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State dependence:
The case of the Roma in the Czech Republic. Projects, grants, policies and the Roma.

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Declaration

I, (Tolgonai Shukurbekova) hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "State dependence: The case of the Roma in the Czech Republic. Projects, grants, policies and the Roma", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I declare that the written (printed and bound) and the electronic copy of the submitted MA thesis are identical.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

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ABSTRACT

The Czech Republic was the country against which the first European court case was initiated *[D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic],* the solution of which highlighted the problem of segregation of Roma children in schools. Since then, the Czech Republic has tried to implement policies to remedy this problem. National policies demonstrated to be ambiguous in nature, and their application and implementation was vague and ineffective. Along with the national policy, non-governmental organizations began to be initiated and created in the Czech Republic, which tried to highlight the problem of segregation of Roma children in schools and to contribute to the joint campaign against segregation.

This study intends to examine the perceptions of NGOs, operating at present, towards the state's policies and methods in the context of desegregation and inclusion, and the impact and consequences of these policies towards Roma. As the results of the study show, despite the existing state policy to combat segregation and the official ban on special schools, Roma children are still segregated and placed in segregated schools. The role of NGOs and their position in the desegregation process is also one of the important objectives of the study. Combining these to objectives the target goal of the study will also be to understand the approaches of the two actors within desegregation: NGOs and State.

Semi-structured interviews with six representatives of NGOs from the Czech Republic were conducted to examine their perceptions of government involvement, its methods and impact in the context of desegregation, as well as their position in the desegregation process. All NGOs specialize in desegregation and inclusion of Roma children in schools.

Key words: Roma, Czech Republic, School Segregation, School Desegregation, NGO, Project, Policy, Dependence, Welfare.

Word Count: 22, 479.

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1. Introduction

According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights approximately six millions of Roma population live in the European Union. From historical perspective and records it is stated that they originally came from India and Central Asia to Europe after 10th century AD. Unlike other minority groups, Roma considered to be very diverse group, based on language, history and settlements (nomadic, non-nomadic), etc. [1]

Roma are considered the largest ethnic minority group in Europe and have been the target group for the discourse on human rights as a historically disadvantaged group and an example of an ethnic and racial discriminatory group in Europe. Since the main principle of the European Union is "European integration", the problem of discrimination and segregation of the Roma has become one of the main tasks to eliminate for the EU and the member states. The EU accession criteria for for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is a pre-requisite that they had to implement and accept in accordance with their national legislation. One of the criteria was ratification of the Race Equality Directive, which eliminates discrimination based on racial or ethnic origins (Council Directive 2000/43 EC, Art. 13), which the Czech Republic adopted into national legislation in 2009, being the last country in the 2004 EU enlargement. [2]

Education turned out to be a place in which Roma children experienced discrimination and were segregated in schools in every possible way, despite the adoption of the Directive on Racial Equality. Jen Pierre Liegeois in his work "School Provision for Ethnic Minorities" on the issues of Roma education says that:

> Education increases personal autonomy, providing the tools for adapting to a changing environment and a means of self-defense from the forces of assimilation; it makes it possible to break out of the passive rut of welfarism to play an active role in cultural and political development. [3]

Many Roma children were deprived of the opportunity to receive education and were even placed in special schools for mentally disabled children with special educational needs. [4]

1.1. Background

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[1] Dena Ringold, Mitchell A. Orenstein, and Erika Wilkens, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle* (Washington, D.C: World Bank, 2005), 7.
[2] Gwendolyn Albert, "Education Policies in the Czech Republic", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Iulius Rostas, 170-195 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012).
[3] Jean Pierre Liegeois, *School Provision for Ethnic Minorities: The Gypsy Paradigm* (St. Albans: The University of Hertfordshire, 1998), 19
[4] Ibid.

According to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Form of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the Council of the European Union Directive 2000/43/EC, the education is a fundamental right and free of discrimination, and it prohibits all types of unhuman and degrading treatment, which includes the outcomes of educational segregation. [5]

According to the Report on the State of the Roma Minority 2016, the Ministry of Education designated eighty-three schools in the Czech Republic, in which more than half of the students were Roma.[6] The Czech Republic was a country where illegal segregation of Roma children in schools was brought before the European Court of Human Rights [ECHR]. In 2007, the ECtHR concluded in *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic*, that Roma children were unreasonably placed in Special Needs Schools [SEN], which in terms was considered as indirect discrimination against the right to education. [7]The Court decided that the country violated Article 2 of the European Convention of Human Rights by placing of Roma children in special schools for mentally disabled children on the basis of their ethnicity.

