

Ediční řada Didaktika, pedagogika - svazek 31

**EDUCATIONAL WAYS OF ROMA CHILDREN
FROM SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED BACKGROUNDS**



Alica Petrasová - Štefan Porubský

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Elektronická kopie monografie

Vědecká ediční rada - ExtraSYSTEM Praha

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Educational Ways of Roma Children from Socially Disadvantaged Backgrounds

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KATALOGIZACE V KNIZE - NÁRODNÍ KNIHOVNA ČR

Petrasová, Alica

Educational ways of Roma children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds / Alica Petrasová - Štefan Porubský. --

Vydání: první. -- Praha : Extrasystem Praha, 2017. -- 118 stran. -- (Didaktika, pedagogika ; svazek 31)

Anglické, české a slovenské resumé

ISBN 978-80-87570-37-1 (brožováno)

(=214.58)-053.2 * 316.346.32-053.2-058.5 * 373.3 * 37.091.212.7-026.18 * 303.446 * (437.6) * (048.8:082)

- romské děti -- Slovensko

- děti se sociálním znevýhodněním -- Slovensko

- základní vzdělávání -- Slovensko

- školní úspěšnost -- Slovensko

- kolektivní monografie

- komparativní výzkum -- Slovensko

- Romani children -- Slovakia

- children with social disadvantage -- Slovakia

- elementary school education -- Slovakia

- school success -- Slovakia

- comparative research -- Slovakia

- collective monographs

373.2/.3 - Předškolní a primární výchova a vzdělávání [22]

372 - Elementary education [22]

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Pedagogická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove

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Translation: Mgr. Tomáš Burger, PhD.

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ISBN 978-80-87570-37-1

Monografie byla vydána s finanční podporou Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove.

Elektronická kopie monografie

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THANKS

This project could be realized only thanks to the financial support of the Open Society Foundation and selfless help of its workers Vladimir Rafael and Eva Ďuríková. Our thanks for the willingness and cooperation in overcoming the challenges of this project also go to the management and elementary school teachers, who participated with understanding in the research. We cannot miss a devoted participation of Lenka Červenická, Zuzana Révészová and Mária Tutokyová in qualitative research data collection and Jaroslav Buchta who contributed to the statistical analysis of data collected in the questionnaire survey.

key stakeholders

INTRODUCTION

Development of economic, social and cultural conditions in the last two decades, has led our country to a number of positive trends. However, these trends are also marked by some neative tendencies. One of them is distinctive social stratification of society, because of which the large part of society found itself in the zone of poverty and socio-cultural deprivation. Strong representative of this group are marginalized Roma communities living in segregated settlements. As a consequence of social exclusion, a specific socio-cultural environment is formed. This environment does not allow community members to participate in the standard social life and causes many social problems that are often marked by an increase of prejudices and racist attitudes toward members of the community.

Although it is obvious and unquestionable that one of the key components of a complex solution to their worsening social situation is increasing their educational level, no significant progress has been accomplished. The need to create inclusive educational environment at schools faces a number of political, legislative, organizational and pedagogical problems and obstacles. It is therefore important to find some ways to overcome these obstacles. In this respect, the educational reality of the school, attended by pupils from marginalized Roma communities, should be well examined from a multilateral perspective. Lack of verified data and analysis often leads to views and proposed solutions that are based on subjective feelings and opinions.

In relation to defined issue of finding opportunities for creating inclusive educational environment at schools, Nadácia otvorenej spoločnosti/Open Society Foundation has interesting researches and attained many important findings. However, all the previous studies have been focused mainly on macro-level analysis - from the perspective of implemented educational policy. This allowed naming the causes and methods of segregation of students from marginalized groups as they appear in the social or school practice. However, research done by educators Alica Petrasová and Štefan Porubský brings new findings on implications of these segregationist policies on the key stakeholders themselves - students, teachers and parents from their own perspective. The authors show readers a view from the other side - an in-depth social probe into the interpersonal and inter-ethnic relations at schools. They also explain how the school environment determines and forms the educational ways of Roma pupils.

The publication, which you are holding now, explains and illustrates in detail an overall view on the phenomenon of segregation at schools in Slovakia.

Vlado Rafael, proposer of the research project

1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 SLOVAKIA AND NATIONAL ROMA INCLUSION STRATEGY

There is a new challenge for Europe characterized by an effort to maintain its level of prosperity, social cohesion and quality of life - to maintain and further develop the European social model. Promoting inclusive education is found in the programs and documents of all relevant national and international organizations. World Conference on Special Needs Education Access and Quality in 1994 in the Spanish Salamanca¹ launched the European idea of inclusion in education. Inclusion is based on the idea that: "...regular schools with an inclusive orientation are the most effective means for suppressing discriminatory attitudes, for creating supportive communities, for building an inclusive society and achieving education for all; moreover they provide effective education for children and improve the efficiency of education system as a whole and the cost of it."

In 2009, UNESCO² in relation to the 48th session of International Conference on Education issued Policy Guidelines on Inclusion in Education with the title Inclusive education: the way of the future. The aim is to support governments in developing strategies and policies that would explicitly incorporate inclusion into the broader conceptual frame-work of educational policy. Imperative for change is holistic and universal thinking on inclusive education. So the reform is not only about measures aimed at a selected group of marginalized, disadvantaged and disabled - its purpose is the education system as a whole and other departments with related competencies. This ultimately makes the program politically acceptable in the eyes of the public and professionals.

More than 6 million Roma people currently live in the European Union. In Europe, their number is estimated to be 10 to 12.000.000. In absolute terms, most of the Roma in the EU live in Romania (1.850.000), followed by Bulgaria (750.000), Spain (725.000), Hungary (700.000) and Slovakia (400.000)³.

¹ UNESCO (1994): The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education, World Conference on Special Needs Education. Access and Quality. Available at http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF

² UNESCO (2009): Policy Guidelines on Inclusion in Education, [cit.2011-07-06] Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001778/177849e.pdf>

³ First preliminary results of the Atlas of Roma communities in Slovakia in 2013 show that about 402,840 Roma people live in Slovakia which is about 7.45% of the population. The mapping shows that almost half of the Roma population lives scattered among the majority population (187,285 people or 46.5% of the total number of Roma). Atlas based on new mapping prepared by the UNDP Regional Centre in Bratislava. See: http://www.minv.sk/?atlas_2013

Concerning a population proportion, ranking is slightly different. In this case, the leading country is Bulgaria where more than 10 percent of the population profess the Roma nationality, followed by Slovakia (9.17 percent), Romania (8.32 percent), Hungary (7.05 percent) and Czech Republic (1.96 percent).

The framework document of the European Commission is part of the Europe 2020 strategy and its aim is to eliminate or at least minimize the economic and social marginalization of Roma by the year 2020. One of the conditions is to prevent their discrimination at the national level. Roma should also have the conditions to be able to break the vicious circle of poverty. The framework is supposed to play a facilitating role in developing national strategies of the Member States in the field of Roma Inclusion. Vice-President of the European Commission responsible for Justice and Fundamental Rights stated that: *“The Member States are responsible for the removal of Roma exclusion at schools, jobs, in health care and housing. This is a serious challenge.”* According to her, most important for Member States is to ensure that Roma children receive at least primary education.

In order to ensure the progress, the European Commission will annually submit a report on progress in the area of the inclusion of the Roma population. This monitoring will be particularly based on:

- results of a survey of Roma households regularly conducted by Agency for Fundamental Rights, United Nations Development Programme in collaboration with the World Bank,
- preparation of National Reform Programmes under the Europe 2020 Strategy, especially in countries with a high percentage of Roma population,
- continued cooperation with the Open method of coordination in the area of social policy,
- monitoring system of the Member States where national authorities should include their national strategies for Roma.

The platform is open and flexible grouping organized by the Commission and the EU Presidency at the request of the Council, which provides a space for meeting and interaction between key stakeholders in the field of Roma inclusion - those are the EU institutions, national governments, international organizations, non-profit organizations and experts. Based on this, they formulate strategic implications for legislators regarding how to effectively integrate the Roma into European and national policies.

Slovakia, like other EU Member States, discusses the issue of inclusion of Roma into society. In 2005, the Slovak Republic already joined the international initiative called the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. The executive developed a national action plan for Roma inclusion which was supposed to determine steps for other governments. In this regard, the country held a number of consultations and workshops,

which involved various ministries, the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities, as well as other key stakeholders, including non-governmental organizations.

On November 8, 2011 in Bratislava, an international conference called Preconditions for inclusive education in Slovakia took place. It was organized by the Office of Government of Slovak Republic together with non-governmental organizations Amnesty International Slovakia, People in Need Slovakia and Institute for Good Governance. The aim of the event was:

- thematizing the conditions for the implementation of inclusive education and desegregation in the Slovak Republic,
- exchanging international experiences with implementation of inclusive education in selected Member States of the European Union,
- defining the concept of inclusive education in terms of human rights and the debate on the prohibition of all forms of discrimination and segregation as the fundamental principle of education with special focus on selected target groups, especially Roma children, children of foreigners, ethnic minority children, children with disabilities as well as children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds.

In November 2011, The Government of Slovak Republic approved the membership of the Slovak Republic in the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, which will allow it to be part of an international professional platform supporting the development of inclusive education. The conference featured also the presentation of Agency Director Cor J. W. Meijer. The event was held under the auspices of then Deputy Prime Minister for Human Rights and National Minorities, Rudolf Chmel. He said in his speech: *“Inclusive education is understood as the right of every individual to have access to education of the highest grade and quality, based on moral values, when the school respects the individual characteristics of a person and personality stemming from his membership in a particular group. The result of this education is full integration - inclusion - in social, economic and cultural life.”*

Understanding of inclusion and inclusive education, however, means promoting a new way of thinking. The implementation of inclusive education is a long process, which application in everyday life requires a lot of effort and financial support from the state. Inclusion of Roma in education is reflected in governmental commitments and following documents accepted:

- Medium-term Concept of the Development of the Roma National Minority in the Slovak Republic Solidarity - Integrity - Inclusion 2008-2015. The aim is *“to create a conceptual model of the formation of a more favorable environment for the marginalized communities in terms of sustainable social development, develop-*

ment of community and social services and integration focused on social change⁴”.

- Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Integration of Roma up to 2020.
- Revised National Action Plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 for years 2011-2015.
- Reform proposal of Ministry of Interior The Right Way - Roma reform (part presented at the end of 2012)⁵.

Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Integration of Roma up to 2020 was adopted by the Government Resolution no. 1/2012 on January 11, 2012. Strategy was elaborated by the Office of the Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic for Roma Communities with the help of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme and non-governmental organizations. The strategy content consists of six parts: the intention of Slovak Republic to integrate Roma communities, theoretical framework, context, policy, implementation and framework of monitoring and evaluation.

Priority policy areas determined by authors of the strategy are: education, employment, health, housing, financial inclusion, non-discrimination and access to mainstream society. Each area contains a global goal and partial targets with indicators. The government should elaborate an action plan to each part. The strategy is based on three basic principles: destigmatization, desegregation and deghettoizing. The initiative aims to improve the socio-economic situation of the Roma, to develop human capital and to strengthen social capital.

During an interdepartmental summary process, 70 comments were sent on the proposal of the strategy, 26 of them essential. Strategy has been faulted for poor ambition, inconsistency or unclear wording. The document according to the non-governmental organizations also reflects requirements of other than marginalized Roma communities very poorly. Non-governmental organizations also found deficiencies in the area of planning activities and implementation strategies. The European Commission in its evaluation of the strategy in May 2012 found insufficient setting of financial, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, and also the need for amendments to the formulation of certain measures.

⁴ See: www.romovia.vlada.gov.sk.

⁵ File of more than 90 measures that the government intends to promote in cooperation with the upcoming Representative Peter Pollak, based on 10 pillars. It should serve as a basic starting point in compiling various areas of so-called Roma reform. It is a cross section of subjects from social benefits through land reform to education and training. See: <http://www.sme.sk/c/6537509/desat-pilierov-noveho-romskeho-splnomocnenca>.

The right of children and youth to education in a democratic society is unquestionable. Poor, disadvantaged, ethnic minorities, individuals with special educational needs and other vulnerable groups should have the same opportunities and conditions to meet their needs and develop their potential. The complex concept of inclusion in education places heavy demands on educational policy-makers about changes in the framework, standards and norms of the education system. Responsibility cannot be left exclusively to teachers and schools. It is necessary to promote a new organizational paradigm, which would take account of the experience of good practice from abroad as well as from non-governmental sector⁶.

1.2 INCLUSION OF ROMA IN SLOVAKIA

Successful development and support of inclusive education in Slovakia is mainly affected by the way we are able to create the right conditions for the implementation of inclusive education. The main pillars of the implementation conditions are the following areas:

Support of the development of children before entering school

Encouraging and stimulating the full development of children since their birth is essential for their successful integration into the educational process. Development and learning in pre-school age is not always supported by stimulating home environment, therefore the international trend is comma, particularly for children from socially unfavorable environments, as well as for children with different mother tongues. The participation in pre-school education is crucial - therefore it should be accessible.

Change in long-term political prospects: Consistency, expertise and cooperation

It is a challenge which aims to enshrine the principles of inclusive education into the education system. First, it is necessary to encourage a complex change in attitudes of individuals, as well as setting a new culture of educational institutions, which are open to dialogue, interdisciplinary collaboration and self-reflection.

Forming a conscious community of educators and dissemination of good practice

One of the basic steps to successful implementation of the ideas of inclusion into the school reality is professional training of teachers and other educational staff and their interconnecting to create a space for sharing successful experiences. Finally, the quality of the educational experience and implementation of inclusive education is designated by creating the appropriate conditions - whether on material or technological level or on the level of social status of educational staff.

⁶ Dyson a Millward (2000) citation from: Ainscow a Miles (2009).

Actors of progress at primary schools level are mainly educational and professional staff. Their professional training and working conditions (including social status) predetermine the quality of educational practice and thus could promote inclusion⁷.

Measures aimed at a school, family and community

When building awareness of ideas of inclusive education, it is extremely important to focus also on a family and community. Measures implemented at school are represented by inclusive school education programs which take into account cultural identity, gender, language skills and other individualities of children and encourage critical thinking for the acceptance of otherness and disproving prejudices.

On December 4, 2012, an international workshop of Inclusive education: from theory and policy to practice was organized by the Open Society Foundation in Bratislava. Zuzana Zimenová in her speech stated that: *“Inclusive education is not ornament which decorates the school system. It will either be implemented as a basic principle at all schools, which will fundamentally change their nature or will remain only on paper. The power of inclusive education is in transforming the school as the place where all children have equal number of school uniforms to a place where diversity of needs is respected and education is tailor-made.”* In conclusion she named systemic risks in implementing an inclusive model:

- the heart of our system is not a student, but the school;
- school operates as a separate unit without live links to the local community;
- there are no meaningful strategies of the local education policy;
- poor preparedness of teachers to conceptual work and to the diverse needs of students;
- poor preparedness of future teaching staff, poor response of universities to the needs of practice;
- lack of support from professional staff;
- confining state education programs;
- poor variability of textbooks;
- limiting regulation of the lesson organization;
- inflexible funding system;
- rigid external control of state school inspection;
- no assessment of the quality of the educational process at the school level and at the level of the founder;
- obsession of full-area testing for the purpose of finding good school;
- quality rankings based on the results in the Test 9 (5).

⁷ Recommended document: Analysis of educational needs of the pedagogical staff in primary schools (Petrasová et al., 2012), which reflects the results of research (October 2011 - January 2012) focused on the educational needs of teachers and professional staff in primary schools.

The aim of authors Jana Huttová (independent consultant), Olga Gyárfášová and Martina Sekulová (The Institute for Public Affairs)⁸ in a study Segregation or Roma Inclusion in Education: A choice for schools?⁹ is to analyze the situation of Roma children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and to contribute to the assessment of non-economic costs of segregation and to the implementation of effective inclusive strategies in the education system in Slovakia. The conclusions and recommendations from Segregation or Roma Inclusion in Education: A choice for schools? are:

- 1) An increasing number of schools with a high proportion of Roma pupils and growing social stratification of schools is one of the biggest challenges for the Slovak education.
- 2) The current setting of the school system not only produces, but even deepens social inequalities.
- 3) At schools with a lower proportion of Roma pupils there is a greater chance that the Roma pupils reach the ninth grade and successfully complete basic education.
- 4) The high concentration of Roma pupils at schools has significantly negative impact on their education and life trajectories.
- 5) With the current integration measures it is not possible to fulfil commitments of Slovak government articulated in Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Integration of Roma up to 2020 or in Revised National Action Plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion.
- 6) Integration tools without changing the entire education system is inefficient.
- 7) Of all integration measures, the role of pre-school education is crucial (3-6 years).
- 8) Increasing the quality of education in Slovakia is not possible without the implementation of inclusion and the support of heterogeneous composition of students at schools and in classrooms.
- 9) Support and implementation of inclusion at schools is the responsibility of actors at all levels - at the level of the school, the founder and the State.
- 10) Support of integration and inclusion in education must be part of the social inclusion at local, regional and national level.

⁸ The Institute for Public Affairs (slovak acronym IVO) is an independent non-governmental, nonprofit organization bringing together experts from many different areas of study. It was founded with the aim of promoting the values of an open society and a democratic political culture in public policy and decision-making.

⁹ HUTTOVÁ, J. - GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ, O. - SEKULOVÁ, M. (2012): Segregation or Roma Inclusion in Education: A choice for schools? Open Society Foundation, Bratislava, 2012, ISBN 978-80-89571-06-2. EAN 9788089571062.

2 EMPIRICAL PART

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Education achievement significantly shapes the lives of people. It opens the way to opportunities in the labor market, it affects the choice of a life partner, it leads to higher living standards and overall higher quality of life. Therefore, the issue of ensuring the access to quality education is the main concern of educational policy-makers in all developed countries. In democratic countries, the educational systems have two fundamental requirements: raising the quality of education and its fair distribution to all. The actual equity in education or the effectiveness of the education system for all students is considered to be a necessary condition for the quality of education in the country.

The concept of equity in education points to an essential feature of its quality. The first is fairness, equality of opportunity in access to quality education. Such a concept is based on meritocratic principle - equal educational conditions are provided to all students and it is up to them to what extent they will use them. In this case it is better to talk about same opportunities than about equality - they do not consider other aspects of the concept of equity in education - equality of conditions. Equivalence does not mean sameness. Equivalence means to respect initial inequalities between pupils and groups of pupils. Different approaches should not only lead to equality of opportunities, but also to equality of results¹⁰.

There are several reasons for examining this issue:

1) Dependence between family background of student and educational attainment

The structure of the Slovak education system is characterized by frequent differentiation between family background of students and educational attainment. The challenge for school systems is to improve performance of students (quality), while minimizing the impact of socio-economic background of students¹¹ on their learning outcomes (equality).

¹⁰ PORUBSKÝ, Š. (2008) Systematization prerequisites of education of Roma pupils from socio-culturally disadvantaged backgrounds. In: Improving the access of Roma to education. Banská Bystrica: Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica PF, p. 71.

¹¹ The same definition of socially disadvantaged background we can find in the strategic documents of the Ministry of Education (Concept of Education of Roma children and students, including the development of secondary and higher education, approved by Government Resolution no.206 of 2. 4. 2006, available at: <http://www.minedu.sk/data/UserData/RegionálneSkolstvo/VaVNM/MZCHVaVNM> and National Education Programs). Socially disadvantaged background is defined as the child's family, which is given an assistance in material need and family income does not exceed the subsistence level, in which at least one parent is in a group of disadvantaged jobseekers, in which the highest level of education of parents is primary education, or at least one parent has not completed primary education, which has a non-standard housing and sanitary conditions (eg. student does not have a space for learning, does not have his own bed, there is no electrical connection, etc.).

This means that the possibility of achieving positive changes in the education of all students is directly related to solving the issue of ensuring social justice in education.

The real situation in Slovakia is demonstrated by the Programme for International Student Assessment of the OECD (PISA) tests in 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2015¹². In these studies, socio-economic background of pupils was measured with ESCS index (based on the occupation of parents, educational attainment of father or mother and household items). This part of the report is based on information received from the directors of the schools and the 15-year-old students through questionnaires. Socio-economic background of students was in the OECD PISA measured by an index representing the economic, social and cultural status of the student (ESCS6).

The high dependence of educational outcomes of children from their socio-economic background suggests that the education system does not meet the requirements of equitable distribution of education to all and it does not ensure social equity in education. The education Act and subsequent legislation do not contain measures aimed directly at Roma children and pupils. Instead, they work with the term social disadvantage which is defined by poverty and low-income of parents. However, several disadvantages of Roma in many areas of life, including education, are often not caused only by their financial situation. Regarding that many barriers originate from the approach of the majority population towards the Roma based on ethnicity declared, it is questionable whether measures based on the financial situation of families are adequate.

The final report for year 2006 states that: *“The results of Slovakia in all three areas measured by PISA literacy - reading, mathematical and science - are significantly below the OECD average. Above the OECD average is the connection between socio-economic background of Slovak students and their educational attainment, which is not good news in terms of equal opportunities in education”*¹³.

¹² The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. To date, students representing more than 70 economies have participated in the assessment. The most recently published results are from the assessment in 2012. Around 510,000 students in 65 economies took part in the PISA 2012 assessment of reading, mathematics and science representing about 28 million 15-year-olds globally. Of those economies, 44 took part in an assessment of creative problem solving and 18 in an assessment of financial literacy. More than 70 economies have signed up to take part in the assessment in 2015 which will focus on science. Slovak Republic participated in PISA for the first time in 2003. PISA tasks are not based on the curriculum, their aim was not to find out how students in particular countries know learning material. PISA tasks have been created in accordance with a model of lifelong learning for the assessment of literacy of students in three areas - reading, mathematical and scientific literacy (the focus of PISA 2006). The term literacy in the OECD PISA study means the ability to apply knowledge and skills acquired during compulsory education and present their views and opinions. The main data collection was conducted in all regions of Slovakia. Studies involved pupils from primary and secondary schools (also from schools with Hungarian language). Representative and stratified selection of students allows to generalize the results to the entire education system and to compare the performances achieved with results of other participating countries.

