over 3 out of 5 of their children and their families. All lived with DD and her husband until they managed to rent a house on their own.

The availability on the private market of cheap rented houses in Greater Manchester is another crucial pull factor. In all the areas where Roma have settled, many houses are owned by second and third generation Asians who do not use the services of estate agents. Roma have established good relationships with these South Asian landowners. Compared with their attempts to rent houses in other countries where they faced discrimination by the landlords, Roma found that South Asians were happy to rent houses to Roma. Furthermore, in order to rent a house in the UK it is sufficient to produce an ID document, proof of income and a reference letter. As the South Asian landlords generally own more than one house for rent, they generally accept references from another Roma family who are their tenants and allow them to vouch for their relatives. Thus, newcomers will stay with relatives until they can secure some income and then, with relatives acting as references, will rent from the same landlord. Finally, South Asian landlords are willing to accept lump payments

rather than monthly instalments, allowing the Roma the flexibility to match their at times fluctuating income (see 6.1).

In a few cases, the relationships with Asians but also with other migrants go beyond these transactions, and friendships and even sentimental relationships are established. DR, for example, is married to a Punjabi woman and the oldest daughter of HT and WT is in relationship with a Kurdish man.

3.2 Migration and community history

Interviews with the *Kangljari* consultants, particularly CG, gave some insight into the elderly generations' experiences during and immediately after the Transnistria deportations of the 1940s. Although not directly relevant to the contemporary migration, we will briefly report about our informants' recollections of these events.

The location to which Roma were deported is referred either as *Transmisia* (in a combination of the region name and *transmisie*, the Romanian word for 'transmission') or *Bugo*, in reference to the Southern Buh (Bug) river in Ukraine along whose shores the camps were located.

CG reported that his father, not originally from Țândărei, was not deported but, as he was serving in the Romanian army, he was assigned to the camps. According to CG, his father was a *Rom parno* 'white Rom', suggesting that the man's complexion was fair and he was thus able to avoid being identified as a Rom. Furthermore, CG's father never admitted he was Rom, although at times he presented himself as Hungarian and consequently managed to receive a good education. CG's father told his son that Roma were identified by churches and various state offices through their registers when they recorded marriages, births and deaths or resolved other administrative matters. During his service, CG's father heard of the plans to execute Roma and tried, unsuccessfully, to warn the prisoners.

He then deserted and returned to his village where his wife (CG's mother) had remained when he had been drafted. He found that both his and his wife's parents had been killed in a roundup of Roma and that the wife managed to survive by hiding, with her baby son, in a pile of corpses. The couple spent the following year and a half moving from place to place and avoiding detection by hiding in the woods or receiving shelter from different Roma groups.

Around the end of the war they arrived in a small village near Țândărei where some Roma were hiding. According to CG, the village was to become the *țiganie* ('Gypsy quarter') of Țândărei. Throughout the war, two *roma parne* had been able to go to the *gadže* part of town and, not being recognised as Roma, secure food and other goods that they then brought back to the others. One of the two *roma parne* was widely known as a *žudikator*, a man of authority that Roma families called upon to solve conflicts. CG's father, as he was a *rom parno* as well, joined the two men in their foraging and together they were able to sustain the *țiganie*. The fame of the *žudikator* and the creation of this safe haven meant that many displaced Roma converged on Țândărei seeking his help and in turn ended up settling there. (This may explain the variation found in the Romani dialect of Țândărei, which, in turn, can serve as corroboration of this account). IM and VT's grandparents were also among them. The grandmother was a non-Roma and the couple had met in Transnistria, although from the interviews it is not clear if the grandfather was originally from Țândărei or not.

IM also confirmed that his grandparents have just started to receive monetary compensation for their imprisonment in Transnistria, citing a total figure of some 10,000-15,000 Euros.

Turning now to migration, all the Roma groups in Manchester share a similar history, in that the majority of them were living in relative economic stability and that various socio-economic changes caused a lowering of their living standards. This lowering of living standards in turn prompted the first families from each group to migrate. The way in which stability had been achieved varies among the groups, although two major turning points for all of them are the 1989 revolution and the beginning of the EU accession process in the late 1990s.

During the communist period, members of the *Kangljari*, *Ardžintari* and *Lingurari* mostly worked on collectivised land. From interviews with CI (*Ardžintari*) and CG (*Kangljari*) it emerged that in the 1960s and 1970s both their fathers were in fact foremen (*vatafi*) responsible for a team of Roma working the land for what they call a *boier*, a nobleman or landowner. It is not clear from the interviews if the two men employed the term in its literal meaning. It seems unlikely that aristocratic ranks or properties were maintained in communist Romania, unless immediately after WWII landowners managed to maintain some of their privileges by becoming party members and in this way continued to manage the lands they previously owned. In that case, it might be possible that they kept employing Roma as they had since the abolition of slavery. Besides receiving a salary for this job, the Roma were also able to keep a share of the produce. According to CI, the Roma had to pay for the produce by doing some extra hours of work. CG however maintains extra produce was given to the Roma as a reward for good performance on the job. Among the *Čurari* work on collectivised land was also common and according to DR, from Arad, some also worked as miners in the region.

During the 1970s industrialisation brought new opportunities. All the *Kangljari* interviewees mentioned that they or some of their relatives got jobs at a ceramic factory and CI reports of a brick production site in Giurgiu that employed his father. In 1974, CI himself, after having attended professional training in mechanics, obtained a job at a textile factory in Giurgiu that also employed 30 Roma women.

Some Roma were also able to get low-level administrative positions. For example around 1978, CI moved to Bucharest and worked for the railways and public transport system as a ticket inspector and as a clerk at the ticket office. In Fetești, the father of VT and IM was working at a warehouse where rationed goods were distributed to the population.

On top of these state-backed jobs, many people also engaged in some form of itinerant trade. In the case of the *Ardžintari*, *Čurari* and *Lingurari* the trade was a continuation of the traditional occupation of the group. For example, CI and DD (a woman in her 40s from Alexandria, a small town near Bucharest) confirmed that the *Ardžintari* produced and then sold metal objects ranging from rings and small jewellery to metal dustpans. Furthermore, some families raised lambs and pigs to be sold before Easter and Christmas. HT and WT (a couple in their 40s from Mărășești) explained that the *Lingurari* produced and traded wooden objects such as spoons. HT is no longer active in carving wood since arriving in the UK, but said he learned the craft from his father. The *Kangljari*, on the other hand, seemed to have lost their trade of comb-making but CG and VT reported that their families travelled to sell some of the products they secured when working for the *boier* or at the warehouse of Fetești. CG was even more specific about this trade and explained that between 1972 and 1977 he followed the family in their rounds in the small towns and villages around

Bucharest. While the mother and other women were selling what they had at the market, he begged for old clothes, shoes, rags and similar objects that were then repaired and sold or kept by the family.

It is not clear if the Roma were trading on the black market or if they had permission to carry out their own business. However, CG reports that at some point in the 1970s, one of his older brothers, while on a trading trip to Timișoara, forgot a bag with the trade licence in it on a train. According to CG, the stress of rushing back to the station and not finding the bag caused his brother to suffer of a fatal stroke.

Following the revolution in 1989, the *Lingurari* from Mărășești experienced an improvement in their situation. As reported by WT, some families received land that had previously been collective (state owned), while others occupied land and built houses on it. At first these houses were not serviced by utilities and roads but eventually the state legalised the occupations and also connected the new properties to the various grids. In order to cover the extra costs of building their new houses, between 1990 and 1992 some of the men from the community travelled to former Yugoslavia for seasonal work in agriculture and constructions. HT was also able to secure full-time employment with the Mărășești local authority as a gardener. Throughout and after this transition, the *Lingurari* therefore continued to engage in agricultural work, but now as owners of their land. This also led to increased immersion with the majority society as many families started mixing more with Romanians and frequented parts of the town where Romanians lived. Some *Lingurari* eventually started to send their children to better schools and some also moved away from the segregated Roma areas.

On the other hand, most of the *Ardžintari*, *Čurari* and *Kangljari* lost their state-backed jobs. Testimonies from CG, his wife MG, VT (*Kangljari*), CI and DD (*Ardžintari*) show that the loss of jobs went hand in hand with an increase in anti-Roma attitudes. CI, for example, recalled how, when working at the textile factory in Giurgiu in the 1970s, the non-Roma workers initially complained about the presence of the Roma, however over time the tension subsided. By contrast, after the revolution he noted how accusations about the Roma being thieves and dishonest persisted and led to Roma being the first to be dismissed or refused jobs. Eventually, as the Roma feared abuse when applying for jobs, CI maintains that they stopped applying.

For a while the *Ardžintari* and *Čurari* were able to earn a living through their traditional trades, but they also started to broaden their trading trips to reach neighbouring countries and, as reported by DR, some families of *Čurari* from Cluj and Sălaj also took up seasonal employment to Turkey and Greece.

On the other hand, the loss of state-backed jobs deeply affected the *Kangljari*. Along with the loss of their jobs in collective farms they also lost the source of goods that they were trading. However, as reported by VT and IM, they continued to frequent markets to sell clothes, combs, knitting needles and similar small objects. Most of these goods were second hand objects and were acquired through an expansion in the practice of begging for rags (see above the testimony by CG). It was during this period that the *Kangljari* established a connection with the *Lingurari* of Mărășești. HT and WT describe the *Kangljari* as extremely poor and they recall how families from Fetești came to stay at their parents' house for a few weeks during the summer. During their stays in Mărășești, the *Kangljari* men went to collect scrap metal and the women went begging, also acquiring some food from the *Lingurari* farmers. Whatever was brought back in one day the women sorted in the evening and sold it the next day at one of the local small markets.

The downturn for these three groups seems to have been particularly harsh, as evidenced by the different perspectives of VT and IM. The younger brother, IM, only seven years old at the time of the revolution, emphasised throughout his interviews how poor his family was. On the other hand VT, 14 years old in 1989, clearly recalled how they lived comfortably albeit in a small house, how worried his parents were at seeing the revolution unravelling, and how their situation progressively worsened in the following years.

It was not until 1992 that families started to emigrate. The first to leave Romania were *Kangljari* and *Ardžintari* families who attempted to move to Germany as asylum seekers. VT, his wife and their son were the first to leave Fetești, having heard from a non-Roma friend about the opportunities Germany was offering. It is interesting to note that VT described this non-Roma friend as coming from a poor family. Before the revolution VT's father was helping them by giving them extra food that he accessed at the rationing warehouse where he was employed. According to VT, this non-Rom emigrated in 1990, immediately after the revolution as he saw an opportunity to improve his situation. The fact that a Roma family was able to support a non-Roma family that they regarded as poorer than them again points to the relative wealth enjoyed by the Roma families. Similarly, CI recalled how he learned about asylum in Germany from non-Roma who had worked with him and who emigrated as soon as possible as they saw no other alternatives in post-revolutionary Romania.

The *Čurari* started to emigrate a few years later, around 1994, and took a different route opened up by the signing of bilateral trade agreements between the Romanian government and a number of other countries. Members of DR's family took up an opportunity offered by the 1993 *Agreement on the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments* with Argentina², which allowed for the free movement of people between the two countries until 2003. Unfortunately, DR was not with his family at the time (see 3.1) and we were not able to interview his relatives to ascertain how they lived in Argentina. However, as his cousin gave birth to a son in Buenos Aires in 2000, it is safe to assume that these *Čurari* remained in Argentina until the financial crisis that hit the country between 1998 and 2002. At this point they returned to Romania.

Similarly, the *Ardžintari* and *Kangljari* managed to remain in Germany for about two years, as the German government had tightened its rules about asylum applications and in 1992-1993 started a campaign of massive deportations as part of a readmission accord signed with Romania in November 1992 (for further details see Matras 2000: 42).

Upon returning to Romania, all these families resumed their engagement in small itinerant trades. Some had already started or were planning to re-invest the money earned abroad in building or buying new houses. VL was one of them and upon returning to Romania he immediately bought a 2-bedroom house. However, the income from small trades was not enough to sustain these efforts. Furthermore, returnees also realised that anti-Roma attitudes had not decreased and that the prospect of better employment was scarce or non-existent. Therefore, taking on the opportunity offered by the signing of the treaties with various EU countries in the build-up to Romania's EU accession, in the late 1990s they began to emigrate again to countries such as Italy, France, Spain and, less frequently, Belgium. VT (*Kangljari*) and members of DR family (*Čurari*) spent very short periods in these countries as they found that they were more often than not forced to settle in camps and repeatedly

² http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/text.jsp?file_id=247320. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

evicted (see 3.1). They therefore moved to the UK, the first families to arrive in Manchester towards the end of 1999.

An exception to this pattern was CG. Upon returning from Germany he managed to find employment at an industrial distillery. He remained in Romania until 2001-2002 when the distillery closed dismissing all the employees. Only at this point he and his family emigrated again, this time to Italy. It is also interesting to note that CG often relied on one of his brothers when returning to Romania or when he decided to leave some of his children behind. He explained that this brother managed to maintain his employment at the ceramic factory in Țândărei and never contemplated emigrating, as he was able to maintain his standard of living.

While many people from these three groups spent the 1990s migrating back and forth from Romania, the *Lingurari* continued to improve their houses and farms. However, the increase in living costs that accompanied accession to the EU and the simultaneous stagnation of salaries meant that they found it increasingly hard to maintain their standard of living. HT, while earning a regular salary through his employment with the Mărășești local authority, also started to trade some of the products of the family farm. Eventually, some *Lingurari* also decided to emigrate and in 2009 HT was the first person to leave Mărășești. He decided to go to the UK since one of the *Kangljari* who used to spend the summer at his family house and had settled in Manchester offered to help him get started in Manchester. He travelled to the UK alone at first, but once he realised there were good opportunities he brought his family over.

It appears that for three out of four groups of Roma present in Manchester (*Kangliari*, *Ardžintari* and *Čurari*) migration was not a choice brought about by extreme levels of poverty. Rather, it seems that Roma chose to emigrate to counteract a cycle of downward social mobility determined by the sudden socio-economic changes experienced by post-revolution Romania. Once migration started in the early 1990s, families were not only recovering the relatively high standard of living enjoyed prior to the revolution, but also started at least to consider re-investing the money earned abroad. Upon returning to Romania in the second half of the 1990s, however, they realised that any attempt at further improving their situation clashed with the persistence of anti-Roma attitudes, the stagnation of salaries and the simultaneous increasing in living costs. Thus in the late 1990s the second migration wave started in order to support the wish for upward social mobility; this is seen in the patterns of re-investment in improved houses and in the continuation and expansion of previously existing trades (see 2.2). The *Lingurari* case is similar in that, as long as after the revolution they were able to improve their situation, they only migrated temporarily for seasonal work. Once maintaining their improved living standard became problematic, they also started to emigrate.

4.0 Changes to family structure

4.1 Generation profile

Among all the Roma groups in Manchester there are not many individuals aged over 60. The elderly tend to live in Romania (see 2.2) but many went to Germany for a few years in the early 1990s. When their children joined into the second migration wave in the late 1990s, the elderly generally decided to stay behind in Romania. VT, for example, was joined in Germany by his father and younger brother, IM. Both VT and IM, who later left Romania for Italy, commented on the refusal of their father to

join them when they moved and how he argued that he had not felt at ease in Germany and wouldn't feel at ease in any other place but Fetești.

As a result of the absence of the elderly in the community, family ties between siblings and in-laws in their 30s to 50s are weakening. Some people admit that they do not visit their brothers and sisters as often as they would if the parents were present. Sometimes, visits between siblings follow phone calls from the elderly in Romania asking why close contacts with the rest of the family are not maintained. The weakening of ties between siblings and in-laws is even more pronounced when they live in different countries. During the interviews with VT and IM, they were both unable to tell us about their sister and how she was doing in Spain and admitted that they did not find this satisfactory.

The decision-making process is also affected by the absence of the elderly who are becoming less and less involved in family decisions. Although the respect due to the elderly is maintained, the geographical distance between the generations means that the younger can now take certain decisions unhindered by the difference in opinions between generations. Since the younger generation have managed on their own abroad, they now feel confident to take major decisions for their family on their own, such as moving to another country, marriage, family planning, job choices and choosing where to build their house. Again VT and IM and their different migration trajectory in the 2000s offer a perfect example. They moved together to Italy in 1999. VT then moved immediately to the UK while IM remained in Italy for one year and then decided to go to Spain. Only in 2002 he re-joined VT in Manchester.

4.2 Reproduction

We observed that families are having fewer children since they think that the requirements and responsibilities for parents in the UK are greater than what they experienced in other countries.

The cost of life in the UK and the frequent lack of adequate family childcare support are also affecting family planning. Families calculate the expenses required for bringing up children and they are taking the decision to have smaller families, according to their income. Families are also taking into consideration the size of houses they can afford to rent, as they are aware of views in the UK about the risks that living in overcrowded houses pose to children.

The absence of the older generation also means that husbands are contributing more to childcare responsibilities, as women go out to work for longer hours than in Romania.

Family planning is also affected by religious belief. Although Pentecostal Roma, or those whose elders are Pentecostals, believe that they should not use contraception, there are cases, even among very religious families, of individuals who use contraceptive methods. The most commonly used methods are implants and injections. Families belonging to less conservative religious groups also use other types of contraception as advised by their doctor and according to the gap they want to have between the births of their children. Sometimes the husband and wife take these decisions together, while in other cases they are solely the wife's decision. Both partners, when needed, seek the advice of family planning professionals both in Manchester and in Romania. At the advice sessions held by the outreach workers, a couple asked for support to make an appointment with a specialist. They were looking for advice regarding a pregnancy they had mixed feelings about. On the one hand,

their economic situation was a concern and on the other the wife was taking medication and was worried about the effect they could have on the child's health.

Data from the interviews also confirmed the trend towards smaller families. For example, CG (*Kangljari*, now 52 years old) was the 8th of 10 children but he and his wife only had 5 children (3 sons, 2 daughters). Except for one daughter who died prematurely, all of CG's children are currently in their 30s and 20s and all are married: the three sons each have 4 children, while the daughter has 3.

The interviews also confirmed the role played by both the pressures of keeping a family in migration and of religious beliefs in respect to the use of contraception. One example was that of IM (*Kangljari*): he married in 1998, immediately before migrating to Italy. For 6 years, while moving between Italy, Spain and the UK, he and his wife had no children. In 2004, once they were settled in Manchester, they converted to Pentecostalism and at around the same time had their first child. Since then they had another 7 children. Similarly HT and WT (*Lingurari*) had two children, in 1994 and 1996 respectively, when they were not Pentecostal. They converted in 2004, in Romania, and immediately had another child, followed by 4 more in subsequent years.

During summer 2014 our team interviewed a sample of 44 Roma women from Romania, between the ages of 17-49 (average age 29) (see Table 2). The women originate from Bucharest, Brăila, Tecuci and Urziceni (*Ardžintari*); from Arad, Bistrița, Cluj, Sălaj and Timișoara (*Čurari*); from Mărășești (*Lingurari*) and from Țândărei (*Kangljari*), with the group originating in Țândărei being the largest (16 or 36%). The sample thus captures all the different groups present in Manchester, arrival times in the UK between 2002 and 2014, and all the religious belongings (Orthodox Christians and Pentecostals) are also represented.

Of the total women surveyed, 84% have had children. The average number of children per woman is 2.7. However, when excluding Pentecostal women from the sample, the average is 2.0 children, and when excluding women from Țândărei (all of whom are also Pentecostal), the average is even lower, at 1.9 children (corresponding to the UK average). The average number of children of Pentecostal Roma women from Țândărei is significantly higher than the average among all Roma women from Romania, at 4.0. It is noteworthy that the average age of women in the sample is consistently 29, both when including and excluding Pentecostal women and women from Țândărei, and so age cannot be considered to be a skewing factor.

Nearly two thirds of the women in the sample (59%) had their first child at the age of 19 or younger (World Bank and WHO indicator of 'adolescent pregnancy/ birth'), with the overall average age at the birth of the first child being 18.5. Among the Țândărei Pentecostals, however, all the women had their first child before the age of 19, the average age at the first birth being 16.7. When excluding the Țândărei Pentecostals, less than half of the women in the sample (47%) had their first child before the age of 19.

There is a slight rise in the average age at first birth among women aged 25 or younger who arrived in the UK after 2008 (average age at first birth being 17.6), compared to those of the same age group who arrived in or before 2008 (average age at first birth being 16.5). The results are partly influenced by the fact that all women from Țândărei considered in the sample arrived in or before 2008, while among the sample excluding those from Țândărei, around half arrived before and the other half after 2008. Disregarding the group from Țândărei, the average age at the time of the first birth among women of all ages who came to the UK in or before 2008 is 18.7, while among women of all ages who arrived after 2008 it is 20.0.