Taba and Ryder distinguished three main causes of segregation of Roma children in schools, which are school choice, residential segregation and equally important national/local educational policies. [8] According to the authors, Roma children are denied access to local schools for several reasons, such as the unwillingness of the school authorities to enroll children, stating that there are no places, and the reluctance of non-Roma parents to send their children to the school where Roma children study. The authors describe a process known as "white flight" that excludes Roma children from school for fear of deteriorating education systems and standards.[9] As a result, Roma children are forced to attend schools located in ghettos and in segregated areas.

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[5] "Stigmata: Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, a Survey of Patterns of Segregated Education of Roma in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia," Special or Analytical Report (Budapest: ERRC – European Roma Rights Center, August 12, 2004), http://www.errc.org/db/00/04/m00000004.pdf.

[6] European Commission. Directorate General for Justice and Consumers. et al., "Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in the Czech Republic: Focusing on Structural and Horizontal Preconditions for Successful Implementation of the Strategy." (LU: Publications Office, 2018), 53, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/483613.

[7] Case of D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic App. No. 57325/00 (ECtHR, 13 November 2007) http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-83256.

[8] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 9 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337

[9] Ibid.

The choice of school is often the direct responsibility of the parents of Roma pupils. Most of the Roma parents are almost unaware of the importance of schooling and its implications for the professional future of their children. It must be noted that government funding for special schools is usually double that of a standard primary school.[10] Roma children receive free food, clothing and other school supplies, as do families "mired in extreme poverty".[11]

On the other hand, a qualitative study of the project *Sociological monitoring of educational inputs and outputs of children and pupils, including children and pupils with special educational needs in the Czech Republic,* shows that there are always internal and external barriers for Roma pupils to attend school. [12] The authors claims that internal barriers include lifestyle, personal experience, finances, and low perception of the importance of the education of parents and legal guardians of children. As for external authors emphasize the attitude of institutions toward Roma children and families and most importantly, the attitude of educators toward Roma children.

1.2.Purpose of Study

Over the past decade, the role of NGOs in the process of segregation has increased dramatically, as state policy demonstrated to be ambiguous in nature, and their application and implementation was vague and ineffective. The role of the state in preventing the segregation of Roma children in the school system should have a greater influence than non-governmental organizations [NGOs], which are in fact the driving force behind this process. The study reveals that most NGOs in the Czech Republic believe that the government only meets basic needs, without taking into account improvement services or advocacy policies against Roma segregation in national legislation.

Taba and Ryder maintained the absence of specific legal documents referring to desegregation[13]. The authors underlined the inability of the state to produce "anti-discrimination laws with specific positive obligations for public institutions to ensure the

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[10] Ibid., 11.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Martin Kaleja, Zezulková, E. (2015), Sociologická analýza zaměřená na porovnání dosažených výsledků žáků se speciálními vzdělávacími potřebami v různých typech škol. Závěrečná zpráva klíčové aktivity [Sociological Analysis Focused on Comparing the Achievements of Pupils with Special Educational Needs in Different Types of Schools. Final Report Key Activity 1], Opava.
[13] Marius Taba and Ryder, Andrew, "International Responses to Segregation: the role of governments and non-governmental organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012, 31 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

implementation of the equal treatment principle, neither specific positive obligations to eliminate and prevent segregation in education." [14] Thus, the lack of successful integration policies has created the gaps in the quality of education for the segregated Romani children.

Recent discussions on Roma children inclusion seems not promising, keeping into account that the Czech Republic is one of the EU countries that invests least in education.[15] Most of the projects are financed by European Social Fund (ESF), and politicians have authority to make a decision at expenses allocated to Romani children inclusion initiatives, and it is said that the procedure isn't always devious and transparent. [16]

The study will examine the inclusion initiatives and the perception of actors (NGOs) directly involved in their implementation. The State is the main provider of the funds and sources for the implementation of the policies and initiatives. Thus, the question of effective state initiatives might be raised in the context of the research. Here, it should be clarified, that the State in context of the given research, includes all governmental institutions and ministries, local administrations and municipalities. One of the actors within desegregation and inclusion process implementation of the inclusion initiatives in the Czech Republic are considered non-governmental organizations [NGOs].