¹³ PISA SK 2015. National Report. Bratislava: NÚCEM.

Given the focus of our study, the following PISA 2015 outcomes seem to be of crucial importance¹⁴:

- The 2015 results of Slovak pupils in all three literacy parts were in average statistically worse than the average OECD value. The results of our bad pupils are worse than those of the same category OECD pupils. Our best pupils are roughly at the average level of the best OECD pupils.
- The unfavourable social environment of pupils is in Slovakia a factor that - compared to other OECD countries - affects the test results more strongly. Pupils coming from the lowest social and economic environment fall behind the corresponding groups in OECD countries. Negative effects of parents' unemployment upon the Slovak pupil results rank among the most critical factors within OECD countries.
- As far as pupils' attitudes are concerned, Slovak pupils manifest much lower endurance in solving complex problems, they lack the will to solve tasks, and they do not believe in their abilities. Some attitudes of our pupils to education are even much worse than those in 2003.
- We do not fall behind the OECD average in terms of the organization of educational environment. Nevertheless, some results are significantly worse compared to 2003, which may have been reflected in pupils' results. The number of pupils who had to repeat the same school year has significantly increased. The results of pupils who repeated a school-year are worse than those of the other pupils. The probability for socially handicapped pupils to repeat a school-year is much higher than that for socially non-handicapped pupils. In general, the better results of pupils the lower probability of repeating a school-year. The most serious problems characterize the primary school stage with 1.4 % of pupils repeating a school-year more than once, which is more than twice the OECD average (0.7 %).
- Socially handicapped pupils do to rank among the best pupils. In OECD countries, about 6 % of pupils succeed in overcoming their unfavourable social and economic situation and show excellent results. Contrary to this, in Slovakia it was less than 4 % of pupils in 2015, this being the lowest percentage from among OECD countries.
- The results of pupils living in smaller villages are generally worse, irrespective of the school type.

The 2015 PISA data provide us with partial answers to the following questions: Should support be primarily oriented at poor result pupils or pupils coming from socially and economically handicapped environment? Should the effort be concentrated on selected pupils or is it preferable to promote schools as a whole?

¹⁴ modified according to: <https://www.minedu.sk>.

An analysis of the situation in Slovakia indicates that improved performance goes hand in hand with improved social and economic status. This correlation suggests that there are very few pupils who succeed in overcoming the obstacle of their social and economic handicap. Concentration on schools with poor results can be successful in Slovakia because the social and economic status of a school is interrelated with the results achieved. In other words, many differences among schools in average results achieved can be attributed to differences in the social status of their pupils. On the other hand, concentration on disadvantaged schools may also bring success because social and economic differences among schools are considerable: they represent as much as 36 % of differences in the social and economic status of pupils (OECD average is 24 %). Moreover, achievement differences among schools with respect to their average social status exceed the average in Slovakia.

2) High return on education - a strong correlation between educational attainment and employment and between educational attainment and income

OECD warns that in the long term, the price of inequality in education may be for society too high: those who did not achieve adequate competencies for a successful life in society will not use their potential and will drain the resources of the social benefits and health care. Finally, the high degree of inequality in education limits citizen participation and threatens the cohesion of society.

The report of the International Commission UNESCO Education for the 21st Century emphasizes that education must promote social cohesion of society. Therefore, the actual educational systems should not lead to exclusion from participation in education and to the social exclusion, which leads to social violence¹⁵.

OECD recommends Slovakia to focus education policy on support of socio-economically disadvantaged students and schools. *“Without improving the situation of Roma in education is very difficult to precarious employment situation, which in turn improve the overall improvement of crucial socio-economic status of the Roma community¹⁶”*.

¹⁵ DELORS, J. (1997) Learning: the Treasure Within. Report of the International Commission UNESCO Education for the 21st Century. Prague: PdF UK, p.29-31.

¹⁶ SALNER, A. (2005) The Slovak Government's Education Policy Concerning Roma Children. Roma Children in the Slovak Education System. Bratislava: Slovak Governance Institute, p.11-19.

Between students in OECD countries, the difference in performance in each of the PISA areas is greater than the difference between the most and the least successful country. 15-year-old pupils in Slovakia are visiting more types of secondary schools that accept students according to their results. Therefore it is not surprising that differences in performance between schools in Slovakia were bigger than the OECD average. An unpleasant discovery (considering the declared equality of access to education in the Slovak Republic) is the significant influence of socio-economic differences between students (and, consequently, between schools as well) on different performance caused by early selection of students to the 8-year grammar school¹⁷.

3) Segregation of Roma in education at different levels and in different ways vs. implementation of inclusive education models

When the Education Act of 2008 prohibited all forms of discrimination and particularly segregation, many professionals began to wonder what is actually prohibited. Several research studies published before and after the introduction of the Education Act to practice are talking about separation (segregation) of Roma children in Slovak schools, instead of period, there is no evidence of the improvement. Rather the opposite - available data suggest an increasing degree of segregation in education at various levels and in different ways.

The Education Act brings a potential for change in the form of an explicit prohibition of *“all forms of discrimination and particularly segregation”*¹⁸. Apart from this regulation, it does not contain any definition or further references about possible desegregation and inclusive policies and programs. Prohibition of segregation, which is explicitly named in the law, is indeed a very important step forward, but not sufficient. There is currently no legislative nor generally accepted definition of segregation. At the same time there are no data available about its extent in practice. Unless boundaries of segregation are clearly defined and unless clear guidelines and models of inclusive education are created, schools will be able (by pursuing special educational needs of pupils or by creating a specialized curriculum for children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds) to segregate Roma children in education system.

¹⁷ There is no evidence whether zero grade later contributes to the integration of students - or vice versa - whether it enhances their segregation. Are the students who attended the zero grade more successful compared to their peers who did not undergo this form of compensatory education?

¹⁸ Education Act, § 3, letter c) and d)

In accordance with existing legislation and practice, measures having an impact on improving the access to education for Roma children, are aimed at children and students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds together with disabled students and gifted students belong to a group of students with special needs.

There is demand for adjusting the conditions, content, forms, methods and approaches in education for a child or student, resulting from his health disability or talent or his development in socially disadvantaged environment. It is necessary for the development of skills and personality of the child or student and for achieving a proper level of education and integration into society¹⁹. According to the Education Act, a socially disadvantaged environment may be considered the environment which due to social, family, economic and cultural conditions does not adequately stimulate the development of mental, volitive and emotional characteristics of the child or student. This environment does not encourage his socialization and does not stimulate an adequate development of his personality²⁰.

On October 30, 2012, Prešov Regional Court confirmed first instance decision in the case of segregation of Roma children in primary school in Šarišské Michal'any. The Court of Appeal lawfully found that primary school education of Roma children in segregated classes violated the principle of equal treatment according to anti-discrimination law. This is the first final judgment concerning the segregation of Roma children in education in Slovakia. The court ordered the school to recreate mixed classes with justification based on the right of each child to receive equal treatment and access to education²¹.

In 2013, the report of The United Nations Commission was published on the status of implementation of international commitments in the area of the elimination of racial discrimination. It included a number of measures and recommendations to the Slovak Government. In education, the special Roma schools as well as the existence of classes for Roma children are considered to be the most fundamental problems²².

In the school system in Slovakia, there are a number of initiatives which aim to improve the education of children with special educational needs - particularly Roma children from marginalized communities.

¹⁹ Education Act, § 2, letter i).

²⁰ Education Act, § 2, paragraph q).

²¹ The current situation in primary school Šarišské Michal'any is mentioned by Vlado Rafael in Schools in value vacuum. See: Roma in public policy, NMS, 2013. See: <http://poradna-prava.sk/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/>; <http://www.ta3.com/clanok/1008620/sud-potrvidil-ze-v-sarissskych-michalanoch-segregovali-ziakov.html>.

²² See: <http://www.sme.sk/c/6748177/vybor-osn-kritizuje-slovensko-zaporusovanie-prav-romov.html>.

Since September 2012 (up to January 2015), the project Education of teachers for inclusion of marginalized Roma communities is implemented in Slovakia. It is based on the idea of all-day learning activities, in which teachers from 200 participating primary schools are supposed to participate actively. The project has created new working positions for 400 teaching assistants and introduced new optional subjects. Parents are also involved in awareness programs and education of children²³.

2.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The main objective of the research

The issue of how the education system affects the life chances of students from different socio-cultural environments is interesting for professionals and educational policy-makers. The present study is the result of the research project Research on the impact of the school environment on developing educational strategies of Roma students in segregated and integrated schools in Slovakia, whose realization began in December 2011. The analysis does not attempt to explain the causes of inequalities in education. The primary objective of the research is to identify breakpoints of educational strategies of Roma pupils of lower secondary education from socially disadvantaged backgrounds.

The aim of the study is to present the perspective of the educational trajectory of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds of primary schools through comparison with the educational trajectory of non-Roma pupils who attend the same school²⁴. The aim of researchers is to find answers to the questions:

- Where do routes of Roma and non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged and standard backgrounds merge and how do they differ?
- What are important and problematic points on their way to achieving education?

Preparation, organization and stages of research

The research was conducted in four stages in order to obtain both quantitative and qualitative information. Stages of research in terms of methodology:

1. questionnaire for pupils of lower secondary education,
2. observation of the work of teachers of lower secondary education,
3. interview with teachers of lower secondary education,
4. interview with pupils of lower secondary education.

First stage of the research was quantitative; second, third and fourth stage of the research was qualitative.

²³ See: <http://web.eduk.sk>. and <http://www.sme.sk/c/6377675/romske-deti-chcu-udrzat-v-skole-po-cely-den.html>.

²⁴ Author's Note: All elementary schools where the research was conducted, are involved in the project Education of teachers for inclusion of marginalized Roma communities.

2.3 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS OF LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION - FIRST STAGE OF RESEARCH

Objective

To determine whether there is a correlation between the educational environment of the school, the nature of the socio-cultural background of students and their ideas about the role of education as a condition for fulfilment of their life aspirations, with particular emphasis on Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds.

Preparation and organization

Preparation of first phase of the research included the selection and formulation of the problem, evaluation of the method of selecting people, the way of collecting data and creating a plan. Organization of research included the phase of defining the research problem.

Selection of schools and their categorization

Table 1 *Characteristic of Schools*

s. No.	region	NT	NA	NP	NS	NS SDB/[%]
1	KE	47	2	0	600	457/76
2	BB	32	3	0	454	311/69
3	PO	25	2	1	294	158/54
4	PO	22	0	0	333	81/24
5	BB	19	1	0	168	67/40
6	BB	17	2	0	164	104/63
7	BB	11	0,4	0	95	38/40
8	KE	43	6	0	762	762/100
9	BB	20	3	0	214	177/83

Notes

s. No. - serial number of school

NT - number of teaching staff

NA - number of teaching assistants

NP - number of professional staff

NS - number of students

NS SDB/% - number of students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds/percentage of the total number of students

Schools were distributed into four categories. Criterion of distribution used was the percentage of Roma students from SDB at school.

Distribution of schools by category:

Category 1: Schools with 20-40 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 4, 5 and 7.

Category 2: Schools with 41-60 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes school 3.

Category 3: Schools with 61-80 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 1, 2 and 6.

Category 4: Schools with 81-100 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 8 and 9.

Distribution of schools into two categories:

Category A: Schools with 20-60 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 3, 4, 5 and 7.

Category B: Schools with 61-100 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 1, 2, 6, 8 and 9.

Selection of pupils and their categorization

Table 2 *Overview of the number of pupils involved in the research*
(according to the categorization of pupils)

category of students	serial number of school								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Non-R: 238	7	0	43	101	30	10	21	0	26
Non-R SDB: 18	4	7	0	5	0	1	1	0	0
R: 30	15	0	5	6	0	3	1	0	0
R SDB: 306	47	97	28	9	16	15	6	80	8
T: 592	73	104	76	121	46	29	29	80	34

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

T - total

Precise definition of environment that can be considered socially disadvantaged, cannot be found in the law. However, socially disadvantaged backgrounds can be defined by donations for the education of disadvantaged children to schools. Social disadvantage is thus defined by material conditions of the child. Contribution to pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds is provided according to the number of

pupils receiving subsidies for food, school supplies or motivational subsidies under a special regulation. Contribution to pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds is provided to pupils from families whose average monthly income in the last six consecutive months does not exceed the living wage²⁵.

In our research, the pupil from socially disadvantaged backgrounds (SDB) is considered the pupil whose family background meets at least three of the following criteria:

1. at least one parent receives the benefit in material need,
2. at least one parent is unemployed,
3. highest completed education of at least one of the parents is primary education,
4. substandard housing and hygienic conditions (eg. student does not have a space for learning, does not have his own bed, there is no electrical connection in the apartment, etc.),
5. school language is different from the language spoken by the child at home.

Table 3 *Overview of the pupils in individual classes*
(according to the categorization of pupils)

category of students	class			T
	7.	8.	9.	
Non-R	89	58	91	238
Non-R SDB	5	8	5	18
R	6	12	12	30
R SDB	162	109	35	306
T	262	187	143	592

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

T - total

²⁵ Education Act, § 107, section 4

Table 4 Overview of the pupils in terms of gender
(according to the categorization of pupils)

category of students	gender		T
	boy	girl	
Non-R	107	131	238
Non-R SDB	9	9	18
R	14	16	30
R SDB	134	172	306
T	264	328	592

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

T - total

Questionnaire results and their interpretation

The questionnaire which was presented to pupils of survey sample was anonymous and consisted of 30 items. The first five items were designed to identify demographic data of respondents (age, sex, grade, number of siblings...). Another twenty-four items were multiple choice close-ended questions. One question was open and it related to occupational choice that students wish to pursue in the future.

ITEM NO. 6: My mom wants me to be a good student (yes, no, I do not know)

ITEM NO. 7: My father wants me to be a good student (yes, no, I do not know)

First teachers of children are their parents. Foundation for further education is what every child learns at home, in his family. It is the parents who instil their values in their children, direct their attitudes, promote confidence and self-esteem, affect readiness for school education and success in life. Another important factor that can play the important role in the education of children is their teacher. So there are many reasons for improving contacts and searching for effective forms of cooperation between family and school. At the moment when teachers and parents begin to be see each other as partners, the child-oriented community will begin to work. Responsibility for the upbringing and education of the child is thus divided between family and school. Nowadays, we are experiencing not only a crisis of the family in general, but the very nature of family has changed.

Table 5 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 6

My mom wants me to be a good student...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	yes		no		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	227	95.38	1	0.42	10	4.20
Non-R SDB	15	83.33	1	5.56	2	11.11
R	29	96.67	0	0.00	1	3.33
R SDB	286	93.46	3	0.98	17	5.56

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

Parents' concern for their children's education has a significant impact on school performance of a pupil and on his own career aspirations. The item 6 of the questionnaire identified how students perceive the support of education from their parents. We have not observed a significant difference between the categories of non-Roma pupils and Roma pupils from the SDB. 95.38 % (227) of non-Roma pupils and 93.46 % (286) of Roma pupils from SDB said that their mother wants them to be good students. Similar results were also found in the category of Roma pupils, where 96.67 % (29) responded positively. In the category of non-Roma students from SDB, total number of students that responded positively was 83.33 % (15) students.

Perception of pupils about their father is very similar and the results do not show big differences between different categories of students. In the particular categories of students, results are: in the category of non-Roma pupils, 92.44 % (220) of students responded positively, in the category of Roma pupils from SDB 90.52 % (277) of students responded positively. Group of students in the survey perceived their parents as those who care about their children, who want their children to be good students and successful at school. Generally, no big differences are reported between different schools, classes and genders. For further investigation, there was a difference in positive perception of education of their father between Roma girls from SDB and Roma boys from SDB. While for girls it was 92.44 % (159), for boys it was only 88.06 % (118).

The results did not confirm generally presented opinion that Roma parents are not interested in their children's education. If the success of the student at school is not important for the family of the student, it is not expected that it will be important for the student himself. For such a student, the school becomes a useless obligation which is respected only formally.

The conclusions are very challenging because they indicate that it is important to involve families that would never do that by themselves. The fact is that despite their interest, it is a group of Roma parents that is less or not at all involved in school life. Whether the reasons are economic or social, it is important to ensure that schools strengthen relationships with families and the local community and also implement strategies that are directly focused on less active parents. The change of relationships is needed at many different levels. The relationships should be based on cooperation, shared responsibility, understanding the child and effort to find a way to solve the problem. A common objective is to achieve greater involvement of parents through various forms of volunteer programs and with parents creating their own school activities. Through interviews, discussions, discussion boards, lectures, or workshops, the school should help all parents to become better parents, to enable them to gain skills and knowledge needed in the education of their children through interviews, discussions, discussion boards, lectures or workshops.

ITEM NO. 8: I think at school I'm the student who does (well, badly, I do not know)

Questionnaire item 8 is focused on individual assessment of their own abilities. Evaluation of yourself as a good student is significantly ethnically differentiated in grade and gender. Both categories of non-Roma pupils responded differently (non-Roma pupils: 65.97 %; non-Roma pupils from SDB: 72.22 %) compared to Roma students (Roma pupils: 43.33 %; Roma pupils from SDB: 48.04 %). The most critical of themselves are Roma pupils across all grades. The most pessimistic view have Roma students from SDB: 21.90 % of them consider themselves bad students.

Concerning the categorization of schools, the result was significantly influenced by schools where the representation of Roma pupils from SDB was 61-81 % (category no.3). The biggest difference between a group of Roma and non-Roma students is evident in the first category (schools with 20-40 % of Roma pupils from SDB). In all categories of students, the percentage of students with the absence of self-assessment skills was relatively high. In the group of Roma girls and boys, over 40 % of students answered I do not know. In the group of the Roma pupils from SDB at schools of first and second category and non-Roma pupils from schools of second and third category, the number of undecided students was close to 40 %. The ability of self-evaluation enables students to gain conscious control over their cognitive

activities and use their skills more effectively. Metacognition is significantly manifested in the level of self-regulation. Self-knowledge enables students to manage their own behavior. A student of older school age should be able to evaluate himself adequately and know what strengths and weaknesses he has - he should even use effective strategies to strengthen or eliminate them. Metacognition, or evaluation of skills, impacts success at school. School failure of the pupil may also relate to his lower self-confidence. It is common that his incompetence becomes a fixed belief, and therefore he ignores all his abilities because he sees there no sense.

How can we help students to deal with the problems with learning? How can we promote their self-esteem and effort to manage their problems and take them as challenges? One way of teaching students while developing their self-esteem is the personalization of learning. The pupil in lower secondary education appreciates if the teacher does not emphasize his/her superiority and authority, is understanding, and willing to listen to the student's ideas. In order to implement meaningful learning and critical understanding leading to more permanent knowledge, the activity of the student is needed. In order to understand the information presented to be able to use it in the future, the student must be engaged in the learning process actively. He should also think independently and use his own language to express his own ideas. This way, individual knowledge becomes conscious. The aim of education is also to arouse the internal interest of pupil in the subject and in the solution to the problem. Without achieving this goal, student will hardly stay involved in the learning process and realize its meaning and personal benefits. Learning which is meaningful to the student, is much more effective than learning without personal meaning. If creating the meaning is an activity of the student, it means that it is possible to teach the student to do this activity effectively. Traditional school emphasizes learning outcomes in teaching and rarely focuses on the process of getting these results. However, in the real life, the pupil needs to learn to think, to process information. The teacher should also apply those procedures and techniques which would show the student how to learn, take responsibility and how to learn without assistance. Awareness of the listed factors is important especially for older students who think they learn something they will never need.

Table 6 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 8

I think at school I'm the student who does...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	well		badly		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	227	95.38	1	0.42	10	4.20
Non-R SDB	15	83.33	1	5.56	2	11.11
R	29	96.67	0	0.00	1	3.33
R SDB	286	93.46	3	0.98	17	5.56

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 9: My friends at school do (well, badly, I do not know)

While in the item No. 8 we studied how the student assessed himself in terms of his success at school, in the item No. 9 we investigated his experience with performance of his friends who are the reference group. A student compares his results with the results of his classmates and friends and this comparison is important for him. The success, or to do well at school in this case, has a relative value that depends on the results of the other members of the group. A pupil of lower secondary education already begins to choose activities that are interesting for him, friends or future career. He co-creates the environment where he lives. The impact of the environment created by a group of peers sometimes becomes more effective than the impact of family and school. During last years of primary school, the class is divided into subgroups according to the success / failure or professional orientation of students.

As indicated in Table 7, the influence of the social environment is crucial and it occurs in all ethnicities of students. While 67.23 % of non-Roma pupils and 56.67 % of Roma pupils said that their friends do well at school, only 44.44 % of non-Roma pupils from SDB and 41.50 % of Roma pupils from SDB said their friends do well at school. The most pessimistic about themselves are again (compared to item 8) Roma students from SDB - 24.51 % of them considered themselves bad students. The difference between the statements of non-Roma pupils and Roma pupils from SDB is significant (67.23 % vs. 41.50 %).

According to results of item No. 9, the percentage of students who did not know the answer is relatively high across all categories. The pupil of lower secondary education compared to the pupil from primary education is gradually improving his ability to estimate his own capabilities and competencies and differentiate competencies of his classmates.

Table 7 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 9

My friends at school do...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	well		badly		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	160	67.23	17	7.14	61	25.63
Non-R SDB	8	44.44	4	22.22	6	33.33
R	17	56.67	5	16.67	8	26.67
R SDB	127	41.50	75	24.51	104	33.99

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 10: When I was at the first primary education stage, I was student (better than now, worse than now, I do not know)

Students' attitudes toward school success differentiate according to their experiences - how their performance is usually rated. At the first primary education stage, the majority of pupils do well. Later, differences are getting larger and the overall evaluation of students are becoming fixed. This affects their attitude toward school and further motivation. Awareness of current failure is important, but more important is the attitude of the student toward this failure. It is necessary for the teacher to diagnose a student's interpretation of school failure and identify its causes.