On the whole Romani women from Romania generally tend to have children at a young age. However, the number of children that they have is not particularly high. The pattern of both early and frequent childbearing is distinctive of the specific community of Pentecostal Roma from Țândărei, who make up a significant part (around one third) of the Romanian Roma population in South Manchester. Overall, however, there is evidence that a change in attitudes is underway, with a noticeable tendency to postpone childbearing. The two extreme figures are that for Pentecostal Roma women from Țândărei who arrived before 2008, who on average had their first child at the age of 16.7, and non-Pentecostal Roma women from other parts of Romania who arrived after 2008, who on average had their first child at the age of 20.0.

Despite the rather small size of the sample, the data seem to confirm the gradual shift in attitudes toward early marriage and childbearing observed through interactions with community members. On this basis, we expect that growing diversity within the Roma community itself, growing external influences, and a growing number of job opportunities (following the removal of restrictions on employment for Romanian citizens) will continue to reinforce what already appears to be an internal development within the community toward later and less frequent childbearing.

	Place of Origin	Age	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	In the UK since	Religion
1	Bucharest	30	20	3	2010	Orthodox
2	Bucharest	26	21	2	2010	Orthodox
3	Bucharest	20			2012	Orthodox
4	Tecuci	22			2014	Pentecostal
5	Sălaj	30	14	4	2002	Orthodox
6	Sălaj	26	18	2	2013	Orthodox
7	Țândărei	22	15	3	2002	Pentecostal
8	Urziceni	29	23	1	2009	Orthodox
9	Timișoara	28	21	2	2013	Orthodox
10	Cluj	19	18	1	2013	Orthodox
11	Cluj	21	19	1	2008	Orthodox
12	Cluj	26	18	3	2008	Orthodox
13	Bistrita	43	21	3	2007	Orthodox
14	Arad	40	21	3	2005	Orthodox
15	Bucharest	38	23	4	2011	Pentecostal
16	Țândărei	22	19	1	2003	Pentecostal
17	Țândărei	19	15	3	2007	Pentecostal
18	Țândărei	22	15	4	2007	Pentecostal
19	Țândărei	27	17	8	2002	Pentecostal
20	Țândărei	42	17	4	1999	Pentecostal
21	Țândărei	18	17	1	2008	Pentecostal
22	Țândărei	25	15	3	2002	Pentecostal
23	Țândărei	42	16	8	2000	Pentecostal
24	Mărășești	40	20	3	2013	Jehovah's Witness
25	Țândărei	39	19	5	1999	Pentecostal
26	Țândărei	49	16	7	2002	Pentecostal
27	Țândărei	27	19	1	2005	Pentecostal

	Place of Origin	Age	Age at birth of first child	Number of children	In the UK since	Religion
28	Urziceni	22	18	2	2012	Orthodox
29	Urziceni	26	24	1	2013	Orthodox
30	Țândărei	33	19	1	2007	Pentecostal
31	Brăila	35	18	3	2010	Orthodox
32	Bucharest	49	17	5	2010	Orthodox
33	Bucharest	30	23	2	2010	Orthodox
34	Țândărei	26	16	5	2008	Pentecostal
35	Țândărei	20	16	3	2008	Pentecostal
36	Cluj	43	20	4	2005	Orthodox
37	Sălaj	41	19	3	2007	Orthodox
38	Sălaj	33	18	2	2007	Pentecostal
39	Țândărei	31	17	8	2004	Pentecostal
40	Cluj	21		0	2005	Orthodox
41	Bistrita	22		0	2007	Orthodox
42	Arad	19		0	2005	Orthodox
43	Buzau	22		0	2010	Pentecostal
44	Cluj	17			2008	Orthodox

Table 2: Roma women birth rate - data overview

5.0 Local policy

For this section, the Manchester team draws on casual observations on the situation of Roma migrants in the city since 1996, on frequent contacts with Roma migrants in connection with the Romani project since 2001, on our own observations through interactions with the City Council and related agencies around issues affecting Roma migrants since 2006 and more intensively since 2009, as well as on documentation of City Council reports and committee minutes from the period between 2008-2015.³

5.1 Introduction to Manchester's Roma Strategy: two strands

Manchester's first political declaration in relation to Roma migrants was made by the Lord Mayor Cllr Afzal Khan in January 2006. At the launch event of a new web resource created by the University of Manchester's Romani Project, he said:

“Our city has welcomed more Romani immigrants in the past few years, many of them from the countries that recently joined the European Union. We thus have not just one, but several Romani communities in the Manchester area. Yet few of us know much about them, or about their language and their heritage. The University of Manchester's new Romani website gives us an excellent opportunity to say how proud we are of the presence of a Romani

³ Some of the material was archived in August 2010; subsequent City Council reports and committee minutes were downloaded from the City Council's online archive of minutes in the period between March-September 2014. We are aware that in the meantime, some of this material is no longer accessible through the Manchester City Council website.

community here in Manchester, and how committed we are to help them maintain their culture and their language.”⁴

More recently another public statement followed, from Greater Manchester’s elected Police Commissioner, Tony Lloyd, who marked International Roma Day on 8 April 2014 by saying:

“We have a growing Roma community here in Greater Manchester, which is something to celebrate.”⁵

These statements are isolated occurrences and not part of any continuing public discussion on Roma migrants. Nevertheless, they show acceptance in principle of Roma migrants as an integral part of the population fabric of Manchester. They also reflect the city’s general policy to welcome immigration and to ensure that migrant groups have equal access to public services, and the commitment to extend that same principle to Roma migrants.

Manchester’s policy on Roma migrants is to be understood against this background. Although Roma migrants from eastern Europe began to settle in Manchester already in the mid-1990s, the City Council did not see any reason to coordinate a policy toward Roma until 2009. That policy was launched in order to address allegations that were raised against a particular community of Roma migrants from south-eastern Romania who had settled in and around the Gorton South area of the city. The issues focused mainly on assumptions about the culture and behaviour of the Roma migrants themselves, though as a result the authorities were also concerned about the Roma’s safety and the possibility that they might become the target of racially motivated violence. The city’s ‘Roma Strategy’ was launched in order to gather information on this particular Roma community, to alleviate tensions, and to ensure that Roma were in a position to engage with public services. The approach was flagged in City Council statements and documents as an effort to ensure “community cohesion”.

In effect, then, Manchester’s Roma Strategy was not an overall policy directed at Roma, but a measure in response to pressures put on the City Council at a certain moment, surrounding a specific group of Roma in a particular neighbourhood. This measure was initially coordinated by a dedicated ‘Gorton South Roma Strategy Group’ consisting of City Council officers, who reported to elected members in the usual way through City Council committees. Activities were usually reviewed in a structured fashion, by formulating problems, targets, indicators and desired outcomes and subsequently by embedding engagement with the Roma community into the City Council’s regular monitoring procedures over a period of around four years. The process was led by the City Council’s Regeneration Team, which is responsible for neighbourhood development. Once the officers leading the intervention felt that there were sufficient indications that targets had been met, the Roma Strategy was declared redundant. By implication, Roma were to fall under the same support measures as any other population group -- an approach that was referred to as “mainstreaming”.

As far as we are aware, no dedicated strategy of this kind was ever set up by Manchester City Council to address the integration of any other migrant or ethnic minority group. The Roma Strategy is thus unique. We might regard Manchester’s

⁴ <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/events/launch.shtml>. Last accessed on 10/03/2015.

⁵ <http://www.gmpcc.org.uk/news/region-celebrates-international-roma-day/>. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

Roma Strategy primarily as a way of countering the claim that Roma cannot fall under the city's normal policy of migrant integration. In other words, a dedicated effort to single out Roma was made in order to ensure that Roma could, in fact, be regarded and treated just like any other group. Arguably, the intended beneficiaries of the Roma Strategy were therefore not the Roma, but those who expressed scepticism about the Roma's willingness and ability to integrate. In retrospect, Manchester's Roma Strategy can be regarded as an effort undertaken by the City Council to gather information about the Roma in order to be in a position to tackle negative perceptions about them and to withstand the pressure to exempt them from the city's equality and inclusion routine. The policy's successful conclusion was the realisation and admission that this routine can indeed be applied to Roma.

However, the process created a secondary legacy in the form of a dedicated effort within the City Council's Children's Services to continue to focus on Roma as a group with particular needs. We interpret this development as a product of circumstances, opportunities, and certain ideological dispositions. The relevant departments within Manchester's Children's Services -- those entrusted with supporting migrants and ethnic minorities (International New Arrivals, Travellers, and Supplementary Schools, or INA/T/SS) -- suffered continuous cutbacks and downsizing of staff resources during a period that overlapped with the City Council's Roma Strategy. The Roma Strategy gave special priority to the integration of young people into the school system. It also relied on schools and Children's Services in order to get day-to-day access to the Roma community. This put INA/T/SS staff in a key strategic position and offered them an opportunity to develop what came to be regarded by other City Council departments as unique expertise. During the same period, a surge in European funding for dedicated integration projects for Roma, as part of the launch of an EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies at the end of 2011, offered opportunities to continue to engage with Roma in Manchester. The City Council's narrative on Roma, as documented in minutes and reports since 2012, shifted from an overall focus on community cohesion and monitoring of targets, accomplishment indicators, and outcomes, to an open-ended pre-occupation with issues of safeguarding and child protection that were presented as arising specifically in relation to Roma culture.

On this basis we identify two distinct strands in Manchester's policy on Roma migrants -- bearing in mind that the policy never targeted the entire population of Roma migrants but only a particular community. The first strand, we propose, is motivated by 'necessity'; it reacts to circumstances that are dictated by the political reality, and it seeks to de-escalate tensions by gradually deferring interventions to the familiar, routine framework of equal access and protection of basic rights irrespective of residents' ethnic background. The second strand, we suggest, is motivated by 'opportunity'; it begins as part of the first strand, but it then takes on a course of its own, seeking to exploit an expertise niche by specialising in a dedicated service that is pitched around the view that Roma perpetually require dedicated and targeted support. While the first strand sees its activities as limited in time and as measurable through clearly formulated inclusion indicators, the second regards its interventions as open-ended.

5.2 Emergence of the Roma Strategy

When the Roma Strategy was launched, in 2009, the total number of Romanian Roma in Gorton South was around 300-400, some two thirds of them children.

Around half the families had been in Manchester since 2001-2002, while the other half arrived in the period after 2007. There was thus an increase of only around 150-200 Roma, including children, in the neighbourhood in the period immediately before 2009. This was the group that was the subject of the Roma Strategy -- a concentrated intervention effort coordinated by an ad hoc working group of senior City Council officers for a period of almost one year, and subsequently through occasional coordination of different agencies.

The City Council's interest in this community was triggered by a number of factors. The growth in the number of Roma in the ward was politicised in a petition, signed by residents, which made wholesale allegations of crime, truancy, overcrowding, and anti-social behaviour against the Roma. Councillor Simon Ashley, a member of the opposition Liberal Democrat party representing Gorton South, took on the role of a spokesman on behalf of the petitioners. This gave rise to a discussion among public services about possible implications for the profile of the area and the City Council's ability to deal with rapid population change.

The police, in turn, had a separate set of concerns. Isolated acts of violence against the homes of Roma migrants were recorded in Gorton South, which was known to have a base that supported the right-extremist English Defence League, and so there were concerns for the safety of the Roma migrants. These concerns grew following a firebomb attack against a residence of Romanian Roma in Belfast in early July 2009. A further factor that triggered interest in the community of Romanian Roma migrants was the London Metropolitan Police 'Operation Golf' which was underway at the time and which investigated allegations of trafficking by Roma from Țândărei. The Operation led to very few convictions (according to a FOI response from the Metropolitan Police only 8 people were convicted, out of 130 arrests).⁶ However, the investigation was given wide publicity and was backed openly by a number of politicians. The press coverage made wholesale accusations against Roma from Țândărei, who made up the community of Romanian Roma in Gorton South.

The City Council thus found itself under political pressure to respond to the arrival of a small population of Romanian Roma, as well as to protect the community from a possible escalation of ethnic violence. To this end it required more detailed information on the profile of the community. In particular, it wanted to assess the conflict potential that the arrival of Roma may have triggered or may trigger in the near future. To coordinate the process, it launched a regular exchange among municipal agencies in the form of a 'Gorton South Roma Strategy Group'. It also held regular neighbourhood meetings, which provided an outlet for complaints against Roma and in effect encouraged residents to articulate complaints in public in order to obtain an overview of the extent and nature of tensions and to be able to contain them.

As part of the process, the City Council commissioned the Romani Project at the University of Manchester to collect information on the community and to propose an engagement strategy. The Council was interested primarily in learning whether the number of Roma in the neighbourhood was likely to rise further, whether the Roma intended to stay in Manchester or "move on", and if they intended to stay, whether they would be willing to actively engage with public services and what would be the best way to support them in doing so. The City Council also expressed a direct interest in possible links with community leaders.

⁶ http://www.met.police.uk/foi/pdfs/disclosure_2012/may_2012/2012040001768.pdf Last accessed 25.06.2015

Our assessment (Matras et al. 2009) was that there was unlikely to be a significant increase in numbers, since the community consisted of a fixed cluster of extended families. The Roma we interviewed said that they intended to stay in Manchester and were keen to engage with services, in particular schools. As expected, we were unable to identify any organised form of community leadership, but we did identify a group of young people who were motivated to develop skills and who could possibly play a mediating role. In order to facilitate engagement with public services, we proposed a three-tier strategy consisting of a) support for school places and school integration, b) capacity building in the form of training of ‘role models’, and c) dedicated outreach support for a limited period of time.

This strategy was by and large adopted and implemented. The City Council gave priority to school inclusion, delegating the implementation to its International New Arrivals, Travellers, and Supplementary Schools team (INA/T/SS) within the city’s Children’s Services. The team made contact with young members of the Roma community in Gorton South and compiled a documentation of their statements about their background and culture, which in a way tried to replicate the Romani Project’s report from October 2009. It produced a brochure, which was showcased at a public event at a local secondary school in June 2010 (Davies & Murphy 2010), the first of a series of such publication projects and engagement activities with schools to support Roma inclusion (see below).

The City Council also agreed to provide dedicated outreach support in the form of two temporary positions for outreach workers of Roma background, paid for by the Migrant Impact Fund that had been set up by the government to support the integration of Eastern European migrants to the UK. This work was outsourced to a voluntary sector organisation, the Black Health Agency (BHA). This organisation had some personnel overlap and close links with INA/T/SS and soon found itself involved in and later leading interventions to support Roma in schools. Other initiatives to engage with Roma residents were taken by the Police and the Fire and Rescue Services as well as by City Council Ward Coordinators, while the Regeneration Team and Police continued to meet with non-Roma residents and provide a public outlet for complaints.

It is noteworthy that the Romani Project’s recommendation to support capacity building in the Roma community was not taken up directly by the City Council. It was instead the Big Life Group, a large voluntary sector organisation that published the Big Issue in the North (a charity magazine that employed many Romanian Roma as vendors), which set up a training programme drawing on its own funding and staff resources. The programme was designed in partnership with the Romani Project, which proposed the concept and made some contributions to the content. The Big Life Group’s decision to become actively involved in the process came in the aftermath of an almost head-to-head confrontation with City Council over the Group’s engagement with Roma as vendors of its magazine, The Big Issue in the North. Apparently under pressure from Councillor Simon Ashley, who made repeated public statements about Roma living from state benefits,⁷ the City Council approached the Big Life Group and

⁷ See www.theguardian.com/society/2011/apr/27/roma-manchester-tensions-big-issue;
<http://www.bigissueinthenorth.com/2010/10/minority-report/545>;
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/romania/8306850/Romanian-immigrants-sell-Big-Issue-to-gain-benefits.html>;
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/8527950/Romanian-families-use-Big-Issue-loop-hole.html>; <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1389282/Benefits-boulevard-Built-Romania-->

asked in effect that Roma be excluded as vendors of the Big Issue magazine. The letter, sent by the Regeneration Manager in February 2010, mentioned that the City Council had commissioned research, which had shown that Roma used the Big Issue as a way of establishing themselves as self-employed in order to claim state benefits, and that they were not intending to seek alternative employment. This was a reference to our report, which in fact emphasised several times that the Roma respondents whom we interviewed all expressed their ambition to find employment and not to have to rely on selling the Big Issue.

The Big Life Group learned (from University of Manchester students who were carrying out research work on Roma vendors) that the Council's letter had misrepresented our report. The organisation then took legal advice from Cherie Blair QC, who in a statement from March 2010 wrote: "In my opinion, this attempt to use the public order powers of the Council to achieve a reduction in the benefits given to Roma only vendors [=only to Roma vendors] is both for an improper purpose and discriminatory and therefore void and the Big Issue is entitled to refuse to comply". It was then, in May 2010, that the Big Life Group decided to sponsor a training programme for Roma. The Council's INA/T/SS team, which by then had established contacts with young Roma, supported the recruitment of candidates for the programme, which was launched in October 2010 with around eight participants. Following the model proposed by the Romani Project, the trainee participants were then employed on a part-time basis as interpreters and classroom support workers by the INA/T/SS, which sub-contracted the work via BHA.

Thus, within a year of setting up the Roma Strategy Group, a step by step policy was implemented: First, the Romani Project at the University of Manchester provided information and the blueprint for an engagement strategy. Next, a specialised City Council department (INA/T/SS) took on the lead role on one element of the strategy -- ensuring provision of school places and school inclusion (by attempting to raise awareness of Roma culture through school activities and among school staff). At the same time, a voluntary sector organisation (Big Life Group) took on a lead role in implementing another key element of the proposed engagement strategy, pertaining to capacity building. A third element, the outreach work, was outsourced to another independent organisation with close ties to the Council (BHA). In time, INA/T/SS and BHA would draw on the capacity-building contribution of the Big Life Group and on the overall concept provided by the Romani Project to amalgamate their engagement efforts into a continuous intervention strategy.

Alongside the City Council's Regeneration team, a number of departments reported regularly and at managerial level to the Gorton South Roma Strategy Group, including the Licensing Unit, Street Management, Revenue and Benefits, Children's Services, Health and Advice services, and the Police. The Roma Strategy Group was chaired by the City Council's Deputy Chief Executive for Performance and seems to have met approximately every six weeks in the period between the summer of 2009 and spring 2010. Minutes of five of its meetings have been accessible to the project team, covering the period between September 2009 and March 2010. It appears that the Group began to work on an exit strategy quite early in the process. For example, its minutes from 22.01.10 say that activities around street management (i.e. waste disposal) were being scaled down and that "The exit strategy is to get the Street representatives to continue reporting things quickly".

The Strategy Group was discontinued around May 2010, and at that point the frequency of reporting to regular City Council committee meetings on issues concerning the Roma community of Gorton South increases. A more informal ‘Roma Operational Group’ consisting primarily of representatives of voluntary sector agencies, local schools, and local police officers was set up in May 2010, succeeding the Roma Strategy Group. The Terms of Reference that this group set for itself included “coordinating projects”, “sharing good practice”, and “information sharing”, as well as, notably, “safeguarding” and “children missing education”. It also set up a number of sub-groups (‘Working Groups’) with a focus on Health, Translation (training interpreters, which was intended to support the joint Romani Project and Big Life Group capacity building initiative), Education, and Safeguarding. From the City Council’s perspective, it seems that this represented the desired outcome, namely a transfer of the primary responsibility from an ad hoc ‘crisis management’ team at the level of senior officers, to a broad coalition of voluntary sector initiatives and local stakeholders. This transition represents the relations between various actors involved in the process, but also the dichotomy between the ‘necessity’ strand, which saw its intervention as temporary, and the ‘opportunity’ strand, which emerged in its place.