This study intends to examine the perceptions of NGOs, operating at present, towards the state's policies and methods in the context of desegregation and inclusion, and the impact and consequences of these policies towards Roma. As the results of the study show, despite the existing state policy to combat segregation and the official ban on special schools, Roma children are still segregated and placed in segregated schools. The role of NGOs and their position in the desegregation process is also one of the important objectives of the study. Combining these to objectives the target goal of the study will also be to understand the approaches of the two actors within desegregation: NGOs and State.

Semi-structured interviews with six representatives of NGOs from the Czech Republic were conducted to examine their perceptions of government involvement, its methods and

[14] Ibid.

[15] "Education Resources - Public Spending on Education - OECD Data," OECD, 2016, http://data.oecd.org/eduresource/public-spending-on-education.htm.

[16] Gwendolyn Albert, trans., "Miroslav Klempár: I Do Not Believe the European Commission's New 10-Year Plan to Support Roma Will Apply to the Czech Republic!," romea.cz, October 8, 2020, http://www.romea.cz/en/features-and-commentary/commentary/miroslav-klempar-i-do-not-believe-the-european-commission-apos-s-new-10-year-plan-to-support-roma-will-apply-to-the-czech..

impact in the context of desegregation, as well as their position in the desegregation process. All NGOs specialize in desegregation and inclusion of Roma children in schools.

The following research questions guide this study: What are the consequences of the state's involvement in solving the problem of segregation of Roma children in the mainstream school education in the perception of NGOs? How do NGOs use state policies to eliminate segregation of Roma in schools when developing projects and strategies? And how do they position themselves in the desegregation process?

1.3. Outline

The study is divided into seven chapters. After the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides information on the topic of desegregation policies implemented to date in the Czech Republic, as well as the main actors in the process who are working to eliminate segregation in schools. Chapter 3 provides a conceptual and theoretical framework that defines, clarifies, and connects ideas related to research. Chapter 4 details and defines the methods used for content analysis and interview analysis. Chapter 5 presents a thorough analysis, identifying patterns in interview responses. Chapter 6 is devoted to the discussion and identification of the main topics based on the analysis of interviews using the theoretical and conceptual structures of this study. The final chapter revisits the purpose of the study and summarizes the results in a broader context.

2. Desegregation: Policy and Actors

This chapter examines and provides information on the desegregation policy implemented to date in the Czech Republic, as well as on the main actors in this process who are working to eliminate segregation in schools.

2.1. Desegregation Policy Overview

In general, the policies regarding the education of Romani children could be divided into two categories, namely as laws referring to discrimination and laws regarding discrimination. The various international laws and conventions created by the European Union were to decrease the level of segregation of Roma children in Member States. As preliminary accession criteria to be a part of the European Union, candidate states were tasked to adopt the series of conventions and directives, as a guarantee of non-discrimination of Roma community in respective Member States. The Czech Republic was the last European state, which adopt the EU Race Equality Directive into its national legislation. Taba and Ryder maintained the absence of specific legal documents referring to desegregation[17]. The authors underlined the inability of the state to produce "anti-discrimination laws with specific positive obligations for public institutions to ensure the implementation of the equal treatment principle, neither specific positive obligations to eliminate and prevent segregation in education." [18]The Anti-Discrimination Act was adopted in June 2009 only by President Klaus, after years of combatting to approve the Act, between the Chamber of Deputies, government and by the Senate (reject in January 2006). [19]

The School Act established and approved in 2004, afterwards put into force in 2005, was often criticized by scholars. Taba and Ryder argued that the Act eliminated remedial special schools (after the case of D. H.), but in practice the schools were just renamed without changes in curricula, staff or the quality of education.[20] The term "special school" [zvláštní škola] was replaced into "practical primary school" [základní škola praktická] in the School

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[17] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 31 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Milena Štráfeldová, "Czech Republic Adopts Anti-Discrimination Act, Avoids European Commission Sanctions," romove.radio.cz, June 18, 2009, http://romove.radio.cz/en/clanek/22523.