As indicated in Table 8, the opinions of students about school performance in primary education are quite similar across all categories. Students stated they were better students at first primary education stage. It would be interesting to know how this fact would be interpreted by pupils themselves.

Table 8 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 10

When I was at the first primary education stage, I was student...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	better than now		worse than now		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	160	67.23	17	7.14	61	25.63
Non-R SDB	8	44.44	4	22.22	6	33.33
R	17	56.67	5	16.67	8	26.67
R SDB	127	41.50	75	24.51	104	33.99

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 11: A bad conduct mark on a school report I (had, had not)

School success of a student is also influenced by his behavior. The research results show that Roma pupils had bad conduct marks more often. Differences are visible. While 6.72 % of non-Roma students (0 % of non-Roma students from SDB) had a bad conduct mark, group of Roma students showed 30 % and group of Roma students from SDB 18.95 %. At-risk groups are groups of the Roma boys (50 %) and Roma boys from SDB (23.13 %). However, research results also show a correlation between bad conduct mark and school category. While at A-category schools (schools with 20-60 % of Roma pupils from SDB), the situation is unfavorable only for Roma pupils (both categories over 30 %), at B-category schools (schools with 61-100 % of Roma pupils from SDB), the problem of conduct marks also applies to non-Roma pupils (23.26 %).

Quality of education of the classes and schools attended by a large number of inadaptible and aggressive students is usually lower because unfavourable behavior reinforces an aggressive response from the other students. Teachers of B-category schools probably pay more attention to solving disciplinary problems than to teaching and educating.

Table 9 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 11

A bad conduct mark on a school report I...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses			
	had		had not	
	N	%	N	%
Non-R	16	6.72	219	92.02
Non-R SDB	0	0.00	18	100.00
R	9	30.00	20	66.67
R SDB	58	18.95	239	78.10

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 12: I go to school because (there I can learn something, I have to, I do not know)

Success in life and success in the labor market are largely determined by the quality of education. In item 12 we wanted to know the opinion of the pupil about education and need to study. Answer because here I can learn something was chosen by 58.82 % of non-Roma pupils, 61.11 % of non-Roma pupils from SDB and 58.17 % of Roma students from SDB. The research results show the fact that currently at school, the group that has the advantage and profit from education is particularly the group of Roma pupils (76.67 %). Even in terms of gender, the school is the most important for this category of students. It was 85.71 % of Roma boys and 68.75 % of girls. School (A and B-category) gives them experiences they may not get at home. In the school stimulating environment they have a better chance to develop their skills and compensate for their weaknesses.

The results where the respondents expressed that they go to school because they have to were also very interesting. 38.66 % of non-Roma students and 35.95 % of Roma students from SDB chose this option. The most unhappy were Roma students from SDB in 9th grade (43.96 %) and non-Roma students in 8th grade (41.38 %). The results are alarming. If a child goes to school because he has to, his motivation is probably just obligatory realization of a certain social standard (compulsory education). Ignoring it would lead to certain sanctions.

Table 10 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 12

I go to school because...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	there I can learn something		I have to		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	140	58.82	92	38.66	6	2.52
Non-R SDB	11	61.11	5	27.78	2	11.11
R	23	76.67	6	20.00	1	3.33
R SDB	178	58.17	110	35.95	18	5.88

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 13: If I could choose, I would (attend the school, not attend the school, I do not know)

Item No. 12 showed that relatively large number of non-Roma students stated that school is an institution they have to attend. Results based on answers to item No.13 have supported that finding. If this group of students could choose whether to attend the school or not, only 45.38 % of students would choose the first option. The least popular grade is 8th and 9th grade (39.66 % and 38.46 %). We were interested whether this attitude was determined by the presence of Roma students from SDB at schools that non-Roma students attend. The results of the questionnaire confirmed a possible connection only if they attended the school where the percentage of Roma pupils from SDB represented 81-100 % (Table 25). From the group of Roma pupils from SDB, 25.81 % of them from schools of first category (schools with 20-40 % of Roma students) would choose not to attend the school. It seems that the reasons why non-Roma students do not want to go to school need to be found in additional research.

Table 11 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 13

If I could choose, I would...

(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	attend the school		not attend the school		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	108	45.38	64	26.89	66	27.73
Non-R SDB	13	72.22	4	22.22	1	5.56
R	23	76.67	3	10.00	4	13.33
R SDB	213	69.61	63	20.59	30	9.80

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 14: Teachers at our school (are worried when students do not learn well, are not worried when students do not learn well, I do not know)

Students in this survey should in this age have enough experience and should be able to create a general idea of the role of a teacher. Emphasis on justice is a characteristic manifestation of their social thinking. Content and meaning of the role of a teacher from the student's perspective is particularly determined by his attitude toward work. A pupil at this age accepts when a teacher forces him to learn and work. Item No. 14 was focused on exploring attitudes toward the teacher in relation to his concern about student learning.

Statements of non-Roma pupils that teachers are worried when students do not learn well, are similar in monitored areas (category of students, gender and grade) - between 62 % and 65 %. The only difference is in categorization of schools. The number of students who perceive that teachers are worried when they do not learn well is different in A-category and B-category schools (59.49 % vs. 81.40 %). It is interesting that in terms of categorization, the same applies also for group of Roma students from SDB, although the difference is not significant (49.15 % vs. 64.78 %). The level of perception of teachers who are worried when students do not learn well was lowest in the category of Roma students (in 7th grade only 33.33 %, 50.00 % of boys).

It must be pointed out that the percentage of students who answered I do not know was relatively high: 44.07 % of the Roma students from SDB who attend A-category schools.

Table 12 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 14

Teachers at our school...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	are worried when students do not learn well		are not worried when students do not learn well		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	151	63.45	32	13.45	55	23.11
Non-R SDB	14	77.78	2	11.11	2	11.11
R	17	56.67	4	13.33	9	3.00
R SDB	189	61.76	33	10.78	84	27.45

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 15: Those who study well (will be successful adults, will not be successful adults, I do not know)

Pupils of lower secondary education can work systematically, are able to control themselves and work harder - assuming they have a reason to do so. If they are willing to work, they do so in order to achieve a specific personal goal, such as admission to secondary school. A mature student tries to bring a perform well when he is convinced of the importance of such behavior. Based on their own performance and their social evaluation (by parents and teachers), students sets their goals. In item No. 15 we investigated the extent to which students put emphasis on the importance of learning from a long-term perspective - how they perceive the relationship between studying well and being successful in the future.

Generally, students of all categories perceive the relationship between studying well and being successful adults similarly. The only exception is the group of Roma students from SDB in 8th grade of primary school (47.71 %), especially boys (55.97 %). Roma students from SDB and non-Roma students from SDB are those who frequently answered I do not know. A socially disadvantaged background ties

the hands of these groups. No wonder that these students don't see any benefits of education in the long term perspective. Getting adequate education is related to their future success or failure in the labor market. Therefore it is difficult for teachers to develop their motivation to study.

Table 13 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 15

Those who study well...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	will be successful adults		will not be successful adults		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	170	71.43	8	3.36	60	25.21
Non-R SDB	12	66.67	1	5.56	5	27.78
R	22	73.33	3	10.00	5	16.67
R SDB	193	63.07	21	6.86	92	30.07

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 16: In order to be a good student, you (have to study at home, do not have to study at home, I do not know)

Item No. 16 was detecting subjective perceptions of students about the fact that if they want to achieve something (to be a good student), they must make some effort (to study). Students' opinions on item No.16 in order to be a good student, you have to study at home were similar in categories of non-Roma students (79.41 %), non-Roma students from SDB (72.22 %) and Roma students from SDB (82.68 %). Most positive responses (96.67 %) were observed in the group of Roma students - boys and girls across all grades.

In the responses of students that in order to be a good student, you do not have to study at home, ethnically differentiated results were observed. Non-Roma pupils from both categories showed higher numbers compared to Roma pupils. In the 9th grade of primary school it was 23.08 % of non-Roma students and even 40.00 % of non-Roma students from SDB. The results may be affected by the fact that the question-

naire was conducted in April - May 2012 - at the time when pupils of 9th grade had already received the notification of admission to high school.

Table 14 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 16

In order to be a good student, you...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	have to study at home		do not have to study at home		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	170	71.43	8	3.36	60	25.21
Non-R SDB	12	66.67	1	5.56	5	27.78
R	22	73.33	3	10.00	5	16.67
R SDB	193	63.07	21	6.86	92	30.07

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 17: At home I (study a lot, study as much as I need, do not study a lot, do not study at all)

Fulfillment of school obligations, studying in this case, is associated with the development of self-regulatory competences of students: self-control and self-regulation. The pupil studies because he wants to have good results. For that to happen, he must overcome various obstacles and demonstrate the will power (e.g. responsibility, diligence, perseverance, etc.). Studying often does not bring positive experiences, it becomes only a means to an end. In item No. 17 we investigated the degree of effort to study.

However, we were most interested in those students who admit the absence of fulfilment of obligations - those who have said they do not study at home at all. As it is indicated in Table 15, the impact of socially disadvantaged background is again crucial and it occurs across ethnicity of students. Problematic relationship to school and schoolwork may occur because of the fact that in families with long-term unemployment of parents (especially of father), the models of daily routine and fulfilment of obligations might be missing. Students living in socially disadvantaged backgrounds do not have models that would motivate them to study and strengthen

their educational aspirations. It is possible that the student is the only household member who has to get up every morning to school and has responsibilities. Comparing the results in individual grades, the category in the highest risk is group of Roma students from SDB of 8th grade (23.85 %). In the same grade, the number of non-Roma pupils is only 3.45 %.

Table 15 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 17

At home I...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses							
	study a lot		study as much as I need		do not study a lot		do not study at all	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	9	3.78	130	54.62	75	31.51	22	9.24
Non-R SDB	3	16.67	9	50.00	3	16.67	3	16.67
R	3	10.00	11	36.67	13	43.33	3	10.00
R SDB	33	10.78	139	45.42	85	27.78	47	15.36

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 18: When I am an adult, I will (do well, not do well, I do not know)

The question of life's long-term prospects can act as a motivating factor in current decision making and shaping life attitudes. Although individual personality characteristics, his self-image and self-concept play a fundamental role in this, their correlation with socio-cultural environment in which individuals live is significant. Therefore, we felt it was important to know whether the projection of students' future is determined by socio-cultural environment of his family and whether the school environment can have an impact on the vision of their future. We assume that positive life perspective can play a determining role in pupils' attitudes toward school education. We are also aware that the term to do well cannot be understood as an absolute category. Its content reflects the individual needs of each pupil.

In the group of surveyed students, significant differences in the expectations of Roma and non-Roma students from SDB were found. Interestingly, it shows that the students are rather pessimistic about their own personal perspective. It is probably

caused by the overall atmosphere of the society and regional specifics - regions with high long-term unemployment. Long-term unemployment affects all social and ethnic groups. Therefore, the perception of students' personal perspectives is not socially or ethnically differentiated and age or gender of the student does not have an impact on this. The only exception is the group of non-Roma girls from SDB - they appear to be more undecided than students from the other groups (66.67 %). If we look at the problem in terms of categorization of schools, non-Roma pupils seem to be more pessimistic compared to Roma pupils from SDB.

Table 16 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 18

When I am an adult, I will...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	do well		not do well		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	104	43.70	5	53.78	128	2.10
Non-R SDB	6	31.58	2	57.89	11	10.53
R	12	40.00	3	50.00	15	10.00
R SDB	128	41.97	14	53.11	162	4.59

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 19: If I could choose a profession, I would be

Each person have different ideas about doing well in the future (studied in item No. 18). Having a satisfying profession is one of the key conditions for achieving this (which proved to be very important in relation to Roma students from SDB - see evaluation of item No. 23). Therefore, item No. 19 is focused on detecting the profession which the students in this survey would like to have in the future. This question was open and students chose the profession they would like to have. For the evaluation of these professions, we classified them into two categories:

- a) occupations that require secondary education (with or without graduation),
- b) occupations that require an university degree (bachelor's or master degree).

The number of Non-Roma pupils who answered this question was 149 and the number of Roma students from SDB who answered this question was 34. The number of

non-Roma pupils who chose the professions that require secondary education was 69 (representing 41,31 %) and the number of Roma students from SDB was 20 (representing 58,82 %). And finally, the professions that require a university degree were chosen by 80 non-Roma pupils (representing 53,69 %) and 14 Roma students from SDB (representing 41,17 %).

ITEM NO. 20: To be able to do a profession I chose in item No. 19, I have to (be rich, study, be lucky, I do not know)

This item of the questionnaire is focused on the detection of students' ideas about key determinants of their possible future career. In the case of Roma students from SDB, we wanted to find out whether their socio-cultural background may affect their attitudes. As shown in Table 17, all categories of students are aware of the importance of education for acquiring professional qualifications. Social or socio-cultural background plays a greater role than ethnicity. Students from SDB (both non-Roma and Roma), compared to students from other groups, consider luck and fortune as pre-conditions for getting an adequate occupation (or are undecided on this issue). The most noticeable difference is in the group of pupils from SDB attending 3-category schools (61-80 % of Roma students from SDB). It can be assumed that this is mainly due to socio-culturally affected views on the importance of education - which is not a very important phenomenon in these families. On the other hand, the existing differences that are putting this category of families to a position of social marginalization are attributed rather to luck or wealth they miss in order to get adequate occupation. However, the reverse causality between the profession and the wealth is ignored.

Table 17 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 20

To be able to do a profession I have to...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses							
	be rich		be lucky		study		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	17	7.14	32	13.45	166	69.75	22	9.24
Non-R SDB	2	11.11	3	15.79	10	52.63	3	15.79
R	2	6.67	4	13.33	22	73.33	2	6.67
R SDB	31	10.13	53	17.38	146	47.87	75	24.59

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 21: When finish primary school, I will (be at home, go to high school, go to work, I do not know)

The question about students' idea of life after completing primary school focuses on the projection of his future in the context of real life and personal choices. In this case, it is not about recognizing students' desires. It is about how they see their position and opportunities in real life they live. This item is focused on whether the socio-cultural background of students has an impact on how they see their real possibilities for further education. As indicated in Table 18, the impact of socio-cultural environment is crucial and it occurs in all ethnicities of students. While 94,96 % of non-Roma pupils and 83,33 % of Roma pupils see themselves in high school, only 63.16 % of non-Roma students from SDB (15.79 % see themselves at work) and 60,33 % of Roma pupils of SDB (15,08 % see themselves at work) chose that option. It applies, although to a different degree, regardless of gender or school categorization.

Table 18 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 21

When I finish primary school, I will...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses							
	be at home		go to high school		go to work		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	17	7.14	32	13.45	166	69.75	22	9.24
Non-R SDB	2	11.11	3	15.79	10	52.63	3	15.79
R	2	6.67	4	13.33	22	73.33	2	6.67
R SDB	31	10.13	53	17.38	146	47.87	75	24.59

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 22: When I am an adult, I'd rather have - choose one: (a lot of money, a good husband/wife, good job, a peace so that I don't have to do anything, I do not know)

Values of pupils is largely influenced by the environment in which they live and learn. In this item, we assumed that the school environment represents a homogenising

determination factor and that the differences in the values of students may be primarily caused by family environment, influence of which is either strengthened or weakened by school. The number of undecided students and those who want to have a break is in all categories negligible. Materialistic orientation was represented by about 16.71 % of the total number of students surveyed - with the lowest number in a group of Roma pupils (13.33 %) and highest in the group of Roma pupils from SDB. However, this category of materialistic orientation was not the biggest. This fact does not confirm the common stereotype about the materialistic orientation of today's youth. The highest representation in this survey is representation of orientation to family (to have a good husband/wife) about 36.25 % and work - about 42.16 %. In these two items an interesting differentiative boundary occurred between a group of students who are members of those social groups that are ethnically or socially considered problematic (Roma students and students from SDB) and a group of non-Roma pupils from standard socio-cultural environment. While non-Roma pupils from standard socio-cultural environments are more family-oriented (to have a good husband/wife) 40.34 %, the average percentage of other students (Roma pupils, Roma and non-Roma pupils from SDB) is about 31.55 %. In the case of orientation to work (to have good job), 34.87 % of non-Roma pupils from standard socio-cultural environment are family-orientated and the average percentage of other pupils (Roma pupils, Roma and non-Roma pupils from SDB) is about 44.59 %.

These results did not confirm the stereotype of the Roma people avoiding work. Approximately 45.82 % of surveyed Roma pupils want to have a good job, 28.91 % prefer a good husband/wife, 16.26 % want to have a lot of money and only 3.14 % of them want to have a peace.

Table 19 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 22

When I am an adult, I'd rather have...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses									
	a lot of money		a good husband/wife		good job		a peace so that I don't have to do anything		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	43	18.07	96	40.34	83	34.87	1	0.42	14	5.88
Non-R SDB	3	15.79	7	36.84	8	42.11	0	0.00	1	5.26
R	4	13.33	8	26.67	15	50.00	1	3.33	2	6.67
R SDB	58	19.02	95	31.15	127	41.64	9	2.95	15	4.92

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 23: So far, I attended (nursery school, special primary school, zero grade)

While responses of students in item No. 22 quashed stereotypes about Roma, in this item, a well-known fact that just a few Roma children from SDB attends nursery school before entering compulsory education, is confirmed. In this case, it was only 17.65 % that attended nursery school, compared to 74.79 % of non-Roma pupils. Paradoxically, students from the group of Roma pupils from SDB have the lowest representation in this category. The same applies to attending the zero grade, not considering non-Roma pupils. The fact that more Roma pupils were attending the zero grade (13.33 %) than Roma pupil from SDB (8.17 %), only proves the opinion that the creation of zero grades has no clear concept and has no effect on that social group which needs it the most in terms of meeting its development needs. However, this does not question the importance of the zero grade for other pupils. If we look at

the problem in terms of categorization of schools according to representation of Roma students from SDB, nursery school attendance by this group is inversely proportional to the number of their representation in the primary school. The exception is 4-category school (81-100 % of Roma students from SDB). Thus, the higher their representation at school, the lower the percentage of nursery school attendance before entering elementary school. Basically the same is true for the zero grade. The only exception is the school of 4th category. Although the percentage of Roma pupils from SDB is higher here, it is not higher than the percentage non-Roma pupils. This higher percentage can be credited to the high representation of the local children population in those classes.

Table 20 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 23

So far, I attended...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses											
	nursery school				spec. primary school				zero grade			
	yes		no		yes		no		yes		no	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	178	74.79	60	25.21	4	1.68	234	98.32	9	3.78	229	96.22
Non-R SDB	7	38.89	11	61.11	0	0.00	18	100.00	3	16.67	15	83.33
R	10	33.33	20	66.67	2	6.67	28	93.33	4	13.33	26	86.67
R SDB	54	17.65	252	82.35	4	1.31	302	98.69	25	8.17	281	91.83

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 24: I think in the future I will study at (high school, university)

Item No. 24 was about a projection of the future that is based more on a rational assessment of future opportunities. Therefore it cannot be surprising that while the majority of the surveyed non-Roma students consider studying at university in future (54.62 %), in the case of Roma pupils (73.33 %) and Roma pupils from SDB (78.76 %), there is a strong orientation to secondary school. The same applies when examining gender categories. However, in the group of Roma students, certain gender stereotypes occur. While the percentage of girls who want to study at university is significantly higher (65.65 %) than the percentage of boys (41,12 %) in the group of non-Roma pupils, the proportion in the group of Roma pupils is different. In the

group of Roma students from SDB, the difference is not that big as in the group of Roma students. In the group of Roma students from SDB, 18.66 % of Roma boys want to study at university compared to 16.28 % of girls from this group. In the group of Roma students, 28.57 % of Roma boys want to study at university compared to 18.75 % of girls (data may be distorted by the low representation of students in this group).

Table 21 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 24

I think in the future I will study at...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses			
	high school		university	
	N	%	N	%
Non-R	104	43.70	130	54.62
Non-R SDB	14	77.78	4	22.22
R	22	73.33	7	23.33
R SDB	241	78.76	53	17.32

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

ITEM NO. 25: At school I enjoy studying these subjects

Item No. 25 contains a question about the popularity of subjects among pupils. Students were given the opportunity to tick any subjects they enjoy. They were choosing from the list of all subjects taught in the 7th, 8th and 9th grade of primary school. In the group of non-Roma students, there were 238 respondents. Most of them (143) chose physical education, drawing (95) and music education (79). The least popular subjects were technical education (37), religion (36) and ethics (5). Roma students from SDB (305 respondents) chose physical education (140), Slovak language (90) and drawing (89). The least popular subjects for them were religion (30), technical education (28) and geography (23).

ITEM NO. 26: *Underline three subjects that are the most difficult for you at school*

Item No. 26 focuses on the detection of the subjects that students consider to be the hardest. The style of answering were the same as in item No. 27; however, it was limited to 3 answers. In the group of non-Roma students there were 238 respondents. Most of them (135) chose mathematics, Slovak language (116) and chemistry (87). Subjects that were underlined the least were technical education (4), Ethics (5), and only 6 students voted for the option that all subjects are difficult. Roma students from SDB (305 respondents) voted for math (159), Slovak language (107) and physics (100). Subjects that were underlined the least were ethics (11), technical education (8) and religion (6).

ITEM NO. 27: *In our class (it is difficult to learn and the teachers are strict, it is easy to learn and the teachers are not strict, I do not know)*

Perception of the atmosphere and difficulty of learning process refers to the extent to which students experience school life, think about it and also whether is it a value for them. According to the results in item No. 27, the most students (across all subgroups) were undecided in this question - from all items of the questionnaire where the option I do not know was offered (18-30).