5.3 Perceptions and the emergence of a City Council narrative on Roma

The City Council’s effort to actively engage with members of the Roma community is clearly reflected both in the records of the Roma Strategy Group and in the minutes of City Council scrutiny committee meetings. Already at the beginning of the process, in September 2009, the Roma Strategy Group noted that “local schools may be a way of disseminating information to Roma families as might be Roma residents if they can be employed through M4 [=Manchester City Council’s in-house translation and interpreter service]”. The City Council’s Crime and Disorder Business plan- Neighbourhood Funding Strategy Proposals from January 2010 names as one of its strategic objectives to “develop knowledge of approach to engagement with the Roma Community”. A paper presented to the City Council’s Communities and Neighbourhoods Overview and Scrutiny Committee by Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Service on “Partnership and Community Initiatives” from 10 January 2010 reports on Operation Agate, which took “measures to assist with the integration of the Roma community in the Northmoor area of Longsight”. It is reported that the measures included “attending numerous festivals in Crowcroft Park, regular community walks and supporting partners in all aspects of business with the community”. A report on the outcomes of the Youth Consultation and Information Gathering Strategy from June 2011 contains information from 6 Romanian Roma out of a total of over 900 respondents, showing an effort to include the views of young Roma. The periodical Equality Impact Assessment presented to the City Council’s Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee in July 2011 reports positively that Roma youth are making use of boxing training facilities in their neighbourhood and mentions that “discussions are taking place with the Neighbourhood Wardens to support Roma access to the Northmoor Youth Project (Club) and football sessions, ... alongside accessing other sporting facilities in the area”. The report continues to explain that one of the aims of the City’s advice services is to “ensure that Roma young people, particularly in the Gorton area are supported to access the range of services available to them”, and that “the Equality Delivery Plan includes a focus on the Roma community”. It is clear from these

excerpts that the City Council viewed Roma participation as a priority and took measures to enable it.

There are also indications that the City Council was sensitive to the potential exclusion of Roma by schools and residents. The Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee recorded in February 2012 that the City Council's school admissions team was "challenging schools where there is discrimination over the admission of Roma" in order to "enforce legislation on fair access". The informal Roma Operations Group noted in July 2010 that "there are discriminatory/racism issues as the non-Roma are not making the Roma community feel welcome", and the City Council's Community Scrutiny Report from October 2012 cites a police report on an upward trend in reported hate crime incidents from the Roma community.

At the same time some activities carried out by the local authority appeared to aim at appeasing residents who entertained hostile sentiments toward the Roma, while at the same time affirming that such sentiments were unjustified. In November 2009, Greater Manchester Police carried out 'Operation Epee' as part of which members of two families were detained under suspicion of child trafficking but released without charge. The Roma Strategy Group heard a report on the operation in January 2010 and noted that "No evidence of crime or child trafficking [was] found", but also that "there was a positive response to Epee from the host community, however, some anxiety was expressed by the Roma community". Roma Strategy Group minutes from 22.03.10 report on a door-to-door campaign to collect council tax specifically from Roma. It is noted that "the operation collected about £3.5K as part of this exercise" and that "Non-Roma families were happy to see the operation taking place". In July 2010, the informal Roma Operations Group was advised that a dedicated email address had been set up by Greater Manchester Police -- roma@gmp.police.uk -- which served to record "any issues around the Roma community".

It seems that such 'appeasement' tactics were part of the City Council's effort to maintain what it referred to as "community cohesion", which implied not only new arrivals' right to participate but also a determination that established residents should accept the new arrivals rather than resent them and that they should trust the City Council to be strict on enforcing local community norms and regulations. The perception of Roma by other residents remained high on the City Council's agenda. The Longsight Ward plan included in its list of Priorities for Engagement 2009-2012 a statement that "the large influx of Roma residents into Longsight and the surrounding areas has raised concerns about community cohesion." The City Council's Population Change and Cohesion Report from January 2012 says: "local people feel there are still problems in the neighbourhood, particularly around the behaviours of the Roma community. ... Environmental issues and anti social behaviour still remain as key concerns for residents." The Roma Operations Group recorded in July 2010 that "There is tension and hostility from non Roma community due to a number of issues e.g. children out late at night, overcrowding in homes, litter and Roma community taking over the park". Minutes of the Communities Scrutiny Committee from November 2013 record that "Some Members expressed concerns that sections of the Roma community were not law abiding", indicating that negative perceptions continued at a late stage in the process even among elected Councillors.

Already early on in the process, in September 2009, the Roma Strategy Group noted that "53 Roma households have been identified in the Hemmons Road area. These will be prioritised for licensing. If overcrowding is not an issue within the Roma community, this needs to be appropriately communicated back to the wider public", revealing the pressure to convince established residents that their concerns

are being taken seriously, but also the wish to confront unjustified feelings of hostility and suspicion. In November 2009, the Roma Strategy Group reports that “Surveillance work is being commissioned to look at who is doing the littering”, and in March 2010 it establishes that “Flytipping seems to have plateaued ... evidence suggests that it is not all Roma related”. Yet it adds: “We need to move the Roma community toward normalisation of neighbourhood expectations and rules”.

The City Council’s approach was to set an agenda to inform Roma of the expectations that the city had of all residents. These are reported on in retrospect in the Population Change and Cohesion Report of January 2012, and include, among other items: “All children under 16 must attend school; All rents and taxes must be paid; Don’t drop litter; Put all your household waste in bins; Don’t park on the pavements; Don’t disturb your neighbours.” No comprehensive report is available that describes the measures that were taken to actually deliver this message to Roma residents. We are aware that this was done in a variety of ways and by various agencies, coordinated by the Roma Strategy Group: School attendance issues were delegated to the specialised team within Children’s Services, who carried out home visits; litter disposal issues were handled by the Street Management team with the help of leaflets; issues related to public order were flagged by community police officers on street patrols; and so on. The overall strategy was thus to maintain a local presence of the relevant agencies and to seek opportunities to communicate face to face with Roma residents and to be seen to be doing so by non-Roma residents.

Much attention was given to the issue of employment, in light of continuing political pressures. In January 2010 the Roma Strategy Group noted that “the issue of benefits policy remains a major concern both in terms of continuing inward migration and risks to community cohesion”, and expressed concerns of “a potential impact on community relations if stories get out about benefit claims”. Since migrants’ right to claim benefits derived from their registration as self-employed persons on low income, the group resolved that there was a “need to consider whether the self employment being declared can be considered genuine work”. The group confirmed that “what is happening is entirely within the law” yet it resolved to ask the Regeneration Manager to write to the Big Issue magazine and request a change to the status of Roma vendors. That letter, dated 4 February 2010, asked the Big Issue in effect to tighten its rules on vendors in order to exclude Roma (see above), adding that this would help “support the City’s work to maintain community cohesion in Gorton.” In January 2012, the image of Roma as a burden on the state is replicated yet again in a report on Community cohesion in East Manchester, which states: “many Roma residents are not engaged in any form of meaningful economic activity.”

Most negative images of Roma that are mentioned in City Council records reflect not the view of City Council officers themselves, but rather the reported perception of non-Roma residents, the media, external agencies (such as the Metropolitan Police) and opposition politicians. There are, however, some expressions of suspicion against Roma that are attributed directly to City Council officers, and which reflect a wish to be able to control and contain the Roma community. Roma Strategy Group minutes from January 2010 refer to “the transient nature of the Roma community” which “makes it difficult to collect council tax from them”. They add: “Because the community moves around a lot, we need to develop an information system that covers the city and maps the movement of Roma residents, particularly in terms of safeguarding and children going to school”. In March 2010, the group adds: “There is a safeguarding issue around teenage girls not attending school”. The report on

Population Change and Cohesion discussed in January 2012 claims that “many Roma residents traditionally do not engage in the formal education system”.

Overall, then, the records reveal that while the City Council was committed to the inclusion of Roma and the removal of tensions, it repeatedly recorded and reacted to familiar stereotypical prejudices against Roma, which as a result became embedded into the narrative that surrounded the Roma Strategy: the perception that Roma are workshy and keen to escape the reach of authorities, that they engage in crime, truancy, and anti-social behaviour, and that they are negligent in respect of their own well-being and that of their children and in particular girls.

The report submitted by the Council’s Regeneration Team South, which led the Roma Strategy, as part of the Population Change and Cohesion Report for consideration by the Council’s Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee in January 2012, lists three principal objectives of the Roma Strategy: “To monitor tensions and respond immediately and effectively should tensions escalate towards intimidation and violence” (that is, to protect the Roma from racially motivated violence), “To address neighbourhood problems such as anti-social behaviour, crime and environmental problems to support the local community and to reduce tensions” (that is, to confront issues of perception by gathering evidence and making this evidence known), and “To support the integration of the Roma community through education and legitimate economic activity.” It then lists a number of indicators for each of the categories. It seems that at this stage, only some agencies remained actively involved. The threat of violence seemed to have diminished, while on the other hand no discernible effort was made by the City Council to support access to employment other than to continue to try to limit access to benefits. Once the Roma Strategy Group was discontinued, tensions around day-to-day neighbourhood life were managed largely by casual monitoring and attempts to demonstrate to residents that their articulated concerns were not being overlooked, but apparently it was deemed unnecessary to continue any concentrated effort. This indicates the downscaling of the Roma Strategy by early 2012. The ‘Roma Strategy Document 2011-2014’ compiled by the Regeneration Team on behalf of the City Council’s Chief Executive Department in March 2013 as part of the MigRom project (Mills & Wilson 2013) reiterates the objectives of the strategy and presents in an appendix a detailed monitoring template that outlines targets, indicators, responsibilities and time scales for completion, with all objectives listed as complete or to be completed within a month of the report’s release date (April 2013). It is noteworthy that the Roma Strategy itself is outlined for a three-year period following the dismantling of the Roma Strategy Group and its informal successor, the Roma Operational Group. Although the document relates to the period of activities since 2009, its title reflects the discontinuation in 2011 of the Migrant Impact Fund used by the City Council to support outreach for Roma, on the one hand, and the lifting of restrictions on the employment rights of Romanian nationals, which came into effect in January 2014, on the other.

Where the document goes beyond earlier reports to Council committees is in its overall retrospective assessment of the concerns raised around the settlement of Romanian Roma in Gorton South and neighbouring areas (note that this document too, despite its general title, makes no reference to Roma of other origins, nor to Roma communities that have settled in other areas of Manchester, either during the same or other time periods). In relation to most issues, the document explains tensions as deriving from an inherent negative perception of the Roma. It reports that the City Council has had to “deal with the perception that the Roma community was supported

by organised crime networks” (p. 2), confirming the impact that Operation Golf had in triggering suspicions (most likely among local opposition councillors and media rather than residents), and it emphasises that “following a police investigation (Operation Epee), it was established that there was no child trafficking or sexual exploitation taking place within this community” (p. 3). It even goes on to state that “The need to investigate this trafficking allegation ... delayed some of the other work on integration” (p. 3), thus indirectly making opposition politicians responsible for trying to hinder the integration process. With reference to ‘street management’ issues (littering, noise, etc.) the document clearly states that “these have not been exclusively Roma issues” (p. 4). The problems of school attendance at the initial stage of the process are explained as being “Due to pressures on primary school places” (p. 3), which might be interpreted as a reference to local schools’ reluctance to admit Roma children until forced to do so through City Council interventions.

Only one single issue is flagged by the Roma Strategy Document of March 2013 as unresolved, and is attributed directly to Roma cultural traditions: The document asserts that Roma girls “traditionally leave school in their young teens to ‘marry’” (p. 3) and says that the City Council needs to continue to address “any safeguarding in the Roma community particularly in relation to girls getting ‘married’ and moving in with their in-laws” (p. 6). This reference acknowledges the emergence of a second strand in the local authority’s policy on Roma, one that would later create a concentrated narrative around the issue of ‘safeguarding’.

5.4 A second strategy: school attendance and safeguarding

Considerable attention is given in all City Council records surrounding the Roma policy to issues of education. This will have followed not least from the Romani Project’s report from October 2009, which observed that parents were enthusiastic about their children’s school attendance but complained about difficulties accessing school places. The report also identified immersion of Roma children with children of other backgrounds as the key to long-term inclusion and participation and recommended that it be given top priority. The Roma Strategy Group reported in November 2009: “Roma families are now accessing 5 primary schools in the area”. In January 2010 it noted that a Roma Education Group was set up to meet on a monthly basis to discuss school places, and that “once Roma children are in school, their attendance and outcomes are improving”. The report on Population Change and Cohesion discussed by the City Council’s Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee in January 2012 acknowledges success in the field of education. It reports that “Gorton Mount primary school were the first local school to break down these barriers, and now many more of the local primary schools take Roma children”, and adds that “Where children are in education, the attendance rates of Roma children are out-stripping those of non-Roma Children.” Reports to City Council committees for the period 2008-2013 regularly note the low attendance rates of the population group of Gypsy/Roma/Travellers, which is captured by school statistics as a single category. Some minutes indicate, however, that the discussion on this particular issue was not undifferentiated. Thus, the Young People and Children Scrutiny Committee record from December 2013 notes that “a member who was a governor at Cedar Mount High School commented ... that members of the Roma community did have the potential for high levels of achievement.” A later record of the same committee, from June 2014, notes that “a member commented that, based on

his experience, many Roma children had good attendance and attainment at primary school.”

Support for Roma pupils in primary schools was provided from early 2009 by the City Council’s International New Arrivals team as part of the routine bilingual classroom support for immigrant children. However, it appears that initially, the team was not aware of Roma ethnicity or of the Romani language. A Romanian-speaking bilingual support worker who was hired by the team and deployed in several primary schools reported back to the team that many of the children, who had not grown up in Romania, could not speak Romanian, and that Romanian was only useful for communication with parents. We understand that the INA/T/SS team did not understand that there was a difference between ‘Romani’ and ‘Romanian’ until after the circulation of the Romani Project report, at the end of 2009.

It was only then that Council’s INA/T/SS team began its targeted involvement with Roma. Its first activity was centred around S1 secondary school, where the team offered to support school staff, engaged in a consultation round with Roma pupils and produced the publication ‘What’s working: conversations with Manchester’s Romanian Roma community living in Longsight and Levenshulme’ (Davies & Murphy 2010), which was showcased at a public event at the school in June 2010. By 2011, the team was able to draw on a group of ‘Roma mentors’ who had taken part in the training activity set up by the Big Life Group (see above) and these were contracted to provide part-time classroom support via the Black Health Agency (BHA). The team adopted the Romani Project’s idea of training young Roma to become ‘role models’, and this became a key theme in its engagement strategy. The partnership between the INA/T/SS team and BHA thus developed a joint ‘package’ of personnel, method and public relations strategy, which was later extended to include a fundraising strategy with external partnerships to qualify for European funding from the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) and partnerships with individual academics to certify expertise and good practice.

The team’s initial reports testify to enthusiasm and a commitment to inclusion, and an overall positive image of Roma. A document written by the INA/T/SS on ‘Planning to integrate and support newly arrived Roma pupils’ in secondary school S1 from 2010 stated as one of its aims to “challenge racism and promote racial equality”, while the ‘Conversations with Roma’ publication from June 2010 (Davies & Murphy 2010) reported that young Roma “had experienced prejudice, racism and conflict in Manchester” (p. 38). The same publication acknowledges that Roma parents value formal education and observes: “most young people are excited, proud and motivated by school” (p. 7). The INA/T/SS’s plan for S1 secondary school consequently sets as an objective to support the school’s work to engage with Roma and to help ensure that “Roma pupils are listened to and able to contribute”.

Gradually, however, the team’s reports began to depict the Roma as a group with particular needs that was perpetually dependent on external support. A joint INA/T/SS and BHA powerpoint presentation entitled ‘Promoting the integration of Roma in and through education Manchester, UK’ compiled as part of the LLP-funded project (2012-2013) emphasises the need to “take into account Romani learning styles”. The ‘Network Learning Book’ authored by a member of the INA/T/SS as part of the LLP project (Murphy 2013) claimed that most Romanian Roma pupils arriving in Manchester schools have had no prior school experience. This claim was repeated in the INA/T/SS team’s interactions with school staff and resulted in a general expectation among many Manchester schools that Roma have no school experience. As a result, teachers’ aspirations of Roma were generally low and Roma are reported

to have been referred to special needs classes even without an assessment of their skills. The 'Network Learning Book' also provides a remarkably essentialising overall picture of Roma, which sways between romanticising and pathologising their culture and behaviour. It claims that Roma families possess, through their oral culture, "the ability to negotiate the world without need for reading and writing" (p. 34) and that Roma children may therefore "be better at memorising than other children" (p. 80).⁸ It informs teachers that due to their "difficult history" Roma have a sense of humour that is "a survival factor and a resilience technique" (p. 83). The publication advises teachers that "Roma rarely sit still for a long time" (p. 39), that "most Roma are highly skilled at talking and listening at the same time" and that "teachers need to be aware that if a Romani child is not talking, it is likely they are not listening!" (p. 81). The project thus creates a narrative, communicated on behalf of the City Council's education services, which implies that Roma require a separate educational approach within the city's schools, one that caters to what is portrayed as their own cultural particularities and inherent abilities (and inabilities).

This is consistent with the INA/T/SS's proposals to create a dedicated educational framework for Roma. Already in its plan for S1 secondary school from January 2010, INA/T/SS proposed to create a dedicated staff position with "responsibility for Roma pupils". The joint BHA and INA/T/SS LLP project (2012-2013)⁹ drafted a special 'Admissions and Induction Protocol for Roma Children' which proposed that schools should record, among other information, Roma pupils' readiness for learning, whether the Roma pupil wears their uniform regularly, and whether the pupil "smiles and greets adults in school", "has the strength of fine motor control", "knows that words convey meaning", and is able to "sit appropriately for lesson duration". The protocol was flagged, along with the team's method of using Roma mentors and raising awareness of Roma culture, as an integrated education package for Roma. At least until May 2014, secondary school S1, which continued to receive dedicated INA/T/SS support for Roma through BHA, used a designated 'Roma Referral Form' to compile detailed notes of up to three pages on the behaviour of individual Roma pupils and to ask the sub-contractor BHA to allocate a Roma classroom assistant (so-called 'mentor') to support the child (see below).

The team's vision as conveyed in its 'Network Learning Book' from 2013 was that a so-called "holistic approach" was needed to Roma education. This consisted of home visits to Roma families to establish personal contacts and trust in order to ensure attendance, informing schools of Roma culture to ensure a welcoming environment, and deploying Roma mentors to support Roma in the classroom. Materials were created to inform about Roma culture, drawing in part on the narratives of Romani activist Ian Hancock, which depicted the Romani flag and anthem, Indian origins, slavery and the holocaust; but the team also blended into these depictions images of Roma as spiritual, exotic and superstitious. The 'Long Roads' toolkit developed by BHA in 2011 to instruct schools about Roma culture claims that Romani children receive a name that is "whispered by the mother, which remains secret and is used to confuse supernatural spirits", that Roma values are "related to a higher spiritual power (Rromanipen, Rromipa or Rromanija)" -- lending a mystical

⁸ This statement ignores the fact that most members of the Roma community in Manchester, of all age groups, use Romani on a regular basis in text messages and, among the young people, on social media, even without having received any formal training in Romani literacy.

⁹ See Lifelong Learning Programme Key Activity 1 Compendium 2011, p. 4-5: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/results_projects/documents/roma_compendium_en.pdf. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

interpretation to what is simply an everyday Romani term for ‘being Roma’ or ‘Romani-ness’ -- and that these values “are known as Karma in India and it is here where the Romani spirituality reflects the Indian origin of the Romani people most.”

Some of the materials also present Roma as Travellers who live in caravans: The learning resources developed by INA/T/SS for primary schools included a ‘Roma Box’ with stories that focused on travel, journeys, caravans, Appleby Fair, and horses, and an exercise called “We are riding on a caravan”, described as an opportunity for children to “write their own travelling stories”. Caravan and travel were also the main themes of the ‘Culture days’ organised by the team for schools as part of the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller History Month. As described in the ‘Network Learning Book’ a ‘vardo’ (the English Gypsy term for a caravan) was parked near the school, to make schools “more positive about Roma and Traveller children and ways of life”. The documentation includes a letter from a head teacher who writes that the children enjoyed “listening to a traditional GRT story while sitting inside the Vargo [sic.]”, “making their own Bow Top Wagon models” and “designing GRT traditional patterns”. It is evident that the intervention created an image in the minds of the teachers (and pupils) of a coherent ethnic-cultural entity called ‘GRT’ (Gypsy/Roma/Travellers), which in reality does not exist.

