



# Research on the thoughts of representatives of Roma communities and interested parties regarding the needs of Roma youth



ANALYTICAL REPORT  
ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS  
OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IDI – in-depth interview

FGD – focus group discussion

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sociological research is conducted by VoxPopuli Agency at request of NGO “YOUTH AGENCY FOR THE ADVOCACY OF ROMA CULTURE “ARCA” in July-November 2021.

**The purpose** of the research is to develop recommendations for representatives of public authorities and local self-government bodies to involve representatives of Roma communities in youth support programmes at the local level.

The research is conducted using qualitative methods, in particular, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. These methods allow exploring the deep motivation, arguments and attitudes of respondents to the issues discussed during interviews or discussions. The limitation of qualitative methods is that they do not allow the collection and analysis of statistical indicators, and their results make it possible to track trends and tendencies inherent in the surveyed groups, but cannot be extrapolated to the whole population.

At the same time, the advantage of qualitative methods is that they allow you to get detailed answers and better understand the respondent’s position on a particular issue.

The result of the research is the identification and analysis of trends among the study groups on research issues.

### Research objectives

- 1) 1) To determine the list of needs of Roma youth, as well as to investigate the difference between the needs of young people living in a dispersed and compact way.
- 2) 2) To investigate the awareness and involvement of Roma youth in projects or initiatives implemented for young people at the local level – opportunities for integration into these projects.
- 3) 3) To study the ways of leisure of Roma youth, the circle of communication and the circle of authoritative people whose opinions are listened to.
- 4) 4) To investigate the awareness of the needs of Roma youth among the surveyed groups: youth workers, educational workers and local authorities.

## Sampling design

Determined the conducting of 2 focus groups with representatives of Roma youth. The first one – with male and female respondents who have higher education, are employed and integrated into public activities. The second focus group was planned with Roma youth living in compact settlements or in traditional closed Roma communities. In view of the sensitivity of the topic, which was planned to be explored during the discussions, the researchers proposed to hold discussions with this group of young people separately – with girls and boys.

The focus group for boys was attended by 4 respondents, the focus group discussion for girls did not take place, and individual in-depth interviews were conducted with them.

Already at the stage of organizing the research, a direct link was found between the level of youth involvement in social processes (education, communication beyond the Roma ethnic community, etc.) and willingness to participate in sociological research and openly talk about trust, interaction within the Roma community and life plans.

This aspect should be taken into account, in particular, by all interested representatives of the youth and educational spheres when establishing contact with young Roma and involving them in cooperation.

Thus, within the project, one focus group discussion was held with representatives of Roma youth living in dispersion, being employed and having higher education and one more focus group discussion was held with boys living in “traditional”<sup>1</sup> Roma communities.

All male and female participants of the first focus group have higher education, are employed (those who have completed higher education), have experience in social activities. They represent different regions of Ukraine – Zakarpattia, Lviv region, Kirovohrad and Mykolaiv regions. This focus group was informative.

Representatives from Zakarpattia, Kherson, Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa and Chernihiv regions took part in the focus group for boys from traditional Roma communities. Most of the participants were present only in the first half of the group (up to 1 hour). This focus group was less informative, but also allowed to gather minimally sufficient information for further generalizations.

<sup>1</sup> “Traditional” communities mean Roma communities, whose members mostly communicate with members of their ethnic group, live either in compact settlements or in areas of settlements where a visible number of Roma live in the community (“Roma streets”, “Roma areas”). Such communities are relatively socially closed to members of other ethnic groups.

A sample of key informants for in-depth interviews included:

- Educational workers – 3 in-depth interviews;
- Representatives of local authorities – 4 in-depth interviews;
- Youth workers – 2 in-depth interviews;
- Roma activists who work with young people – 3 in-depth interviews.
- Representatives of Roma youth (girls) living in compact settlements (2 interviews).

**Geography of the research:** Kyiv, Volyn, Chernihiv, Sumy, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Zakarpattia, Lviv regions.

## General characteristics and peculiarities of different groups of respondents at conducting in-depth interviews

- Educational workers – this group of respondents mostly knows little about the Roma in their region. Respondents are more aware of school-age youth and students, but do not single out representatives of Roma communities as a separate category. Sources of information about the needs of young people, the specificity of different social and ethnic groups are quite formalized – vertically in the education system.
- representatives of local authorities – this group of respondents knows about the problems and needs of young people in the region. They are happy to talk about what has already been done. Its representatives quite formally describe possible ways of interaction – by contacting them according to procedures and official statements, which, in the case of members of the Roma ethnic group, is a rather inefficient practice.
- youth workers – know the problems of the youth of their region. They are more informed about the age group of 14-18 and 19-25, but work in most cases with active non-Roma youth. In the view of a small percentage of Roma among their acquaintances, they have a general idea of the characteristics and needs of the Roma ethnic group. At the same time, this category of key informants (from the non-Roma environment) is the least regulated and can interact with its target audiences in various, including informal, ways.

- Roma activists who work with young people – the most informed group of respondents. They are representatives of the Roma ethnic group (as a rule), so they have information about different age groups of Roma youth. During the articulation of Roma needs, they mostly broadcast their own position on the desired development and inclusion of Roma communities in their region. Roma activists were also included in the focus group discussion. The group was active and informative. The focus group with non-Roma activists was less active, with most participants unable to attend until the end of the discussion. For these reasons, it was decided to conduct in-depth interviews with representatives of Roma communities instead of a focus group – this provided a greater level of sincerity and trust of respondents to the moderators.
- Representatives of Roma communities – interviews with them were sincere and informative. These respondents, according to their own words, were not “typical” representatives of traditional Roma communities. They mostly talked about interaction within the Roma community, life, leisure and life plans. Not only information about the personal experience of the respondents is often valuable in such research, but also indirect experience – observations, opinions and assessment of the phenomena and events they observe.

All interviews were conducted in confidence. All data are used in the analytical report in a generalized and depersonalized form.

## THOUGHTS OF ROMA ACTIVISTS AND ROMA YOUTH

### The concept of “successfulness” of Roma youth

According to representatives of Roma activists, the “successfulness” of Roma youth has a conditional and situational connotation. On the one hand, a successful young person of any ethnicity is a person with education, job, a wide range of social ties that allow him to integrate well into social processes and use the available opportunities. On the other hand, all these characteristics usually have significant limitations – the origin of a person, the conditions in which he or she grows and is brought up, the circle of communication.