[20] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, 7-48, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 36 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

Act, and as Albert argues this changes in term was a response to the D. H. case. [21] The School Act also present the term of "socio-cultural disadvantage" and defines as:

a) a family environment with a low social and cultural status, threat of pathological social phenomena:
b) institutional education ordered, or protective imposed;
c) the of an asylum seeker. [22]

Thus, the School Law does not mention Roma students as it explains inclusive education solely in terms of the integration of persons with special educational needs.

The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 was the first effort of the European Union to battle against Roma segregation in overall Europe. It was a collaborative work of intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, governments to work on 'Roma issue'. As a response to this initiative, Czech Republic, along with other Member States, has created the National Action Plans, which initially highlighted "education as primary focus of policies targeting Roma's social inclusion". [23] However, Messing argues that Czech Action Plan created in 2005 lacks the framework on role of segregation of Roma in education, explaining that "the amended School Act of the Czech Republic understands educational integration exclusively in terms of the integration of children with "special education needs" and does not mention segregation along lines of ethnicity."[24]

The hierarchy of the Czech Government on educational matters consist of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport, the School Inspectorate, the Regional Authority, the Municipal Authority and the schools. Cashman consider such system having the decentralized structure, which brings tensions on the effectiveness of the educational policies. [25] It means that even though national policies tend to improve the position of segregated Roma children, the

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[21] Gwendolyn Albert, "Education Policies in the Czech Republic", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Iulius Rostas, 170-195 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012).

[22] Czech Republic. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, "ACT NO. 561/2004 COLLECTION OF LAW, ON PRE-SCHOOL, BASIC, SECONDARY, TERTIARY PROFESSIONAL AND OTHER EDUCATION (THE EDUCATION ACT), AS AMENDED," Accessed 19 April 2020. https://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/skolstvi-vcr/act-no-561-2004-coll-of-24-september-2004-on-pre-school?lang=1.

[23] Vera Messing, "Differentiation in the Making: Consequences of School Segregation of Roma in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia," *European Education* 49, no. 1 (January 2, 2017), 89, accessed 11 March 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/10564934.2017.1280336.

[24] Ibid., 90.

[25] Laura Cashman, "New Label No Progress: Institutional Racism and the Persistent Segregation of Romani Students in the Czech Republic," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20, no. 5 (September 3, 2017), 602, accessed 7 February 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1191698.

implementation of these policies depends on the school authorities, who "decide whether or not to engage with the integration initiatives."[26]

The lack of the interest of the Czech government regarding the creation of the environment equality and respect for all citizens led to a bad implementation of laws and inability to improve laws. As a result, the state is faced with segregation in education, which, although at the legislative level, is prohibited today, but is maintained in the form of separate schools, separate classes, as well overrepresentation of Roma children in special schools.[27] Taba and Ryder emphasized the absence of the independent authority, which solely would monitor the implementation of the government education strategies for Roma. [28] The authors suggest that, although there are anti-discrimination laws prohibiting segregation, but they do not require specific proactive measures by government agencies when the law is broken.

The case of the *D.H. and Others vs the Czech Republic* in 2007 brought to the European Court of Human Rights was the first "speaking" outcome of the placement of the disproportionate numbers of the Romani children into remedial special schools *(zvlaštní školy)* for children with mild special educational needs (SEN). Those schools provided a simplified program for Romani children, which in turns eliminated them from gaining the proper educational opportunities and its implementation on further qualifications. As a result, Romani graduated of remedial special schools were unable to find a job and get a professional qualification. [29] The segregation of the Romani children from mainstream educational program discussed by a lot of social researchers, academics and scholars.