Striking is the team’s relentless effort to flag, in its own publications, the unique expertise which it has developed on Roma and the need to maintain that expertise. Already an INA/T/SS document on ‘Romanian Roma Girls in Manchester’ from January 2010 says that there are fewer Roma girls in education than boys and recommends to continue the work commissioned to the team on Roma in order to maintain the expertise, to set up protocols and procedures for communication among agencies, and to carry out research in order to better understand “the cultural differences with regard to education”. An undated report authored by Julie Davies and Jane Murphy of INA/T/SS entitled ‘Working with and for Roma: The Manchester approach’ is almost entirely a self-promotion pamphlet that flags the integration success of Roma in schools. It uses as self-descriptors jargon terms such as “strength-based assessment”, “outcome focused”, “strategic planning and reflective practice” and a commitment to “work holistically with all agencies” and lists the service and expertise that the team is able to provide. In the ‘Conversations with Roma’ publication from 2010, the team alludes to concerns expressed by the City Council about “the transient nature” of Roma and the difficulties in keeping track of children (see above), claiming that the team’s work has “demonstrated the effectiveness of proactive multi agency outreach in ensuring that high mobility does not leave children vulnerable to slipping through the system” (p. 18). It explains further that “mobility and other factors mean that young people can stay unknown to professionals”, suggesting that Roma, due to their particular cultural behaviour, tend to escape the reach of authorities, and comments that “assertive outreach by the INA/T/SS Team and a multi agency approach has helped to address this issue” (p. 11). In its ‘Network Learning Book’ from 2013, the team takes sole credit for the idea of training of ‘role models’ and mentors, stating that “Manchester has been able to develop a pool of Romani mentors” and that “the recruitment of the mentors was a pioneering approach” (p. 36).

At the same time, the authors take a rather patronising approach to the mentors, reporting that when invited to attend conferences the mentors “find sitting still and quietly in the audience very difficult. There have been occasions when the speaker has been very engaging. The Romani mentors still look as though they are being tortured!” (p. 81.). In a similar vein, BHA manager Julie Davies reported to the City

Council's Communities Scrutiny Committee in November 2013 that "the outreach process was very intensive and could take up to 4 times longer with members of the Roma community". She even claimed expertise in linguistics, informing the committee, according to the minutes, that "the Romani language had 83 dialects" and that it was similar to Latvian and Lithuanian.¹⁰

As the Roma Strategy was gradually downscaled, toward the end of 2011, while at the same time cuts in public spending threatened the scope of INA/T/SS activities and therefore also those of its partner and sub-contractor BHA, the team's effort to flag its unique expertise became linked to an attempt to make a case for continuous funding. As part of the City Council's Equalities Impact Assessment exercise received by the Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee in January 2012, the BHA reported on its Routes project, which was commissioned to carry out outreach work among Roma, employing two outreach workers of Roma background (though not members of the local Roma community). The project's funding was coming to an end and the BHA argued that a withdrawal of funding would have a negative impact on essential services that it provides. It says: "Any reduction in funding or stopping funding altogether will have a disproportionate impact on INA and therefore race" (p. 112). To support that statement, the BHA claims that data indicates that "there is a higher prevalence of Hepatitis A and B among Romani and also a higher prevalence of tuberculosis and asthma" (p. 117). The source provided is an opaque reference to the "European Commission". In fact, BHA's immediate source appears to have been the website of the organisation Equality on 'Roma Health'.¹¹ There, reference is made to a Council of Europe document,¹² which in fact reports that in some Roma settlements in Eastern Slovakia and Romania there are higher rates of diseases including those mentioned by the BHA as a result of poor sanitary conditions and discrimination in access to health care. The BHA's insinuation that there was an acute health problem among Roma in Manchester, which only BHA was equipped to handle, thus amounted arguably to scaremongering and at the very least to an assertion that remained unsubstantiated by any evidence.

In order to amplify its need for funding for Roma interventions, the BHA then commissioned external reports to certify its expertise. In 2012 it commissioned a consultancy report from John Lever, a free-lance consultant affiliated with Huddersfield University (Lever 2012)¹³. The report is framed as a comparison between four northern English cities, though its main emphasis is Manchester, which the author flags as being "chosen because of its emerging good practice in the field" (p. 6). Clearly, the comparison had a foregone conclusion. In a statement that is illuminating in regard to the motivation behind the Roma Strategy, the author reports that the aim of Manchester's engagement with Roma was "to investigate claims of criminal activity whilst maintaining social cohesion" (p. 14). He describes INA/T/SS involvement as "crucial" to this end as it involved investigating concerns over child safety, claims of child trafficking, and alleged links to the school attendance of girls. There is thus a suggestion that Manchester's Roma Strategy was a direct reaction to

¹⁰ Romani is entirely unrelated to either Latvian or Lithuanian. The enumeration of dialects of any language is problematic and not straightforward, but the figure of 83 bears no relation whatsoever to any attempt to classify, categorise or take an inventory of Romani dialects.

¹¹ <http://equality.uk.com/Health.html>. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

¹² http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/180-ROMA-HC-EN.pdf. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

¹³ John Lever's page on the University of Huddersfield's website, under the 'Enterprise Activities' section, confirms that he was commissioned as free-lance consultant by BHA:

<https://www.hud.ac.uk/ourstaff/profile/index.php?staffuid=sbusjbl>. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

Operation Golf, and that INA/T/SS team took the allegations made by Operation Golf at face value.

Lever goes on to assert that Roma have a “strong cultural aversion to integration” (p. 14), which the INA/T/SS team sought to overcome by working closely with the police. The author repeats the jargon that BHA employs in its own reports, using terms like “holistic approach”, “assertive outreach”, “inward looking philosophy of self help”, and “multi agency approach”, and he incorporates long quotes from the practitioners, who are not named but are evidently members of the BHA and INA/T/SS team, i.e. those who had commissioned his report in the first place. He concludes by expressing concern over the likelihood that government and local authority funding that enabled the intervention might be discontinued. His list of recommendations (p. 27) pertains exclusively to the need to provide funding and to guarantee the involvement of “third sector agencies” in the process. In the following year, the joint INA/T/SS and BHA LLP-project ‘What’s Working’ commissioned two researchers at Salford University to write an appraisal of the project (Scullion & Brown 2013). They too raised the issue of financial resources and the need to provide data on numbers of Roma in order to make the case for funding.

The LLP-funded project ended in March 2013 and once again the team needed to make a case for financial resources to support its work with Roma. In January 2013 it applied for a grant of around £116k from Manchester City Council’s Equalities Funding Programme. The three-year project, which was approved for the first two years and began at the end of the LLP-funding period in March 2013, carries no title, but BHA argues in its application that statistics indicated a rise in teenage pregnancy in the Gorton South area coinciding with the arrival of Roma. It also claimed that 12% of teenage mothers who engaged with a local advice centre were from the Roma community, though no actual numbers were provided. In a subsequent report the number was identified as merely four, though the time frame remains unknown.¹⁴ The application goes on to say: “The main factors attributing to disengagement of young [Roma] girls from education are early marriage and teenage pregnancy”. The BHA asks for funding for “assertive outreach” in the Roma community. It also promises to “develop protocols ... which will identify and track hard to reach girls” and allow to “share information regarding ‘at risk’ young people in relation to criminal activity, school drop-out”, and proposes to set up a “Romani Wellbeing Strategic Group”.¹⁵

The argument that special protocols were needed to track Roma girls had been made before. The Roma Strategy Group agreed already in September 2009 to “establish data information system of Roma children in the city to cross reference with other services”. An INA/T/SS document entitled ‘Romanian Roma Girls in Manchester’ from January 2010 lists 13 Roma girls who are not in education, with detailed notes on one case study, including observations from home visits by case workers. The Roma Strategy Group then recorded in its minutes from March 2010 that ‘There is a safeguarding issue around teenage girls not attending school’, and the Roma Operations Group set up a Working Group on Safeguarding in July 2010. However, the issue then virtually disappeared from City Council reports and minutes

¹⁴ BHA Final Report authored by Jennifer Davies and Julie Davies; received from Manchester City Council Equalities Team on 27.06.2014. The document is available here: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/BHA%20FINAL%20REPORT%20Jun%202014.pdf>

¹⁵ The BHA application to Manchester City Council is available here: http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/BHA_equalities_application%20Jan%202013.pdf

until the BHA application in January 2013. With the approval of the project for a start date in April 2013, the issue was taken up again in the City Council's 'Roma Strategy Document' from March 2013, where it stands out as the only 'unresolved' issue arising from the Roma Strategy. The BHA project thus had a direct influence on re-shaping the City Council's narrative and agenda on Roma.

In November 2013, BHA was invited to attend the City Council's Communities Scrutiny Committee to report on its project. It informed the committee that "there were still too few females from the Roma community attending high school and teenage pregnancy was thought to be an issue", that the rate of teenage pregnancies among the Roma was "disproportionate", and that this was "influenced by cultural expectations". The minutes report that in response, "members queried reports of girls from the Roma community getting married at 14 years old and whether this was considered to be forced marriage". The BHA repeated that the aim of its project was "to establish a Romani Wellbeing Strategic Group" and to develop "protocols" in order to "track 'hard to reach' girls" and to "share information regarding 'at risk' young people in relation to criminal activity and school drop-out". The very same argument, using the same formulations, was later replicated again in the City Council's annual flagship publication, the 'State of the City Report: Communities of Interest', from May 2014, thus turning the narrative on safeguarding as a Roma cultural issue into a public statement.

In its interim project report to the Council, from June 2014, the BHA claims: "early marriage is a rite of passage that individuals from within the Roma community are required to partake". It concludes by stating: "Roma in the UK and on continental Europe have developed a deep-rooted mistrust of outsiders, limiting forms of interaction and engagement with social care providers". It then recommends that the BHA's remit and funding for the intervention should be extended in order to draw on the expertise and "trusting relationships" that the BHA team has established in its own work with the Roma. The message is thus that Roma culture poses a threat to the most vulnerable members of its own community, i.e. young girls; that the community is not accessible to others and that BHA therefore requires an exclusive franchise to intervene; and that it is the city's responsibility to mandate such an intervention or risk failing in its statutory duty of care and protection. Through the BHA project the issue of safeguarding was now firmly back on the City Council's agenda. At a meeting of the Young People and Children's Scrutiny Committee in June 2014, the INA/T/SS Team Leader is recorded as saying that "there was an issue, particularly with Roma girls disappearing after Year 9" and that "it was difficult to track them down". The topic of "safeguarding and attendance of Roma children" was subsequently put on the committee's work programme in September 2014 and the Executive Member overseeing Children's Services was asked to report on the issue.

Our team obtained a statement from Manchester City Council in reply to a Freedom of Information Request in January 2015, which said that the City Council does not hold information on the number of teenage pregnancies among the Roma or any other community in the city. The suggestion by BHA that casual observations on individual and isolated cases constitute a sufficient evidence base on which to postulate that there was an inherent link between Roma culture and teenage pregnancies, between pregnancies and school drop-out, and between these and criminality, and that this link required a uniquely dedicated intervention for which the City Council should provide funding, remained unchallenged, at least in public, by the City Council, until its report from June 2015 (see below).

5.5 Preliminary conclusions

The Manchester experience amplifies the role of perception and prejudice in shaping policy toward Roma: had it not been for complaints against Roma and fears of them, allegations of organised crime that were never substantiated, and threats to the Roma's safety, the City Council is not likely to have departed from its normal integration and inclusion routine to set up a dedicated Roma Strategy, which in any case targeted just a very particular community and not the entire population of Roma migrants. These issues of perception and prejudice were, in turn, related specifically to deeply entrenched images of Roma as an inherent threat to others and a threat to themselves due to their alleged reluctance to engage in 'productive' work, to submit to institutions and norms, and to commit to family and residence structures that are easily transparent to outsiders. This combination of images is associated specifically with Roma and therefore constitutes what we consider to be an 'ideological disposition' which accompanied the objective circumstances of the arrival of new immigrants and the logistic challenges that it entailed.

Realising that the principal issues revolved around perception, the City Council gradually downscaled its intervention and resolved that the Roma did not constitute a threat to "community cohesion". As part of the process, the City Council took strategic advice and forged strategic partnerships in order to ensure that the delivery of the inclusion strategy would not rest on City Council officers alone and would not remain dependent on top-down local government intervention but would receive wider community support. In the process, City Council officers cautiously but consistently confronted perceptions through evidence provided by the relevant agencies, challenging and gradually dismantling the overall depiction of Roma migrants as a threat to the community.

At the same time, a narrative emerged within the City Council's Children's Services that recognised Roma as an integral part of the community and viewed education as a key to social inclusion, on the one hand, but at the same time sought to establish a distinct and dedicated framework and method to engage with Roma, and subsequently, a framework and method and even a new "Roma Wellbeing Strategic Group" governed by dedicated "protocols" in order to "identify" and "track" Roma. The relevant actors capitalised on their key role in supporting the Roma Strategy in its initial phase in order to develop their position within the City Council as experts and authorities on Roma. They also utilised some elements of the Council's narrative on Roma, which, de-coupled from the overall context of the Roma Strategy, might render a picture of Roma as a population that required intense intervention and persuasion to modify its behaviour if inclusion was to be achieved. These elements, on the whole marginal in the City Council's recorded deliberations on Roma, were amplified in the narrative presented by INA/T/SS and BHA especially at a time when their central role was being questioned, as the Roma Strategy was downscaled, and as, at the same time, resources were being withdrawn as part of cuts in public spending. In a campaign to perpetuate their role, the team revisited the issue of safeguarding and placed it back on the City Council's agenda. In contradiction to the City Council's previous method, no independent effort was made to collect evidence in order to tackle perception. This can be explained by the fact that on this particular issue, the concerns were being raised not by residents, media, or opposition politicians, but by City Council officers themselves, capitalising on their own position of authority.

Manchester's Roma Strategy did not emerge out of the City Council's concern that Roma faced special integration problems, nor in response to concerns raised by schools or even by the city's own Children's Services. Rather, it emerged in response to political challenges that the City Council faced, not least by the Metropolitan Police and the media coverage surrounding the issue of child protection and the allegation that networks of Roma families posed a threat to the most vulnerable members of their community. Ironically, two years after the Roma Strategy was considered to have met its targets and was replaced by a mainstreaming approach, in line with the City Council's overall approach to equality and diversity, issues of safeguarding and child protection remained the only domain in which the City Council maintained a separate intervention framework and was entertaining the possibility of setting up a dedicated strategy group that would deal exclusively with Roma issues, justified by a narrative on Roma cultural behaviour.¹⁶

In December 2014, Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) issued a report on Roma pupils' school achievement in England.¹⁷ The report featured Manchester as a case study, reporting exclusively on the activities of INA/T/SS (with no mention of P1 primary school, which accommodates the largest number of Roma and pioneered their inclusion). Echoing the interviews with the City Council's INA/T/SS, the report author recommended that local authorities should "develop sufficient expertise within a specialist support service to provide advice and training for schools" and that they should "review strategies for improving Roma pupils' attendance and attainment, and for keeping track of pupils from highly mobile families". INA/T/SS and BHA thus seem to have lobbied successfully at national government level for support to recognise the need for the specialised expertise that they have developed and to cement their role through permanent frameworks and open-ended interventions.

The original version of the Ofsted report, published in December 2014, cited the team's assertion that the number of Roma pupils in Manchester schools increased from 239 in 2013 to around 800 in 2014. The wording given on p. 8 of that version of the report was: "Manchester local authority identified that there were 239 Gypsy/Roma pupils registered in its schools in 2013. However, the figure for Roma pupils in schools in 2014 was estimated by the local authority to be around 800, mostly in the Gorton and Moss Side districts, in a total school population of 80,030". To our knowledge, there was no accessible evidence for this claim, but following from the previous reports by the team, we suspected that emphasising high numbers might be motivated by yet another attempt to secure funding. Our City Council partners on MigRom were unaware of any such evidence, either.

We then put a formal Freedom of Information Request to Manchester City Council in March 2015. In reply to our question about the method of data collection, the City Council replied: "The figures are based on information received from the Research & Statistics Team, the Admissions Team, Outreach, the INA/T/SS Team, schools and referrals from other agencies eg Health, Neighbourhood Teams, Social Care and GMP." In effect, this reply confirmed that the figures were not verifiable, because they were collected ad hoc from a variety of sources, and with no clear, consistent or transparent method of identifying the target group.

We also asked about the implications of a more than threefold increase in the number of Roma in Manchester schools and, by implication, in the city in general.

¹⁶ During the compilation of this report we were advised that the City Council was re-considering its position on the issue, and that BHA's application to renew its funding was not approved.

¹⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ensuring-roma-children-achieve-in-education>. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

The City Council's reply was: "The figure of 239 was a snapshot of pupils who were ascribed as Roma on roll in schools at the time. The estimate of 800 was of the total number of children from the diverse range of Traveller, Gypsy, Showmen and Roma families resident in the city at the time."

We did not leave the issue at that. Clearly, the Ofsted report's brief related specifically to Eastern European Roma, not to Travellers or Showmen. The INA/T/SS team had been informed about this brief and could be expected to be aware of the differences between the groups. Indeed, the fact that they were able, according to the City Council's reply, to provide a "snapshot" relating exclusively to Roma, for 2013, suggests that they should have been in a position to provide a similar, comparative "snapshot" also for 2014. We put this as a follow-up question to Manchester City Council in May 2015. In response, the City Council informed us that we should contact Ofsted for clarification. We did just that, and were informed by Ofsted that after discussions with Manchester City Council following our enquiry, the report was amended to say this: "Manchester local authority identified that there were 239 pupils ascribed as Gypsy Roma on roll in schools at the time of the visit. However, the figure for the wider group including Gypsy, Roma, Irish Traveller and Showman was estimated at around 800. This figure includes all children in this group resident in the city rather than only those ascribed and on roll".

The twists and turns around Manchester's input into the Ofsted report on Roma in English schools give us a number of insights into the city's approach to Roma: As discussed above, the local authority's engagement gave rise to a strand within the Children's services that has come to regard itself as dependent on flagging its expertise on Roma as well as on broadcasting a need to continue to engage in open-ended interventions with Roma. The actors involved make use of privileged access to certain channels at the levels of both local and national government in order to put forward their assertions. They take advantage of the absence of easily accessible, evidence-based information on Roma and of the persistent confusion around the very concepts of 'Roma', 'Gypsies', and 'Travellers', and thus of traditional popular and fictional images of 'Gypsies', to shape their narrative in a way that supports their claims. Nonetheless, faced with the input of researchers, both local and national government are inclined to review and where necessary to revise their positions. The Manchester case study thus stresses the positive and productive role that research and higher education can take in directly facilitating and open an focussed discussion on interventions and in serving as a 'critical friend' to local government.

At the time of the initial drafting of this report, the City Council still appeared to be oblivious of, or reluctant to consider the possibility that there might be a contradiction between its policy of mainstreaming, de-escalating, and dismantling negative perception, and its readiness to adopt the view that Roma require special protocols of supervision and control due to their alleged cultural particularities around the treatment of young people and girls in particular, without asking for extensive evidence for the latter claim. However, just a few days before the completion of this report for publication, on 16 June 2015, Manchester City Council released a new report on "Roma Engagement and Reporting Opportunities", tabled for discussion at the City Council's Communities Scrutiny Committee meeting scheduled on 24 June 2015.¹⁸ The report outlines in detail the contributions made by the University of Manchester's Romani Project to drafting the City Council's engagement strategy with

¹⁸ http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/5_Roma_engagement_report.pdf

Roma, and mentions the partnership around the MigRom project as the city's principal ongoing involvement with the Roma community. It refers to the INA/T/SS's targeted intervention work on Roma as having now been "disestablished". Looking ahead, it highlights the establishment of a Roma community group, supported by the MigRom project, as a promising channel of communication with the Roma community and emphasises its commitment to "promoting independence and ensuring that emerging communities are able to access mainstream services, rather than developing reliance on targeted provision". It concludes by making reference to the fact that some assertions about Roma made in City Council documents have been challenged, and that in the future the Council will take measures to ensure the reliability of information that it receives, and, with what might be interpreted as a subtle reference to BHA's previous input, that "any unsubstantiated information will not therefore be included" in City Council documents.

6.0 Social inclusion

6.1 Employment, tax contributions and access to services

For this section we rely mostly on observations from the outreach work and the quantitative monitoring of queries received as part of the weekly consultation sessions.

Since their arrival in 2011, the *Ardžintari* found various jobs, both as employed and as self-employed. Self-employment mostly consists of door-to-door selling and scrap metal collection, but some individuals like DD and her husband also sell the Big Issue. Employment opportunities were found in biscuit factories, shelf-stacking in supermarkets, construction work, car washing, and as drivers for various companies. Some even opened their own cleaning company.

Čurari from Cluj and Sălaj engage in selling flowers or small objects such as toys, sunglasses and lighters in the city centre, in bars and nightclubs, at festivals and fairs. At the advice and support sessions offered by the outreach workers, some families said that they would like to set up businesses, like they do in Romania. More precisely, they talked about their desire to have a mobile food stall to take to festivals, sport events and fairs or to have market stalls selling clothing and second hand objects.