Thus, the output data of Roma youth are often different from those of their non-Roma peers – especially in the case of families belonging to socially vulnerable groups and / or living in compact ethnically limited settlements.

#### **Markers of successfulness of young Roma – independence (it was mostly about males):**

*“Good job, good family; be an example (for others). The Roma themselves began to look at successful Roma. Even religious Roma want to serve in the church, not just attend it.*

*Younger Roma are starting to change their mentality, we need to “lend a hand”. But it is difficult for them to break stereotypes”*

(according to IDI data)

*«There is a traditional belief that if a boy is 16-17 years old and has a job, is married and can support his family, this is a positive indicator. A more modern understanding of success is to have an education and to develop through education. However, this path has not yet become (main) for young Roma”*

(according to IDI data)

The concept of “successfulness” in the circle of Roma youth community is also interpreted differently. So, for a part of the respondents, including those who have higher education, the value and important marker of success within the Roma community consist in the availability of family, a stable source of income. The signs of success also include material things – brand clothes, gadgets, authority in the community.

Analyzing the own circles of communication within the Roma community, young people among male and female activists confirm that traditional marker of “successfulness” belongs to material resources. Other signs of “successfulness” – public activity, social or professional self-realization, are not articulated by Roma youth as a priority factor. In particular, according to Roma activists, it may concern the girls.



## Perception of gender roles and functions

Despite the presence within the Roma community of a significant proportion of girls who are receiving or have higher education, job and have opportunities in the public sphere, traditional gender roles and expectations of girls within conservative Roma communities are quite predictable.

*“The girls are expected to be obedient to their parents, that they will get married quickly, move to a husband, and be realized as mothers”*  
(according to FGD data)

*“Roma girls are often limited by early marriages. Parents take girls away from school, girls don’t always want that. Boys – (according to traditional approaches) are not too limited, mostly it is a self-limitation of Roma”*  
(according to IDI data)

Both representatives of the human rights community<sup>2</sup> and sociologists<sup>3</sup> published materials on the peculiarities of the situation of Roma women within the Roma communities in the information and public space. Respondents to this research confirm the steady regulation of gender roles within Roma communities, which determines the range of communication, needs and opportunities of girls and boys from Roma families.

## Education as a sign of success

The most of young Roma (Rom, Romni<sup>4</sup>) who took part in the survey have or plan to get education. In general, according to their estimates, Roma youth (at least from the immediate environment) also receive education – both boys and girls. Education is an opportunity to find a job in the future and be realized in life. And although almost every respondent among the participants in the in-depth interviews has acquaintances with Roma who studied only until the 3rd grade (received primary education), the girls still observe a positive trend in their environment.

*“For the most part, the older generation rarely has a college degree or a good job. And the younger generation is starting to study. I have many Roma acquaintances who are studying”* (according to IDI data)

<sup>2</sup> Roma Women Today: How to Survive the Pressure of Triple Discrimination? Campaign “Povaha”. See <https://povaha.org.ua/romska-zhinka-sohodni-yak-vyzhyty-pid-tyskom-potrijnoji-dyskryminatsiji/>

<sup>3</sup> Situation of Roma Women in Ukraine. T. Martseniuk. See <https://commons.com.ua/ru/sotsialnoekonomichne-stanovishhe/>

<sup>4</sup> Romni – a derivative, the feminine form of “Rom” – a representative of Roma origin of the male sex.

At the same time, it should be noted that the participants of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews mostly belong to quite integrated families – they do not live in compact settlements, but in cities where Roma population, although a visible national minority, is well integrated into social processes.

*“There are streets in our city where many Roma live. Roma fall into two categories: there are Roma who live normally, their children go to school, get an education, but there are few of them. And there are Roma who live “not very” and need help”* (according to IDI data)

However, education is not a sign of success for all young Roma (Rom, Romni<sup>5</sup>). The more socially closed the community, the more conservative the “assessment” of successfulness.

However, there is one important aspect here – even closed communities are not homogeneous. Only family as a social unit determines the way of upbringing and the system of values in which its members live. Yes, there can be more conservative or less conservative families within one Roma community.

For Roma children, according to focus group participants, senior family members can be undisputed authorities. Often, the availability of education and employment of older generation determines the same values for younger family members.

*“If parents have an education and they see it as a value, they will pass it on to their children”* (according to FGD data)

These words are confirmed by the participant of the focus group discussion with boys. Thanks to his parents and their influence he successfully studies at school, attends a sports section and is even involved in social activities. However, he notes that according to his estimates, most of familiar Roma peers do not strive to get education – parents do not see it as a value, and their children do not understand it:

*“They (Roma children) do not understand that they will need education to work. Their parents’ parents had no education and worked somewhere; the parents of these children are also doing something. And their children want to earn and live normally in the future. But they don’t associate it with education”* (according to FGD data)

*“In the majority of Roma families in which parents have no education or have incomplete general education, children are not encouraged to study and, accordingly, they are not instilled with alternative pattern of behavior”* (according to FGD data).

<sup>5</sup> Romni – a derivative, the feminine form of “Rom” – a representative of Roma origin of the male sex.

## Leisure

Leisure of young Roma is largely determined by: place of residence (large or small settlement), type of community – conservative and closed (live compactly) or integrated (live dispersed), circle of communication (limited only or mostly by Roma or not only by Roma). For example, according to previous research, 33% of Roma have only Roma in their immediate circle of friends, and 78% – close acquaintances are mostly or only Roma<sup>6</sup>.

Focus group participants shared their own observations of how their peers and teenagers from the Roma community spend their free time today. To a greater extent, young people talked about Roma from their immediate environment – and these are socially integrated young people getting education.

In their opinion, Roma youth, as well as young people in general, spend a significant part of their time on social networks – Tik Tok, Instagram, Telegram and Viber messengers, which are leaders in communication and news tools. The social network Facebook is less popular among young people, and is mostly used for studying or receiving news.

An important part of personal time for Roma youth is communication with peers from the Roma community – relatives, close friends and acquaintances. Traditionally, Roma families gather together for religious and New Year's holidays, from time to time older members of the family organize parties and gatherings for young people or such parties are organized by young people themselves. In some Roma families, according to focus group participants who raise children in a rather rigid framework, such parties and gatherings, and often religious meetings (sermons, Sunday services), are an important part of social life.