It confirms the general lack of interest of students in education. The percentage of students who responded it is difficult to learn and the teachers are strict and it is easy to learn and the teachers are not strict suggests certain value unstableness because with the exception of non-Roma students from SDB, the number of students who chose first option is almost the same as number of students who chose second option. The distribution of students' responses at schools with 41-60 % and 61-80 % of Roma students from SDB, is very interesting. In these schools, the percentage of the Roma pupils from SDB who find learning difficult is higher (39.29 % and 47.17 %) than the percentage of those students who find learning easy (32.14 % and 35.85 %). Although the causes may be different, social and ethnic composition of these students may play a role not only in the attitudes of students, but also in the actions of their teachers.

ITEM NO. 28: *In my class I have (a lot of friends, a few friends, no friends)*

Atmosphere of the school is highly demonstrated by social relationships created by students. Student have the ability to create these social relationships depending on the acceptance by the social environment. Therefore, item No. 28 is focused on examining whether students have any friends in their classes. The results of this item was surprising in several ways.

Table 22 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 27

In our class...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	it is difficult to learn and the teachers are strict		it is easy to learn and the teachers are not strict		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	81	34.03	82	34.45	75	31.51
Non-R SDB	6	33.33	10	55.56	2	11.11
R	7	23.33	10	33.33	12	40.00
R SDB	108	35.29	110	35.95	87	28.43

Table 23 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 28

In my class I have...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	a few friends		no friends		lot of friends	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	33	13.87	8	3.36	194	81.51
Non-R SDB	5	27.78	2	11.11	11	61.11
R	6	20.00	2	6.67	20	66.67
R SDB	73	23.86	12	3.92	219	71.57

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

In all studied groups of students, the percentage of those who have a lot of friends is high. The percentage of Roma students from SDB is higher (71.57 %) than the percentage of Roma students (66.67 %) and non-Roma students from SDB (61.11 %). The group of non-Roma students from SDB is specific because it shows the highest percentage of those students who have just a few friends (27.78 % versus 23.86 % of Roma students from SDB) or no friends at all (11.11 % versus 3.92 % of Roma pupils from SDB). The premise of strong social marginalization of Roma students from SDB was not confirmed in this survey.

ITEM NO. 29: In our class, there are (a lot of good students, a few good students, I do not know)

While item No. 28 was aimed to examine how students perceive their social role in the school environment, item No. 29 examines how these students see their social environment from a subjective point of view which is projected into the category of good students. The concept of a good student is not defined. We assume that this category is generally a positive value. Similarly as in item No. 28, the percentage of undecided students is also relatively high. It confirms the fact that the school and school education is not a value in the reference framework of students. Therefore they do not know or do not want to express their opinion. There is a significant difference between group of non-Roma students and group of Roma students from SDB. The dividing line in this item is formed by socio-cultural backgrounds of students, the same as in other items. Answers of the students from SDB (both Roma and non-Roma) were different from the answers of the students from standard socio-cultural environments (both Roma and non-Roma). While students from SDB tend to perceive their class as a group where there are just a few good students, in other groups of other studied the opposite was true. In terms of the categorization of schools, the results were crucially affected by schools that have 61-81 % of Roma students from SDB (3-category schools).

Table 24 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 29

In our class, there are...
(according to the categorization of students)

category of students	students' responses					
	a few good students		a lot of good students		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-R	100	42.02	108	45.38	30	12.61
Non-R SDB	10	55.56	6	33.33	2	11.11
R	12	40.00	13	43.33	5	16.67
R SDB	192	62.75	81	26.47	33	10.78

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

Table 25 Comparison of students' responses to item No. 29

In our class, there are...

(according to the categorization of schools and students)

category of schools ----- category of students	students' responses					
	a few good students		a lot of good students		I do not know	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. category	72		106		18	
Non-R	57	37.50	78	51.32	17	11.18
Non-R SDB	1	16.67	5	83.33	0	0.00
R	1	14.29	6	85.71	0	0.00
R SDB	13	41.94	17	54.84	1	3.23
2. category	39		29		8	
Non-R	27	62.79	13	30.23	3	6.98
Non-R SDB	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
R	1	20.00	3	60.00	1	20.00
R SDB	11	39.29	13	46.43	4	14.29
3. category	145		36		25	
Non-R	10	58.82	6	35.29	1	5.88
Non-R SDB	9	75.00	1	8.33	2	16.67
R	10	55.56	4	22.22	4	22.22
R SDB	116	72.96	25	15.72	18	11.32
4. category	58		37		19	
Non-R	6	23.08	11	42.31	9	34.62
Non-R SDB	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
R	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
R SDB	52	59.09	26	29.55	10	11.36

Notes

Non-R - number of non-Roma pupils

Non-R SDB - number of non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

R - number of Roma pupils

R SDB - number of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds

N - number of pupils

% - percentage of the number of students

1. Category - schools with 20-40 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 4, 5, 7.

2. Category - schools with 41-60 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes school 3.

3. Category - schools with 61-80 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 1, 2, 6.

4. Category - schools with 81-100 % of Roma pupils from SDB. This category includes schools 8, 9.

ITEM NO. 30: When I'm not at school, the most I like (watching television, playing games on the computer, playing outdoors, talking with friends, helping at home, reading, doing nothing, doing my homework).

This item was focused on the detection of preferences of students in their leisure time. The results suggest that from three most preferred activities, playing on computer and helping at home occurred in all groups (the group of Roma, non-Roma, Roma from SDB, non-Roma from SDB). The third most preferred activity, however, is different according to the ethnicity. While non-Roma students chose activity playing outdoors, Roma students chose activity talking with friends. Choosing activity playing on computer as the most preferred is not surprising. It confirms general trend of preferring things offered by computer technology. In the past, very popular activity was watching television - which it is not among three most preferred activities in any of surveyed groups of students. A little surprise may be the fact that all surveyed groups of students consider helping at home as one of three most preferred activities in their free time (we did not investigate whether voluntary). Preference of activity playing outdoors by non-Roma students and activity talking with friends by Roma students is also interesting. This can be (to some extent) attributed to the tradition of narrative ways of seeing the world in Roma communities. Not so long time ago, there were storytellers in their communities who enjoyed a great interest from their audience.

2.4 OBSERVATION OF THE WORK OF TEACHERS OF LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION - SECOND STAGE OF RESEARCH

Preparation and organization of observations

Preparation of the observations included the choice of schools, the establishment of procedure of selecting the teaching staff, the method of recording data and creating a schedule for research.

The main objective

To monitor the learning process from the aspect of pedagogical skills of teachers to create an inclusive environment, depending on the composition of the class in terms of socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds of students.

The specific objective

To identify and analyze the capabilities of teacher to create a safe environment for all students and use teaching materials in these three areas:

- A. The ability to create conditions in which pupils can try out new ideas, thoughts and abilities.
- B. The ability to provide a safe environment.
- C. The ability to use teaching materials and teaching aids.

Observation tasks

To collect data, analyze and interpret the data.

Research tool (method), the methodology

The main research method was direct observation of the process of learning by teachers of lower secondary education. Observations were made according to a predefined observation form. Observation was conducted after the opening dialogue with the teacher. Its objective was to identify the total length of his professional experience, how long he has worked with Roma pupils from SDB and his education that focused on work with the target group. Three-member expert group of teacher practitioners participated in each observation.

Evaluation Key

Final evaluation was based on the five-point rating scale of the level detected, verbal and the numerical representation of each level. Each quality indicator was evaluated using the following scale:

- +2 Very good; strong predominance of positive aspects, minor deficiencies.
- +1 Good; predominance of positive aspects, minor deficiencies.
 - 0 Satisfactory; positive and negative aspects in balance.
 - 1 Less satisfactory; predominance of negative aspects, significant deficiencies.
 - 2 Unsatisfactory; strong predominance of negative aspects, fundamental deficiencies.

For each quality indicator, observers circled the numerical representation of evaluation level on the scale.

-2 -1 0 +1 +2

Characteristics of the sample

Observations were made at two elementary schools in the Prešov region. The number of Roma pupils from SDB represented 20-40 % at the first elementary school and 41-60 % at the second elementary school. All Roma pupils were from marginalized community.

In the second stage of the research, 30 observations were conducted in the classes of 10 teachers (3 observations in the class of each teacher) of 7th, 8th and 9th grade primary school. Nine observations were conducted in the 7th grade (6 in the first elementary school and 3 in the second elementary school), 12 observations in the 8th grade (6 in the first elementary school and 6 in the second elementary school) and 9 observations were conducted in the 9th grade (3 in the first elementary school and 6 in the second elementary school). The place of the observations were classrooms.

Identification data

Teachers - the length of his professional experience, experience with Roma pupils from SDB and continuing education focused on work with Roma pupils from SDB

Identification data showed that have the length of professional experience of 6 respondents (out of 10) was over 20 years. The length of professional experience with Roma pupils from SDB of teachers of second elementary school is shorter (under 20 years). Initial interviews showed that none of 10 respondents attended any form of continuing education focused on work with Roma pupils from SDB.

Students - the total number of students, number of Roma students from SDB/generally and in individual groups

Observers recorded the total number of students in the group and the number of Roma students from SDB. In both schools, most observations were made in groups with 16-25 students. In groups observed, there were 19.1 % of Roma students in the first elementary school and 24.2 % of Roma students in the second elementary school.

Quantitative analysis

Evaluation of the observations in the first and second elementary school

Table 26 Overall results from observations in three studied areas

E	Area A		Area B		Area C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
-2	8	26.6	14	46.6	9	30.0
-1	6	20.0	6	20.0	2	6.6
0	6	20.0	3	10.0	4	13.3
+1	7	23.3	7	23.3	5	16.6
+2	3	10.0	0	0.00	10	33.3

Notes

E - evaluation

Area A - the ability to create conditions in which pupils can try out new ideas, thoughts and abilities

Area B - the ability to provide a safe environment for all pupils

Area C - the ability to use teaching materials and teaching aids

N - number of respondents who were evaluated in observation

Table 26 provides a quantitative analysis of the findings observed from both schools. It is a summary of partial quantitative analyses of findings from observations of teachers of lower secondary education, made by various observers. The evaluation is

based on the five-point rating scale of the level detected, verbal and numerical representation of evaluation level.

Area A: The ability to create conditions in which pupils can try out new ideas, thoughts and abilities

Observation results are less satisfactory, with a slight predominance of negative aspects (46.6 % of negative ratings, 20 % of negative and positive aspects in balance and only 33.3 % of observations are evaluated positively with the prevalence of positive aspects). Teachers usually did not create conditions for pupils to think or express their own ideas (Indicator A1) and to respect and appreciate diverse views of students (Indicator A2). They did not implement activities which would allow pupils to express their own feelings, recognize feelings of others and talk about them (indicator A3). No significant differences were observed between the approach to Roma and non-Roma pupils. Teachers generally offered a few opportunities to develop communication competence of students (Indicator A5). The most negatively evaluated factor was creating situations leading to mutual cooperation of pupils and taking turns in activities and mutual assistance (indicator A4).

Area B: The ability to provide a safe environment for all pupils

The results of observations in this area are less satisfactory, there are strong predominance of negative aspects and fundamental deficiencies (66.6 % of negative ratings, 10 % of negative and positive aspects in balance and only 23.3 % of observations are evaluated positively with the prevalence of positive aspects). Observers reported that the Indicator B3 - teacher promotes democratic values through participation of all students in the process of making decisions about the rules, plans and actions in a class environment - did not occur during all observations, which was considered as the main negative aspect.

The occurrence of indicator B2 - teacher encourages the interaction and promotes positive relationships between Roma and non-Roma pupils, between students and teachers in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect - was low. Indicator B4 - teacher respects cultural traditions, language and cultural identity of Roma and non-Roma pupils, values cultural diversity of class - was also evaluated as less satisfactory. Teachers often noticed signs of intolerance or bullying among non-Roma and Roma children and were able to find effective solutions to eliminate them (Indicator B1). Observation of this phenomenon was rated as good, with a predominance of positive aspects.

Area C: The ability to use teaching materials and teaching aids

Study area is rated good, with a slight predominance of positive aspects (49.9 % of good or very good evaluations with strong predominance of positive aspects, 13.3 % of satisfactory evaluations with negative and positive aspects in balance, 36.6 % of negative reviews). The most positively evaluated factor was the use of teaching materials and teaching aids adequate for age and abilities of students (Indicator C3) and the creation of individual and group portfolios of students (Indicator C4). Negative and positive aspects in balance were recorded in Indicator C1 - using teaching materials and teaching aids from real life of students and C2 - encouraging students to bring teaching materials from their environment. However, observers also stated that this phenomenon never occurred, which was rated as less satisfactory and unsatisfactory.

Overall evaluation of quantitative analysis of observations:

- In the sum of the positive reviews +2 and +1, the highest rating had Area C (39.9 %).
- The least satisfactory was the Area B - there was predominance of negative aspects (66.6 % of ratings -1 and -2).

Qualitative analysis

Area A: The ability to create conditions in which pupils can try out new ideas, thoughts and abilities

Area A was evaluated more positively in the first elementary school. Teachers prepared some activities that created conditions leading to and situations where students had to think and express their ideas (e.g. through interactive tasks on the subject of Biology in 7th grade, topic: Skin). Students were working with interactive whiteboards during lessons and had some tasks to do (e.g. filling in a table - how to take care of my skin, what is harmful to my skin). Questions were mainly focused on developing first-level thinking (e.g. Where were you on holiday this summer?). Roma and non-Roma pupils had an opportunity to express their ideas (however, it is questionable in the case of Roma students who do not usually go on holiday with their parents).

At the second elementary school, students were given more opportunities to apply what they have learned - they gave some examples from their life and tried to express their own ideas. All students were asked to do so, regardless of ethnicity.

At both schools, teachers respected and paid the same attention to both Roma and non -Roma students. All students had equal opportunity to express their opinions. However, it was observed in all groups that Roma students spoke little. They were not stimulated by suitably formulated questions and encouraged to respond. In res-

pecting different opinions of non-Roma and Roma pupils, there were no differences. There was also no difference in giving warnings or rebukes during lesson. However, non-Roma pupils with good school results had more opportunities to express themselves.

In the area of doing activities through which Roma and non-Roma students learn to express their feelings, to recognize feelings in others and to talk about them, this phenomenon was observed in the classes of only two teachers at both schools. This fact was rated as less satisfactory.

During the lesson of one teacher (from first elementary school), the method of experiential learning with the possibility of expressing feelings through dramatization was implemented. During civics (topic: Constitution of the Slovak Republic), students could express their opinions in the discussion about human rights. Teacher asked these kinds of questions: What do we have in common, what makes us different? (comparing Roma and non-Roma pupils). Students responded: common: homeland, effort to achieve something, different: culture, language, traditions, different values.

During the other observed lessons at this school (mathematics, physics), students did not have a chance to express their opinion; lessons were designed to remember as many facts as possible.

In the second elementary school, this phenomenon has also been evaluated positively only in one observation - students were during a lesson of drawing encouraged to express their feelings.

The negative aspects were recorded in the area of creating the opportunities for mutual cooperation between non-Roma and Roma pupils. At the first elementary school, most lessons were about assigning tasks for students individually or in front of the whole class. Students worked independently, all solved the same tasks. Working in groups or cooperation was not observed.

In this area, observations at second elementary school were evaluated very positively. During 15 observations of the 5 lessons, cooperative learning was implemented - students were divided into different groups or pairs (always different) during various activities, which led to the cooperation between Roma and non-Roma pupils. Roma pupils never formed a distinct group; they were always in the groups with other students.

At the first elementary school, a teaching assistant worked individually with Roma students in one of five groups (mathematics in 8th grade). There were no assistants in other groups at second elementary school.

Observation of the ability of creating opportunities for the development of communication skills was evaluated as satisfactory (positive and negative aspects in balance). At both schools, teachers were asking open-ended questions, which was evaluated positively. The fact that was evaluated negatively was that although teachers asked open-ended questions and tried to encourage dialogue, but often did not give students an opportunity to express their ideas; they did not wait for an answer and interrupted them. During all three observed lessons, one teacher from second elementary school answered questions immediately after asking them.

At the same elementary school, a monologue discourse of the teacher with a lot of factual information was observed during all three lessons in the 9th grade. This discourse took almost the whole lesson; the rest of the lesson students spent writing lengthy notes. Students did not get the opportunity to express themselves. This teacher did not ask any question during none of the three observed lessons.

Only one teacher at second elementary school also asked ancillary questions that helped students to find the correct answers. He reworded the questions for Roma pupils in order to be easier to understand.

Area B: The ability to provide a safe environment for all pupils

Teachers, in most observations, were able to recognize the elements of intolerance. During one observation, a teacher appropriately intervened when non-Roma student abused his Roma classmate.

An atmosphere of mutual trust at the first elementary school was evaluated as less satisfactory - with a predominance of negative aspects. The reason was negative atmosphere of one class, disrespect between teacher and students (students were noisy, positive relationships in the classroom were not encouraged). A major negative aspect was the fact that in three groups of five, Roma pupils were sitting together, separated from non-Roma pupils, in the back of the classroom. However, at the same school there were also some lessons where teachers promoted positive relationships between classmates through various activities. These activities included discussions (e.g. during English lessons, students were supposed to speak about Christmas holidays in Roma and non-Roma families). Because of this attitude, the relationship between students and teacher was evaluated positively.

Lessons at the second elementary school were in a calm atmosphere. Students were not disruptive, were focused, active and responded to questions. Comparing to the first elementary school, Roma students were not sitting in the back of the classroom. Roma students were sitting together, but not just in the back. While solving group tasks, students were divided into groups, where they worked together regardless of ethnicity. In just one case, Roma pupils were in one separated group. Speaking about

division of tasks in the group, non-Roma pupils were solving the problems and Roma pupils were recording notes and the results into the worksheets. The exception was the lesson in laboratory where each student did the same task - weighing. Generally, it was observed that the students trusted teachers and were not afraid to answer any questions.

At the first elementary school, Roma students were rarely involved in activities and the teaching process. Only one out of five observations was evaluated positively - teacher involved all pupils in the learning process. After asking the question, he used non-verbal ways to encourage all students to answer the question.

Promoting democratic values through participation of all students in decision-making process was evaluated as less satisfactory and unsatisfactory at both elementary schools, with significant and fundamental deficiencies. For example, at the first elementary school, Roma students from SDB, helped by a teaching assistant, often did not know what was going on during the lesson, although the subject of the lesson was the same.

At the first elementary school, the respect for the cultural traditions, language and cultural identity of non-Roma and Roma pupils was observed. Cultural diversity of the class was evaluated at every opportunity. During the discussion about Christmas, students compared Christmas traditions in Roma and non-Roma families.

During observations of an art lesson with the topic How our grandparents lived at the second elementary school, Roma pupils were asked to talk about their cultural traditions (wearing folk costumes, spending free time, children's games). Students were drawing pictures of things brought from home (a mortar, a grinder, a horseshoe, a kerosene lamp). They were all encouraged to engage in conversation - how do they celebrate holidays at home, whether they can dance Romani folk dances, sing songs, or whether they have traditional clothing at home. During next observations, this phenomenon did not occur.

Area C: The ability to use teaching materials and teaching aids

From the results of observations at both schools, we can conclude that the majority of teachers worked with conventional material and didactic resources (textbooks, blackboard, images, models). They rarely encouraged students to bring things they are using in their personal life from home.

At the first elementary school, using things from home was observed - for a biology lesson in 7th grade students brought holiday photos (only non-Roma pupils), for a civics lesson family photos. For an English lesson they were supposed to bring something that cannot be missing on the Christmas table. During all three lessons of

this teacher, the phenomenon of using things from the real life of students was observed. The teacher engaged all students in the process of collecting things.

Only one teacher at the second elementary school asked students to bring their photos for a civics lesson with the topic Family. During other lessons this phenomenon was not observed.

The most positively rated thing was the fact that during most lessons, teachers were using teaching aids and materials adequate for age and ability of students (common teaching aids designed for the specific grade, textbooks, worksheets made by the teachers).

During physics lessons, pupils verified information using a computer. During two lessons observed, they were working with interactive whiteboards - leaders of groups were taking turns. All students also did laboratory measurements.

At both schools, creation of group portfolios was evaluated as satisfactory with positive and negative aspects in balance.

Almost all teachers from both schools gather pupils' work (samples of writing and literary journals, tests and sound recordings of their singing, projects, interesting pupils' work, records from laboratory exercises).

At the second elementary school, three out of five teachers create pupils' portfolios where they put tests, projects and results from laboratory exercises. One teacher collects art work of all pupils. She keeps the best works even after the end of the school year.

Conclusions based on the results of observations of the work of teachers of lower secondary education

- The most problematic area was the one where teachers were supposed to show the ability to provide a safe environment for all pupils. Promoting democratic values through participation of all pupils in decision-making process was not observed during any lesson.
- Although at the second elementary school pupils worked in groups, it was not cooperation. Observation showed that in solving the problems, individual variety of students was not considered. The possibility of looking at one thing from different views was ignored, which did not lead to any dialogue or discussion. Group work managed by teachers did not develop personal qualities such as ability of cooperation, sense of belonging, sense of tolerance and others.
- Only three teachers encouraged interaction and promoted positive relationships between Roma and non-Roma pupils or between students and teacher in the atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. Roma and non-Roma pupils solved the

same tasks; questions were asked to all pupils equally. If any group work occurred, Roma pupils were mostly writing and recording the results. During lessons, the higher academically functioning non-Roma students were usually expressing themselves; Roma pupils spoke very little.

- During lessons, teachers were not using questions to stimulate pupils' development of higher cognitive functions. Questions did not lead students to formulating their own opinions or attitudes. There was no ambition of teachers to change the interaction formula and create an atmosphere where students could formulate and ask their own questions.
- During observations teachers don't respect cultural traditions, language and cultural identity of Roma pupils. Cultural diversity of the class was evaluated occasionally or not at all. Students were taught mostly by traditional methods and very occasionally expressed their opinions and beliefs based on their own cultural and social experience.
- The most positively rated area was the ability of teachers of lower secondary education to use teaching aids and materials - especially the use of teaching aids adequate for the age of pupils. However, these teaching aids were didactic resources which are part of standard equipment of every elementary school.
- The use of things from real life of students was observed rarely or not at all.
- Almost all teachers are putting aside pupils' work. However, they do not create individual portfolios, where individual progress of pupils would be recorded.