The women from the *Čurari* families of Arad and Timișoara also work as peddlers. The men occasionally do that as well, but the majority works for a few car washes in South Manchester and trade in second-hand cars, both in the UK and in Romania. Since January 2014 some, mostly women, have started employment as carers in care homes or as cleaners in hotels and offices. DR, coming from this group and having acquired professional training as part of a project to help street children in Romania, works at a textile factory in the Greater Manchester area.

The *Lingurari*, both men and women, tend to work as cleaners. HT and WT, for example, work at a restaurant and once a week at an office building, both in Manchester city centre. The men are also skilled carpenters, builders and decorators and so are also looking for opportunities to work in these sectors. Since 2014, some younger members of the community, mostly girls who have been to school in Romania and in the UK, have started to work for children's centres as interpreters.

Among the *Kangljari*, men and women still engage in the same activity they started with when arriving in Manchester: selling the Big Issue and collecting scrap

metal (see 3.1). Among the younger generation some, mostly men, have been working for the Black Health Agency (see 5.0) in schools, children’s and youth’s centres and as free-lance interpreters. Since January 2014 other young men have found employment as van drivers for companies such as Amazon, car valeting at retailers of Jaguar, BMW and Ford and as delivery drivers for fast-food chains such as Domino’s and Pizza Hut. The number of people of all age groups actively looking for jobs, equipping themselves with CVs and trying to access training provisions to increase their employability has steadily risen since January 2014 (see Figure 9, below).

It must be said, however, that all the work opportunities the Roma have been able to access so far are located at the bottom end of the job market. Similarly, the small trades in which some families engage in produce low income. Families are supplementing this income by accessing various forms of welfare support, mainly child and housing benefits, and tax breaks.

Despite the fact that Roma in Manchester remain at the bottom end of the job market, they are able, relying on the support of their extended families, to maintain a reasonable living standard. At times, however, they have to delay payments, for example rent instalments (see section 2.2 about the agreements achieved in these cases with landlords). Furthermore, they are also contributing, as much as their income allows, to the welfare system by regularly paying taxes.

The observations are supported by data compiled on the type of queries addressed by clients approaching the weekly drop-in consultation service offered by the project’s outreach workers since September 2013. We report here on data relating to the period comprised between September 2013 and August 2014.¹⁹

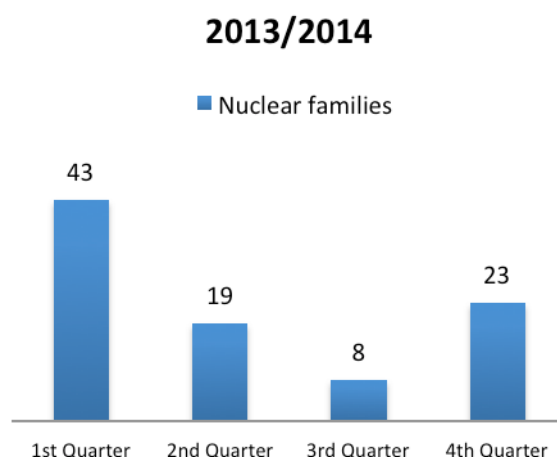


Figure 5: First time access to drop-in sessions

In its first year, altogether 93 individual families accessed the drop-in service. During the first 3 quarters of the year it was mostly Roma residing in South Manchester that accessed the service. As a result, the number of first time accesses steadily decreased as the entire community became aware of the service. In the fourth quarter, both through word of mouth and MigRom engagement with officers from Oldham City Council, an increasing number of families residing in other districts became aware of the service and began to make use of it (Figure 5).

¹⁹ For an updated overview compiled after this report was drafted, in June 2015, see: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/MigRom%20Briefing%20June%202015.pdf>

Type of queries

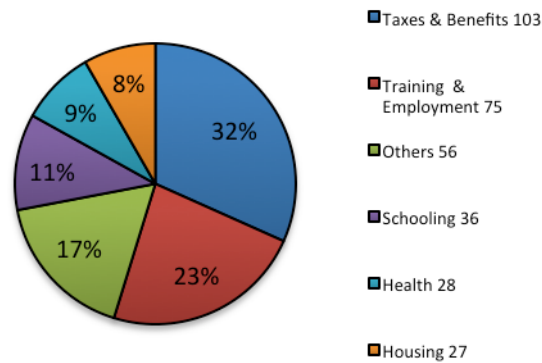


Figure 6: Queries brought up by Roma patrons

The broad range of queries put forward (Figure 6) confirms our observations about training, employment, taxes and benefit payments. Furthermore, they provide an insight into the way in which families are accessing services related to schooling, housing and health care.

Most Tax & Benefits enquiries related to Tax Return and related issues; only few related to job seeker allowance or income support (Figure 7). Furthermore, it is important to notice that the majority of the queries did not relate to new applications. Rather, the changes brought about by the lifting of employment restrictions on Romanian nationals and the simultaneous restructuring of the welfare system driven by the central UK government meant that most queries related to such changes.

Taxes & Benefits

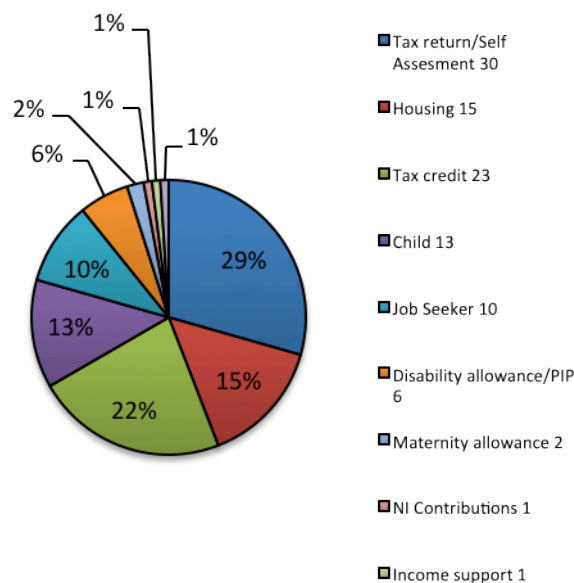


Figure 7: Queries about tax payments and benefits

During the first two quarters of the year (September-December 2013) most of the employment-related queries centred on self-employment (peddling and scrap metal collection being the most popular choices). During December 2013 and in the following months, however, an increasing number of individuals enquired about job opportunities, writing their own CVs and ways to make themselves more employable, such as ESOL classes and professional training (Figure 8).

Employment queries

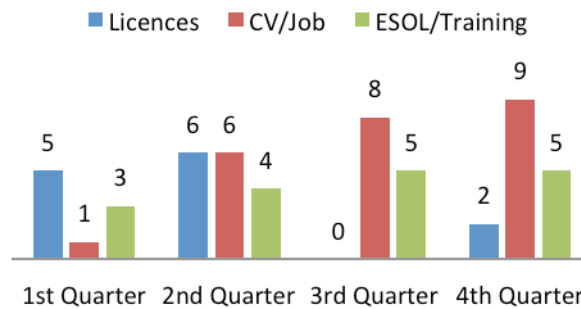


Figure 8: Queries relating to training and employment

The need to improve English skills is clearly felt by the older members of community and is it those who more often required assistance with translation of written documents and interpreting (Figure 9).

Others

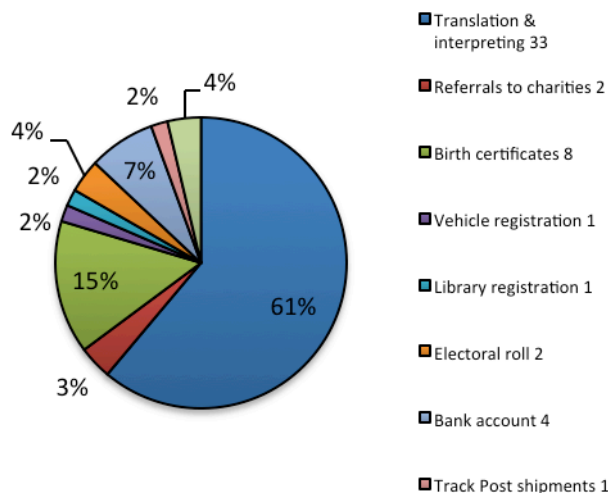


Figure 9: Other queries

The schooling of children also appeared to be a priority and clients often asked for assistance when applying for school places (Figure 10). Furthermore, when Roma

move to a new area they are aware of the need to communicate the transfer to schools. As children are assigned to a school by City Council officers (see section 5.0 and 6.2), problems might arise when children are referred to school that are more difficult for them to access due to distance from their residence, or in cases where siblings have been referred to different schools and parents struggle with the morning routine to accompany them in different directions. This explains the number of queries about appeals against such decisions.

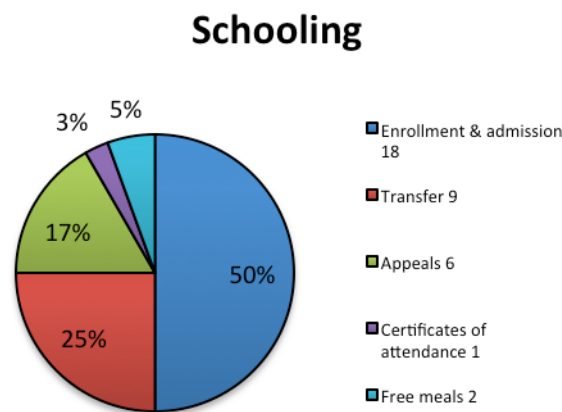


Figure 10: Queries about schools

Queries about health services (Figure 11) illustrate that the lifting of employment restrictions did not cause an increase in the number of Roma migrants, as suggested by many reports in the UK media in the late months of 2013, and contrary to the predictions made by Brown et al. (2013) of Salford University. During the entire year only 5 families required assistance in registering with family doctors (GPs). The relatively high number of requests for assistance in setting up appointments with both GPs and specialists points, on the one hand, to an awareness of health care provisions and, on the other, to a lack of confidence around language skills and perhaps more broadly in interaction with formal institutions.

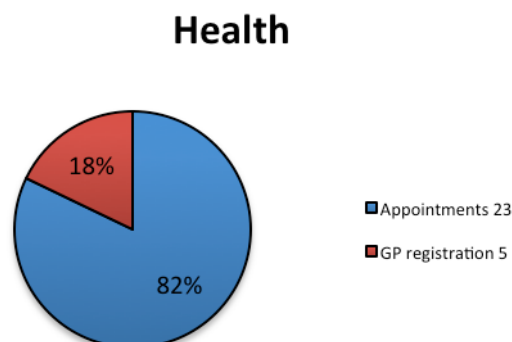


Figure 11: Queries about health services

The availability of cheap rented houses in South Manchester (see section 3.1) means that Romanian Roma are currently satisfied with their access to housing. Requests for assistance with housing matters related more to issues connected with their practice of relocating within the neighbourhood in order to get closer to relatives and friends (see already Matras *et al.* 2009, 16 and 32). When such moves take place, Romanian Roma are aware of the need to communicate a change of address and to set up Council Tax payments (Figure 12).

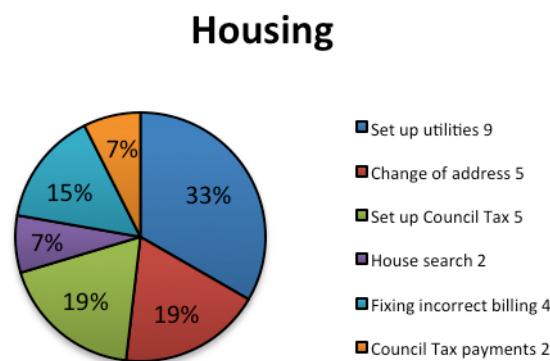


Figure 12: Queries about housing

The range of issues for which clients sought advice at the drop-in sessions is, overall, indicative of their current situation as relatively recent migrants to the UK. As explained above, they also clearly show a desire to participate in local institutions while at the same time forwarding the development of their own families and family networks.

6.2 Education

6.2.1 Access to education

Roma migrant children in Manchester generally all have access to school and attend school regularly. The principal obstacle to school attendance in the period immediately after the arrival in Manchester was, and to some extent continues to be, the procedure of registering children for school places, which is further complicated by a shortage of school places in some areas of the city. There is also evidence of targeted discrimination of Roma children in access to school places in the period between 2007-2009, which saw an increase in Romanian Roma families in the city around the time of Romania's EU accession. Manchester City Council committees referred on a number of occasions to such discriminatory practices and the need to take action to eradicate them. But a report by a local Education Trust (an independent consortium of state-funded schools) from June 2013 claims that the City's Education services deliberately referred Roma children to that Trust's schools (a primary and secondary school in the Gorton South neighbourhood, P1 and S1) in 2007-2009, choosing to avoid confrontations with other schools that appeared reluctant to take on Roma. The report suggests that the high concentration of Roma in the Trust's schools (up to 20% of all pupils) was partly a result of that practice. It says: "Whilst Manchester City Council has agreed IYFA protocols these have, in practice, often been sidestepped by the Council's International New Arrivals department who are

believed to have helped Roma parents apply and appeal for places at the Trust Schools ... rather than allocate them via the IYFA protocol.”

Manchester City Council reported in 2012 (and again in 2013) that where numbers have been monitored, the attendance rates of Roma outstrip those of non-Roma in the same schools and neighbourhoods. Reports of high attendance of Roma children had already been provided by the City Council’s specialised International New Arrivals, Travellers and Supplementary Schools team (INA/T/SS) in 2010. The factors that currently, at least since 2009, enable school attendance of Roma in Manchester are a) access to housing and stability of residence, allowing to derive a clear entitlement to education, b) enforcement by the City Council of non-discrimination in admissions protocols, counteracting the tendency to deny Roma school places (with the exception of the practice referred to above), c) an active effort on the part of the City Councils Children’s Services, led by INA/T/SS, to identify Roma children who are missing education and to support them in the school registration process, and d) the availability of continuous support for Roma parents to register children to school, in the form of outreach work delivered by a variety of initiatives, including third sector organisations that are partners with the City Council (Black Health Agency – BHA, Sure Start), as well as MigRom (through its outreach work, especially the weekly drop-in consultation sessions for Roma).

The INA/T/SS tends to flag in its various reports a campaign to raise awareness of Roma in Manchester schools, carried out in 2012-2013 in partnership with BHA. The initiative used funding from the EU’s Lifelong Learning Programme for a one-year project²⁰ that created a so-called ‘Roma Schools Network’ with six local primary schools (in the first phase, and a second group of schools, which remain unidentified, at a later phase) (see Murphy 2013, Scullion & Brown 2013). The need to raise awareness of Roma identity and culture among local school staff was emphasised in the recommendations of the University of Manchester’s Romani Project’s report on ‘The Romanian Roma community of Gorton South’ from October 2009. But a local primary school approached the Romani Project for advice and began its own awareness-raising effort among staff and active engagement with Roma families already in 2008 in response to a rise in the number of Roma children. Following an increase in the number of Roma pupils in 2008, this primary school, P1, held a series of consultations and training sessions with the Romani Project at the University of Manchester and then proceeded with a targeted engagement strategy. It held monthly meetings with Roma parents for a year, which were facilitated by an interpreter, and made an effort to raise staff awareness of the Roma community. The school also invited parents to participate in events held at the school. It appointed a Roma community member as Roma liaison officer and a full-time teacher of Romanian background, who helped communicate with parents and translate letters into Romanian. The school offered a member of the Romani Project staff a PGCE placement and subsequently a full-time job as teacher and later Ethnic Minority Achievement Leader. It also employed additional teachers in Key Stage 2 to target teach small groups of children learning English as an additional language, it introduced additional phonics lessons for Key Stage 2 pupils learning English as an additional language, and sets by ability in years 2-6, for literacy and maths, to address the full range of abilities in these year groups and help accelerate progress.

²⁰ See Lifelong Learning Programme Key Activity 1 Compendium 2011, p. 4-5: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/lfp/results_projects/documents/roma_compendium_en.pdf. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

In other parts of the city, where the presence of Roma migrants had received less attention from the authorities, no issues of access to schools had been reported. It is therefore unclear to what extent the joint initiative by INA/T/SS and BHA in 2012-2013 actually contributed to facilitating access. It did, however, aim to raise awareness of Roma culture among school staff, and to this end it employed a range of tools such as the 'Roma Box', the caravan, a school recruitment bus, and initiatives for various classroom activities (see above), which were documented in the 'Network Learning Book' from 2013. P1, which did not participate in the 'Roma Network of Schools', had according to school records between 48 and 88 Roma on roll in the school years between 2008/2009 and 2012/2013, with an average of 67 Roma pupils each year, and around 60 in 2012/2013. Precise numbers for the primary schools that participated in the INA/T/SS Roma Network are difficult to obtain, not least because the team itself is not always specific about the schools that participated in the network and the duration of participation. The project's report presents the Network as having operated in the year 2012/2013, with six schools, where the numbers of Roma pupils ranged from 5 to 19 (Murphy 2013: 16), in five of the schools, and described as fluctuating in a sixth school. Altogether, the number of Roma pupils estimated for the entire network of six schools during that year appears to have been similar to the total number of Roma who attended P1 in that year. Most schools were in the same area as P1 and accommodated Roma pupils from the same community. Overall, then, the comparison between P1 and the INA/T/SS's Roma Network of Schools offers an interesting opportunity to assess two distinct approaches to Roma inclusion in the school context in the same neighbourhood, in a similar institutional context (state primary schools), and targeting the same population.

The comparison shows that P1 was successful in integrating Roma pupils through its own initiative, by making an effort to inform staff and to recruit specialised support staff, as described above, though without introducing any specialised Roma monitoring protocols or learning materials but emphasising instead the importance of cohesion of the school community as a whole. By contrast, the INA/T/SS's Roma Network relied on extensive contribution of staff time to coordinate the intervention (drawing on City Council resources and external grants), on the production of various protocols and activity materials, on the deployment of Roma mentors in the classroom, as well as on networking with partner organisations abroad and the commissioning of external evaluation and appraisal reports. There is no evidence, however, that school attendance, participation or attainment of Roma pupils in schools that were part of the Network was in any way more successful than at P1, which was not part of the Network. It is possible that the Network had a positive effect on staff attitudes toward Roma and that it helped smooth the way toward better acceptance of Roma, in other words, that it may have helped remove the barriers that schools themselves had set in accommodating Roma. But if this is indeed the case, then the comparison with P1 shows that it is also possible for a school to avoid erecting such barriers in the first place, as it was possible for P1 to take its own measures to raise staff awareness immediately when the first Roma pupils joined the school in 2008.

The positive effect of the Network activities on staff attitudes to Roma thus remains unproven. Arguably, such positive effect, if it could be proven, was to some extent counteracted by some of the content of the activities, which promoted a romanticised image of Roma culture and contributed to an overall picture of Roma as a group with particular needs, leading teachers to anticipate difficulties and thus inevitably lowering their aspirations of Roma (see above). In a focus group that our

team conducted with several teaching staff members who had participated in the Network, in December 2013, wholesale attitudes toward Roma as ‘Travellers’ who are difficult to track and control came to light which replicated much of the narrative contained in the INA/T/SS and BHA publications. A second round of interviews carried out in early 2015 with staff at four of the six schools that formed the Roma Network showed a continuum of attitudes: At the far end was a primary school, P2, whose staff representative regarded the Roma Network activities as an important key to help staff understand the Roma, who were generally regarded as a ‘problem population’. P2, it was reported, has kept the resources introduced by the INA/T/SS team, namely the ‘Roma Box’ and a wall display, but has not added any new resources since. The school seldom makes use of the resources, however, and at the time of the interview it had only one single Roma pupil on roll. School P3 reported that it had its own procedure for engaging with parents through a bilingual staff member and that the Roma Network activity was regarded by staff as a burden, for it required them to host a number of visits by the INA/T/SS team and to supply the team with data. School P4 reported that there had been many problems with Roma new arrivals. The school’s perception was that Roma parents had been unable to provide their children with food or clothing and that families had to be shown where to shop and taught the ‘value of money’. Oddly, the school denied that it had received any support from the City Council’s INA/T/SS team or affiliated agencies and claimed that all training sessions for school staff on Roma were initiated and run internally by the school itself. Finally, school P5 reported that there was no recollection among current staff of any of the Roma Network activities, that none of its serving staff had taken part in such activities, and that they were unable to point to any legacy that the Network may have left. The school has at present 18 Roma pupils on roll and reports that they are well integrated and are not regarded as a population group with any special needs.