At the same time, participants say that they are currently seeing significant changes among the older generation – they less restrict communication of young Roma with peers, including non-Roma.

For compact settlements, such a situation – with the regulation of social contacts by the older generation, is rather irrelevant. Children and adolescents in compact settlements communicate freely and often with each other, but social contact with members of other groups is rather the exception. After all, Roma children attend school, as a rule, the nearest to the compact settlement where mostly Roma children study. Extracurricular activities can be religious or sporting events in the same compact settlements.

<sup>6</sup> Research “Mapping the potential of employment and entrepreneurship development in Roma communities” in 2021. See: <https://www.irf.ua/publication/analitichnyj-brif-mapuvannyapotenczialu-praczevlashuvannya-ta-rozvytku-pidpryemnyctva-v-romskyh-gromadah/>

In such cases, the interests of young *“may be limited to joint parties, gatherings, weddings or other events that traditionally involve Roma families. At such meetings they try to get acquainted, because getting married is also a sign of success. It's about girls”* (according to FGD data).

When thinking over the leisure of Roma youth, participants in focus group discussions and in-depth interviews try to avoid generalizations, as most generalizations of statements can be somewhat stereotypical. However, some of the characteristics of Roma youth shared by the participants are worth to mention.

- **“Adulthood”** – *“... because Roma children grow up quickly: at the age of 13-14 they are significantly older than their non-Roma peers, at the age of 18-20, they are equal”* (according to IDI data);
- **“Uncertainty due to ethnic bias”** – *“there are children who finished school ... there are children who entered universities and graduated through the Renaissance program”<sup>7</sup>. Many of them cannot find themselves because they are Roma”* (for example, because of ethnic bias when hiring, etc.);
- **“Diversity”** – *“... because there are many ethnic groups in Kharkiv, there are many Roma communities (about 6 large ethnic groups of Roma). Each group has its own traditions* (according to IDI data).

None of the in-depth interview respondents and Roma activists were able to recall any general events in which they personally or their Roma acquaintances took part. To some extent (a small number of respondents – up to 5 participants in the research) are aware of the existing youth hubs and other general youth activities in the region. At the same time, Roma youth, both activists themselves and those who occasionally participate in civic activities through senior borrowers or peers from the Roma community, are well aware of youth activities for Roma community. Thus, young people from Kherson and even Dnipropetrovsk regions are working to create a Roma youth center, attract supporting from local governments to their initiatives, and establish interregional cooperation.

Roma activists insist that in order to work fully with Roma youth in communities, local authorities and other responsible representatives (education, administrative services) should recognize and expect initiative from young Roma if they do not have a role model for activity in their families or in the immediate environment, it will be useless – young people are usually unaware of their capabilities in this regard.

For example, several in-depth interviewees present stories from their own experiences. Despite the fact that they grew up in rather conservative communities, in their close circle there were and are young Roma who lead active public work – organize cultural initiatives, teach the Romani language, conduct trainings on protection of rights. Therefore, the

<sup>7</sup> This is a charity program of Roma Educational Foundation (Budapest) and the International Renaissance Foundation, which operated in Ukraine until 2019.

range of their current interests is determined by this experience – they study, plan to get education, start their own business.

Therefore, in communities where there are no active young Roma who can act as role models for other youth and actively communicate and interact with different groups, youth and educators must be proactive and initiate such communication on their own. And this is a work that involves a long process of building trust with the Roma ethnic community. On the other hand, often representatives of various non-Roma groups – members of the community – are the bearers of stereotypes about Roma. That is, in any case, it is difficult to manage without additional education on tolerance and combating prejudice against the Roma by the public in this process.

*“The general rule is the same: the less conservative a group is, the less is a barrier in the realization of people’s needs and development due to traditions”*  
(according to IDI data)

In general, the quality of leisure and the ability to make plans for the future almost always depend on living conditions, socio-economic status of the family and the circle of friends. The most notable factor in meeting any of the basic needs of security is the availability of financial resources to meet all other needs.

### Social models and traditions – what’s the difference

According to respondents from the Roma national minority, social models and traditions within Roma communities can largely determine the system of social coordinates for their members.

Such system is called “Romanipe” by participants of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. This is a system of rules of behavior or “Roma law” is identified by the Roma themselves as part of their traditional culture. The Roma themselves are reluctant to talk about the essence and details of Romanipe during the discussion. Young people who are educated and involved in Roma activism emphasize that these rules are really important to follow if a person has a Roma identity. Those who are trying to establish contact, in particular, with traditional Roma communities, should also know about Romanipe. Although, for the most part, Romanipe’s canons and rules deal with internal Roma issues and can rarely apply to people outside the Roma community.

*“Successful (Roma) people must not be tarnished in violation of Roma laws and traditions (Romanipe)”* (according to IDI)

At the same time, Roma activists note that controversial social markers (e.g., early marriages, lack of education, etc.) are also labelled by non-Roma as “traditions” of Roma communities; According to young Roma, this significantly limits the opportunities for interaction and involvement of non-Roma in solving these problems, because if these

phenomena are perceived as a social and cultural norm of the ethnic community, then they must be addressed within the community.

*“Roma community does not see problems in traditions that may prevent its members from achieving something. But from the outside it looks like a problem”* (according to IDI data).

Thus, Roma activists note that one of the sensitive aspects for Roma youth in compact settlements is the creation of families by young people at a fairly young age – the so-called “early marriages”<sup>89</sup>. Often, marriage and the birth of a child immediately transfer young parents to a cohort of “adults” for whom education or other youth needs take a back seat. For young families, the priorities are: employment, purchase or rental of housing, raising children. Getting or completing education is secondary, especially for young mothers.

*“Girls study mainly up to 3-5th grade. In our school about three persons completed 11th grade. Boys also rarely reach 10th grade”*  
(according to IDI)

Therefore, when thinking over “traditions” in the Roma community, it is important not to go to certain extremes in their interpretation. According to Roma activists, it is logical to discuss and agree with interested parties (local authorities, youth workers) their position and understanding of Roma traditions – this will determine the potential next steps they will be ready to take in the integration of Roma youth.

According to Roma activists, the Roma community itself, including the older generation, needs to be educated and involved in discussions on how to preserve traditions and cultural identity, while ensuring that young people have access to existing social opportunities. Religious communities perform a certain educational function in communities – church pastors are leaders of opinions and have authority among Roma groups, and often influence the views of parishioners, in particular, social attitudes.