2.5 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS OF LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION - THIRD STAGE OF RESEARCH

Another part of the qualitative research was interviews with teachers of Roma pupils of 7th, 8th and 9th grade of elementary school. Interviews were made after observations and were carried out at two elementary schools in the Prešov region. There were 20-40 % of Roma pupils from SDB in the first elementary school (1.ES) and 41-60 % in the second elementary school (2.ES). Interviews took approximately 30 minutes with each teacher. In both schools, 10 interviews were conducted (5 in each school).

Characteristics of the sample

- Interviews were attended by 10 respondents (3 men and 7 women).
- The average age of respondents was 45 years.
- The youngest respondent was 28 years old and the length of his teaching experience was 3 years.
- The oldest respondent was 59 years old and the length of his teaching experience was 35 years.
- The average length of teaching experience was 20 years.

Table 27 Characteristics of respondent

respondent	age/gender	TE	s. No
1. respondent	36/woman	11	1st
2. respondent	35/woman	10	1st
3. respondent	55/man	32	1st
4. respondent	41/woman	21	1st
5. respondent	44/woman	21	1st
6. respondent	55/woman	20	2nd
7. respondent	40/man	15	2nd
8. respondent	28/man	3	2nd
9. respondent	55/woman	28	2nd
10. respondent	59/woman	35	2nd

Notes

s. No - number of school

TE - the average length of teaching experience

Analysis of interviews

Area 1: Reasons of teachers for choice of school and work with Roma pupils

Objective: To determine the reasons for which teachers decided to teach Roma children.

To the question: *How did you become a teacher of Roma pupils?* respondents stated two reasons:

- 1) They were looking for a job and were offered this one, therefore they have become teachers of Roma pupils automatically - voluntarily or involuntarily, there was no other option; A Roma class was assigned to them (6 out of 10 responses).
- 2) At the time of getting this job, Roma pupils represented less than 20 %; then the number has almost tripled. With the gradual rise in number of Roma students, they have gained teaching experience (4 responses out of 10).

"There was no other option. I started working in the school which was attended also by Roma pupils. I have been working with Roma pupils during my entire teaching practice" (2nd elementary school).

"When I got job at this elementary school, Roma pupils represented less than 20 % of the number of pupils. Today, more than half of all students are Roma students. I work with them from the beginning of my teaching practice" (2nd elementary school).

“I became a teacher voluntarily, nobody forced me to do so. Straight after finishing high school I went to study pedagogy at university. I have been working with Roma pupils since the beginning of my career. My work is a dream comes true, I've always wanted to teach. I enjoy making up new activities for pupils and teaching them things in different ways” (1st elementary school).

Neither of the teachers planned to work specifically with Roma children. They began to work at those schools because there was no other option, or the school has changed to Roma while they were working there. However, attitudes of teachers to the fact that they teach Roma pupils are different - some of them see it as a necessity, a necessary evil; others as an opportunity, a challenge.

Area 2: Evaluation of school by teachers

Objective: To determine the criteria according to which teachers evaluate the schools where they work.

School teachers evaluated their school according to different criteria, which they chose by themselves. The question was: *How would you rate your school?* In the first place, teachers evaluated the overall level of technical equipment of their school:

- IT equipment, interactive whiteboards, new didactic resources (mostly from EU-funded projects);
- Equipment of specialized classrooms (language laboratories, laboratories for science subjects, school libraries - also mostly from EU-funded projects).
- In the second place, teachers evaluated the interpersonal relationships and school atmosphere:
- Very good or excellent interpersonal relationships with others, with the school management and the relationships of students between each other, family atmosphere, personal well-being;
- Support of the school management, teachers room for self-fulfilment, a team of people who are not afraid to try out new things, quality approach to students and teachers, the progressivity of school, the training workshops for teachers, personal characteristics and dedication of teachers.

Another criterion was the success of schools through the eyes of students, parents and the public:

- Various activities for students, success of school in competitions;
- Cooperation with narrower and wider community, organizing cultural events for parents, village or town.

“Experienced knowledgeable team, a school that gets involved in projects and wants to achieve something for our students, pupils and teachers to be happy. Our school is progressive, we have a team of people who want to work and are not afraid of new

things. We have good school laboratory physics equipment, those interactive whiteboards - speaking about equipment we're doing very well. We are participating in projects as well as attending the training workshops for teachers. This school moves with the times and we are trying to pursue a quality approach to parents or children" (first elementary school).

"The school has recently undergone major refurbishment. At school we have 3 PC classrooms, language laboratory, a special science laboratory, school library, 5 alternative whiteboards. There is a very good team of teachers, good relationships with school management" (second elementary school).

In only three out of ten interviews there was a reference about how the school responds to the presence of Roma pupils:

- Their presence was mostly evaluated as a factor that makes the job more difficult;
- Conditions for teaching Roma children were also evaluated in terms of technical equipment and relationships of teachers in the collective.

"Technical level of our school is good. The school provides good environment for educating Roma and non-Roma children. There is good cooperation between the school management and teaching staff, which is reflected in the personal well-being, self-realization and personal fulfilment of teachers" (first elementary school).

In just one interview there were mentioned some steps towards Roma students (zero grade, Roma assistants, special teachers):

"At our school we have a zero grade with Roma assistants. Some Roma children are not prepared for school enough and lag behind other children. However, these problems are not caused by mental handicap of these children. They arise from the cultural differences between Roma and non-Roma children. Problem pupils at our school are mainly those who come from villages - these children also have behavioral problems, they disturb the class. Our school is well equipped. We have enough classrooms and teachers with special education. Teachers are paying a lot of attention to students. Many Roma pupils do not bring school supplies to lessons, destroy school furniture, use bad language, say vulgar expressions, call their teachers names" (second elementary school).

Despite the fact that these two schools have a high percentage of Roma pupils, none of the teachers evaluated the school in terms of school strategies aimed at educating these pupils. They evaluated the school only in terms of technical level and equipment of the school, interpersonal relationships and success of the school in various activities.

Area 3: The issue of education of Roma students

Objective: To determine how teachers define problems and identify causes of problems in the education of Roma students.

To the question: *Where do you see the biggest problem in relation to education of Roma students?*, responses of teachers were almost the same not only at both schools, but also among all teachers. Teachers agreed on the following problem areas:

Roma and their culture, upbringing in the family:

- Cultural and ethnic differences (different mentality, habits, language, different values - the education is the last important value, poor adaptation to school).
- Upbringing in Roma family (parents are not so much interested in their children, they do not motivate them to education, do not provide their children adequate conditions for studying, do not teach their children to keep personal hygiene, do not teach them Slovak language, are not a good example to their children, are irresponsible).
- Lack of positive role models (life of people in neighbourhood is based on social benefits, children do not see the sense in the education to pursue a career).
- Different perception of space-time (no future plans, the absence of long-term goals).
- Negative phenomena at school (bullying - who wants to learn is mocked by his Roma classmates, problems with aggression, discipline, harassment, vulgar expressions towards teachers, irresponsibility, failure to do their duties, truancy, not bringing any school supplies).

Social system:

- current setting of system of social benefits, benevolent social policy of state.
- current setting of rules, inadequate legislation.
- poor social system, unemployment, lack of motivation for children to go to school.

School:

Teachers did not identify the school as the cause of problems in relation to education of Roma pupils. A possible repulsion of older colleagues against Roma was mentioned in one interview. Some teachers report that there have always been some problems - only the number of Roma students was lower.

"Today in this social situation, work with Roma pupils is very difficult. Parents are not interested in their children and also pupils are not interested in studying. In the past, 10 or 15 years ago, the work with Roma children was a little better" (first elementary school).

“Background, mentality, maybe culture, no feedback. Also society - they are not motivated, do not have role models - just a few Roma students achieve something more, such as high school. Problems are during my whole career the same - truancy, parents' ignorance” (first elementary school).

“The fundamental problem in education of Roma pupils, as I see it from the beginning of my professional career, is total lack of interest in education. Roma students are not motivated to education at home, they are studying at home, they do not even bring school bags with supplies to school. If there is someone among them who wants to learn, he is slandered or mocked by his Roma classmates. Then he gives up and his pursuit of education ends. Society degrades education and has benevolent social policy” (second elementary school).

According to the teachers' statements, the main causes of problems in education of Roma students are Roma students themselves, their ethnic cultural differences and current setting of social system. None of the teachers identified the school as the cause of problems in the education of Roma pupils.

Area 4: Attitude of Roma and non-Roma students toward school

Objective: To determine how teachers evaluate the attitude of Roma and non-Roma pupils toward the school.

In order to answer the question: *What are your Roma students like compared with non-Roma pupils in terms of their attitude toward school?* teachers focused mainly on negative aspects and mentioned just a few positive aspects in the attitude of Roma pupils toward the school. Their evaluation of the attitude of non-Roma pupils was minimal.

“It is difficult for them to adapt to a new environment and Slovak language is a foreign language for them. Parents do not care about good results of their children. They are different in everything - preparation for school, cooperation with parents, behavior in extreme situations, the ability to handle the extreme situations and to resolve conflicts. In terms of knowledge, they are retarded and mentally immature. They are nice, they like a caress and nice words, they are not rude” (first elementary school).

“The positives - spontaneity, warmth, cheerfulness, gratitude. The specificity of these children is their experience, their knowledge is based on the facts from their life. The negatives - objectively, it is necessary to admit that most of them are not successful at school” (second elementary school).

“Late arrivals to lessons are frequent, escaping from lessons, not having school supplies, destruction of school property. On the other hand, some of them are

grateful for showing recognition and acknowledgment. They are more practical and naturalistic” (second elementary school).

Teachers in their evaluations focused on both positive and negative aspects in the attitude of Roma pupils toward the school. Abilities and personal characteristics of Roma pupils were evaluated negatively. Evaluations of two aspects - behavior and desire to learn - were contrary (some teachers evaluated them negatively, others positively). As positives were evaluated some emotional characteristics of Roma pupils. Teachers avoided comparisons of non-Roma and Roma pupils.

Table 28 Overview of teachers' evaluations

Roma students - negatives	Roma students - positives	Comparison
<p><i>Attitude toward school, behavior, attendance</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ destruction of school supplies and school property ▪ insolent behavior ▪ failure to respect the teachers ▪ truancy ▪ different behavior in conflict situations ▪ high number of absences = they lag behind other students ▪ late arrivals to school ▪ failure to comply with school duties ▪ failure to bring school supplies ▪ no studying at home ▪ lack of support from parents ▪ bad hygiene habits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ quiet, polite behavior ▪ they do not disturb the class, are not rude ▪ carelessness, cohesion 	<p><i>“In each of these groups there are students who have a positive and a negative attitude toward the school. However, the attitude of Roma students is generally negative” (second elementary school).</i></p>

Table 28 Overview of teachers' evaluations - continued

Roma students - negatives	Roma students - positives	Comparison
<p>Personal characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ almost no responsibility ▪ poor motivation and reluctance to education ▪ inadaptability ▪ impatience ▪ weak self-control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ interest in education ▪ desire to learn 	<p><i>“Non-Roma students are, compared with Roma students, more systematic” (second elementary school).</i></p>
<p>Intellectual abilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ knowledge retardation ▪ mental immaturity ▪ small vocabulary ▪ insufficient language skills (Slovak language) ▪ no attitude toward writing 		
<p>The emotional side of personality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ high emotionality ▪ spontaneity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ temperament ▪ warmth ▪ cheerfulness ▪ kindness ▪ gratitude for caress, nice words, for showing recognition and acknowledgment 	
<p>Psychomotorics</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ motor skills ▪ experience based on practice and their own life ▪ practicality ▪ musical and technical talent 	

Area 5: Perspectives of Roma and non-Roma students

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria teachers evaluate the future of Roma and non-Roma students.

To the question: *How do you see the future of your Roma students comparing it with the future of non-Roma pupils?*, teachers formulated opinions about the future of Roma pupils, the perspectives of their further study and success in life and the labor market.

Table 29 below summarizes the areas discussed by teachers.

Table 29 Teachers' opinions about the future of Roma and non-Roma pupils

Area	Future of Roma students	Future of non-Roma students
<i>Continuation of study</i>	Just a few of Roma students pursue secondary education, even though they have the prerequisites for studying. If they pursue secondary education, just a few of them graduates, or they immediately start a family.	Most of the best students will go to university and then get a job in their field.
<i>Working positions of the best students in the labor market</i>	The best students can work as social workers, teaching assistants.	The best students will work in IT business.
<i>Working positions in the labor market in general</i>	Roma students are most suitable for jobs requiring manual skills, like mason, in crafts - and especially abroad.	Not specified
<i>Future working position of Roma girls</i>	Roma girls see their future in starting a family and raising their children at a young age.	Not specified
<i>Family support in planning the future</i>	Their further education is not supported by their family, they have no role models. Therefore, the most Roma children that study are children from orphanages.	Not specified
<i>Will power</i>	They do not have enough will power. If they were interested, they would study, it is up to them.	Not specified
<i>Life Happiness of Roma</i>	Satisfaction of basic needs, no work, entertainment, doing nothing, enjoying life, procreation of children.	Not specified
<i>The social impact</i>	System is latent and set to receiving benefits without work.	Not specified

“If someone gets into Vocational school, it is usually an exception. But it is just them who have to want it. I think we pay the same attention to them as to others. It is up to them. If they were interested, they could get into Trade school and learn some crafts - after successfully completed elementary school. If student do not finish high school and get no professional qualification, he will get no job. Their happiness lies in the satisfaction of basic needs without a work. I think that the best non-Roma students will work in IT business and best Roma students as a social worker” (first elementary school).

“The way they think would need to change. Those Roma students who have more sensible parents are easier to work with. For example, in one village where I was working - one student got into Masonry Trade School - but he had a father who was working. He had different way of thinking. Where I am teaching now, only Roma children from orphanages go to high school. Other Roma students go abroad to work as construction laborers and helpers. The happiness of Roma girls lies in taking care of family and bringing up children, often at a young age. Roma student could become a teaching assistant - Roma pupils would respect him more. Non-Roma student - most of them will go to university and then get a job in their field” (first elementary school).

“Most Roma students, just like their parents, see their life goal in doing nothing, enjoying the life and procreation of as many children as possible” (second elementary school).

Teachers formulated opinions mainly about the future of Roma pupils, about the perspectives for their further study and success in life and the labor market. The future of Roma girls was evaluated particularly negatively. The future of Roma students was generally evaluated as not promising influenced by the overall social situation and social status of Roma communities. The future of non-Roma students was hardly evaluated by teachers - they mentioned only possible working positions for those who succeed academically.

Area 6: Specifics of Roma families

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria teachers evaluate the specifics of Roma families.

To the question: *What is different about parents of your Roma students?* four teachers out of five (first elementary school) began their replies with: *Parents of Roma students are not interested...*

“Parents of Roma students are not interested in going to parents' associations, or are not interested in their children's results at school” (first elementary school).

In most interviews of second elementary school, teachers mentioned poor or no education of parents as the reason for lack of motivation to education, lack of interest in their children's results at school and home preparation:

“First of all, the parents of Roma pupils do not motivate their children to education enough. It is mostly due to the fact that even they themselves do not have any education. They do not participate in school life” (second elementary school).

Teachers then mentioned the fact that due to the reasons mentioned above and due to the overall distrust towards the school, parents do not support their children - not only in studying but also in extracurricular activities:

“The difference is primarily in awareness - they are not interested in their children's behaviour and results. Last year, I was preparing Roma boys for performance at the Academy and they did not show up - they said that their parents did not allow them to come” (second elementary school).

In some interviews, there were mentioned some situations when Roma parents are willing to visit the school - money, and when they feel that their children got hurt:

“...they come only when their child got hurt, or for the money (fare)” (first elementary school).

“They come to school only when fare is reimbursed, or to have an argue with teachers. They uncritically believe everything their children tell them” (second elementary school).

Only two of ten teachers stated that some Roma parents are different:

“But of course, there are also some good parents who want their child to be successful” (first elementary school).

“Of course, there are also some differences. It depends on where the student comes from, what village. There is some concern in the first few years, then with age it is de-creasing” (second elementary school).

Teachers stated that Roma parents are not interested in their children's education, their success, failures, or other activities associated with the school (except situations when they feel their children got hurt). Teachers think the main reason for that is the low education level of parents themselves. Only two teachers admitted that this approach cannot be generalized to all Roma parents.

Area 7: Changes in the educational process at school

Objective: To determine what changes in the education of Roma pupils teachers would suggest at their school.

To the question: *If you had all the necessary resources available, what would you change at your school in relation to education of Roma pupils?*, teachers responded differently - from extreme responses (...the cameras installed in the classrooms, the school security) to suggestions for changing the whole school system. Despite the question, they suggested also changes in the social system. One teacher would

not change anything. Considering the wide range of responses, we offer more quotations.

Changes in the education system:

“Textbooks because of more flexibility in teaching, the teacher himself should consider what to teach and when” (first elementary school).

“Individual classes because of different language skills and lack of home preparation for school, afternoon classes at school” (first elementary school).

“I would like home preparation to be checked somehow. We already tried some options but without the success” (first elementary school).

“Mandatory preparation classes at nursery schools, compulsory education after finishing elementary school, more Roma assistants, alternative training programs for Roma students” (second elementary school)

Proposed changes related to systemic changes in education - pre-school preparation, increasing the number of teaching assistants, the implementation of alternative education programs, individual approach, greater flexibility in teaching and afternoon classes. None of the teachers suggested some specific changes at their school.

Changes in the social system:

“Compulsory education until the age of 18, Merit Scholarship for good results, not attendance” (second elementary school).

“To focus on parents and guide them to understand that their children can have a better future” (first elementary school).

Proposed changes in the social system included work with families, extension of compulsory education and changes in the scholarship program.

Area 8: Changes in education of Roma children in society

Objective: To determine what changes in the education of Roma students teachers would suggest in society.

Answering the question: *If you had all the necessary resources available, what would you change in the society in relation to education of Roma pupils?*, four out of ten teachers responded with the previous question (changes in the education system):

“The same as in the previous answer, because educated and respectable Roma is also accepted by society” (first elementary school).

"More assistants at schools, better pay for teachers, fewer students in classrooms so that the teacher can apply individual approach" (first elementary school).

"At school - more sanctions for parents who have irresponsible attitude toward the education of their children" (first elementary school).

Other responses referred to changes in the social system, not changes in the society:

"We should not support their unemployment. We should insist they must work" (first elementary school).

"By appropriate education and prevention to ensure that the children in this community are not giving a birth to children" (second elementary school).

"The education should be linked to the family benefits, social benefits, the criminal prosecution. Parents should be responsible for their children's education. Parental criminal responsibility" (second elementary school).

The only reply where the word society was mentioned, was again about changes in the social system:

"Our society should reconsider the Roma issue. Roma parents who do not take a good care of their children, should be punished financially. The society should strive to give Roma parents work. They should get the benefits only up to a certain number of children" (second elementary school).

Answers did not include any suggestions for changes in the society in relation to education of Roma children. All responses referred to changes in the education and the social system.

Conclusions of the analysis

- None of the respondents works specifically with Roma children. However, attitudes of teachers toward teaching Roma pupils are different - some of them consider it a necessity, a necessary evil, for others it is an opportunity, a challenge to achieve something.
- None of the teachers evaluated their school in terms of school strategies aimed at the education of Roma children. They evaluated the school level only in terms of technical level, equipment of the school, interpersonal relationships and success of school in various school activities.
- According to the respondents, causes of the problems in the education of Roma pupils are Roma themselves, their ethnic and cultural differences and the social system. None of the teachers identified the school as the cause of the problems in education of Roma pupils.

- None of the respondents evaluated the attitude of Roma pupils toward the school in terms of different opportunities to education. None of the evaluated expressions of Roma pupils has been evaluated in relation with non-Roma pupils, compared with their characteristics, behavior and cognitive processes.
- Respondents evaluated the future of Roma pupils mostly as not promising, influenced by the overall social situation and status of Roma communities. The future of Roma girls was evaluated particularly negatively. The future of non-Roma students was hardly considered - they mentioned only possible working positions of best of them.
- Respondents stated that Roma parents are not interested in their children's education, their success, failures or other activities associated with the school. Teachers think the main reason for that is the low education level of parents themselves. Only two teachers admitted that this approach cannot be generalized to all Roma parents.
- Proposed changes related to systemic changes in the education system generally - pre-school preparation, increasing the number of teaching assistants, the implementation of alternative education programs, individual approaches, greater flexibility in teaching and afternoon classes. None of the teachers suggested some specific changes at their school.
- No answers included any suggestions for changes in the society in relation to education of Roma children, for changing the attitudes of society toward the Roma, or the need of complex changes in approaches toward solving the Roma issue. All changes suggested were only in the field of the education and the social policy.

2.6 INTERVIEW WITH STUDENTS OF LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION - FOURTH STAGE OF RESEARCH

Another part of the survey was qualitative interviews with students from those classes in which the observations were made. The interview with each student lasted approximately 20 minutes. The analysis of the interviews was divided into two parts. The first part was focused on the analysis of interviews with best students in each class. The decision of who is a higher academic student in the class, was up to the teacher who teaches the class and with whom we conducted observations. From the group of non-Roma students, the best student in the whole class was chosen; from the Roma group, the best student in the Roma group. In the second part we only present interviews with Roma pupils. The selection was random - first two students, from each class, willing to give an interview.

Part 1: Analysis of interviews with the best non-Roma and Roma students

At both elementary schools, 10 interviews were conducted with best students in the class (5 interviews at each elementary school).