6.2.2 Roma parents’ experience of school

The Manchester team has gained impressions of Roma parents’ perspective on schools both from the outreach work carried out as part of MigRom, and earlier, through the fact that four members of the project team have been actively involved in supporting Roma in education in the city since 2009. The school application process is different to what the parents are used to in Romania. Parents often come to seek advice after they have been to the nearest school to ask if their children can start school there. Parents are told that it is not up to the school to give a place to their children and the parents are usually given an application form to fill in and to send to the City Council’s admissions office. The procedure can then take many months to complete successfully, due to the shortage of school places. Some parents ask for help to understand letters received from their children’s school. Others ask for help to transfer their children from one school to another. The reasons for this may be that the family have moved or that one of the children has received a place in another school and the family want the children to go to the same school. Sometimes siblings are given places in schools that are too far for the parents to manage taking their children and picking them up on time. We have also met parents who felt that their children’s present school did not offer them the opportunity to improve their education. Parents felt that after moving to high school, instead of making progress their children were forgetting what they had learnt in primary school. A few parents from the various Roma communities in Manchester have expressed an interest in arranging private

support tuition for their children, usually to improve numeracy skills and English reading and writing. The private lesson system is very popular in Romania where many children have private lessons, especially before an important test or exam. Parents who wanted their children to have private lessons said they were familiar with this system in Romania because their own children, or somebody in the family such as nieces or nephews had had private lessons before. Parents often comment on their children's education as a way for their children to have a much better chance in life and as an investment for which they are willing to make sacrifices (see already Matras et al. 2009). Many have professional career ambitions for their children.

Roma parents who are fluent in English and understand the school system have often found that school staff tended to request an interpreter or ask the child to translate for the parents because they did not expect the parents to speak English. Observations of interactions between Roma parents and teachers during parents' evenings reveal that many Roma parents have enough English language skills to understand what teachers are saying and they are also becoming more confident at communicating their own thoughts about their children's education. Many parents ask about homework and would like to see their children getting more homework. Sometimes they believe that schools do not give the children homework because school staff think that Roma parents cannot help their children with their homework. Those parents who do not see much progress in their children's literacy and numeracy ask teachers to make sure that their children are given the right support in school and that they are placed in groups at the appropriate level.

Past training for schools delivered by Manchester City Council's INA/T/SS had presented Roma children as coming from Romania without any previous experience of education (see section 5). As a result, Roma children often ended up in bottom sets without being given the appropriate assessment. During parents' evenings, families have been observed to express their concern that some teachers' expectations of their children are lower than for the rest of the children in class. While talking about her children's experience of school, a mother from Mărășești remarked that when her daughter started school in the UK she was surprised to see how easy her maths lessons were at the new school compared to what she was learning in Romania. Parents have also expressed concerns with regard to segregation practices in a local secondary school, and have made efforts to avoid sending their children to that school (see below).

Our team interviewed four Roma parents originating from various places in Romania (Zalău, Timișoara, Arad and Bucharest) about their experience of a particular activity to showcase Roma culture in primary school P3, as part of the INA/T/SS and BHA 'Roma network of schools' project in 2012/2013. We understand that the display was set up by a teacher employed by P3, under the guidance of the INA and BHA team. The parents said they found the display of huts in Romania, intended to represent the poverty that Roma escaped, allegedly, by coming to Manchester, as a misrepresentation, and were concerned that as a result of the display, which singled out Roma, their children would be associated by others with poverty. They were also critical of the depiction of Roma as caravan dwellers, stating that their own families never had a travelling lifestyle. When asked about Romani values and cultures, parents tended to name issues such as respect for the elderly and family values, rather than symbolism, and it appears that for that reason they found it hard to relate to the content of the Roma culture showcasing adopted by the INA/BHA team, which emphasised abstract emblems such as the anthem, flag, and assumptions about ancient history.

6.2.3 Secondary school S1: integration and segregation practices

S1 secondary school is located in Gorton South, and has accommodated a large proportion of pupils from the local Romanian Roma community, who in turn have since 2009 formed one of the larger ethnic minority groups within the school's population. In the initial stage, in 2008/2009, the school provided the pupils with the normal English as Additional Language (EAL) provisions. Support lessons were delivered in small groups and on a one to one basis by school staff as well as by specialised teachers provided by One Education, a private company owned by Manchester City Council which had been set up in order to deliver outsourced specialist support to schools. In the course of that year, however, EAL support from One Education was discontinued and the school expanded its own EAL staff provisions, which now included two EAL teachers, an EAL coordinator, and a group of bilingual EAL assistants for Somali, Arabic and Chinese. Roma pupils were integrated into mainstream classes and only came out of some lessons to participate in additional English language lessons in the school Library, which had become the EAL room. A part-time Romanian EAL teacher, who was hired as a teaching assistant, was recruited in order to support the Roma. In addition, the City Council's International New Arrivals team provided support around issues of behaviour and tracking attendance. This was carried out on a full-time basis by a former member of the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) team who was supported by a Romanian speaker. Visits to the school were also organised for a group of Roma teenage mothers who took part in weekly classes organised jointly by the City Council's International New Arrivals team, and two neighbourhood community centres -- the Leo Kelly Centre, which supports teenage mothers, and Sure Start, a pre-school and training facility. Toward the end of the school year, S1 entrusted a member of its senior leadership team with centrally managing provisions for Roma pupils.

Following the circulation of the Romani Project's report on Roma in Gorton South in October 2009 (Matras et al. 2009), the INA/T/SS team began to take a closer interest in the Roma. It started a series of consultations with Roma pupils at S1 and visited their place of origin in Țândărei. The activity was documented in a booklet, launched at a showcase event at S1 in June 2010 (Davies & Murphy 2010) The INA/T/SS also provided support for Roma pupils in the school, mainly in Maths, English and Science, and began to employ a Roma classroom assistant on a part-time basis at S1 and a primary school in the neighbourhood. INA/T/SS continued to provide funding for support staff until 2011, but these were contracted via BHA, and at times via a private translation agency whose owners, according to the information we received from these staff, had personal links with project managers at BHA, as self-employed contractors on an hourly basis. Subsequently, the school allocated resources from a dedicated grant to a so-called 'Roma fund'. In an internal memo from June 2013, the school estimated that the additional cost to the school of supporting Roma pupils between 2010 and 2013 amounted to over £230,000.

In September 2010, the school's new deputy head introduced a 'Pathway' system, which streamed all Year 7 students according to ability. As part of this structure, an 'EAL Pathway' was introduced, in which all the pupils were Roma. The Romani Project team was invited to visit S1 in September and October 2010. We spoke to teachers and senior management staff and observed classroom interaction. We witnessed how the Pathway system resulted in a segregation of Roma pupils, and we

visited several classes that consisted entirely of Roma. During one of our team's visits we were asked by a member of the school's senior management team whether the University was in a position to support the exclusion of Roma from the school's attainment statistics. This request was later included in a draft report by the school from June 2013 to the Department for Education, which recommended that "new rules should be developed whereby the Roma pupils can in certain circumstances be discounted from calculation of a school's performance."

By the end of 2010, the Pathway system had been extended to Years 8 and 9 and as a result many Roma pupils were taken out of mainstream classes and referred to the EAL Pathway. Reports from supply teachers and teaching assistants who worked at S1 supporting EAL provisions at that time²¹ indicate that the pupils in the Pathway had different levels of English as well as in other subjects, and that as a result of their segregation, many Roma pupils had very few opportunities to interact with non-Roma pupils in the classroom. An EAL audit carried out at S1 in January 2011 reported concerns about the views of staff who regarded Roma pupils as having "distinct needs". The audit was also very critical about the EAL pathway and found that it amounted to a way of segregating Roma pupils:

"The EAL Pathway is focused upon a Roma cohort ... This Pathway could be interpreted as a withdrawal mechanism in itself. Pupils are then withdrawn from English, Mathematics and Science for small group work. The teachers of this Pathway provision have had no formal training or induction in terms of EAL knowledge, cultural awareness and how Step Descriptors inform the differentiation of lesson planning and target setting. .. The EAL Pathway is not providing Roma students with the opportunity to integrate and to develop their language skills. They lack positive role models in the process of learning English as an additional language. Students tend to rely on their first language and do not have the full opportunity within their group to rehearse their English Language skills."

This was confirmed by a teacher who was employed by the school in 2010/2011, who told us:

"As teachers, we soon found out that moving pupils out of the Pathway was almost impossible. They had to show very fast progress in English, something which became even harder once they were in the Pathway because they were totally separated from English speakers and it was much more natural for them to speak Romani and Romanian. It certainly became even harder to show progress in Maths and Science."

Some of the EAL support teachers continued to be paid by the City Council's INA/T/SS team, usually through BHA. In 2011, the INA/T/SS team, through BHA, recruited a number of Roma who had taken part in the Big Life Group training course and began to contract them on an hourly basis as classroom support workers or 'mentors', to work in the EAL Pathway at S1 alongside a Romanian teaching assistant and two Romanian EAL/ESOL teachers. From reports of staff who worked on the Pathway at the time we are aware that pupils who had been in mainstream classes did

²¹ We spoke to altogether seven teachers, classroom support assistants, and supply teachers who worked at the school during the relevant period; names, roles, and interview notes are archived with the project.

not understand why they were moved into the pathway, while new Year 7 pupils who had just joined the school, having completed primary school, were keen to move into mixed groups, and both teachers and pupils found it frustrating that they were not allowed to do so. Since most Roma mentors were related to the pupils, many perceived the Pathway as a kind of family gathering, which discouraged any formal learning atmosphere. One of the Roma bilingual assistants, who worked in the school from 2010 until it became an academy and jobs were cut in 2012, told us:

“They [the Roma pupils] often asked me why they had to be there with children who were new to the school and who could not speak English. Some of them could speak English very well and they did not understand why they had to be in a group with others who were only starting to learn English. They did not think it was fair.”

Other staff members whom we have interviewed say they expressed concerns over the use of the Pathway to segregate Roma, but that these concerns were not taken seriously by the school.

During this period, BHA was managing the support staff working on the Pathway, including the Roma mentors. BHA project managers also carried out sessions with Roma pupils in years 10 and 11 on ‘Roma culture’ based on the ‘Long Road’ toolkit, which BHA produced in 2011. We are unaware of any other use of the toolkit in Manchester, or its adoption at any other school, and so it is clear that BHA had considerable influence on the kind of support given to Roma at S1. In a statement posted on YouTube in November 2014²², BHA Roma project manager Julie Davies referred to segregation of Roma in Manchester schools as “schools’ only way to deal with what was coming through their door”. Yet in a briefing as part of the Ofsted inspection report, the INA/T/SS and BHA claimed that in Manchester “One of the secondary schools used to isolate Roma pupils in a separate language unit but, through engaging with the network, discontinued this practice”,²³ in effect, then, claiming credit for the discontinuation of segregation rather than assuming responsibility for it.

A report, drafted in the spring of 2013, relies on input from the City Council’s INA/T/SS team, which is cited as advising the school that “[Roma] male and female students are not used to being together” and that therefore “Roma students can be very promiscuous and are very accepting of inappropriate sexualised behaviour from male students”. The INA/T/SS team is further cited as having raised concerns that female Roma pupils leave school at the age of thirteen to “get married back in Romania”, that they are caught “begging in Manchester City Centre”, and that weddings of female Roma “from the age of eleven” take place at Crowcroft Park. Currently we have no way to assess the possible impact that such advice may have had on staff’s perception of Roma. BHA (which had close links and personnel overlap with INA/T/SS) continued to be contracted by S1 until the summer of 2014 and provided part-time staff, paid on an hourly basis, to supervise Roma pupils whose behaviour was considered to be problematic. We are also aware that BHA offered a number of training sessions to staff at S1, most recently in June 2014, and that during those sessions issues of ‘early marriage’, ‘attendance’, and ‘safeguarding’ were raised and defined as inherently linked to ‘Roma culture’. At least until May 2014, S1 used

²² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CTPJ0tULg_8. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

²³ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ensuring-roma-children-achieve-in-education>, p. 22. Last accessed 10/03/2015.

designated forms called ‘Roma Referral Form’. They were used to compile detailed notes of up to three pages on the behaviour of individual Roma pupils, and to ask the contractor BHA to allocate a Roma classroom assistant (so-called ‘mentor’) to support the child. (Anonymised copies of several of these forms are archived with the project).

The mode of delivery of support for Roma children at S1 raises some fundamental questions about the nature of partnerships between schools, the local authority, and external providers such as the voluntary sector agency BHA and commercial initiatives. S1, with a very high number of Roma pupils, is a good example of these issues due to the intensity, the scale, and the duration of involvement of these players. It also helps shed additional light on what we described above as a second strand in local authority policy on Roma migrants, with a focus on education and young people: In the centre of the arrangement we find a school in a deprived area of the city, which has suffered frequent staff fluctuation as well as changes in its senior leadership. The City Council’s International New Arrivals team carried out interventions in the school as part of its duty to support migrant and ethnic minority children, but suffered during the period under consideration severe budget cuts, loss of personnel and organisational re-structuring. It tried to alleviate some of these pressures through a partnership with an independent organisation, BHA. In the process, personnel was moved on a part-time and/or temporary basis from the City Council’s INA/T/SS to BHA in order to run projects. In this way, the partnership and the interest in securing contracts for BHA (whether funded by the schools or by external awards, such as secondary City Council funds or EU-grants) became intertwined with the interests of City Council officers and their colleagues to secure their own positions. Both the contracting of BHA, and further outsourcing of contracted part-time work to commercial enterprises such as translation companies, appear to have taken place, as far as we have been able to ascertain, without any public tender, and so the criteria for both ethical scrutiny of issues like personal conflict of interest and quality assurance remain opaque, both in relation to the granting of contracts and the review of the progress of interventions.

The justification provided for sub-contracting of self-employed, part-time classroom support staff until the second half of 2014 was that Romanian nationals were not eligible for employment contracts. Indeed, S1 did, for a certain period, pay classroom assistants directly, and was subjected to a critical review from the financial authorities for doing so. However, self-employed contracted staff also included individuals who had UK work permits and were eligible for employment, and who also had formal qualifications. It therefore seems that sub-contracting to an external provider was a management strategy as well as an administrative one. As part of the arrangement, BHA deployed staff who were unqualified to deliver EAL provisions to support the Pathway. As far as we are aware, it did not provide support staff with any training nor even, it appears from our interviews with staff, with any regular day-to-day line management. As part of its contract work, BHA appears to have been granted full access to the personal details of pupils as well as extensive information on their families, as part of what was flagged as a “holistic approach”, without being subjected to any data protection scrutiny; indeed, in numerous reports both to its sponsors and to City Council scrutiny committees BHA prides itself in having ownership over such data and being in a position to share them with other institutions as part of a ‘tracking protocol’. BHA was also apparently allowed to use teaching materials that it had produced on Roma culture in school lessons without subjecting those materials to any certified quality control. The fact that school-internal memos fail to distinguish

between BHA and INA/T/SS operations (e.g with respect to the safeguarding consultation, see above) and operatives indicates that BHA's intervention received wholesale accreditation by virtue of its association and partial personnel overlap with INA/T/SS. As a result, inaccurate remarks about Roma, such as those cited above, were put into circulation among school staff seemingly on behalf of the local authority, transmitted by BHA but attributed to INA/T/SS. In our examination of school documentation pertaining to Roma we have been unable to find any information regarding the procurement procedure or quality assurance surrounding the engagement of BHA at the school.

6.2.4 Gender issues around attendance and school progression

Considerable attention has been given in reports by the INA/T/SS team and its contractor/partner BHA to the attendance of Roma girls at secondary schools (see above). Statements made in reports are normally based exclusively on observations from S1, though rarely is there any citation of concrete statistics. These are problematic not least because of inconsistent practices in identifying Roma in ethnicity statistics. Only some pupils appear in school statistics as 'Gypsy/Roma/Travellers', or have their language recorded as 'Romani'. Most tend to appear as Romanian or Czech nationals. It appears that S1 has been aware of problems in the way data have been compiled and represented. A school memo from January 2014 questions the discrepancy between the school's usual representations that claim that Roma constitute 20% of the school population, and the ethnicity statistics, which show that pupils classified as 'Roma' in fact constituted just 8%. It points out the case of siblings, one of whom was classed as 'Roma' and the other as 'Romanian', and the fact that Roma from the Czech Republic, Lithuania, and other countries are generally classed by the city-wide Schools Information Management System (SIMS) as 'White European'. Another internal memo from 2013 claims that "the Roma/Gypsy ethnic group have increased from 5.9% in 2010 to 9.7% in 2012."

As we reported above, in 2013-2014, Manchester City Council funded an intervention by BHA (Black Health Agency for Equality) to engage with girls from the Romanian Roma community in South Manchester. In its first year report to the City Council's Equalities Team from June 2013 (see above), BHA state: "At present, data collected by the International New Arrivals, Travellers and Supplementary Schools Team indicate that enrolment of girls in Key Stage 3 is equal to the enrolment rates of boys. However, the number of girls attending school in Key Stage 4 (year 10 and 11) decreases by 84%, equating to just 11% of the total number of Roma pupils on roll" (p 2). No information is provided as to the time period assessed or absolute numbers, or the procedure applied to verify the accuracy of data on ethnicity. We assume that the numbers are cited on the basis of data from SIMS (School Information Management System), and that the monitoring targeted specifically S1, where the INA/T/SS and BHA have been involved in supporting Roma since January 2010. A comment to that effect is made in the BHA report from June 2013, which mentions S1 as the only partner school for the activity (p. 5).

The BHA report describes the rationale for the Council-funded intervention as a proven link between 'cultural expectations' of the Roma community, 'early marriage' and pregnancy, and school drop-out. Statements about the precise scale of the issue are inconsistent, however. Reference is made both in the BHA application to the Equalities Funding programme, and in its report from June 2013, to a 'disproportionate' rate of teenage pregnancy among Roma and a link between that and disengagement with school. These statements are repeated in a report by BHA to

Manchester City Council's 'Report for Resolution – Race Scrutiny Committee Report' from November 2013, and in the 'State of the City Report – Communities of Interest', from the spring of 2014. In both documents, BHA maintains: "The main factors attributing to disengagement of young girls from education are early marriage and teenage pregnancy." It adds that "there is a need to understand and address the occurrence of disengagement from education by the Eastern European Roma community and how drop-out is influenced by gender and cultural expectations."

The minutes of the City Council's Young People and Children Scrutiny Committee from 10 June 2014 cite the Team Leader for International New Arrivals, Travellers & Supplementary Schools as reporting that "there was an issue, particularly with Roma girls disappearing after Year 9" and that "Many Roma girls married as teenagers, sometimes before they were 16 ... and would often leave school after they were married." Very little data is provided, however, in support of these generalisations. BHA's report from June 2013 mentions that "4 girls have been referred to the [Leo Kelly] centre since April 2012" (p. 2) and that BHA had previously worked collaboratively "in preventing school dropout/ non-attendance of 6 teenage girls" (p. 5). From the context we understand that the latter statement refers to collaborative work carried out with Sure Start and the Leo Kelly Centre in February 2009. The numbers cited by BHA thus suggest that the agencies involved (INA/T/SS, BHA, Leo Kelly Centre) are altogether aware of no more than 10 Roma girls who between 2009 and 2012 were 'at risk' of leaving school, some of whom in fact continued their education.

In early 2015, as part of our collaboration with S1, our team obtained data from the school in relation to gender and ethnicity of pupils by school year, going back to the academic year 2007/2008. Attendance patterns must be analysed in context, which includes several aspects. First, the progression of entry year cohorts across school years, by gender, can provide a more meaningful indication of any gender-specific patterns of school drop-out than just isolated numbers of pupils on roll by gender in a given year, even when the data examined are anonymous. Second, data need to be taken into account for the full period during which a meaningful number of Roma were enrolled in the school, in order to obtain a longitudinal picture, which is the only way to identify trends. Third, variation in numbers by entry year cohorts, gender, and age (school year) can be triangulated with external data on demographic changes in the community in the relevant years. These are obtained in this case through comparison with school data from primary school P1, which was attended by children from the same families, and through ethnographic interviews with community members. Fourth, in order to ascertain whether gender-specific participation patterns correlate with Roma-specific cultural expectations, as suggested, we need to consider data on Roma in the context of data on other ethnic groups in the school. Finally, we believe that the school's policy and attitudes toward Roma, as they appear in the documentation alluded to above, constitute a significant factor in motivating patterns of engagement and disengagement of Roma in the school and need to be taken into consideration.