*“Our public organization (it has existed since 2005) satisfies some social or material needs. But I have not seen any changes in people’s lives over the years. With religious influence (change of religious attitudes), on the contrary, people have internal needs that people try to meet. The system of values, thinking, patterns of behavior are changing and as a result human goals are changing...”*  
(according to IDI)

8 Early marriages in Roma communities: tradition or problem? T. Martseniuk.. T. Martseniuk. See: [http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/7856/Martsenyuk\\_Ranni\\_shliuby\\_u\\_romskykh\\_spiilnotakh.pdf](http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/7856/Martsenyuk_Ranni_shliuby_u_romskykh_spiilnotakh.pdf)

9 In more traditional communities, marriages can take place before adulthood, in more open communities – later, after people reach 18.



In general, social markers and their derivatives (sometimes quite stereotypical and even offensive in some settlements or regions) are not decisive for traditional Roma families. On the contrary, important traditions for the Roma community are respect for older relatives and the elderly, taking their views into account when making collegial or family decisions, and the value of family ties, which become the first source of support.

However, it should be noted that there will be differences for different ethnic groups as to whether the status of such a successful person is recognized only within their Roma group, or whether it is considered so in the wider community:

*“There will be differences for different Roma groups: for traditional groups – more “Roma” rules, for more assimilated groups – status outside the Roma community” (according to IDI data)*

### Brief conclusions to the section

According to key informants who do not belong to the Roma community, Roma youth have similar problems as young people in their region. However, the problems and needs of Roma youth are significantly burdened by certain peculiarities related to ethnic identity.

- **The problem of leisure.** For Roma youth living in compact settlements, this problem is burdened by the segregation of their community.
- **Employment.** State employment assistance is not provided to young people at all, although consultations can be provided nominally at Employment Centres, and sometimes – referrals to jobs / vacancies of enterprises that interact with Employment Centres<sup>10</sup>. Often due to formal reasons (lack of registration or documents, lack of previous job); Roma cannot receive the minimum unemployment benefit or register with the Employment Center.

<sup>10</sup> According to the research “Mapping the potential of employment and entrepreneurship development in Roma communities” <https://www.irf.ua/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/employmentbrief-corrected2.pdf>

For Roma families, which belong to the socially different versions of the population, and for those young people, who live compactly, the following problems are added to the obvious ones:

- Lack of proper social inclusion – limited range of communication;
- Getting quality education – general, secondary special and higher;
- Prejudice from other residents of the community – on ethnic grounds;
- Weak motivation of Roma parents to involve their children in the process of education;
- Socio-economic problems that are an obstacle to diversified development (attending extracurricular activities, etc.).

Roma young people are almost unaware of youth activities in their localities. As for Roma youth activities – learning of the Roma language, culture, history, they are implemented by Roma non-governmental organizations.

**“Roma traditions” (Romanipe)** – can be a limiting factor for social integration and interaction, but they should be taken into account when working with young people, as they are an important aspect of identity and perception within the Roma community. It is erroneously with “traditions” and not with socio-economic factors and factors related to discrimination or disability of Roma, respondents from among youth workers, educators and local government representatives tend to explain the way of life of Roma living in compact settlements or closed communities (relocation for seasonal employment, lack of access to education, etc.).

## THOUGHTS OF YOUTH WORKERS

**Youth workers** are people who work with young people, creating opportunities for development, self-realization, involvement in decision-making, protection of rights, exchange of experience and development of competencies needed by young people to be successful in the modern world. Representatives of state bodies, local self-government bodies, communal institutions or public associations with professional skills in working with young people may become youth workers<sup>11</sup>.

Ukraine has approved Procedure for Implementing “Youth Worker” Programme<sup>12</sup>, which involves representatives of civil society and public authorities directly involved in the implementation of youth policy, improve their qualifications and acquire knowledge and skills in working with young people.

The territorial center of youth activity with the participation of youth workers in the community should be a youth centre, on the basis of which young people can meet, hold various events, communicate, network and interact within joint activities<sup>13</sup>. Such centres operate in communities on the basis of sports, cultural and educational institutions and are funded by local budgets. There are already more than 200 such youth centres in Ukraine. They should join the all-Ukrainian network of youth centres.

### Awareness of Roma communities

Most of the youth workers who were included to the research sample and took part in in-depth interviews were little aware of the Roma ethnic minority living in their communities. In general, youth workers do not yet view the Roma youth group as one that needs targeted interaction in establishing contact. As a rule, in the communities where the respondents work, the Roma are inconspicuous among active youth, or *“Not included (in youth and other social activities)”*.

<sup>11</sup> What shall be done with youth in UTC. Successful practices of the united communities. <http://decentralization.uacrisis.org/youthpractices>

<sup>12</sup> Procedure for Implementing “Youth Worker” Programme <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/z1178-18#Text>

<sup>13</sup> About youth centers. See: <https://decentralization.gov.ua/youth/molodizhni-tsentry-vhromadakh>

Considering the expediency of focused work with Roma youth at the community level, youth workers, although highlighting a number of social features in cooperation with Roma communities in their settlements, do so quite stereotypically. Respondents themselves also point to the presence of stereotypes about Roma on the part of community residents. These stereotypes are probably the initial barriers to contact with Roma youth – at the stage of acquaintance and involvement in general youth activities.

*“We say that there are Roma and there are “Gypsies”. And for people we are all “Gypsies”. And there is a stereotype that we will now steal, cheat, etc. Such behaviour discourages the Roma themselves from joining the community”*  
(according to the IDI data)

### Peculiarities of involvement and interaction with Roma youth

Regarding the interaction of Roma youth with non-Roma, there is mutual mistrust, which, according to youth workers, is cultivated by the older generation. According to youth workers, Roma youth can interact well with non-Roma in schools (possibly in other places, such as clubs), but outside schools such communication is not encouraged by parents on both sides.

*“In educational institutions – yes (they communicate). Outside of schools, the position of parents interferes: (friendship with Roma is equated with bad company). Educational work is needed on both sides: on the part of the Roma (they are very closed), and on the part of the community”*.

*“Distrust on the part of parents as for allowing juvenile Roma to take part in the activities together with non-Roma youth (for example, training for 3-4 days). There was an issue of cohabitation of children. There were frequent cases with different families”*.