Characteristics of the sample

Interviews were attended by 11 respondents - 2 boys and 8 girls. All 10 students were students of 7th, 8th and 9th grade of elementary school. None of the respondents repeated a year. The average age of respondents was 13.7 years. The youngest respondents were 12 years old. The oldest respondents were 15 years old.

Family status

Housing - three students reported living in a block of flats. Six students reported living in a family house in the village. One student reported living in a family house in a Roma settlement.

Family - nine pupils live in a traditional family. One student has only one parent.

Number of siblings - non-Roma students had 1 sibling on average. Roma students had 3 siblings on average.

Education of parents - all non-Roma students indicated that their parents have a secondary education. None of the Roma pupils knew what education their parents have.

Occupation of parents - parents of all non-Roma respondents have a job. None of the Roma parents has a job (except activation works of one father).

Table 30 Characteristics of the best students

respondent	age/gender	grade	characteristics of student	s. No
1. respondent	12/girl	7th	the best of non-Roma student	1st
2. respondent	12/girl	7th	the best of non-Roma student	1st
3. respondent	14/girl	8th	the best of non-Roma student	1st
4. respondent	14/boy	9th	the best of non-Roma student	1st
5. respondent	15/boy	9th	the best of non-Roma student	1st
6. respondent	15/girl	9th	the best of Roma student	2nd
7. respondent	14/girl	8th	the best of Roma student	2nd
8. respondent	13/girl	7th	the best of Roma student	2nd
9. respondent	13/girl	7th	the best of non-Roma student	2nd
10. respondent	15/girl	9th	the best of non-Roma student	2nd

Notes

s. No - number of school

Commuting to school - eight pupils walk to school. Two pupils travel by bus.

School evaluation

Objective: To find out what students think of their school.

Question: *Tell me something about your school. What is this school like?*

All 10 students responded that they like school, are happy - they praised the reconstruction, ICT equipment, the number of extracurricular activities and organization of various competitions.

“Considering the fact that we are a village school, it’s great. Even some schools in towns don’t have so much equipment” (second elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

7 pupils responded that they have teachers who try to teach them a lot. 3 pupils admitted that besides the good teachers, there are also some bad teachers.

6 pupils stated that the school is good for both Roma and non-Roma children.

“Our school is good for all students, both Roma and white pupils attend it” (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

1 pupil said: *“It’s a good school, reconstructed, well equipped, has a lot of good teachers, just has a lot of Gypsies”* (second elementary school, 7th grade, non-Roma student).

“I think our school is very nice, at least I like it. I went to look at other schools and comparing them to ours, I like ours the most. It’s a good school for all and also for us (Roma). Many teachers are good, but there are also bad ones” (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student).

Most good students are satisfied with their schools and teachers. The main criterion for the evaluation of school quality was its equipment. Only one non-Roma pupil considered the presence of Roma pupils as something negative.

Student self-evaluation

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria the best students evaluate themselves as students.

Question: *What kind of student are you?*

All students think they are good students, in terms of learning and behavior - they prepare for school regularly, are quiet, have good marks.

"I'm a good student - in terms of both good results and behavior. I'm trying to prepare for the lessons to have good marks" (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

Half of the students think that they could do better. Some stated that sometimes they do not understand the subject of the lesson, they are bored during some subjects or they are not working hard enough.

"I am an average student, I have both good and bad marks, quite good considering the fact I am Roma, I think" (second elementary school, 7th grade, Roma student).

Motivation of pupils are mostly good marks, parents' praise in one case.

"I am a good student, I want to have good marks. I'm studying for my mom to be happy" (first elementary school, 8th grade, non-Roma student).

All students evaluated themselves as good students in terms of both good marks and behavior. Good marks, preparation for school and behaviour during lessons were the main criteria they chose. Half of them think they still can work harder. The motivation to be a good student are mostly good marks.

Opinions about classmates

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria the best students evaluate their classmates.

Question: *What are your classmates like?*

In general, all students stated that they are a very good team with good relationships, all of them have friends.

5 non-Roma girls consider boys' behaviour towards them as not good and they have conflict with them.

3 non-Roma pupils stated that they do not communicate with Roma children at all.

"I'm not friends with Roma pupils in our class and don't talk to them, because it's hard to talk to them, and they are not interested anyway" (first elementary school, 8th grade, non-Roma student).

2 Roma girls evaluated their relationships with other students on the basis of ethnicity.

"I don't know, I don't talk to them. I see them only at school and my impression of them is that they act superior, even though some of them have nothing to be proud of. They have no relationship to me. And I don't want to be friends with any of them."

Apart from us (Roma girls) in the classroom” (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student).

“It depends - girls, at least the most of them, are good friends, take me as white. Boys are fine, some little bit crazy...” (second elementary school, 8th grade, Roma student).

There were significant differences in evaluations of male students. Roma girls differentiate between Roma and non-Roma classmates less, they evaluated behaviour typical for the age in general. Most non-Roma pupils expressed communication barriers towards Roma students.

Ideas about themselves

Objective: To determine what and on what criteria the best students in the class want to be like.

Question: *What kind of student would you like to be?*

9 out of 10 students stated they wanted to be good students with good marks, they want to do well at school.

Four students mentioned some barriers that prevent them from doing well at school.

Lack of will power:

“More hard-working, so that I understand math better” (second elementary school, 8th grade, non-Roma student).

Duties at home:

“The best one, but I do not want to learn so much, and I also have a lot of duties at home from my mom” (second elementary school, 7th grade, Roma student).

4 pupils are motivated to be good students in relation to a better future.

“I want to be a good student to have a good future” (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

For one student, the motivation is to please the family.

“I want to be a good student so that my parents love me and I would like to get into some high school” (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

“Smart, understanding, communicative - I could be like that but I'm not. I'm different, something different is in me” (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student).

Most students showed a desire to be good students. The most frequent criterion was good marks. Barriers to achieving this goal were: lack of will power and motivation for a better future. Significant differences in responses between Roma and non-Roma pupils were not observed.

Ideas about changes at school

Objective: To determine what the best students in the class would change at their school.

Question: *If you could, what would you change at your school?*

4 students stated that they would not change anything.

“Probably nothing, I like it the way it is” (second elementary school, 7th, 8th, 9th grade, Roma student)

Other students commented on the changes of the building, replacing some teachers or they would like to work with the computer more often.

Two students (one from each school) commented on the presence of Roma.

“I would change the classes, so that we are not in the same class with Roma, because they would also prefer to have the separate Roma class” (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

“Nothing, I think, or actually - less Gypsies” (second elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

Proposed changes at the school involved the changes of building or teachers or no change at all. Roma pupils did not evaluate the presence of non-Roma pupils. Two non-Roma pupils expressed their wish not to have Roma at school.

The definition of a good teacher

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria the best pupils evaluate a teacher as a good teacher.

Answers to the question: *What do you think makes a good teacher?* can be divided into three categories:

Teaching skills of the teacher: is able to explain the subject so that everyone understands it, asks whether everyone understands, can handle bad pupils, does not shout, is reasonably strict.

The relationship of teacher to students: treats all students equally, does not discriminate, you can talk to him not only about the school, understands the student, students love him.

Teacher characteristics: caring, fair, friendly, funny, knows a lot.

The highest number of responses indicated treating all students equally and good teaching skills.

“A good teacher is teacher who treats all students equally and can explain the subject matter” (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

“A good teacher for me is one that understands the student. Well explained subject matter. I like strict teachers” (second elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

Criteria of a good teacher are good teaching skills, good relationship with all students without discrimination and friendly nature. No differences were observed between the responses of Roma and non-Roma pupils.

Vision of the future

Objective: To identify the ideas of the best students about their future.

Answers to the question: *What do you think, what will be your job and life like, when you're as old as your parents are now?*, are summarized in Table 31.

Table 31 Overview of ideas of students about their future

profession and work	family and children	housing and residence	social security - wealth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ confectioner (R) ▪ to graduate, go to university, have a good job abroad (N) ▪ to have a good job (N, R) ▪ own business (N) ▪ good school, job with computers (N) ▪ doctor, lawyer (N) ▪ teacher, to teach young children (N) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to have a family, children (N, R) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to a house (N, R) ▪ to live in Central Slovakia, there are more job opportunities (R) ▪ to live in a big city (N) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I do not have to be rich, I would like to have just what I need (N, R) ▪ to have a lot of money and take care of family (N) ▪ a house, a nice car (N) ▪ a house, a car, to live as whites do (R) ▪ to travel a lot (N)

All responses included a desire to have a good job. Answers of Roma pupils included the concept of good work in general (1 abroad, 1 specific job of confectioner). Answers of non-Roma pupils were focused on more specific things - their own company, computers, lawyer, doctor.

Half of the replies included idea of a family (both boys and girls). Idea of a husband and children was expressed by one Roma and one non-Roma girl.

Three answers included desire to live in a house, one in a big city, one in Central Slovakia, where there are more job opportunities.

Three girls (both Roma and non-Roma) responded that they do not need wealth, only to have what they need. Other responses focused on the desire to have a house, car, or travel a lot. One student responded he would like to live like whites.

"I'm going to work - I want to be a doctor or a lawyer. I will have a family and children. I would like to live in a house and have a nice car" (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

"I want to have money, but I don't know if I find a good job here, I will probably have to move somewhere else" (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

"I'll go to high school and after school, I'll find a job and after some time, I'll start a family. But I don't know whether this is going to happen" (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student).

"I would like to be a confectioner, to bake cakes and sell them, to have a family and children. I would like to live as whites, they have a different life. I would like to have a house and a car" (second elementary school, 7th grade, Roma student).

All students would like to have a good job, non-Roma pupils have more specific ideas about the future occupations. The concept of the family and housing is the same - the students mostly have ideas of future family, housing and car. One third of them do not need wealth; they want just as much as they need. In just one case, one Roma student expressed a desire to live like whites.

Popularity of subjects

Objective: To determine which subjects are the most popular among the best students.

Question: *Which school subject do you enjoy and which don't you?*

The most popular subjects for students are: Slovak language (5), Mathematics (3), Physical education (3), German and English (2), Chemistry and Information technology (1). One student stated that he liked all subjects.

The most frequent reasons for popularity of the subject were: a good teacher; talent for languages; the joy of reading, easy subject.

Least popular subjects are: physics (2), physical education (2) and drawing (1).

Reasons - teacher does not understand the subject, hates drawing, can't do it well, is not motor-skilled.

"I like Slovak language, drawing - because I like these things, and I like reading too. I don't like physical education - I'm not good in exercising" (first elementary school, 7th grade, non-Roma student).

"I like the Slovak language and also German. I don't like math, physics, physical education. Languages are not easy to learn, but I'm good at them, particularly in Slovak language. I have really improved in the past three years" (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student)

Ideas about possible changes in the state

Objective: To determine the ideas of the best students in the class about the possibilities of changes in the state.

Question: *If you were a president, what would you change in the state?*

8 pupils would change the political system.

"Everything - ministers, members of parliament, people. I would give the work and money to people" (second elementary school, 8th grade, Roma student).

"I want all people to do well" (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

"I wish there were other politicians who would take care of people" (first elementary school, 9th grade, non-Roma student).

"I would change everything, because I know there is not a good future for me. I would change the system because it is not good in this state. Maybe even some people" (second elementary school, 9th grade, Roma student).

Most students suggested the overall change of the political system, which would lead to greater justice, more money and work for all. No differences between Roma and non-Roma students were observed in their responses.

Conclusions of the analysis of interviews

- Most students are satisfied with their schools and teachers. The main criterion for the evaluation of school quality was its equipment. The majority of students

consider their school good for both Roma and non-Roma children. Only one non-Roma pupil considered the presence of Roma pupils as something negative.

- All students evaluated themselves as good students in terms of both good marks and behavior. Good marks, preparation for school and behaviour during lessons were the main criteria they chose. Half of them think they still can work harder. The motivation to be a good student is mostly good marks.
- There were significant differences in evaluations of classmates. Roma students differentiated between Roma and non-Roma classmates less, they evaluated behaviour typical for the age in general. Most non-Roma pupils expressed communication barriers towards Roma students.
- Most students showed a desire to be good students. The most frequent criterion was good marks. Barriers to achieving this goal were lack of will power and motivation for a better future. Significant differences in responses between Roma and non-Roma pupils were not observed.
- Proposed changes at the school involved the changes of building or teachers or no change at all. Roma pupils did not evaluate the presence of non-Roma pupils. A few non-Roma pupils expressed their wish not to have Roma at school.
- Criteria of a good teacher are good teaching skills, friendly nature and good relationship with all students without discrimination. No differences were observed between the responses of Roma and non-Roma pupils.
- All students would like to have a good job; non-Roma pupils have more specific ideas about the future occupations. The concept of the family and housing is the same - the students mostly have ideas of future family, housing, car. One third of them do not need wealth, they want just as much as they need. In just one case, one Roma student expressed a desire to live like whites.
- The possibility to change the future the students either could not evaluate or possible changes related to work and money. No significant differences were observed between the responses of Roma and non-Roma pupils.
- In terms of the popularity of objects, no significant differences were observed between the responses of Roma and non-Roma pupils.
- Most students indicated the overall change of the political system, which would lead to greater justice, more money and work for all. No differences between Roma and non-Roma students were observed in their responses.

Part 2: Analysis of interviews with Roma pupils

Another part of the survey was qualitative interviews with Roma pupils from classes in which observations were made. At both elementary schools, there were 23 interviews conducted.

Characteristics of the sample:

- Interviews were attended by 23 respondents - 9 boys (39.1 %) and 14 girls (60.9 %).
- All 23 students were students of 7th, 8th and 9th grade of elementary school.
- 14 respondents repeated a year once.
- The average age of respondents was 14.6 years.
- The youngest respondents were 13 years old.
- The oldest respondents were 16 years old.

Family status

Housing:

- 9 students reported living in a block of flats in a Roma settlement.
- 6 students reported living in a family house in the village.
- 6 students reported living in a family house in a Roma settlement.
- One student reported living in a shack in a Roma settlement.
- One student reported living in an orphanage.

Family:

- 19 pupils live in a traditional family.
- 3 pupils have only one parent.
- 1 student lives in an orphanage, but has both parents.

Number of siblings - average number of siblings of respondents is five.

Education of parents:

- 12 respondents did not provide any information about education of their parents.
- 10 respondents stated primary education of parents.
- 1 respondent stated "mother attended some trade school.

Occupation of parents - only two fathers of 23 respondents are employed (1 dust-man, 1 working abroad). 5 parents of respondents do occasionally the activation works.

Commuting to school:

- 15 pupils walk to school.
- 8 pupils travel by bus.

Table 32 Characteristics of Roma pupils

resp. No	age/ gender	grade	s. No	resp. No	age/ gender	grade	s. No
1	14/girl	7th	1st	13	15/girl	9th	2nd
2	13/girl	7th	1st	14	16/boy	9th	2nd
3	15/girl	7th	1st	15	16/boy	9th	2nd
4	15/girl	7th	1st	16	14/girl	7th	2nd
5	15/boy	8th	1st	17	16/boy	7th	2nd
6	14/girl	8th	1st	18	14/boy	7th	2nd
7	13/girl	8th	1st	19	15/girl	8th	2nd
8	13/girl	8th	1st	20	15/girl	8th	2nd
9	14/girl	8th	1st	21	15/girl	8th	2nd
10	15/boy	8th	1st	22	14/boy	8th	2nd
11	15/boy	9th	1st	23	14/boy	8th	2nd
12	16/girl	9th	2nd				

Notes

resp. No - serial number of respondent

s. No - number of school

Evaluation of school by Roma students

Objective: To find out what students think of their school.

Question: *Tell me something about your school. What is this school like?*

17 pupils answered that they like school, are happy - they praised the renovation, ICT equipment.

“The school is very nice, like new, I like the color. Everybody like it, all teachers are good” (second elementary school, 7th grade).

5 students answered that they do not like school. The reasons were some deficiencies in the building (small gym), poor equipment or bad relationships.

“I don't like our school that much, it is not so good. Classmates are not good to me and the teachers do nothing about that” (first elementary school, 7th grade).

11 pupils answered that they have good teachers.

“The school is good, teachers are good and I like this school” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

10 students stated that some teachers are good, some bad.

“Some teachers are good, some bad. If we don't do homework, they shout at us, but that's our fault” (first elementary school, 7th grade).

“No school is good, neither ours. At the school you cannot learn and do what you want. Positive is that they give us something to eat and we can work with computers. And teachers are not good because they only want us to learn” (second elementary school, 7th grade).

The most varied responses were related to the evaluation of the school in relation to the presence of non-Roma pupils.

7 respondents did not respond to the presence of Roma at school.

3 students stated that the school is good both for Roma and non-Roma students.

“It's a good school, good for Roma and non-Roma” (first elementary school, 7th grade). *“I think it is good both for Roma and non-Roma children, the teachers are good...”* (second elementary school, 9th grade).

Six pupils could not say whether the school is good for Roma and non-Roma students.

“I do not know whether it is good for Roma, I do not know what is a good school for non-Roma...” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

7 students evaluated the coexistence of Roma and non-Roma students at one school negatively. One pupil commented on teachers.

“Some teachers are good, some bad, some of them do not want to teach Roma, only white students” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Two Roma students would prefer segregated classes.

“I don't like it that I am not in the class with just Roma children, but also with white” (first elementary school, 7th grade).

“Both Roma and whites are attending this school, there should be some classes for Roma only and for whites only” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

In 3 replies from second elementary school, there were some negative attitudes of some Roma students toward another group of Roma students.

“A lot of Roma students attend this school. Perhaps it would be good if those from other villages didn't attend this school, they are dirty. I don't like them” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

“...there are so many Roma from another village and there is an evil in them” (second elementary school, 7th grade).

“...there already is a lot of Roma students, some are good, but some bad, and then they say that we all are bad” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Most students are satisfied with their schools. The main criterion for the evaluation of school quality was its equipment. Half of the students were happy with teachers, the other half considered some teachers good, some bad. Most students do not consider the school good for both Roma and non-Roma children, or could not judge. In addition to the problems in relationships between Roma and non-Roma children, some negative evaluations of the relationship between Roma children from different villages occurred.

Self-evaluation

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria Roma pupils evaluate themselves in terms of school.

Question: *What kind of student are you?*

9 pupils (6 from first elementary school) think they are good students, in terms of learning and behavior - even though they disturb the class occasionally, have worse marks than mark 3 and they do not have marks like white students.

“I am a good student, I think teachers like me, even though some of them think that I am rude, because I'm talking much. I'm better than my classmates in sports, because I also attend football. Otherwise I'm not better or worse” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

“I'm a good student, even though I don't have the same marks as white students” (first elementary school, 9th grade).

“Pretty good student, some things I know, some not, it depends on what I like and what I'm learning at home. Good student is the one who knows almost everything and has good marks, 1 or 2. I have 3 and 4, I'm better at some subjects and worse at other subjects. For example. now I'm quite good at Slovak language, since vice-principal is teaching us (second elementary school, 9th grade).

10 pupils think they are not good students - they have bad marks, some of them also bad behavior. The causes are various:

Motivation :

“Well, I could be better, but it's enough for me, because I'm not going to be a doctor or a teacher, I'm fine” (second elementary school, 7th grade).

“I used to be good. Not anymore, I have bad marks, every year I have two 5. Father shouts at me and beats me. I'm disturbing the class, I have bad conduct mark. I even destroyed the classroom door. But I haven't smoked yet” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Will power:

“I'm probably a bad student, I'm not good at anything and I don't feel like studying. When I attended a Roma class, I used to study and I wanted to study, but now I don't. I don't know what the teacher says” (first elementary school, 7th grade).

“I'm a bad student, I don't study because when I attended a Roma class, they were teaching us other things. Now they teach us something else and I don't feel like studying” (first elementary school, 7th grade).

Little support from family:

“I'm bad student, the worst, but somebody has to be stupid. I don't study, mom doesn't ask me” (second elementary school, 7th grade).

Health disadvantage:

“I'm not good, but I'm integrated, so I won't be good, I have it on a paper” (second elementary school, 9th grade).

4 pupils (all from second elementary school, 3 from 8th grade) think they are average.

“Good at something, bad at something else. I'm rather stupid, but at home I'm the best. Just here at school I'm not” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

The majority of respondents evaluated themselves as not very good students. Good marks, behaviour during lessons and marks like white students have were the main criteria they chose. Most of them are satisfied with their status and are not determined to change it. The main causes are lack of motivation, lack of will power and poor family support.

Opinions about classmates

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria Roma students evaluate their classmates.