Cashman gives a good overview of the segregation manifestation in a two distinct forms in the Czech educational system. [30] As the first manifestation of the segregation Cashman describes the case of the *D.H. and Others vs the Czech Republic,* with the main focus of "misdiagnosis of Romani children with SEN". The "informal practices" of labelling standard

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Fuller Allan et al., "Strategies and Tactics to Combat Segregation of Roma Children in Schools. Case Studies from Romania, Croatia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Greece" (Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University, 2015), 74
http://www.dare-net.eu/cms/upload/file/strategies-and-tactics-to-combat-segregation-case-studies-english.pdf.
[28] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 32
http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.
[29] Laura Cashman, "New Label No Progress: Institutional Racism and the Persistent Segregation of Romani Students in the Czech Republic," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20, no. 5 (September 3, 2017), 595, accessed 21 February 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1191698.
[30] Ibid., 596.

schools as "Roma schools" comes as a second manifestation of the segregation. The author claims that this occurs as result of parents "white flight" (this term means the choice of the non-Roma parents not to send their children to schools with Roma children representatives) and spatial segregation. In reality, these "standard schools" classified as ordinary, normal mainstream schools, but the level of the education standard is considered as a low. The same positon and the reference on the "white flight" expresses Taba and Ryder, mentioning that resistance of the Czech parents to send their children to schools with Roma children, they rather change the school or even "prevent the enrolment of Roma pupils". [31] Authors explained that such reluctance toward the presence of the Romani pupils in the classes, is explained by the fear of Czech parents that educations standards will suffer.

The principles and forms of school segregation are discussed by Rostas and Kostka. [32] They distinguish patterns that can take the form of "intra-school segregation" in two different ways. The first implies on separate Roma classes and separated educational buildings/school facilities, and the second is the establishment of "all Roma" schools (segregated/ghettoized regions). [33] The authors gave a constructive overview of causes of previously mentioned practices:

1) existing regional or housing segregation between ethnic groups;
2) free choice of schooling combined with bureaucratic practices and arrangements that disadvantage marginalized communities;
3) inappropriate or culturally biased psychological testing leading to the placement of non-disabled children in remedial schools for the mentally disabled;
4) and the presence of private, foundation of faith schools that impose additional requirements, such as entrance exams or tuition fees from which Roma children are de facto excluded. [34]

Above mentioned varieties construct a clear linkage between the quality of education and segregation tendency. Observation in the field shows that the classes where the majority of pupils are Romani children or schools with a majority of Roma pupils, the quality of education

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[31] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 9 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

[32] Iulius Rostas and Joanna Kostka, "Structural Dimensions of Roma School Desegregation Policies in Central and Eastern Europe," *European Educational Research Journal* 13, no. 3 (June 2014): 268–81, accessed 4 April 2021, https://doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2014.13.3.268.

[33] Ibid., 269.

[34] Ibid.

is lower than in schools or classes with mixed population (Roma and non-Roma children). [35] Both Rostas and Kostka, Taba and Ryder agreed on the causes of these segregation trends, emphasizing the factors such as human resources, weak infrastructure, low expectations for students' performance, high numbers of students' absenteeism, the feeling of superiority among Romani pupils, and simplified educations program/curriculums.

The governmental policies are widely discussed by many scholars. In the most of the cases, academics agreed that governmental policies towards the desegregation of Romani children in mainstream education is failing. Cashman suggests that the failing tendencies of the governmental policies is not due to of the poor policy design only or individual's mistakes, but rather because of institutional racism.[36] Here, institutional racism includes the policies, processes and practices. While others claim that often the failure of the implemented policies rely on the implementer, because of an inadaptability of the product in the field rather than its underlying strategies. [37] This aspect entirely includes the political variable that structure the implementation process. As a result, it is difficult to understand why, even in places where the implementer's efforts have triggered a successful desegregation process, central authorities do not include local initiatives in national educational reforms and strategies.[38]

Taking into account the above statements of scholars about the governmental policies, it is important to remind about the case of D.H. and Others. Filip Sys come up the idea that "Disproportionally prejudicial effect" was found in the national education policy of the Czech Republic, which in turns was the first case in the European Convention jurisprudence with such an outcome. [39] As the main concept of his work dedicated to the case of D.H., the author emphasized the importance of the strategic litigation, "legal action designed to not only

[35] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 13 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

[36] Laura Cashman, "New Label No Progress: Institutional Racism and the Persistent Segregation of Romani Students in the Czech Republic," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20, no. 5 (September 3, 2017), 596, accessed 21 February 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2016.1191698.