Respondents from the young Roma generation also said that in some rather conservative Roma communities the older generation restricts communication between young people and non-Roma. The most important aspects to build contacts and trust with Roma communities are the following: a) mediation provided by active Roma youth (if there is one in the community), b) holding events for Roma communities with the involvement or informing of the older generation (events may be devoted to the topic of culture, history of the Roma).

Youth activities, which may include trips, more systematic and long-term involvement of Roma youth, without the establishment of primary trust, may be perceived rather sceptically by the older generation. According to one of the respondents, 1-2 Roma representatives are the most visible in their community, who are trying to take over most of the communication and information from the community to the Roma and vice versa. The respondent assesses this as a manifestation of Roma traditions – the presence of an elder or “main communicator” on the part of the Roma community.

In reality, it may be that this person, with whom the government and various other groups interact the most, does not always have authority within the Roma community, namely, cannot fully represent its interests, and even more the interests of young people.

The creation of youth centres or hubs, according to youth workers, is a very positive signal for a dialogue and sustainable development in the community. However, such centres are not yet in demand among Roma youth. None of respondents from the number of youth workers was able to recall young Roma among the visitors to the centres.

According to respondents in this category, Roma young people “are not interested in the work of hubs”. If we look at the situation more deeply, and based on the level of awareness of youth workers about the needs and characteristics of Roma youth in their communities, we can conclude that Roma youngsters, with a high probability, do not know about the existence or opportunities for themselves in these institutions. Yes, none of the interviewed youth workers communicated with Roma youth on their own initiative, this category of youth in the community is in principle not singled out as a group that needs additional measures or efforts to be included. Youth workers probably do not have enough information about the benefits of involving segregated groups in their work, they also don't have information about the ways and approaches to such involvement.

*“There is a youth centre in the city. It works mostly with those who visit it (active young people who come to it themselves). We need to involve others. The youth centre is located close to the Roma residence, but it does not involve them – the Roma are not the target audience (of the centre). The Roma themselves probably do not know about this centre”* (according to the IDI data)

### Markers of successful Roma youth and unmet needs

In turn, young workers are of the opinion that success among the Roma (especially young people under 18) is financial success, the markers of which are the presence of the same attributes of a secure life – car, telephone, housing, branded clothing. At the same time, financial security is an important aspect of security and access to rights and opportunities. It is social insecurity that leads to the vulnerability of Roma living in compact settlements.

*“Financial stability, the opportunity to provide for oneself and one's family. Perhaps more education and training (it will also support security and greater access to rights”* (according to the IDI data)

However, based on rather limited information about Roma in their communities, youth workers suggest that among the unmet needs of Roma youth are the following:

- Getting an education (primarily school education);
- Non-formal education (primarily aimed at intercultural interaction).

Youth workers also note that in order to effectively involve Roma youth in community life, parents of Roma children should become their target audience in the long run.

*“As for the Roma, we need to work more with families (with parents). The positive examples we have seen are working with school education. Public organizations were involved in this activity. The positive result was that in one school during one school year the percentage of Roma children attending school increased”* (according to IDI data)

*“It is important to inform about the opportunities that exist and that participation in events is safe (for young Roma). Information is not only for young people, but also for their parents (because the participation of young Roma depends on them)”* (according to IDI data)

Regarding the ways of conveying information, mediators (Roma medical or social mediators) or persons trusted in the Roma community are identified in the first place. Other ways of “entering” Roma communities were not mentioned by youth workers. On a general basis, information about the work of youth centres is disseminated through schools and other educational institutions. And while schools are indeed the most trusted public institutions, low motivation and level of trust in non-Roma communities by Roma youth and their parents are significant barriers to attend youth centres.

Nevertheless, this method of communication can be effective for involving certain public and youth activities.

*“Information was conveyed through schools. Information was conveyed through the informal leader of the Roma community (the “baron”) and such communication was very helpful. It is also possible through other authoritative persons (in the Roma community); example – two girls aged 22-23 (taekwondo athletes, ran for local government bodies)”* (according to GI)

## Brief conclusions to the section

Youth workers note that Roma youth are not included in the community of the city / town, they are isolated. There is distrust and stereotypes on both sides: about the Roma among the local population (losing property or being deceived), and about the locals on the part of the Roma themselves (feeling of potential danger – risk of discrimination, insults, rejection).

The main problems of involving Roma in public life are: isolation of the Roma community, lack of direct communication with Roma communities; rooted mutual stereotypes (concerning Roma's harmful influence – in non-Roma circle, especially the older generation (according to respondents), and about the safety of young Roma – in the circle of older generation of Roma).

The results of the research demonstrate the need for two-way communication between local youth workers and representatives of Roma communities. The practice of mediation or participation of active Roma or non-Roma youth showed effective results.

Youth workers in communities, where there are notable/numerous Roma ethnic groups, should include in their agenda a component on the inclusion of Roma youth in the local social youth context. At the same time, young workers need more information about the specificity of working with Roma communities, the specificity of involvement, taking into account existing barriers (such as the presence of stereotypes and isolation of the Roma community).

Participation of Roma youth organizations may include: identifying such active representatives of the youth in the areas, organizing joint activities on the basis of youth centers, joint studying the needs of Roma youth in the areas (specific to this region or local community) and opportunities available in cooperation with youth workers.

## EDUCATIONAL WORKERS ABOUT WORKING WITH ROMA YOUTH

Respondents of this category belong, first of all, to the group of representatives of education departments, i.e. they do not independently carry out pedagogical or other educational process. At the same time, they have information about the peculiarities of the educational process for representatives of various social and ethnic groups at the local level.

The general trend identified in the research shows that Roma students do not constitute a specialized category for educators, even in communities where Roma can study, for example, in one educational institution (on a territorial basis – educational institutions can be located close to places of compact or mass settlement of Roma in the settlement, that is why they are attended by a large number of Roma children).

### Generalized perception of Roma youth and Roma communities as a whole

Educators are quite critical and, in part, stereotypical about Roma communities (Roma youth in particular). In their assessments, respondents rely on the experience of teachers, personal (small) experience of communication with Roma youth and the assessments of other residents of their communities.