Question: *What are your classmates like?*

Table 33 Roma students' opinions about their classmates

<p>Classmates are good</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ they make friends with everybody (with both white and Roma classmates) ▪ they make friends only with Roma classmates 	<p>2 (1.ES) 3 (1.ES) 2 (2.ES)</p>	<p><i>“Classmates are good, we get on well with each other, we want to learn, we talk”</i> (first elementary school, 8th grade).</p> <p><i>“My classmates are good, even if we do not talk. I make friends just with Roma pupils”</i> (first elementary school, 8th grade).</p> <p><i>“I have no friends at school. I would like to talk to white classmates, but they do not want to, they mock me. I tried to talk with my classmates, because I want to have girlfriends, but they do not want to, they laugh at me. Classmates are good, they are good students”</i> (first elementary school, 7th grade).</p> <p><i>“I don't avoid anyone, I talk to anyone who talks to me. I don't like my classmates, because they think a lot about themselves. I make friends only with Roma girls in the classroom”</i> (second elementary school, 9th grade).</p>
<p>Classmates are good and bad</p>	<p>2 (1.ES) 4 (2.ES)</p>	<p><i>“My classmates are good and bad. The bad ones are those who are rude to teachers and don't listen to them. At school we treat each other nicely, although sometimes it happens that white kids do not want to talk with us (Roma). But I'm from the orphanage, so everyone is talking to me”</i> (first elementary school, 8th grade).</p> <p><i>“Good and bad, boys are sometimes very bad and then teachers shout at us all”</i> (second elementary school, 8th grade).</p> <p><i>“Some are good and some bad. We don't get on well with Roma from Terna. I don't want to make friends with whites, they call us names and say that we are bad and smell bad - but not all of us smell”</i> (second elementary school, 8th grade).</p>

<p>Classmates are bad they mock</p>	<p>4 (1.ES) 5 (2.ES)</p>	<p><i>"I have friends, but not in our class. In our class, I make friends with only one girl, she is also a Roma. I would like to make friends with other classmates too, but they don't want to"</i> (first elementary school, 7th grade).</p> <p><i>"My classmates are not good, no one talks to me. Whites are big headed, they say they are better than us, Roma, but they are bad. My best friend is my cousin. When I'm alone, I'm bored. When I was attending Roma class, it was better. Now, when my classmates call me names, they do me wrong. At Roma class, I knew everything. Now when my teacher asks me something, all classmates laugh at me so I'd rather not answer"</i> (first elementary school, 7th grade).</p> <p><i>"They are boring, they study. At least they disturb the class sometimes. They laugh at me that I'm stupid, nobody wants to sit with me, except Miro, but he is not like that, he is good student"</i> (second elementary school, 7th grade).</p> <p><i>"They are not good, they disturb the class and are big headed. They don't talk to me, I have no friend at our class. They consider me a rubbish because I'm Roma"</i> (second elementary school, 9th grade).</p>
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Most pupils evaluated their relationships with non-Roma classmates negatively. They expressed communication barriers and arrogant behavior. Most Roma pupils make friends with other Roma pupils, but even these relationships are problematic between Roma from a village and from settlements.

Ideas about themselves

Objective: To determine what the Roma students want to be like.

Question: *What kind of student would you like to be?*

20 out of 23 students stated they wanted to be good students with good marks, they would like to be better. They presented these barriers:

Lack of will power:

"I would like to be a good student, but I don't feel like studying, I don't know why" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"Well-behaved and exemplary student, but I can't be like that, because you have to be quiet and study a lot and I don't want to" (second elementary school, 7th grade)

Lack of understanding the subject matter:

"I would like to be a good student, but I often don't understand anything, so I let it go and don't learn anything" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I would like to be a good student, but I don't feel like studying. I don't understand what the teacher says and everything is too fast" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

Lack of intellectual abilities:

"Wise, but I don't study so much and I'm not so smart - neither of my parents is. Maybe I would be smart if I had different parents" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

"I would like to have good marks, be wise, know everything. But I have it on the paper that I am stupid, so I can't be different" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

Lack of family support:

"Parents don't care about my school results, and therefore I don't feel like studying that much" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I would like to be good, but no one from our family is good" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Lack of time:

"I would like to be a better student and to study more, but have to attend football training, so I don't have much time to prepare for school" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

Unpromising future:

"Good, probably everyone would like to be a good student. Good students are doing well, they can go to any school and have a good job. We, Roma, can only have those jobs like sweeping" (second elementary school, 8th grade)

2 pupils out of 23 (both from second elementary school) are satisfied with themselves.

"The same as I am. I don't care, studying is boring, I don't want to study" (second elementary school, 9th grade)

Almost all respondents desire to be better students. However, a number of internal and external barriers prevent them from being so - lack of will power, lack of understanding the subject matter, lack of intellectual abilities, poor family support and no perspective.

Ideas about changes at school

Objective: To determine what the Roma students would change at their school.

Question: "If you could, what would you change at your school?"

Eight students would not change anything.

"Probably nothing, I like it here, it's a pity that this is the last year I'm here" (second elementary school, 9th grade)

Five students (3 from first elementary school, 2 from second elementary school) would like to see several changes at the school (seats of their own choice; attitude of teachers toward students, more school activities).

"Everything, more breaks and less studying, computers and physical education" (second elementary school, 7th grade)

Four pupils (2 from first elementary school, 2 from second elementary school) would change the behavior of students towards the teachers.

"I would like to improve our behavior. I wish we liked each other and didn't disturb the class (first elementary school, 8th grade)

"Some students, boys are very bad, some of them smoke and destroy everything and teachers then shout at us" (second elementary school, 8th grade)

Three pupils (all from first elementary school) would change the behavior of non Roma towards Roma.

"I would like white children to act well towards Roma and vice versa, so that it is good for both" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

Two pupils (from first elementary school) expressed a desire to attend separate Roma classes.

"I would like to attend a Roma class again. No one insulted me there and no one laughed at me there. I had only good marks on my school report - 1, 2, 3" (first elementary school, 7th grade)

"When I attended the class with just Roma pupils, I enjoyed the school much more, I had more friends there. And now I don't like it here, I would change this - I would like to be in Roma class again" (first elementary school, 7th grade)

Most pupils would change the environment and relationships at the school, including the attitude of the non-Roma toward Roma. Just a few students expressed their wish

to attend separate Roma class. Other students were satisfied and would not change anything.

The definition of a good teacher

Objective: To determine how and on what criteria the Roma students evaluate a teacher as a good teacher.

Answers to the question: *What do you think makes a good teacher?* can be divided into three categories:

Teaching skills of the teacher: is able to explain the subject so that everyone understands it, repeats if necessary, explains in different way, helps.

"A good teacher can explain everything and repeats what we don't understand, treats all students well" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"I don't like strict teachers and I like it when a teacher can understand me. He can explain the subject and when we discuss everything, he lets us play on the computer" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

"The one that is good, doesn't shout, loves us and can explain everything so that everyone understands it" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

The relationship of teacher to students: treats all students equally, does not discriminate (9 responses).

"A good teacher can explain everything and repeats what we don't understand, treats all students well" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"The one that treats us well, shouts at those who laugh at us (Roma), smiles" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

"He can teach and is fair - not only to them but also to us" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Teacher characteristics: nice, good, doesn't shout, a little bit strict, cheerful, makes jokes...

"He is nice and good to us, when a teacher sees that we are good, he is good and kind to us as well" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"The one who makes jokes and is little bit strict" (second elementary school, 7th grade).

Each characteristic occurred in more responses. The statement a good teacher doesn't shout occurred 9 times in total. There was even one witty reply: "...missing

one, who doesn't want anything from the students and lets them live" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

Criteria of a good teacher are good teaching skills, good relationship with all students without discrimination and friendly nature. Almost half of the respondents expressed the criterion a good teacher doesn't shout.

Vision of the future

Objective: To identify the ideas of the Roma students about their future.

Answers to the question: *What do you think, what will be your job and life like, when you're as old as your parents are now?*, covered the following areas:

Work

A wish for the good work - 16 responses (12 girls, 4 boys; 11 from first elementary school, 5 from second elementary school)

Specific professions: hairdresser (4×), secretary (2×), shopping assistant at Tesco, car mechanic, cook (2×), cleaning in a settlement, working in the village or good job in general.

"I would like to work, I would like to be a secretary. I would like to have money, but not much, I don't have to be rich. I wish I had everything I need" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"I don't know what I'm going to do. I would probably like to have a good job, but I don't know if I'm going to have one. And I would like to have children, but not too many" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

"I want a house, I want to work, for example - cleaning in the settlement so that it is nice and clean" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

Some responses reflected the existing barriers in the labor market.

"Not like my father, because he was in jail, but probably like others. Even if I didn't want to, I will, because what else can Roma do" (second elementary school, 7th grade).

"I don't know, I would like to be a hairdresser, but I don't know whether my mother allows me to go to Prešov to school and whether I'll find a job. Whites would probably not want to go to a gypsy hairdresser" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

"I don't know, I would like to have a job I like, good marks so that I get a scholarship, to work as a shopping assistant at Tesco. Then I would like to have children, only

two, there's a lot of work with kids. But I don't know, because I am a Roma" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

4 respondents do not intend to work (all from second elementary school, 1 girl, 3 boys):

"I won't do anything, I will have such a good life" (second elementary school, 7th grade, girl)

"I don't know if I'm going to work, I'm sick" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

"I don't know, I like my parents' life, they are at home all day, father at the pub as well" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

Housing

Eight responses included a desire to live in a house. (2 from first elementary school, 6 from second elementary school)

Financial security

Seven respondents (all from the first elementary school, 6 girls) do not want to be rich, but to have everything we need:

"I don't want to have a lot of money, what is it good for. I just want to have enough money to take care of the children" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

Family

14 responses included the idea of family, children, a good wife, husband (7 from first elementary school, 7 from second elementary school, 11 girls). 5 girls want 1-2 kids, not many.

"I would like to have a family, but only two children, and I want to have money so that we have everything we need, I don't have to be rich" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I would like to have children, but not now and not many, two or three. Rather two, a boy and a girl. I don't know what my classmates want" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

1 respondent wants many children: *"I would like to be a hairdresser, but I want to have many children and the house"* (first elementary school, 8th grade).

Two respondents (second elementary school) didn't mention work. They expressed just the idea of a nice house, car, modern clothes and family.

"I'm going to have a husband, kids, house, car, money, I don't know about them" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

More than half of respondents wish to have good work, a specific profession, a good family and partners. Some report their ethnicity as a barrier in the labor market. A third of respondents do not desire to be rich; they just want to have everything they need. Approximately the same number of respondents expressed a desire for living in the house. Only a few respondents like a life without work.

Ideas about the change of the future

Objective: To determine the ideas of Roma students about the possibility of changing their future.

To the question: *If you had a magic power, what would you change?*, there was a wide range of responses:

7 pupils wouldn't change anything (3 from first elementary school, 4 from second elementary school).

13 students (5 from first elementary school, 8 from second elementary school) presented various opinions.

7 pupils would change their situation.

"Everything, because I know there is nothing good in my future. I wish I wasn't Roma and had wise and good family. I would like to live somewhere else, not in a Roma settlement. Everyone looks down on Roma from the settlement" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

"I would like to live like non-Roma do, as our teachers" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

"I wish I was healthy and wise and had a good life" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

2 pupils would continue studying.

"I would like to finish the school and become a hairdresser" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"Wish I was able to go to high school and was a better student" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

3 pupils would change the relationships and behavior of people around.

"I wish people were not bad" (second elementary school, 7th grade).

"I wish whites treated Roma better, I don't want to be rich" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"I wish everyone was educated and weren't destroying nature" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

2 pupils would abolish compulsory schooling.

Most respondents would change their life situation - related to ethnic origin, relationships with the majority and life prospects.

Popularity of subjects

Objective: To determine which subjects are the most popular among the Roma students.

To the question: *Which school subject do you enjoy and which you don't?*, students replied:

Most popular subjects for Roma students are: Physical education (8), Mathematics (6), Slovak language (6), Information technology (5), German and English (1), Cooking (2), Music (1) and Biology (1).

The most frequent reasons for popularity of the subject were: a good teacher, understanding of the subject matter, having a talent, enjoying solving the tasks, enjoying exercising.

"I enjoy informatics - if I want to become a secretary, I have to be able to write on the computer" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I like mathematics - I like solving tasks. You do not have to read a lot here - this I don't like" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I enjoy Slovak language and informatics; math is boring. I probably have a talent for Slovak language and we also have a good teacher. Slovak language is not easy I think, but our teacher can make it easy. If I was a teacher, which I don't want, I would like to be like her" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

Reasons against: I do not understand the subject matter, I hate the subject, I can't draw, I do not like drawing, difficult tasks, teacher shouts.

"I don't like mathematics because I don't understand it" (first elementary school, 7th grade).

"I don't like Slovak language - I have to read and write a lot" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I don't like informatics - the teacher shouts at us all the time and writes records into a class book" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I enjoy informatics and Slovak language, German a little bit too. I hate mathematics. Everyone likes informatics because everyone wants to work on the computer these days. And in our class, everyone likes Slovak language. I think" (second elementary school, 9th grade).

1 student did not mention any subject. *"Nothing, I'm not paying attention anyway, I take a nap or so"* (second elementary school, 7th grade).

One pupil likes only afternoon class: *"I like the afternoon class, where we cook and dance"* (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Ideas about changes in the state

Objective: To determine the ideas of the Roma students about the possibilities of changes in the state.

To the question: *If you were a president, what would you change in the state?*, students answered:

Answers of 6 pupils related to work (3 from each school).

"I would raise the salaries, and give jobs to the Roma people so that they can work as well" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

"I would give jobs and money to people" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

Replies of 5 pupils (all from second elementary school) related to money:

"I wish everyone had money, not only the President and Members of Parliament" (second elementary school, 8th grade).

3 pupils would not change anything (2 from first elementary school, 1 from second elementary school).

"I wouldn't change anything, I like the way we live" (first elementary school, 8th grade).

Answers of 4 pupils related to some changes in human behavior and relationships of people:

"I think I wish people were doing well and didn't discriminate others, especially the Roma, we are humans as well. And even they are not all the same. I wish everyone had enough money to buy what he needs. I wish the machines for cigarettes, alcohol"

and drugs didn't exist and parents took a good care of their children” (second elementary school, 9th grade).

“I wish parents didn't drink, were not a bad role model” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

“I don't know, but I think I wish people were better. Better laws” (second elementary school, 9th grade).

4 answers related to the changes in the environment:

“I wish people didn't ruin what they have” (second elementary school, 8th grade).

“I wish Žehra was nicer town - with shops, parking lots, fountains” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

“I would build a new playground in our village” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

“I would do something for the school - for example a playground” (first elementary school, 8th grade).

1 answer - I do not know.

Most students would give money and work to everyone (the method not indicated), others would welcome changes in behavior and relationships within families, or attitude of people toward the environment. Only a few of respondents are satisfied with their lives.

Conclusions of the analysis:

- Most students are satisfied with their schools. The main criterion for the evaluation of school quality was its equipment. Half of the students were happy with teachers; the other half considered some teachers good, some bad. Most students do not consider the school good for both Roma and non-Roma children, or could not judge. In addition to the problems in relationships between Roma and non-Roma children, some negative evaluations of the relationship between Roma children from different villages occurred.
- The majority of respondents evaluated themselves as not very good students. Good marks, behaviour during lessons and marks like white students have were the main criteria they chose. Most of them are satisfied with their status and are not determined to change it. The main causes are lack of motivation, lack of will power and poor family support.
- Most pupils evaluated their relationships with non-Roma classmates negatively. They mentioned communication barriers and arrogant behavior. Most Roma

pupils make friends with other Roma pupils, but even these relationships are problematic between Roma from a village and from settlements.

- Almost all respondents want to be better students. However, a number of internal and external barriers prevent them from being so - lack of will power, lack of understanding the subject matter, lack of intellectual abilities, poor family support and no perspective.
- Most pupils would change the atmosphere and relationships at the school, including the attitude of the non-Roma toward Roma. Just a few students expressed their wish to attend a separate Roma class. Other students were satisfied and would not change anything.
- Criteria of a good teacher are good teaching skills, a good relationship with all students without discrimination and a friendly nature. Almost half of the respondents expressed the criterion a good teacher doesn't shout
- More than half of respondents wish to have a good job, a specific profession, a good family and partners. Some report their ethnicity as a barrier in the labor market. A third of respondents do not desire to be rich, they just want to have everything they need. Approximately the same number of respondents expressed a desire for living in the house. Only a few respondents like the life without work.
- Most respondents would change their life situation - related to ethnic origin, relationships with the majority and life prospects.
- Most students like these subjects: mathematics, physical education and Slovak language.
- Most students would give money and work to everyone (the method not indicated), others would welcome changes in behavior and relationships within families, or attitude of people toward the environment. Only a few of respondents are satisfied with their lives.

CONCLUSION

It turns out, even in the case of this research, the creation of an inclusive school environment is very difficult, long and, in fact, contradictory process. While all public documents, projects and initiatives in recent years are part of the policy of inclusion, in school reality the situation does not develop fast enough and in a direction declared. Based on past experience and level of knowledge of the phenomenon (e.g. Petrasová et al., 2012, 2015; Huttová, Gyárfášová, Sekulová, 2012; Porubský, 2008, Salner, 2005) it can be concluded that the basic obstacles to the successful implementation of the principles of inclusive education in compulsory school life are mainly:

- unclear definition of the target categories of state educational policy in this area and inconsistent partial goals and strategies,
- lack of political will to respect this phenomenon as one of the policy priorities of government policy (not as a matter of one particular government department),
- lack of political will to create harmony between adequate legislative framework and budget resources for their implementation,
- disregard of historical, regional and socio-cultural conditions in which the problem of exclusion of Roma communities developed,
- perception of school reforms only at the organizational level (how the system is organized) and only to a small extent at the institutional level (how the system works). This manifests mainly in the constancy of nature of educational processes in the learning process in the classroom - reform ends at the door of the classrooms.

Education Act of 2008 introduced a system of two-level curriculum with the state education program at the national level and school educational program at the local school level. This should pave the way to the national standards where each school can create its own training program tailored to its degree. As a result of voluntaristic state education policy, however, the schools are implicitly pushed to make their profile focused on achieving the best results in measurable indicators that are monitored by state and are also evaluated at the national level. A good example is the nationwide testing of pupils in the ninth grade of elementary school in mathematics and Slovak (language learned at the school). It is obvious that every school wants to be the best, therefore it pays all its attention to this.

However, the nature of policy of inclusion is not about pursuing external evaluation indicators. It is based on internal indicators of educational and developmental needs of the specific students who attend a school. Therefore it is not surprising that there is no model example of successful implementation and realization of school-based educational program to meet the educational and developmental needs of Roma

children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Such school educational programs would probably not put the school in the best position in monitoring testing of students of ninth grade; quite the contrary. This is confirmed by the results of our research. For example, most of the observed indicators, where a negative experience of the Roma children from SDB was represented, fall into the 3rd category of schools - schools with 61-80 % of Roma pupils from SDB, or schools of category B - schools with 61-100 % of Roma pupils from SDB. At these schools, this group of students is in slight predominance. However, this predominance doesn't prevent the school from scoring in the nationwide monitoring testing. A significant proportion of these unadaptable students is seen as an obstacle rather than the chance for success. This is supported by interviews with teachers, conducted at schools that due to the percentage of Roma children from SDB partially fall into the above categories.

In the question focused on the evaluation of the school, despite the fact that the percentage of Roma pupils at both schools is very high, none of the teachers evaluated their schools in terms of school strategies aimed at educating these pupils. Similar evaluations also occurred in the interviews with the best students at these schools: I would change the classes, so that we are not in the same class with Roma, because they would also prefer to have the separate Roma class... Nothing, I think, or actually - less Gypsies. It is necessary to add, however, that the majority of students did not have this attitude. An ambivalent state education policy can then spawn paradox cases, such as the case of the school in Šarišské Michal'any. In order to maintain the reputation of the school based on external evaluation criteria, largely determined by state, the school chooses the solutions, for which it is then criticized and punished.

Even though the Durkheim²⁶ model is attractive for schools, it is clear that the current school, at least in our society, is not a socio-cultural homogenization institution. It corresponds to earlier theories of Bourdieu²⁷ - the school is an institution that reproduces the existing socio-cultural differences in society.

²⁶ French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was convinced that the structure of society is so powerful that it controls the actions of the individual. A society is healthy only if it can make individual be subordinated to its moral norms. That is why the function of the school is not only to educate and develop student's potential, but primarily to develop those qualities that the society requires. The individual then enter the world of predetermined values and standards. This means that the role of school is a social control.

²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) came to the realization that was contrary to the conventional view on the school as an institution designed to create social equality in society. He questioned its democratization function and highlighted the role of legitimizing inequalities in attitude towards culture, and also towards social benefits that the society provides to its members (Bourdieu, Passeron, 1979).

According to these theories, the school has cultural characteristics and creates a cultural environment which reflects the dominant feature of the culture of dominant class in society. For students who come from this dominant class, the school enhances their cultural affiliation. On the other hand, in the case of students from non-dominant classes, a cultural violence²⁸ occurs. If we understand the concept of violence in the figurative sense, then it really applies to our schools attended by Roma pupils from SDB. However, this violence generally ends by teachers' resignation and finding the reasons why these students cannot be fully involved in the educational process in the standard model of the school.

This is illustrated in the statements of teachers from our research:

"Today in this social situation, work with Roma pupils is very difficult. Parents are not interested in their children and also pupils are not interested in studying. In the past, 10 or 15 years ago, the work with Roma children was a little better."

"Background, mentality, maybe culture, no feedback. Also society - they are not motivated, do not have role models - just a few Roma students achieve something more, such as high school. Problems are during my whole career the same - truancy, parents' ignorance."

Bourdieu points out that the result of this kind of not consummated cultural violence is not cultural assimilation, but cultural exclusion. As a result, Roma pupils from SDB are outside of the standard framework of education and social position. It would be a mistake to attribute this situation to the teachers. They are an integral part of the system which developed in Bourdieu style in this region for more than three centuries. That is why teachers do not even think about the need of some fundamental changes at the school, as it was observed in the interviews.

Thereby, however, teachers as institutional representatives of the school, are at the same level as the parents of these students. It is recorded in chapter 2.5, where we examined the views of teachers on the specifics of the Roma family - to the question: *What is different about parents of your Roma students?*, four teachers out of five began their replies with: *"Parents of Roma students are not interested..."*

Our school has historically evolved as an institution that serves primarily to cultural transmission. This is more or less a one-way process, in which the role of the school is an intergenerational cultural transfer toward pupils. Acquisition of the contents of this transmission is largely on the shoulders of families of students. The school just verifies to what extent is the family effort successful.

²⁸ Bourdieu, P. - Passeron, J. C. 1979. *The Inheritors: French Students and Their Relations to Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Social conditionality of success of students at our schools is also documented by international measurements OECD²⁹. Increasing the level of social stratification of society after 1989 is also transferred into the field of school education. The degree of social exclusion of certain groups of the population is directly proportional to the rate of school success of their children. It's not ethnic specificity, but this fact is manifested mostly in the group of Roma pupils from segregated settlement communities. In our society, the degree of their social exclusion is the highest. Proof of our argument is the fact that in large number of items of our questionnaire, the difference in answers was made not by ethnicity of pupils, but the social conditions of the family - one group was formed by Roma and non-Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and the other group was formed by Roma and non-Roma pupils from standard social conditions.