[37] Iulius Rostas and Joanna Kostka, "Structural Dimensions of Roma School Desegregation Policies in Central and Eastern Europe," *European Educational Research Journal* 13, no. 3 (June 2014), 270, accessed 15 April 2021, https://doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2014.13.3.268.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Filip Sys, "D.H. v. Czech Republic: Roma Educational Equality and the Vulnerability of Strategic Litigation," *ACTA UNIVERSITATIS CAROLINAE STUDIA TERRITORIALIA 1* 20, no. 1 (December 1, 2020), 72, accessed 18 May 2021, https://doi.org/10.14712/23363231.2020.10.

vindicate the rights of applicants, but to importantly contribute to a wider package of activism in an attempt to redress widespread abuses and create social impact".[40]

2.2. Understanding Actors in the desegregation process

Institutional and Governmental Response to Segregation: The role of the Non-Governmental Organization

At the Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in Czech Republic the authors emphasize the main relevant Government institutions targeting Roma issues, they are the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport; the Ministry of Culture; and the Office of the Government, specifically, the Office of the Government Council for Roma Minority Affairs. [41] The report also presents the state budget scheme for 2016 spent for inclusion of Roma. [42] Among mentioned Government institutions only the Ministry of Educations, Youth and Sport had a quota to support the Roma pupil. The Ministry had allocated 7,514,800 CZK (approx. 294,317 EUR) [43] to support socially disadvantaged Roma pupils of secondary schools, conservatories and higher technical schools, and 808,700 CZK (approx. 31,673 EUR) [44] to support education in the languages of national minorities and multicultural education. With comparison of estimated state budget spent in 2018: support socially disadvantaged Roma pupils of secondary schools, conservatories and higher technical schools – 5, 851,000 CZK (approx. 229,463 EUR), support education in the languages of national minorities and multicultural education – 415,000 CZK (approx. 16,279 EUR). The budget reduction is seen in a numbers.

In Czech Republic, Roma students and pupils receive a scholarship provided by government, through the ministries and local authorities, as a direct fund for students, as it was mentioned in previous paragraph on allocation of funds, and they also receive support from local NGOs as well. Some NGOs are critical on the form of support by the Education Ministry.

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[40] Ibid.
[41] European Commission. Directorate General for Justice and Consumers. et al., "Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in the Czech Republic: Focusing on Structural and Horizontal Preconditions for Successful Implementation of the Strategy." (LU: Publications Office, 2018), 22, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/483613.
[42] Ibid.
[43] This is an approximate sum, as the 2016 spending has been converted with the conversion rate for November 2017.
[44] This is an approximate sum, as the 2016 spending has been converted with the conversion rate for November 2017.

Monika Mihaličková, the fundraiser for the ROMEA organization's scholarship program stressed that:

> "The form of support provided by the Education Ministry is not comprehensive and its impact is not being measured. ROMEA, on the other hand, is in its third year of implementing a comprehensive form of support to Roma secondary school students which, in addition to providing direct financial support, offers these students opportunities for mentoring and tutoring, as well as the no less important BARUVAS meetings of Roma students, which emphasize informal education and personal development. The ROMEA program is creating a functional system for support to Roma students that could be adopted at the Government level."[45]

The report on "Civil society monitoring on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in the Czech Republic" repeats the same motives mentioned above that government's scholarship programme, in which the available resources are not fully used, while NGO scholarship programme is a more effective and flexible for financial assistance to Roma pupils and students.[46] Roma organizations operating in the Czech Republic believe that the main obstacle to comprehensive desegregation remains the fragmentation of local authorities and the lack of practical support from the center (i.e. incentives, coercive measures). [47]According to local NGOs, the problem of segregation and its successful long-term solution depends on partnership and cooperation in the work of local and school authorities, the efforts of only NGOs and their projects will not be sufficient to solve this problem.