- **“Passive”** – this applies to young people in our region in general. This is a regional trend. Youth activism was not popular at all, there was a formal involvement of young people. 2-3% of young people and they are everywhere”;
- **“Negative”** – they are not active, we do not know anything about them.

Respondents included in the sample of the research, in general, are poorly informed about Roma communities and their peculiarities. Not in all regions / settlements Roma communities and their representatives are “visible”.

Representatives of education departments quite formally characterize the relationship between Roma and non-Roma students, insisting on the absence of discrimination and other social barriers against Roma. Among the significant barriers to the education of Roma youth, representatives of education departments consider non-attendance at schools, low level of involvement of Roma parents in motivating children to get an education, and so on. At the same time, educators did not give examples of how these problems are solved at the level of their communities. Respondents observe a positive trend in the number of Roma children attending schools and the enrolment of Roma youth in higher education. Roma student give a positive signal both to their community and to society as a whole.



*“School and university youth communicate well (especially when there is no difference in the social status of families). I began to notice an increase in Roma youth in schools and universities 3-5 years ago. There are no stereotypes about Roma studying at the university – on the contrary, it is perceived very positively by society”* (according to IDI data)

However, it is fair to note that educators do not work with Roma youth as a target group – neither in communities where Roma live compactly, nor in settlements where the Roma community is less visible and dispersed.

On the one hand, the presumed argument in favour of not distinguishing Roma as a separate category for proactive and targeted work to promote learning is the typical “equal treatment for all students, regardless of their ethnicity.»

This argument is pre-restrictive and does not take into account a number of social characteristics of the group, and thus legitimizes the lack of “positive actions”<sup>14</sup> about it.

### Barriers to interaction

Thus, one of the difficulties in interacting with Roma students and their parents, according to educational workers, is the complex process of “getting in touch” and building trust. Involvement of children in various social activities often requires the permission of a senior family member, and this should be taken into account when planning non-formal education activities.

*“It is difficult to be an authority for them during training (in order they listen). You even have to call an older relative to let them go (students), (the elders allowed them) to take part in something”* (according to IDI data)

Educators note a certain kind of passivity on the part of the Roma – (“*they do not want to change, take part in city life*”). That is, not taking into account the peculiarities of interaction with Roma communities mentioned above, educational workers also expect initiative from the Roma. Among the barriers to greater integration of Roma into community life, educators do not rule out the existence of stereotypes about them by community members.

*“Influence of stereotypes (on the part of society) and unwillingness to change (on the part of Roma)”* (according to IDI data)

<sup>14</sup> positive actions – special temporary measures implemented according to the Law and pursuing legitimate, substantiated objective aimed at elimination of legal and factual inequality in opportunities of women and men to exercise equal rights and freedoms vested in them by the Constitution and laws of Ukraine. See: <https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/TM058172>

However, educators also see such obstacles to greater Roma integration, which are derived from the “traditions” of the community. This once again raises the question of understanding and interpreting the cultural traditions of a group:

- gender inequality (young female Roma have more restrictions, they are taken out of school at an early age);
- the tendency of the Roma family to drastically change their place of residence and leave together with minor children (for some time or periodically – trips to seasonal jobs, etc.);
- conservative views of parents on the life path of young Roma (marriage, employment or family business – for example, trade).

*“... For young Roma it is often an imposed way of life because they have not seen another ... How can a person aged 12-13 clearly say that he or she needs to get married?”* (according to IDI data)

At the same time, most respondents try not to generalize Roma communities – they are personally acquainted with “more modern” Roma families and fully support their way of raising and socializing children.

*“Roma young people also have the influence of families and some conservatism. Some families are more traditional, some families are more “modern”. In modern families, young Roma are allowed to choose among the opportunities they see preferable for themselves”* (according to IDI data)



## Youth and public activity among Roma youth

According to educators, young Roma are little aware of the possibilities of involvement in youth centres and civic activity. The lack of civic activity by Roma youth at the local level seems logical taking into account the above views on the complexity of interaction with Roma communities, as well as the position on the “unwillingness of Roma to participate in community life” including also stereotypes and prejudices.

*“If the Roma were more aware of their rights and opportunities, they would have the opportunity to join youth centres and youth spaces. Where they would be accepted and helped. Our centre, for example, is set up to cooperate with the Roma, but the Roma do not come to us”* (according to IDI data)

At the same time, the capabilities of youth centres fully allow, according to educational workers, to meet the possible needs of Roma youth in communication, integration and social interaction with the general public. The lack of information and understanding of the situation and real needs of Roma youth by educators is evidenced by their inability to formulate at least indicative activities and ways to involve Roma youth in them.

*“There are youth hubs: “1991”, “Spalah” (Eng. flash), more avant-garde premises, but they are all specialized. Youth hubs can meet the problems of Roma youth (they are open to all, young people work there). Roma youngsters do not work there, but whether they visit or not, I can’t say. Our youth centres formally exist in libraries. For me, they are not a common space”* (according to GI data)

## Brief conclusions to the section

Respondents from the group of educators need more information on the specificity of working with Roma communities. Lack of information and misunderstanding of approaches to involving young people in education introduces stereotypes about Roma at the community level and creates unrealistic expectations from members of the Roma community: *“do not ask for help, do not want to learn, do not participate in community life, etc.”*

The perception of the Roma community by educators is quite similar to the perception of youth workers. At the same time, as part of an established system, educators are more regulated in their work procedures and have fewer informal tools for informal interaction.

In order to work with Roma youth at the community level, in particular in the field of education and other fields, community work should be carried out concerning the number, study the social conditions and situation of Roma families, and common search of necessary solutions with the representatives of Roma communities. None of the respondents mentioned such bilateral cooperation and attempts to study the real needs of the Roma community. Declaring equal treatment regardless of the ethnicity of the residents, representatives of the education sector also absolve themselves of responsibility for carrying out “positive actions” in relation to Roma residents.

## LOCAL AUTHORITIES ABOUT ROMA AND ROMA YOUTH

To some extent, local authorities are the most informed category about the conditions and situation of Roma communities in their settlements. Which is quite logical – as a rule, the authorities have statistics on the number of inhabitants, the presence of socially vulnerable groups in the city or town and information about the appeals with which residents can apply to local authorities.