With reference to the data tables presented here, we can observe the following patterns: First, entry year cohort 2007/08 shows an increase after Y8 (in 2009), part of a three-fold increase in the overall number of Roma in the school, coinciding with the arrival of more Roma families in the area in that year. This is followed by a gender-unequal decrease after Y10 (in 2011), involving altogether 4 girls (Tables 3 & 4).

Y	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
7	2	1	2	3	8	14	8	13	14	12	5	8	8	5	8	6
8	0	2	3	4	3	5	8	15	9	12	6	8	3	9	7	6
9	0	2	0	4	7	10	3	8	6	11	3	12	3	5	3	7
10	1	0	0	2	1	8	7	12	2	7	1	7	1	10	3	5
11	0	0	2	2	0	5	1	7	3	10	1	4	1	7	1	8
all	3	5	7	15	19	42	27	55	34	52	16	39	16	36	22	32
	8		22		61		82		86		55		52		54	
	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	

Table 3: Roma pupils at S1, by academic year and gender, for each school

Entry year:	Girls' progression by level					Boys' progression by level				
	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10	Y11	Y7	Y8	Y9	Y10	Y11
2007/8	2	3	7	7	3	1	4	10	12	10
2008/9	2	3	3	2	1	3	5	8	7	4
2009/10	8	8	6	1	1	14	15	11	7	7
2010/11	8	9	3	1	1	13	12	12	10	8
2011/12	14	6	3	3		12	8	5	5	
2012/13	5	3	3			8	9	7		

Table 4: Roma pupils at S1, progression across years (Y7 to Y11), by entry year cohort (year in which that cohort joined Y7), data extracted from Table 3 and displayed horizontally (showing increase vs decrease)

Entry year cohort 2009/10 shows a decrease after Y9 (in 2012). This includes both girls and boys, and is therefore likely to reflect family moves. There is an overall decrease of almost 40% in the number of Roma pupils at S1 in that year, with numbers subsequently remaining constant (Tables 3 & 4). According to a report from June 2013, neighbouring primary school P1 had 85 Roma on roll in Y1-6 in the spring census of 2011/12, but only 57 in the spring census 2012/13, showing precisely the same decrease in that year. This confirms the impression that the change is related to the choice of Roma families to move away from the neighbourhood. The decrease is thus independent of age or gender and therefore not attributable to 'early marriage' or pregnancy.

Entry year cohort 2010/11 is the only cohort that shows a meaningful gender-unequal decrease: 6 girls from this cohort appear to have left the school after Y8 (in 2012), and 2 more in the following year. The fact that the more significant decrease appears already in the transition from Y8 to Y9 makes it less likely that this is connected to 'early marriage'. Moreover, this decrease occurs in the same year in which there is an overall drop of 40% in the Roma population of both genders and across all age groups, which is attributable to families moving away from the area. Other entry year cohorts show a drop in the number of boys, between 2011 and 2012, of 12>8, 11>7, and 7>4 respectively (Table 4). The higher drop in the number of girls for entry year cohort 2010/11 in that year (from Y8 in 2011/12 to Y9 in 2012/13) is thus an exception, not an indication of a general pattern.

Entry year cohort 2011/12 shows a progressive decrease, but this takes place already in the early years (Y7 to Y8, and Y8 to Y9) and the same trend is common to both girls and boys. This too can be attributed to the move of families away from the

area in 2012, and so once again ‘early marriage’ and pregnancy can be ruled out as a trigger.

	2007/8			2008/9			2009/10			2010/11			2011/12		
	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio
Roma	3	5	0.60	7	15	0.46	19	42	0.45	27	55	0.49	34	52	0.65
Arab	1	5	0.20	1	4	0.25	0	7	–	1	9	0.11	1	8	0.12
Somali	13	6	2.16	12	13	0.92	4	13	0.30	10	11	0.90	8	13	0.61
(other) Pakistani*	16	47	0.34	14	53	0.26	11	59	0.18	15	52	0.28	17	53	0.32
Bangladeshi	0	11	–	1	11	0.09	1	14	0.07	2	16	0.12	3	15	0.20

	2012/13			2013/14			2014/15		
	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio	f	m	ratio
Roma	16	39	0.41	16	36	0.44	22	32	0.68
Arab	1	4	0.25	0	9	–	2	10	0.20
Somali	9	10	0.90	11	9	1.22	12	10	1.20
(other) Pakistani*	16	45	0.35	12	44	0.27	10	42	0.23
Bangladeshi	3	13	0.23	1	11	0.09	2	11	0.18

Table 5: Roma pupils at S1, ethnicity and gender

On average for the period under consideration, the ratio of girls to boys among Roma pupils at S1 is 0.52 (Table 5). This compares with 0.27 among Pakistanis, 0.12 among Arabs, and 0.11 among Bangladeshis, contrasting with an average of 1.02 among Somalis. The Roma thus show a mild tendency toward a trend that prevails among Middle Eastern and South Asian minorities not to send girls to S1, in most cases opting instead for S2 girls’ school (which has ca 75% pupils of ethnic minority background, compared to around 40% at S1).

Contrasting with Pakistanis, where numbers of girls tend to remain constant in progression from year to year (Table 6), numbers of Roma girls show more fluctuation. This is likely to reflect the relative absence of decisiveness or established routine in the choice of school, and more proneness to adjust to changing considerations, among them i) a preference to keep family members in the same environment, irrespective of gender, ii) protectiveness toward girls, which prompts sending them to an all-girls school, iii) pressures on teenage girls to support care for younger children in the home, leading to irregular attendance, and iv) sensitivity to segregation practices toward Roma at S1, especially in 2011 (as described above). Notwithstanding all these factors, the participation rate of Roma girls at S1 remains significantly higher than that of other ethnic minority cohorts, in particular Muslims of Middle Eastern and South Asian background, during the same period.

y	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
7	2	7	5	14	4	13	2	7	4	8	0	2	3	4	1	17
8	1	9	1	10	5	14	4	12	2	9	4	9	0	2	3	2
9	5	11	1	11	0	11	7	13	4	11	2	10	3	8	1	4
10	4	6	4	13	1	9	0	10	6	14	4	11	2	11	3	6
11	4	1	3	5	4	12	2	10	1	11	6	13	4	11	2	13
	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	

Table 6: Pakistani pupils at S1, by academic year, entry year, and gender

	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	
y	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
7	28	42	44	33	40	38	19	27	16	23	21	27	17	18	18	17
8	25	34	28	40	45	36	38	36	18	26	15	21	23	26	19	17
9	31	50	21	37	30	43	40	34	34	36	19	28	16	20	21	27
10	40	42	31	48	21	38	31	41	39	29	33	35	16	29	15	17
11	42	50	37	36	30	48	21	37	30	42	37	27	31	34	15	28
	2007/8		2008/9		2009/10		2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15	

Table 7: White British pupils at S1, by academic year, entry year, and gender

Explanations that are clearly not related to ‘early marriage’ and teen pregnancy can be found i) for the fact that Roma boys generally outnumber Roma girls at S1, ii) for the decrease in the number of Roma girls in the progression to more advanced years (Y10-11) for the entry year cohorts 2009/10 and 2011/10, which mirror an overall decrease in the Roma population of the area in 2012, iii) at least in part for a decrease in the same year among entry year cohort 2010/11, for the same reason. We are left with a gender-unequal drop in attendance in advanced years for the entry year cohort 2007/8 (altogether 4 girls), and for part of the entry year cohort 2010/11 (altogether 6-8 girls), although the latter also falls within the decrease due to the move of many Roma families away from the area in 2012.

Thus, the total number of Roma girls that might be part of a gender-specific pattern of interrupted school attendance in advanced school years is, at the most, 12, and more likely to be much lower, around 6-7 (see point c. on previous page), over an eight-year period. This would suggest that for an average of 18 Roma girls enrolled in the school in any given year over the entire period (Table 3), there was a gender-specific drop-out rate of somewhere between 0.7-0.8 or around 4%-5%. In total, the possible gender-specific drop-out of 6-7 girls amounts to between 13%-20% of the estimated number of individual Roma girls (around 35-45) who were at some point during the eight-year period enrolled in the school. Even if ‘early marriage’ and pregnancy played a significant role in the discontinuation of school attendance among this particular group of girls, then this is clearly not representative of a general trend among the Roma girls who attended S1 since 2007. Moreover, for this group, too, there is no reason to rule out any of the other possible triggers for leaving S1, especially a move to another (all-girls) school, but also dissatisfaction with the system of segregation at S1, or even pressure to support child care in the home. Given the small numbers involved, it is questionable whether any meaningful generalisations can be made in relation to overall parental considerations, let alone in relation to ‘cultural expectations’.

The comparison with other ethnic minorities at S1 shows that Roma are not exceptional in showing lower participation among girls, and in fact Roma girls are more likely to attend S1 than girls from a variety of other ethnic backgrounds, most notably those of Muslim South Asian and Middle-Eastern background. Uneven gender distribution is not uncommon for individual year cohorts among the majority White British population of pupils, either (Table 7), the average ratio of girls to boys for the period under consideration being 0.82 (compared with 1.02 for Somalis). The data therefore do not support generalisations about any particular, culture-specific barriers that prevent Roma girls from attending secondary school, or even from proceeding to higher years of secondary school education, that are not also shared by other communities, while on the other hand it is likely that the documented attitudes

of exclusion and lower aspirations directed toward Roma at S1 school will have contributed to the disengagement of Roma pupils of both genders.

From interviews that our team carried out with parents, and from the outreach work sessions that partly served to support school applications and requests for school transfers, we are aware of a number of parents who have asked specifically for their children not to be given places at S1 because they knew that the Roma children were all placed in the same class in that school. We are also aware of families who insisted that their girls should attend an all-girls high school, or move to one in the final years of high school. We are aware of one family whose eldest son is now at S1 but the family has been trying to move him to another high school. When their second son moved to secondary school, the family insisted he went to another school quite far from their house rather than go to S1. His mother even met with an Ofsted inspector and expressed her concern about a school system in which all Roma pupils were placed together, giving S1 as an example and asking him to look into the situation. Another mother told our team that she had heard about the Roma-only groups at S1 and that she therefore wanted her son to go to a different school even if that meant he would be the only Roma pupil there. The son received a place in a high school where he is the only Roma pupil from Romania and the family is very pleased with his progress. From what the mother told us we know that the teachers are also very pleased with his progress and full of praises for him. It thus seems as though the segregation that was introduced in S1 became one of the reasons for the decline in the number of Roma pupils, as parents made an effort to send their children, and especially their girls, to other schools.

6.2.5 Observations in two Manchester schools

As part of the extended survey, the Manchester team carried out a series of observations on the participation of Roma children at two local schools – primary school (P1) and a secondary school (S1). Both are situated in the Gorton South neighbourhood, in close proximity to one another, and since 2012 they have been part of the same Education Trust (reporting to the same management). They are also the two schools in the city with the largest number of Roma pupils, who have in recent years comprised reportedly up to 20% of the schools' respective population of pupils (though the precise figures are unknown; see above). Most are Romanian Roma, some are Czech Roma.

Our observations as part of the extended survey took place in the spring of 2014. They are supplemented by the longitudinal observations: Altogether four members of the project team have worked at the two schools in various capacities (teachers, English as Additional Language coordinators, classroom assistants) since 2009. The project coordinator was consulted by both schools on a number of occasions going back to 2008 (P1) and 2010 (S1). Our team has also interviewed other staff who worked with Roma at the schools (see above), and we have also had access to some documentation on the schools' integration strategy for Roma pupils, which was formulated explicitly in a number of documents.

The idea of MigRom involvement in the two schools, P1 and S1, emerged at a meeting with the Education Trust management in December 2013. Concrete ideas were then put forward in a series of joint meetings with the leadership of P1 and S1 in the spring of 2014, after which a formal invitation was issued to the project to contribute to staff training and awareness raising, to help raise aspirations among Roma pupils and strengthen links with parents, and to suggest activities that would help support the transition from primary to secondary school. It was agreed to start

with a period of classroom observation during which MigRom staff would shadow a number of Roma pupils and teachers whose classes included Roma. Observations were arranged for the summer term 2014. The team shadowed altogether 23 pupils in both schools (see Table 8) who were identified by school staff as Roma and were in most cases also known to the MigRom team members from their own work at the schools or through their contacts with the pupils' families. Three teachers were shadowed at P1 and six in S1 (Music, Science, Business & ICT, Drama, and Maths). The shadowing process also provided opportunities to observe the interaction of the selected pupils with additional pupils, both in the classroom and during breaks.

In consultation with school staff, the research team put together guidelines for the shadowing process. The purpose of the shadowing exercise was to observe interactions between pupils and between teachers and pupils and to gain more in-depth insights into the views and experiences of both pupils and teachers. This was done by engaging them in casual but guided conversations through which the team members tried as far as possible to address a series of questions (see below) without having to rely on a formal elicitation (interview) procedure. Since structured interviews were avoided, it was neither possible nor intended to carry out a systematic comparative survey. Notes were taken during or after these interactions and the data were archived anonymously in line with the project's ethics guidelines. All members of the project team who took part in the shadowing exercise had undergone CRB checks and had received training in research ethics and data protection; they all speak Romani and they have links with the community and were often acquainted with the families of the pupils and sometimes with the pupils themselves.

S1			P1		
	Girls	Boys		Girls	Boys
Year 7	2	2	Year 2	1	
Year 8	1	2	Year 3	2	
Year 9		2	Year 4	1	1
Year 10	1	2	Year 5	2	
Year 11	1		Year 6	1	2

Table 8: Number of pupils shadowed during the observation period

We relied on the cooperation of teachers who volunteered to take part in the exercise, and consequently it was not possible to shadow all members of staff or even a representative sample. At P1, all teachers were informed and agreed in principle to participate. At S1, with a significantly larger staff cohort, many staff members were unaware of the project, and on one occasion a staff member who had been recommended to the project team by the school leadership preferred not to allow our team member to take part in a class. The observation schedule at S1 was briefly interrupted due to the absence, during part of the observation period, of the contact person who coordinated the exercise on behalf of the school. It was also noted that most of the lessons observed in S1 were foundation subjects and that pupils generally appeared to be more engaged in these lessons. The impressions outlined in this report do not, therefore, pretend to offer either a fully comprehensive or a representative picture of interaction among or with Roma pupils in either of the two schools. Rather, our aim is to point out particular issues and patterns in order to contribute to a somewhat better understanding of the participation of Roma in the school environment.

Guidelines for shadowing pupils
Questions for pupils:
<p>Do other pupils make racist comments to you? (details?)</p> <p>How do other pupils refer to you and your family? (Romanian, Gypsy, not at all)</p> <p>Are you doing well in school? (why, they think they're succeeding/failing)</p> <p>Are there classes you don't enjoy? (why?)</p> <p>Do you know what level you are working at in maths and English?</p> <p>How important is it that you get good levels in school subjects?</p> <p>What helps (or could help) you make progress from one level to the next?</p> <p>Do you have older brothers and sisters? Are they at school (what are they doing if they have left school)?</p> <p>What do pupils think about learning English? What has helped them so far? What would help them even more?</p> <p>What do pupils find difficult/ easy about learning English? Is it speaking, understanding what others say, reading, writing or learning new words?</p> <p>Do pupils think they are learning English in other lessons or only in English lessons?</p> <p>What helps pupils learn English in other lessons?</p> <p>What do pupils do to help themselves learn English faster? Do they spend time talking in English with pupils who do not speak Roma or Romanian? When? How much time? At school? Outside of school?</p>
Environment/Class:
<p>Are there displays on the wall to aid learning? Do teachers refer to and make use of these?</p> <p>Is equipment used to aid learning?</p> <p>Have teachers provided materials to "scaffold" learning?</p> <p>How are children grouped in lessons? (in groups/pairs also, by ability/mixed-ability, form group/age)</p> <p>How are lessons organised? (by form group, by ability)</p>

Guidelines for shadowing staff
General guidelines:
<p>Observe interactions between teachers, teacher - pupils, teacher/parents. No feedback to be given after lesson shadowing. We are not there to assess the quality of teaching.</p> <p>The questions below are to help focus observations and discussions during shadowing. They are not to be elicited one after another in a question/answer session with teachers or pupils.</p>
Questions for teachers:
<p>Do the Roma generally do well in school? (why, they do think they're succeeding/failing, examples of both)</p> <p>Do you think Roma pupils think it is important to get good levels in school? (why?) Do you think it is important to their parents?</p> <p>What helps (or could help) children make progress from one level to the next?</p> <p>How does school help pupils learning English? What else might help them to learn English faster?</p> <p>Do Roma pupils learn English as quickly as other pupils with EAL? (if not, why do you think this is?)</p> <p>Do other pupils make racist comments directed at/or about Roma pupils? (details?)</p> <p>How do other pupils refer the Roma? (Romanian, Gypsy, not at all)</p>
Environment/Class:
<p>Are there displays on the wall to aid learning? Do teachers refer to and make use of these?</p> <p>Is equipment used to aid learning?</p> <p>Have teachers provided materials to "scaffold" learning?</p> <p>How are children grouped in lessons? (in groups/pairs also, by ability/mixed-ability, form group/age)</p> <p>How are lessons organised? (by form group, by ability)</p>

We found that when asked in general terms about their school experience, pupils tended to have an overall positive attitude to school. For example, a Year 2 pupil was keen to tell us how happy she was to be going to school, and two girls in Year 7 told us that they believed that it is very important to get good grades because this would help them in the future. A Year 10 pupil admitted having problems with some classes but said school was important because it would help him get a job. Although we did

not have an opportunity to speak directly to parents and to correlate parents' views with those of the children, judging by the children's self-reporting it seems that they are strongly influenced by parents' attitudes to school and that those attitudes are usually positive: Most of the children said that it was important to do well at school because they knew that this was important for their parents. For example, a Year 9 pupil who had attended P1, started in Year 7 at S1, and stood out in particular in English and Maths, said that it was important for him to show his family that he was making good progress in his education and that this would help him get a place at college. Another Year 9 boy admitted that school was not very important to him but that it was important for his family that he went to school in order to be able to get a good job.

Quite a number of pupils flagged themselves to us as 'success cases'. A Year 3 pupil was proud to report to us that she often answered questions in class that other pupils were unable to answer. A Year 5 pupil reported how he often finished his work before the others. He described how on one occasion a teacher marked his Maths assignment as incorrect, but it turned out that he had solved the problem correctly and the teacher apologised to him for the error. A Year 10 pupil in the Business class said he was enjoying the work and doing very well. The teacher had assigned a temporary TA (Teaching Assistant) to help him with the language if needed, but the pupil did not seem to need much help. Where possible we tried to explore links between pupils' current feeling of confidence and satisfaction with their progress, and their school biographies. A Year 8 pupil told us that he had started school in Romania when he was five years old. He came to Manchester and joined Year 3 at P1, and after primary school he started Year 7 at S1. He was very aware of his targets and the level at which he was working. We observed how he completed his Science test with relative ease and we were told that he is one of the most advanced pupils in his set. In English he was very confident and eager to help others in his class and was called upon by the teacher to support other pupils once he completed his work. A Year 8 pupil joined Year 5 at Chapel Street Primary School. She then moved to Old hall Drive Primary School in year 6 and joined S1 in Year 7. She reported proudly that she can write and read very well and that she enjoys all her lessons.

Many pupils appear to take an interest in their own progress. A Year 5 pupil said she started to improve by Year 3 and that she now generally understands the work and can speak better English. She enjoys P.E as well as Maths, but she doesn't like Literacy because it's a bit too much writing. A Year 9 pupil who attended P1 for three years reported how she felt that her level of English had improved since Year 7, as did her behaviour and her ability to concentrate. A Year 7 pupil who had also spent three years at P1 reported how she felt relaxed at school and was confident about her own ability to learn. Many directly articulated their appreciation of personal feedback. Two Year 7 girls acknowledged the support that they received from the English teacher, who helped them to write, read and speak English. At the same time, some pupils expressed frustration about their lack of progress. A number of pupils said that they felt their English was improving but that academically they had felt more confident in Year 7 than in Year 9, their current year. A Year 10 pupil said he felt he was learning more when he first started in the EAL class, but now since he joined the mainstream class he hasn't learned much because he is expected to copy what the teachers write on the board. He complained that he didn't know what level he was at now because he hadn't been told, but said he appreciated teachers' efforts to help him with his work.