We believe that neither on the teachers' side, nor on the side of the parents, we cannot generally talk about the lack of interest. It is supported by the findings from our interviews with students. For example, in Item 6 and 7 of our questionnaire, we studied how students perceive their parents' support of their education. We have not observed a significant difference between categories of non-Roma pupils and Roma pupils from the SDB. 95.38 % of non-Roma pupils and 93.46 % of Roma pupils from SDB said that their mother wants them to be a good student. Similar results were also found in the category of Roma pupils, where 96.67 % responded positively. The similar results occurred in the question about their father. In the category of non-Roma students from SDB, 83.33 % of pupils responded positively. In Item 14 of the questionnaire, we studied how students perceive their teachers. Students were asked whether their teachers worry when students do not learn well. 63.45 % of non-Roma students, 77.78 % of non-Roma students from SDB, 56.67 % of Roma students and 61.76 % of Roma students from SDB responded that their teachers have concern about their education. Roma students from SDB are also aware of the importance of education for their future. In Item 20, they responded to the question about their ideas about key determinants of their dream career - 73.33 % of Roma pupils and 47.87 % of Roma pupils from SDB chose to study, which was the highest percentage of that option (other options: to be rich, lucky, I do not know). In this case, why are educational routes and the results of Roma pupils from SDB so different from the results of their classmates?

²⁹ OECD PISA 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2015.

It is very likely that the problem is a multidimensional phenomenon and its crucial determinants are: ethnicity, social exclusion, culture of poverty, group psychology, ethnocentrism of public opinion and political practice of mainstream society, the mono-cultural nature of the school environment as well as the conservatism of the institutional system. This multidimensional problem requires multidimensional approaches. However, current practice applies rather partial approaches. Even in our case it is not different. Our aim was not to apply a multidimensional or interdisciplinary approach to solve the problem, because it would require much more material and personnel expenses. We are aware of this handicap and we were trying to look at the issue with the knowledge of this wider context.

In terms of educational routes and perspectives of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, the crucial determinants are:

- a) the closed system and low intercultural sensitivity of schooling,
- b) professional mentality of teachers and teaching staff of the school,
- c) constantly deepening process of not only social, but also the cultural marginalization and isolation of large number of Roma communities,
- d) social and cultural helplessness of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, who are leaving their community without a real support.

The closed system and low intercultural sensitivity of schooling is reflected especially in the fact that the problem of failure of Roma pupils from SDB is attributed to their unadaptiveness to requirements of the school. This unadaptiveness is considered as one of dominant features of their ethnicity. There is no doubt that the ethnicity of each person is one of the determinants of personality. However, in this case, it is probably not so dominant as it is considered to be. The exception is the case, when the student does not understand the language of the school, because he only speaks the local Roma language. It is therefore appropriate to ask whether it is better to teach these students in the process of initial education in their mother tongue. Undoubtedly, this would be a significant step forward, but only in the case it was perceived as a more effective way of developing language code of these students. This is considered to be a fundamental socio-cultural problem of social inclusion.

The previously mentioned theory of Bourdieu tells us about creating the so-called primary habitus in a family environment. The habitus reflects the lifestyle of a social group and the behavior of individuals; it takes the form of so-called mental routines - how people think, how they use gestures, hobbies they have or how they act in certain situations. Habitus acquired in the family in the process of primary socialization creates conditions for the formation of others. School staff should be aware of differences between the primary habitus and habitus formed by school. But the reality is that the school ignores this fact and acts as if all pupils had the primary habitus

which corresponds to the culture represented by the school. This problem is particularly manifested in the process of language use, which is one of the fundamental habitual attributes.

Bernstein³⁰ studied the causes of school failure of students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds (British workers). He focused on language spoken at school and at families of these students (not the language in terms of official language like Slovak, Romani, English language and so on, but the language in terms of symbolic patterns and rules that enable people to think and express themselves through speech). He found out that the school uses a different language code than students use at home. The language code used by school is grammatically well-defined, logically arranged, with rich syntactic structure. The language code used by pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, in contrast, is characterized by simple sentences and syntactic structures with lots of "hollow" terms (well, come on, ehm...).

The problem of children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds is that the school communicates to them in foreign language code, which causes these children to have significant problems to understand what they are taught at school. It also does not give them the opportunity of full participation in the educational process.

This problem does not occur because of the fact that they speak a different language (Roma language in this case), but their language code they acquired at home, that is socially and culturally so different from the school environment, does not allow them to develop the way of thinking promoted by school. Therefore, speaking about the need for systemic openness and increasing intercultural sensitivity of school education in relation to Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, first of all we have to know and respect their primary habitus and different language code³¹ in the process of education. Therefore it is extremely necessary to ensure that these pupils began to acquire a secondary habitus to build their cultural capital at a relatively young age. This is realized through their participation in the institutional pre-primary education (nursery school). However, questionnaire Item 23 indicates that only a small percentage of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds have this option. In our survey sample, their number represented only 17.65 % compared with 74.79 % of non-Roma pupils who attended a nursery school.

³⁰ Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research, critique* (revised edition). London: Rowman & Littlefield.

³¹ In May 2012, Slovak Parliament approved the Government Policy Statement, which includes priorities for the period 2012 up to 2016. Within the framework of support for minority languages, government also included the support for education in the mother tongue in the Government Policy Statement. However, government emphasized the need to speak the official language. It also committed to protecting the conditions of use of minority languages. Then it also included support for increasing the educational level of marginalized Roma communities, together with the need for solutions in the field of education. At this point the government stated it will: "...reassess the possibility of establishing boarding schools on a voluntary basis for children from marginalized backgrounds."
See: http://www.vlada.gov.sk/data/files/2008_programove-vyhlasenie-vlady.pdf

Professional mentality of teachers and teaching staff of the school, as we have already mentioned, is formed by centuries-old tradition of transmissible school based on the idea of intergenerational cultural transmission. The teachers in their pedagogical work fully focus on this. That is why they perceive their classes more as a whole and therefore they favor frontal teaching methods that are suitable just for those students whose primary habitus and language code acquired in home environment is closest to school conditions.

Observations show that teachers from the survey sample cannot fully provide students a safe environment in the classroom, the environment that would enable all students to participate in the education processes. Frontal teaching methods do not enable interpersonal and intercultural interaction between students. Cooperative activities of students in the learning process did not occur at all. Students have not many opportunities for discussion, argumentation and creative thinking which are ways of developing different habitus and language code. It seems almost symptomatic that only three teachers encouraged interaction and promoted positive relationships between Roma and non-Roma pupils. Both Roma and non-Roma pupils solved the same tasks, the same questions were asked. Teachers had no strategies to encourage the development of higher cognitive functions. Questions asked did not lead students to come up with their own solutions, opinions and attitudes. None of the teachers asked the questions in order to contribute to a change in the interaction formula and create a climate in which pupils themselves would formulate and ask questions.

If we look for key junctions on educational journeys of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, then their teachers as institutional representatives of the school are definitely crucial. It seems that, not only in this group of students, a fundamental change in the objectives, means and processes in education of teachers is needed. Teachers should not be perceived as popularizers of science. They should become experts in the integrated social and personal development of the student.

The constantly deepening process of not only social, but also the cultural marginalization and isolation of large number of Roma communities, further increases the threshold for successful entry of children from these communities into the institutional education system. Their social and cultural world, which form their primary habitus and the language code, is getting too different from the standard school in some cases. This results into the increase of teaching pessimism among teachers on one hand, and the escape of these students from a school environment on the other hand. In this school environment they must do activities and act in a way that does not make any sense to them, considering their social and cultural experience. Increasing educational pessimism leads to the fact that the teachers see the way out in repres-

sion rather than in prevention and openness. It is documented in their statements during interviews:

- At school - more sanctions for parents who have irresponsible attitude toward the education of their children.
- We should not support their unemployment. We should insist they must work.
- The education should be linked to the family benefits, social benefits, the criminal prosecution. Parents should be responsible for their children's education. Parental criminal responsibility.

According to the respondents, the causes of the problems in education of Roma pupils are Roma themselves, their ethnic cultural differences and social system. None of the teachers identified the school as the cause of the problems in education of Roma pupils. Results of this survey show that the attitudes, projections, desires and partially ambitions of these students in relation to their educational trajectories, are not different from attitudes, projections, desires and ambitions of other students. Only when it comes to implementation - many of them fail. It is therefore adequate to consider changes in our education system so that it can ensure equal learning opportunities for these students not only at the beginning, but actually during the whole period of compulsory education. At the same time, the majority society needs to find effective ways of penetration of edifying and educational institutions in the social space of marginalized Roma communities, so that they stimulate not only schoolchildren, but as many people of all generations as possible. Although it will require significant material and personnel investments, their socio-cultural and economic returns are almost certain.

Social and cultural helplessness of Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, who are leaving their community without a real support, is documented in replies of these students interviewed in our research:

- No school is good, neither ours. At the school you cannot learn and do what you want. Positive is that they give us something to eat and we can work with computers. And teachers are not good because they only want us to learn.
- Some teachers are good, some bad, some of them do not want to teach Roma, only white students.
- I don't like it that I am not in the class with just Roma children, but also with white.
- There are mixed Roma and white classes, there should be classes for Roma and for white only.
- I'm probably a bad student, I'm not good at anything and I don't feel like studying. When I attended a Roma class, I used to study and I wanted to study, but now I don't. I don't know what the teacher says.

- I'm a bad student, I don't study because when I attended a Roma class, they were teaching us other things. Now they teach us something else and I don't feel like studying.
- Good at something, bad at something else. I'm rather stupid, but at home I'm the best. Just here at school I'm not.
- I would like to attend a Roma class again. No one insulted me there and no one laughed at me there. I had only good marks on my school report - 1, 2, 3.
- When I attended the class with just Roma pupils, I enjoyed the school much more, I had more friends there. And now I don't like it here, I would change this - I would like to be in Roma class again.

Being successful is a natural human need. However, success is a relative category therefore it is not surprising that these students often expressed their wish to be among Roma. Everything is fine there and students feel their social and cultural security. The majority society does not offer a lot of opportunities to experience educational success, but even these students feel a need to be educated. Therefore, they naturally feel good in their community. Although it is a Roma community, it does not necessarily have to be an ethnic community - rather a shared socio-cultural identity. Roma from other communities are also foreign for them, similar as white. This should serve as a memento for political efforts to introduce the boarding schools for Roma children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds³².

Quite the contrary, school and institutional education should be as close to the environment of these students as possible, in both the physical and the cultural sense. It certainly does not mean modifying the standard requirements, but looking for ways how to span the gap between the culture of the school and home environment of these students. That is the true meaning of the concept of inclusive school.

³² In April 2012, Prime Minister Robert Fico considered the introduction of boarding schools for children from Roma communities. Several non-governmental organizations expressed fundamental disagreement because of the danger of discrimination, segregation and separation of Roma children from their families. The Prime Minister added that before the introduction we would need to have an approved exemption and concessions from the EU and the area of human rights. In July 2012, Education Minister Dušan Čaplovič stated that he considered boarding schools the model that gives children from socially disadvantaged families the opportunity to study. The project of boarding schools could be funded primarily from European sources and signing up would be on a voluntary basis. In February 2013, Prime Minister Robert Fico presented the same attitude toward the situation of education of children from Roma families during discussion with university students. He returned to the proposal of boarding schools - special institutions, where the children from Roma families would be placed. Representative Peter Pollak responded to statements of Prime Minister with different solution - the relationship with the parents should be more intensive, children should attend nursery schools and implementation of all-day education system within compulsory school attendance.

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RESUMÉ (CZ)

Předložená monografie prezentuje pohled na vzdělanostní trajektorii žáků základních škol a identifikuje zlomové body vzdělávacích cest romských žáků nižšího sekundárního vzdělávání ze sociálně znevýhodněného prostředí. Práce je výsledkem výzkumného projektu *Výzkum o vlivech školního prostředí na tvorbu vzdělávacích cest Romských žáků v segregovaných a integrovaných školách na Slovensku*.

Vysoká závislost vzdělávacích výsledků žáků od jejich socioekonomického zázemí naznačuje, že vzdělávací systém dosud nesplňuje požadavky spravedlivé distribuce vzdělávání všem, podle jejich možností a schopností a nezajišťuje sociální rovnost ve vzdělávání.

Systém základního vzdělávání není uzpůsoben k tomu, že do procesu vzdělávání významně vstupuje neprivilegovaná skupina žáků s nižšími kulturními a symbolickými kompetencemi, jakou je úroveň, kterou ne-problematický vzdělávací proces "standardně" předpokládá.

I přes úsilí managementu školy a pedagogů demokratizovat vzdělávání, je vnímání školních reforem jen na organizační úrovni (jak je systém organizovaný) a pouze v malé míře na institucionální úrovni (jak systém funguje), což se projeví hlavně v neměnnosti charakteru procesů výchovy a vzdělávání u učitelé nižšího sekundárního vzdělávání - reforma končí před dveřmi učebny.

Ukazuje se, že pedagogická praxe dostatečně neřeší problém neexistující shody mateřského jazyka a vyučovacího jazyka u romských žáků. Sociální a kulturní svět, ve kterém se formuje jejich primární habitus a jazykový kód nabývá v některých případech podobu až civilizační odlišnosti od školního standardu. To vyvolává na jedné straně nárůst pedagogického pesimismu v řadách jejich učitele, na druhé straně vyvolává snahu úniku těchto žáků z cizího školního prostředí, kde musí dělat činnosti a chovat se způsobem, který jim v intencích jejich dosavadní sociální a kulturní zkušenosti nedává žádný smysl. Narůstající pedagogický pesimismus vede k tomu, že i učitelé vidí východisko spíše v represii, než v prevenci a otevřenosti.

Zavádění principů inkluzivního vzdělávání představuje řízený proces změny vzdělávací soustavy a neustálé úsilí prosazovat nové hodnoty, které různorodost ve společnosti a ve školách vítají pozitivně a těží z ní s cílem podpory sociální soudržnosti a překonávání všech forem diskrimi-

nace. Lidskoprávní rozměr je neodmyslitelnou součástí rozpravy o zavádění principů inkluzivního vzdělávání, jejímž konečným cílem je zlepšovat vzdělávací příležitosti všech, věnující mimořádnou pozornost marginalizovaným, vylučovaným, postiženým nebo jinak znevýhodňovaným. Nástrojem změny je demokratizovat proces rozhodování a komunikace, a tak spolupracovat a vytvářet partnerství na různých úrovních.

Důvody pro odstranění dopadu segregačních vlivů na vzdělání (vzdělávací politika) mají nejen velký sociální dopad, ale i ekonomický dopad. Výzvou pro změnu je vytvoření společenského prostředí spolupráce a partnerství mezi všemi subjekty výchovně vzdělávacího procesu a také mezi tvůrci vzdělávací politiky, resortem školství a jím řízenými organizacemi, státními a nevládními organizacemi a místní romskou komunitou. Tato vize by měla být převedena do komplexní strategie a konkrétní akce.

RESUMÉ (SK)

Predložená monografia prezentuje pohľad na vzdelanostnú trajektóriu žiakov základných škôl a identifikuje zlomové body vzdelávacích ciest rómskych žiakov nižšieho sekundárneho vzdelávania zo sociálne znevýhodneného prostredia. Práca je výsledkom výskumného projektu *Výskum o vplyvoch školského prostredia na tvorbu vzdelávacích ciest Rómskych žiakov v segregovaných a integrovaných školách na Slovensku*.

Vysoká závislosť vzdelávacích výsledkov žiakov od ich socio-ekonomického zázemia naznačuje, že vzdelávací systém doteraz nespĺňa požiadavky spravodlivej distribúcie vzdelávania všetkým, podľa ich možností a schopností a nezabezpečuje sociálnu rovnosť vo vzdelávaní.

Systém základného vzdelávania nie je prispôsobený k tomu, že do procesu vzdelávania významne vstupuje nepriviligovaná skupina žiakov s nižšími kultúrnymi a symbolickými kompetenciami, akou je úroveň, ktorú neproblematický vzdelávací proces "štandardne" predpokladá.

Aj napriek úsiliu manažmentu školy a pedagógov demokratizovať vzdelávanie, je vnímanie školských reforiem len na organizačnej úrovni (ako je systém organizovaný) a iba v malej miere na inštitucionálnej úrovni (ako systém funguje), čo sa prejaví hlavne v nemennosti charakteru procesov výchovy a vzdelávania u učiteľov nižšieho sekundárneho vzdelávania - reforma sa končí pred dverami učební.

Ukazuje sa, že pedagogická prax dostatočne nerieši problém neexistujúcej zhody materinského jazyka a vyučovacieho jazyka u rómskych žiakov. Sociálny a kultúrny svet, v ktorom sa formuje ich primárny habitus a jazykový kód nadobúda v niektorých prípadoch podobu až civilizačnej odlišnosti od školského štandardu. To vyvoláva na jednej strane nárast pedagogického pesimizmu v radoch ich učiteľov, na druhej strane vyvoláva snahu úniku týchto žiakov z cudzieho školského prostredia, kde musia robiť činnosti a správať sa spôsobom, ktorý im v intenciách ich doterajšej sociálnej a kultúrnej skúsenosti nedáva žiadny zmysel. Narastajúci pedagogický pesimizmus vedie k tomu, že aj učitelia vidia východisko skôr v represii, než v prevencii a otvorenosti.

Zavádzanie princípov inkluzívneho vzdelávania predstavuje riadený proces zmeny vzdelávacej sústavy a neustále úsilie presadzovať nové hodnoty, ktoré rôznorodosť v spoločnosti a v školách vítajú pozitívne a z nej ťažia s cieľom podpory sociálnej kohézie a prekonávania všetkých fo-

riem diskriminácie. Ľudskoprávny rozmer je neodmysliteľnou súčasťou rozpravy o zavádzaní princípov inkluzívneho vzdelávania, ktorej konečným cieľom je zlepšovať vzdelávacie príležitosti všetkých, venujúc mimoriadnu pozornosť marginalizovaným, vylučovaným, postihnutým alebo inak znevýhodňovaným. Nástrojom zmeny je demokratizácia procesov rozhodovania a komunikácie a teda spolupráca a tvorba partnerstiev na rôznych úrovniach.

Dôvody, prečo eliminovať mieru vplyvu segregáčnych účinkov vo vzdelávaní (vzdelávacej politike), majú nielen veľký spoločenský, ale aj ekonomický dosah. Výzvou na zmenu je vytvorenie spoločenského prostredia spolupráce a partnerstva medzi všetkými aktérmi výchovno-vzdelávacieho procesu a taktiež medzi tvorcami vzdelávacej politiky, rezortom školstva a ním riadenými organizáciami, štátnymi a mimovládnyimi organizáciami a miestnou rómskou komunitou. Vízia by sa mala premietnuť do vypracovania komplexnej stratégie a konkrétnych opatrení.

RESUME (EN)

The monograph presents the perspective of the educational trajectory of pupils of primary schools and to identify breakpoints of educational strategies of Roma pupils of lower secondary education from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. The work is the result of the research project *Research on the impact of the school environment on developing educational strategies of Roma students in segregated and integrated schools in Slovakia*.

Considerable dependence of pupils' achievements upon their social and economic environment suggests that the existing system of education does not meet the requirements of fair distribution of education for all, according to their chances and abilities. Furthermore, it does not guarantee social equality in education.

The system of basic education does not reflect the existence of a non-privileged group of pupils with cultural and symbolic competences that do not correspond with the "standard" education process.

In spite of the school management and teacher effort to make education more democratic, school reforms were only confined to the organization level (system organization) with little attention being paid to the institutional level (system functioning). This might be mainly reflected in an invariant nature of the education process on the teachers' part. It would mean that the reform stops in front of classrooms.

The current classroom teaching methods do not effectively address the differences between the mother tongue and the education language in Romany children. The social and cultural world shaping their primary habitus and language projects itself in some cases onto the civilization otherness. This gives rise, on one hand, to pedagogical pessimism in teachers and, on the other hand, to the tendency among pupils to escape from a hostile school environment where the required activities and behavior do not correspond with their social and cultural experiences. Due to the growing pedagogical pessimism teachers prefer repression to prevention and open-mindedness.

Introduction of inclusive education principles is a controlled process of changing the education system and of enforcing new values that are open to diversity in society and at schools. This process pursues promotion of social cohesion and elimination of any form of discrimination. The

question of human rights must be an indispensable part of any discussion about introduction of inclusive education principles with the objective of improving education chances of all children. Special attention should be paid to the marginalized, the excluded, the handicapped and the disadvantaged. The basic instrument for these changes is democratization of decision-making processes and communication and consequently, cooperation and partnerships at various levels.

Elimination of segregation effects upon education (education policy) is of great social and economic significance. What is at stake is social environment of cooperation and partnership among all participants of the education process as well as designers of education policy, the Ministry of Education, including its subordinate organizations, national and non-governmental organizations and local Romany communities. This vision should be reflected in a comprehensive strategy and specific measures.

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Název: Educational Ways of Roma Children
from Socially Disadvantaged Backgrounds
Autoři: Alica Petrasová, doc. PaedDr. Ph.D.
Štefan Porubský, doc. PaedDr. Ph.D.
Návrh obálky: Lenka Drtinová
Vydal: ExtraSYSTEM Praha
Rok a místo vydání: 2017, Praha
Tisk: Tribun EU, Brno
Vydání: první
Rozsah: 118 stran
Náklad: 250 ks
AA/VA: AA 6,86/VA 7,00 (text 6,93; obrázky 0,07)

ISBN 978-80-87570-37-1

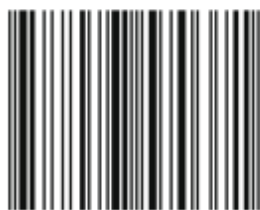


9788087570371



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ISBN 978-80-87570-37-1



9788087570371