At the same time, local authorities also operate quite formally and in part stereotypically tend to characterize Roma communities. Some respondents noted the positive dynamics of Roma integration into community life. Roma youth are not singled out as a separate category for interaction by local governments. During the interviews, respondents did not provide specific examples of appeals, stories of Roma residents or concrete figures. In communities or regions where the Roma do not make up a significant part of the local population, local authorities use fairly general phrases.

*“Unadapted to closer interaction”* (Roma are almost invisible in the city, more crowded in rural areas, young Roma study and work there);

*“Come out of the shadows”* (Roma began to be noticeable: get a job, study at school and university, defend their rights; more active young Roma become more visible in the community, their public and social activities are noticeable);

*“Roma youngsters are not noticeable in the life of the city”* (here, first of all, we are talking about those residents of the community who hold some positions in local authorities – the respondent met with Roma youth only once at work and moreover with one person);

*“A small community; I have not met Roma in the city”* (encountered only on issues related to Roma children’s school attendance; some Roma families are beneficiaries of humanitarian and other social assistance to people from vulnerable categories).

In general, despite the fact that local governments are more aware of the category of respondents in relation to Roma communities, they point to the lack of constant interaction with representatives of Roma communities. In particular, most often cooperation or communication takes place with a limited circle (most often) – representatives of public organizations who do not represent the interests of Roma youth.

On the one hand, this is a well-understood practice – local authorities contact proactive residents and usually respond to inquiries from communities. On the other hand, due to the closed nature of the Roma community, which is recognized by other groups of respondents, interaction with a limited number of representatives of Roma communities significantly limits the consideration of the interests of the most vulnerable residents of Roma communities. The real number of requests from the Roma to the authorities is insignificant. This is evidenced by the answers of respondents and data from previous surveys – the overall level of trust of Roma in government (including local government) is quite low – most Roma (74%) rather or completely do not trust the authorities<sup>15</sup>.

*“There was only one case when a young Rom wanted to attend an art school, but his family did not have money to attend. It was solved positively: the plot of that case was filmed, money was collected”* (according to GI)

In general, work with young people by local governments is considered, mostly, in the cultural, sports and landscaping areas. Respondents found it difficult to articulate what exactly is involved in attracting young people at the city level in addition to participating in cultural and sporting events.

According to the interviewed representatives of local authorities, young Roma are not visible in the life of cities. It is worth noting that representatives of those communities in which the number of Roma is not large were invited to participate in the survey. The Roma are mostly known in the community due to their cultural activities (dance, creative groups) at official events. However, even such a Roma presence is not everywhere. The level of integration and inclusion of Roma in existing community processes and existing youth activities (general, not purely Roma), according to local authorities, is also low. Assessing the level of involvement of both young people in general and Roma youth in particular, according to the “Hart’s Ladder of Participation”<sup>16</sup>, it is more often in the “setting” of events, which is the 2nd position out of 8. The highest – 8th level of involvement is the involvement of young people in decision-making.

*“Young Roma are invisible, single representatives are noticeable (dance groups, creative groups). There are few Roma in our community at all. Roma events sometimes happen, but they are more family-like (very closed)”* (according to IDI data)

*“Little is known about young Roma and their activities. There are no Roma’s events (Roma have never applied – “even for singing or dancing”); probably they have not a leader or organization that can take care of them”* (according to the IDI data)

15 Research “Identifying the legal needs of Roma communities”. Kharkiv Institute for Social Research 2015. See: [http://diversipedia.org.ua/sites/default/files/romi\\_print\\_blok.indd\\_.pdf](http://diversipedia.org.ua/sites/default/files/romi_print_blok.indd_.pdf)

16 Model of youth involvement “Hart’s Ladder of Participation”. See: <https://dismp.gov.ua/model-uchastimolodi-v-protsesakh-ukhvallenia-rishen/>

Among the urgent problems of young people in general, representatives of local authorities highlight:

- youth employment (it is considered that the problem cannot be solved at the community level and requires efforts at the central level);
- youth employment entails the problem of the outflow of young people from small towns – both within the country (internal labor migration) and abroad – temporary or permanent employment in industries of Poland, the Czech Republic, Germany.
- quality leisure of young people (the problem is partially solved by courses, arrangement of places for walks and recreation, organization of youth centres in libraries, but such recreation areas should be more popularised among young people).

In turn, the problems of transport, the availability of housing for young families are also added to the list above.

*“Common for all young people is the problem of transport links (the last bus trip to rural areas is around at 08:00 p.m. that limits the opportunities and time spent in the city during city events”* (according to IDI data)

The specificity in one or the other group is imposed according to the characteristics that may aggravate these problems – for example, for Roma youth it may be the following:

- discrimination or stereotypes about the Roma community;
- social insecurity of families (especially in compact settlements);
- lack of general education or low level of education;
- knowledge of the state language;
- insufficient level of socialization – skills of interaction in the intercultural environment.

*“In general, in our community, the treatment of Roma is more similar to that of other poorer children who are not very able to learn”* (according to IDI data)

Local authorities are convinced that young Roma are free to visit youth hubs (including youth centres or libraries) and satisfy their needs in communication. At the same time, as mentioned above, respondents do not take into account the presence of other factors, which are, in fact, barriers for Roma.

In fact, the representatives of public authorities themselves confirm their words that Roma youngsters do not use common youth spaces and do not take an active part in community youth projects.

*“Roma youth were offered to use the premises of our local organization, they refused, looking for their own premises ...”*  
(according to IDI data)

*“There is a youth centre. But it is focused on working with young people under 23. Roma youth can also benefit, but participation is sporadic. Older youths do not have a place for leisure, they create their own centers ... (I’m not very aware of Roma youth)”.*

According to local government representatives, communities should have more access to information on the inclusion and integration of representatives of different groups. Moreover, one local government respondent personally asked about methods of effective interaction with Roma communities, which can be used by the authorities, educators and representatives of youth policy to attract Roma at a more systematic level.

*“At the national level, equal access to opportunities for people of different nationalities (especially in their communities) must be constantly emphasized”*  
(according to IDI data)

### Brief conclusions to the section

Representatives of local authorities in communities with a relatively small percentage of the Roma population are not inclined to distinguish Roma communities with their problems from other community members. The argument in favour of this position is the declaration of “equal treatment of all regardless of nationality or ethnicity”.

Most of them could not even estimate the number of Roma in their city. However, all noted that there were few Roma, or a small percentage. It seems that since the Roma make up a “small percentage” of the community, their problems are not of much interest to the authorities. That is, the Roma are perceived as a relatively small stratum of society, not active, low-income. At the same time, some representatives of local authorities have an understanding that the situation of Roma is burdened by stereotypes in the communities.