When children expressed a preference for one subject or group of subjects over others they often linked this to the degree to which the teacher, in their view, engaged with them directly, either by providing individual feedback, which seemed particularly important to them, or by offering pupils more opportunities to participate actively in class and especially, as they put it, “to say their opinion”. At S1 we also observed a higher level of enthusiasm in classes that required more active participation, and more consistent disengagement where teaching was frontal. Year 9 pupils complained about teachers who, in their opinion, did not take the time to explain things to them and merely asked them to copy from the whiteboard. They said that in such situations they did not make an effort to follow the lesson and when asked questions they responded by guessing the answer.

At S1 we found that some pupils make an effort to actively avoid classes in which they feel less comfortable. A Year 7 pupil who had attended P1 told us how he avoids Geography because he usually “gets into trouble” in that class. A Year 9 pupil said he didn’t enjoy History because there was a lot of writing, and he didn’t like Science because the teacher was too strict and shouted loudly at the pupils; but the same pupil was doing very well in English and Maths and was motivated to impress his family with his progress. A Year 10 boy said he didn’t like R.E because he didn’t understand the subject, and he didn’t like Science because there was no practical lesson. A Year 9 pupil who started school at Plymouth Grove Primary School in Year 4 and joined S1 in Year 7 said he often avoided going to lessons because the work was hard for him. We observed on one occasion how he refused to stay in a Maths lesson, but when he received personal attention he was able to complete his assignment very quickly. Generally, pupils in Years 7 and 8 seem to be more actively engaged in lessons while those in Years 9 and 10 said they would like to receive good grades but that they felt that some teachers didn’t show much interest in helping them.

Irrespective of the extent to which these statements are an accurate representation of typical patterns of classroom interaction, they reveal pupils’ willingness in principle to engage in a critical reflection of classroom dynamics, and their intellectual and emotional ability to do so. They also show that pupils’ perception of teachers and their teaching methods is not undifferentiated and that it can therefore serve as a useful indicator of some of the potential barriers and difficulties that pupils may face in the classroom. Clearly, there is no general ‘Roma attitude’ to school.

Some teachers at S1 do not seem to distinguish consistently between nationality (Romanian, Czech, Polish, etc.), ethnicity (Roma) and, to a lesser extent, broader geographical origin (Eastern European). Thus, Roma are often equated with Romanian and sometimes with Eastern European. Roma classroom support workers (‘mentors’) have reported that on occasion they have been asked to translate for pupils of Eastern European background who were not Roma. Many teachers at S1 not only group all ‘Eastern European’ pupils as one category but are also unaware that some pupils of Czech background are Roma. In both schools, other pupils usually refer to Roma as nationals of their country of origin (‘Romanians’, ‘Czechs’) and to the Romani language as ‘Romanian’. Romanian Roma generally refer to Romani as ‘Romanian’ when speaking in English, partly replicating and thereby at the same time reinforcing outsiders’ conflation of the two. The use of self-labelling thus shows an attempt to accommodate to outsiders’ perception, but it also shows the complexity of identity. We have encountered alternation of self-identification labels among pupils of other backgrounds as well.²⁴ For Roma, the absence of one-to-one mapping between

²⁴ <http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/SchoolLanguageSurvey.pdf>

ethnicity/language and country of origin adds to the complexity, as does the fact that Roma identity is by comparison difficult to conceptualise in terms of uniform indicators such as culture, language, or territory.

When asked about others' attitudes to Roma as a group, Roma pupils communicate a range of different experiences. A Year 9 pupil was adamant that he did not see any difference between Roma pupils and non-Roma, and many pupils said that they had never experienced overt exclusion by others. A Year 10 pupil reported that when he first started school – we have been unable to ascertain the level or time frame – he was often subjected to abusive comments including the label 'Gypsy' and the suggestion that he should "go back to Romania", but that such comments had now stopped. A Year 9 pupil claimed to have been present at a conversation in a police station during which an officer said: "all Roma from Romania come to this country to do bad things". We were unable to verify the incident, but even if it is not an accurate depiction of the child's own, first-hand experience, it indicates an awareness and in all likelihood also a latent fear of exclusion and intimidation that is without a doubt present in the community despite most pupils' assertion that they have not been victims of exclusion in their immediate school environment. Two Year 7 pupils in fact said that they did not feel equal to others because teachers would shout at them if they talked to one another during the lesson, whereas when English pupils did the same the teachers turned a blind eye. Once again we are unable to verify such claims, but they are indicative of a perception, or at least of an urge to make use of our presence at the school to voice concerns and perhaps a fear of being excluded.

A curious terminological manifestation of Roma pupils' self-perception is their use of the label 'Gypsoy' as a wholesale reference to those who are not Roma – a kind of symbolic reversal of what is regarded as a demarcation imposed by outsiders. The term had been used by Roma pupils at S1 to refer to non-Roma, usually white British, who were seen as aggressive towards Roma. We know that there was a genuine fear of the 'Gypsoy' among the pupils. The term appeared at a time when Roma families were having their windows broken by white English youth from the neighbourhood. In 2009-2010, neighbourhood issues had spilled over into school life to the point that Roma pupils at S1 had to have certain arrangements for their protection so as not to be attacked by other pupils on their way home at the end of the school day.

Teachers' awareness of and attitudes toward Roma as a distinct cohort appear to vary. At a Year 7 class a teacher pointed out two Roma girls to our team and emphasised that he was proud of their achievements. Another teacher at S1 said that she noticed differences between Roma and other migrants, contrasting Roma's aspirations with those of other migrants and comparing them to those of white British pupils in the school (which we understood to suggest that both Roma and white British pupils have lower aspirations than migrants). She emphasised, however, that this distinction was more pronounced five years ago and that there had been a shift now that Roma pupils were experiencing fewer language difficulties and were more motivated. We heard similar views from another teacher at S1, who said that Roma pupils did not seem to be as motivated as other migrants and that in this respect they were more like white working class pupils who lacked support at home and did not see school as offering them any particular opportunity. At the same time, like other migrants, Roma pupils might experience some issues with language, although she admitted that this was mostly limited to formal oral registers and writing. However, she had noticed an improvement on both issues, particularly among younger pupils. Another difference she noticed was that older pupils rarely interacted with pupils of other backgrounds while younger ones had such interactions more frequently. One

member of staff at S1 felt that at the beginning the school struggled with the Roma, then the situation improved for a while, but now things were getting worse. An EAL teacher indicated that staff at S1 were trying to change their approach to Roma. He said: “We are not just trying to contain the Roma as a group like we used to, but now we look at them individually and assess each child”.

In regard to their linguistic repertoires, as in other respects, Roma pupils are not a uniform group. Among Roma of Romanian origin, literacy skills in Romanian vary considerably depending on the extent of schooling in Romania. Many families have lived in other countries before arriving in the UK, and some pupils have had some (albeit usually very limited) schooling in other languages such as Spanish or Italian. The extent of fluency in Romani varies, too. We have observed that Czech Roma in both schools rarely use Romani with one another though some of them are no doubt able to speak it. Fluency in Romani among Czech Roma varies, with some pupils speaking the language fluently while others appear to be familiar only with a few phrases. In S1 we found that Czech and Romanian Roma generally do not interact during unstructured time. Some limited interactions occur during class time, however. On these occasions, English and Romani are both used, depending on the degree of fluency of the Czech Roma in Romani, but English is used more frequently. Pupils of both backgrounds are without a doubt aware of the shared linguistic heritage, and having the ability to use Romani with one another is clearly meaningful for them. In S1 we noted that teachers have different approaches to the use of Romani in the classroom: Some allowed them to speak in their own language while working in a group to prepare a task, while others tried to enforce a strict ban on the use of other languages.

The two schools appear to be taking different approaches in regard to integrating pupils who are new arrivals. Children arriving at P1 with EAL are given a baseline assessment of their maths and literacy ability and their English language skills. They are then placed with a ‘buddy’ in their class and teachers are expected to take their particular needs into consideration within the class. Children arriving at S1 with little or no English are taught in a separate EAL programme for six weeks. They are then referred to mainstream classes, though it seems that teachers often ask the EAL Coordinator to take pupils back to the separate EAL programme if they feel that they are having difficulties integrating into the class.

The schools also differ in the degree to which seating arrangements are set and implemented by the teachers. At P1 teachers allocate seats and children stay in the same seats until they are re-assigned by the teachers. Teachers appear to make an effort to prevent spatial clustering by ethnic background, and pupils thus always interact with other pupils of a variety of backgrounds. In S1 we observed that pupils often have free choice of seating and where this is the case, there is a strong tendency – not just among Roma – toward clustering by ethnic background. This results in frequent use of languages other than English during group work. In addition to the Roma (both Czech and Romanian) we observed a group of Spanish-speaking girls in Year 9 who used their own language. One of the teachers reported that he did not use a fixed seating plan but that he tried to break down ethnic clusters, while on the other hand he sometimes paired pupils of the same background but different attainment levels to allow those who were more advanced to support the others. We observed one class where a partial seating plan was implemented that put EAL and SEN pupils together. One teacher reported on a trial implemented in a Year 8 English class: The Roma pupils tended to sit together and engaged in conversation with one another during the class. The teacher used drama and speaking/ listening activities in order to

involve them and to help them interact with the rest of the class. We found that pupils were generally critical of 'ethnic' clustering and appreciative of opportunities to interact with pupils of other backgrounds. A Year 7 pupil who joined P1 in Year 2 said that it was better if Roma children avoided sitting together so that they could interact with others and improve their English. Nonetheless, where no seating plan is enforced by the teacher, there appears to be strong peer pressure on Roma to join other Roma. The dynamics of congregation are reinforced not just by language but also by the close familiarity of the pupils, most of whom are related to one another and spend much of their time outside school hours together.

The 'congregation effect' also strengthens peer pressure to exploit gaps in discipline, for instance by routinely arriving late to classes, in groups. This is not limited to Roma, and we had the impression that at S1 pupils of all backgrounds often arrive late to classes. A number of pupils whom we shadowed admitted taking advantage of a lax system of monitoring arrival in class to delay their arrival to lessons that they did not enjoy or where they did not like the teachers because they "shouted" or made them copy from the blackboard. During class times it was not unusual to see pupils wandering around the corridors. A number of staff members seem to be entrusted specifically with minding misbehaving pupils. Besides taking wandering pupils back to classes they are regularly called when a pupil is sent out of the classroom as a sanction for misbehaviour. The pupils are of course aware of this: A Year 9 pupil described to us how she had difficulties understanding Science lessons and therefore made an effort to avoid them by "getting lost" in the corridors as long as she could. She reported that some school staff had the job of finding pupils in the corridors and would then "shout" at them and punish them by giving them copying tasks.

It is clear from our observations that there is no overall suspicion toward or resentment of school among Roma pupils. Rather, we found that Roma pupils clearly articulated a wish to succeed in school and an appreciation of the importance of school, and that they emphasised that such appreciation was both shared and indeed inspired by their parents and families. Roma pupils are also by and large appreciative of the effort of individual teachers and they are motivated to interact and engage with pupils of other backgrounds. We found no overall feeling of discrimination among Roma pupils, but among some pupils at S1 we did note awareness and perhaps even a fear that their status as equals is not always firmly protected. We suspect that such fears are fuelled to a large extent by family experiences and historical narratives that are passed on within the family and the Roma community, rather than triggered by specific circumstances in the school. Nevertheless, we believe that one must treat these narratives of recurring, permanent discrimination as part of the family traditions and historical cultural experience that are particular to Roma and that a special effort is therefore required to gain the trust of Roma pupils in the school environment.

From our conversations with pupils it seems that two issues are of uppermost importance to them: being able to feel that they are given equal opportunities, and receiving personal feedback and recognition of their progress. Neither of these, however, has any clear impact on pupils' classroom behaviour. Rather, behaviour seems to relate directly to pupils' awareness of rules and the degree of consistency with which these rules are applied by staff. The absence or inconsistent implementation of rules triggers less predictable, more 'erratic' behaviour. Further, at S1 pupils' behaviour was found to correlate with the style of teaching and the degree to which learning offered opportunities for direct and personal interaction. Roma pupils were invariably more engaged during interactive sessions, when they received

direct attention from teachers at a personal level, than in sessions that relied on routine frontal instruction that leaves pupils in a more passive role. Finally, the behaviour of individual pupils at S1 is sensitive to peer-pressure to congregate both within the classroom and, when avoiding classes, in the corridors, and so in effect it is responsive to the opportunities that school procedures offer to congregate, such as loose seating plans and lack of enforcement of punctual arrival to class.

Our overall impression so far, however, is that any features that might be attributed distinctively to the Roma community are found to play only a very marginal role in the degree to which pupils successfully engage with the school environment. At most, we believe that some aspects of the social organisation of Roma communities may amplify certain behaviour patterns whose roots are in the school environment itself. Thus the fact that Roma constitute a relatively large and tight-knit cohort of individuals who tend to be family relations may reinforce the ‘congregation effect’ within the classroom and group wandering in the corridor; but these in turn are products of lax implementation of seating arrangements and punctuality norms, respectively. Similarly, pupils’ anxieties about unequal treatment might be interpreted as sensitivity toward the reduced aspirations that some teachers appear to have of Roma and toward what seems to have been, at S1, an earlier, deliberate school policy of ‘containing’ Roma (described to us in such terms by some of the teachers).

In spite of such hindrances we found that Roma were keen to engage with teachers and with other pupils of other backgrounds as well as with the learning material, and that they were appreciative of teachers’ attention and the feedback that they provided. And we found teachers who recognised Roma pupils’ potential and the need to provide personal feedback and who acknowledged that personal engagement with pupils and a belief in their potential was a key to successful inclusion and progress in the school environment. In P1, we encountered fewer problems of discipline, defiant behaviour by pupils, or fear of unfair treatment. We believe that this can be attributed not just to the more consistent implementation of a clear policy and to the fact that younger pupils are less likely to challenge the norms and teachers’ authority, but also to the fact that by now the majority of Roma who join P1 are no longer new arrivals whose schooling had suffered interruptions, and that they are therefore on a par with all other new entrants. They therefore stand out less as a particular cohort, which in turn gives teachers no grounds to entertain any reduced aspirations in regard to the Roma, thus avoiding the vicious circle whereby pupils’ sensitivity to teachers’ low expectations of them leads to disengagement.

6.3 Representation

The Romani Project’s report on ‘The Romanian Roma community in Gorton South, Manchester’ from October 2009 (Matras et al. 2009) flagged the absence of a local leadership among the Romanian Roma community, and the fact that the clergy of the Romani Pentecostal church, which has many followers in the community, is reluctant to get involved in mediation activities (although the church offers support to newly arrived Roma; see above). The role of ‘judges’ who have the respect of community members is equally restricted to community-internal affairs and they too are reluctant to engage in any dialogue with local institutions on behalf of the community. The absence of a clearly identifiable and approachable leadership has been seen as an obstacle by the City Council, which often draws on existing leadership to engage with minority immigrant communities. Manchester City Council had expressed an interest in identifying local community leaders among the Roma,

and the brief given by the City Council the Romani Project report included “to identify individuals with a potential leadership or mediation role ... and to consider ways in which these individuals might be involved in discussions surrounding the general situation and future of their community” (Matras et al. 2009:4). Our report consequently recommended to provide training for a group of young people in the community, and to provide them with opportunity to take on, effectively, mediation and mentor roles by seeking self-employment as interpreters (supporting community members in interaction with local institutions) and classroom support workers. A scheme was consequently put in place in various components. A capacity-building exercise involving a training period of several months was funded and run by the Big Life Group, a regional charity that produces the ‘Big Issue in the North’ and employs many Roma as vendors, in 2010-2011. Some participants on this training activity subsequently carried out various forms of community support work in collaboration with various institutions, including Big Life Group, Sure Start, Black Health Agency, the Council’s International New Arrivals Team, and others. This included youth work and classroom support and mentoring as well as interpreting.

The City Council reiterated its aspiration to involve Roma in regular consultation on at least two occasions. The minutes of a meeting of its Citizenship and Inclusion Overview and Scrutiny Committee from 14 October 2009, record that “The Chair referred to an increase in the presence of the Roma community living in the ward he represented. He felt that community cohesion would be strengthened where community leaders could be identified and the Council could begin to communicate with them to ensure that the area could cater for the change in the community.” As part of a report on outreach activities in the Roma community, the City Council’s Communities Scrutiny Committee notes in the minutes of its meeting from 13 November 2013 that “the Lead Member for Race emphasised the importance of including the Roma community in any consultations and encouraging them to take the lead.” The MigRom project description included the establishment of a Consultation Forum for Roma in its schedule of deliverables, as a joint activity of two Manchester partners (Manchester City Council and the University of Manchester):

“The study will be combined with a pilot engagement scheme led by a local authority – Manchester City Council. The scheme draws on Manchester’s engagement strategy with the community of Roma migrants over the past few years. The project will expand this strategy by introducing further measures for capacity-building within the community, provisions for advice and support services and the creation of a consultation forum that will allow Roma migrants to take part in planning and decision-making processes affecting their community. ... The [project’s] outreach workers will support Council officials in setting up and running a regular consultation forum within the local Roma community which will act as a clearing house for issues with local services, authorities and non-Roma residents.”

At the outset of the project in June 2013 the idea of the Consultation Forum was reviewed and it was agreed to proceed initially through a period of casual observation and canvassing of opinions within the community, identifying individuals with an interest in acting as informal spokespersons for the community, and through gradual capacity building in the form of training seminars and events. In October 2013, a number of individuals who had taken part, together with the project’s outreach workers, at the training activities in 2010-2011 and in subsequent community work,

answered the MigRom project's call to take part on a regular basis in the project's events. In May 2014 we invited them to act as an informal 'Roma Leadership Group' to take the lead on two activities: The first was a public campaign based in Longsight, Levenshulme and Gorton South, which aimed at combatting the prejudice that Roma were responsible for littering. The group produced a multilingual leaflet in which the Roma called on their neighbours to take part in a litter-picking initiative. The activity was carried out in November 2014, and found the support of local councillors and community institutions and received coverage in the local press. The second activity aimed to forward the Consultation Forum idea through a series of meetings with local councillors, to understand their positions and level of awareness on issues of concern to the Roma community. The project assisted with printing and dissemination of leaflets, personnel contribution including administrative and task supervision, office space, promotion and communications. We also made the group aware of various City Council reports from 2013-2014 pertaining to issues of safeguarding and early marriage within the Roma community, which were raised as part of an activity led by BHA. The issue was addressed during the meetings with councillors, which took place between June-December 2014.²⁵

The Roma Leadership Group initiative was the first attempt to engage Roma in a structured dialogue with municipal institutions. Since 2009 a group of around twelve mostly young Romanian Roma have been working alongside various agencies, as described above. But while these people provided input to institutions in regard to information about and aspirations of the Roma community, their influence both on the Roma community itself, and on any interventions relating to the Roma, was extremely limited. This is due to the nature of their role as employees, or in most cases part-time contractors, for the agencies that they worked for. In that capacity, they were entrusted with facilitating participation in pre-set procedures such as school attendance, but did not have any mobilising role within the community. From the side of the agencies that employed them, they served mainly to facilitate access to the Roma clients and they were not involved in the strategic planning of interventions on behalf of, or jointly with any public agencies. Nonetheless, some made regular contributions to information meetings with professionals in a variety of sectors including council officers, housing associations, police, schools and voluntary sector initiatives, as well as, on occasion, public meetings and media reports. In this way, they could be considered to be the emerging public voice of the community of Romanian Roma migrants.

In April 2015, the MigRom's Manchester team, working through the joint Steering Group of the University of Manchester and Manchester City Council, and with support from ERTF, helped establish a Roma community group – "Roma Voices of Manchester" – based on the loose grouping that had by then been in place for more than a year.²⁶ The group brings together individuals who participated in the Roma Leadership Group activities, the MigRom project's Roma outreach workers, and a Romani activity coordinator sponsored by ERTF, together with other community members, and in the spring of 2015 it began a schedule of public events and approaches to local policymakers and other community groups. Manchester City Council, in its report on 'Roma engagement and reporting opportunities' from 16 June 2015, acknowledged the group as a channel to communicate with the Roma community, and representatives of the group were invited to participate in a meeting

²⁵ See documentation: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/migrom/docs/ConsultationForum.pdf>.

²⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/romavoicesmcr/timeline>

of the City Council's Communities Scrutiny Committee – the first ever such participation, to our knowledge, of a group representing Roma migrants in the official deliberations of any local authority in the UK.

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