## CONCLUSIONS

Among all the participants in the research, Roma activists are most fully aware of the needs of Roma youth – they actively interact with various Roma communities (both those living in compact settlements and those living in dispersion; representatives of this category of respondents also have experience in interaction with local authorities, so they have an idea of how to involve local authorities in cooperation).

Roma activists name the needs of Roma youth that are characteristic of their non-Roma peers. Among them – education, employment, ways of leisure in the settlements in which they live. However, a number of characteristics that may be typical for Roma communities living in compact settlements or being socially isolated and conservative are important factors that significantly affect the current situation of Roma youth and the perspective of integration. It is necessary to note the following characteristics:

- difficulties in getting education (low motivation of parents to encourage children to get basic general education);
- vulnerable socio-economic situation (as a derivative of the problem of lack of education and, consequently, inability to get a job);
- low level of social skills and interaction with residents of communities outside the Roma community;
- discriminatory and prejudiced treatment of the Roma community by local residents is one of the leading reasons of the “isolation” of Roma communities;
- the patriarchal distribution of gender roles within Roma communities, in particular with regard to girls’ education, as a derivative of this – the problem of early marriages;
- conservative traditions in some sub-ethnic groups regarding the education of young people, restrictions on the free choice of profession, occupation, etc. – it can be observed in closed Roma communities.

These and other characteristics directly affect the level of awareness of Roma youth about the rights, opportunities and perspectives of cooperation in the sphere of youth activities and activism at the local level.

Most often, Roma youth are represented in the public life of the city as cultural or entertainment figures – this characteristic is mostly given by representatives of local authorities. According to subjective estimates of Roma activists, the percentage of Roma youth involved in such activities at the community level is insignificant. The vast majority of Roma communities are poorly integrated into the life of their settlements. The words of Roma activists are confirmed by both youth and educational workers.

It will be fair to note that according to local authorities, the involvement of young communities in general is also participation in sports, entertainment and other activities. According to the “Hart’s Ladder of Participation”, this level of youth involvement in community life is 2 out of 8 possible levels.

The vast majority of youth, education and local government workers are unaware of the exact number of Roma living in their communities. Assessment of the current situation of Roma in communities is usually based on the subjective feelings of respondents, individual personal experience and the words of acquaintances. That is, most of these assessments contain stereotypical allegations about Roma.

Communication with all respondents from the number of youth workers, educators and local governments confirms that at the community level local youth policy is on stage of formation: respondents lack a strategic vision of the development of this area, and at the level of tactical action in this area, mostly, is to hold events for young people (cultural, educational or sporting events).

The issue of involving young people in community life, according to interviews with local authorities, is not a priority today among other social, economic and infrastructural issues. None of the respondents mentioned involving young people in community decision-making. Perceiving the role of youth in communities requires significant educational work at the local level.

Local authorities, educators and youth workers also need more information on the expediency and perspectives of building inclusive communities – involving all sections of the population without exception. Representatives of these categories of respondents, for the most part, expect initiative and cooperation from the Roma youth themselves – that is, they are ready to “assist”, “encourage” but do not yet consider the approach of positive actions in working with Roma communities and Roma youth.

Activities with involvement of Roma youth take place in communities where there are active young Roma who are able to formulate their request and contact local authorities and youth workers (for example, on events or thematic events). In the vast majority of other communities, where there is no interaction with Roma communities or it is focused on cooperation with one or two leaders of Roma cultural societies who do not represent the interests of youth, Roma youngsters mostly remain excluded from social processes.

The existing “service” paradigm, in which mostly youth policy is implemented in communities today, needs to be reconsidered – with the participation of Roma activists interested in promoting the idea of integration and involvement of Roma youth.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

### TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- 1) Local authorities should establish active cooperation with Roma public associations, as well as organizations that work closely with Roma communities. It is necessary to involve them for consultations in the development of targeted programmes, as well as for mediation in communication with representatives of Roma communities.
- 2) In order to study the social situation of local Roma communities and their needs, local authorities should conduct a local study of the needs and level of involvement of Roma youth in general initiatives and processes carried out in working with youth at the local level.
- 3) Local authorities should initiate and conduct through the channels of social services systematic explanatory work with Roma parents on the importance of getting education by their children.
- 4) Based on the results of studying the social situation of Roma communities at the local level, local authorities in cooperation with civil society should create free places for Roma youth to participate in extracurricular activities, sports, music schools and other institutions and initiatives to promote development and social inclusion of children in the community, including Roma communities.
- 5) Local authorities in cooperation with civil society bodies and leaders of public opinion that have authority among the Roma community (also through religious institutions) should organize festive and other events (both in Roma communities and together with representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups) to build cultural dialogue and create trusting relationships.
- 6) Local authorities should develop and implement as a mandatory refresher course for all representatives of public authorities, education, youth work and other services and bodies on tolerance and countering the spread of hate speech and discrimination against Roma.

### TO YOUTH WORKERS

- 7) All interested representatives of youth and education spheres in the process of establishing contact with Roma youth and involving them in cooperation should take into account the level of youth involvement in social processes (education, circle of communication that goes beyond the Roma ethnic community, interaction within the Roma community, the level of closeness of the community to which they belong, etc.).
- 8) To provide the development and inclusion in the “Youth Worker” Programme the knowledge about the specificity of working with Roma youth, and involve representatives of the Roma national minority in youth work training. Youth workers should create a pool of “Roma youth workers” as mediators to work with Roma youth and the Roma community as a whole.

### TO EDUCATIONAL WORKERS

- 9) Regional Departments of Education should conduct qualified research and monitoring in educational institutions located in the places of compact residence of the Roma population and where Roma children study in order to establish the level of inclusion of Roma children in the educational process. With the assistance of Roma NGOs, it should be developed strategic plans to improve the quality of educational services.
- 10) The Departments of Education and Educational Institutions, which are located in compact settlements of the Roma communities and where a large group of Roma youth potentially study, should introduce the position of a Roma assistant teacher who would help children with homework, etc. and act as a mediator between educational institutions and Roma families, which will significantly improve the learning process and success. In the case of dispersed Roma living to introduce a similar position on the basis of the youth centre.