Often, segregated practical schools are much more financed by the Czech government than the mainstream schools. Nils Muižnieks, the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights in 2021, emphasized that such practices "... is an example of the ethnically segregated practical schools for which the Czech state spends more than double the expenditure of mainstream schools, while their graduates as a rule end up unemployed and dependent on state

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[45] "Civil Society Groups: Czech Republic's Roma Strategy Needs Implementing | Center for Policy Studies," Center for Policy Studies. Central European University, cps.ceu.edu, September 7, 2019, accessed May 6, 2021. https://cps.ceu.edu/article/2019-09-07/civil-society-groups-czech-republics-roma-strategy-needs-implementing.
[46] European Commission. Directorate General for Justice and Consumers. et al., "Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in the Czech Republic: Focusing on Structural and Horizontal Preconditions for Successful Implementation of the Strategy." (LU: Publications Office, 2018), 56, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/483613.
[47] Iulius Rostas and Joanna Kostka, "Structural Dimensions of Roma School Desegregation Policies in Central and Eastern Europe," *European Educational Research Journal* 13, no. 3 (June 2014), 275, accessed 15 April 2021, https://doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2014.13.3.268.

benefits." [48]The Commissioner stressed on the position of the Czech government saying that "segregated education costs the whole country so much, both financially and socially."[49]

The unproportioned use of the funding always has been the main challenge for the member states, according to the country assessments made by the EU. Taba and Ryder explain this problem based on the example of funding from PHARE. The authors are skeptical about pre-accession funds (PHARE) and other EU instruments, stating that project construction is usually temporary and driven by international demands. The project sustainability's was the main issue faced after the implementation of the projects. As an example, Taba and Ryder, explained the financing of training teacher assistants. Practice showed that due to the lack of mechanisms for the recruitment of teacher assistants, there was a disparity between the number of persons hired as teachers and the actual number of beneficiaries.[50]

Sometimes local authorities do not use financial opportunities for Roma education, due to the resistance of the local majority communities, which do not support the integration of Roma into the mainstream education system. [51] The same source indicates that when allocating resources from central levels, there is no guarantee that the resources will reach the schools that need them most. The reason for this is the control over the distribution of funds by the school authorities, which entails a lack of order and transparency. Summing up, the state financing of the projects and support of Roma children has a different context. NGOs are very hesitant on the help provided by the government, ministries and local administrative authorities.

Education is the area where there is both the most data and the most policy developed in an effort to ensure equal access by Romani children. The report notes that many privately-run scholarship opportunities for Romani people are yielding more results in terms of

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[48] "Roma Segregation Remains a Serious Problem in the Czech Republic," Council of Europe Portal, November 15, 2021, accessed 18 June 2021, https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/view/-/asset_publisher/ugj3i6qSEkhZ/content/roma-segregation-remains-a-serious-problem-in-the-czech-republic.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 37 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.
[51] Ibid., 38.

participation in the Czech Republic than are the Government's own efforts and analyzes how these approaches differ.[52]

The recent Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in the Czech Republic (NRIS) showed that Roma inclusion is not a priority of the Czech Republic. [53]The study gives a good overview of the state's approaches in the perception of a coalition of NGOs led by *Slovo 21*. Attempts of the local NGOs to get government subsidies often ended up because of numerous bureaucratic challenges. NGO participants claimed that government subsidies operate and administer in no explicit and systematic way. The system of funding is regulated through the Regional Authorities, who receive funds from the state budget annually. The prerequisite procedure for NGOs is the system of enrolment in Regional Basic Network of Social Services to receive funding through the Regional Authorities, is perceived as a big challenge by NGOs.[54]

Nevertheless, despite the efforts of NGOs to combat segregation, Roma communities may be abused by projects that declare their intentions as "integration" but are in fact discriminatory and exacerbate the social exclusion of the Roma. The existence of anti-Romani mindset, which is not disputed by the authorities, is part of this problem. While NGO supported scholarship programs tend to help the future Roma students more effectively, some NGO projects might have an abusive agenda in its program. As an example, one of the project funded by the European Social Fund in 2014 held in Czech school, advertised itself as school for everyone, had activities which learn girls of kindergarten age how to become a "cleaning ladies". [55] The project initiators stood up for themselves stating that "the profession of cleaning lady is rather attractive for socio-culturally disadvantaged children (girls especially) given its low level of theoretical sophistication."

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[52] "Civil Society Groups: Czech Republic's Roma Strategy Needs Implementing | Center for Policy Studies," Center for Policy Studies. Central European University, cps.ceu.edu, September 7, 2019, accessed 1 June 2021, https://cps.ceu.edu/article/2019-09-07/civil-society-groups-czech-republics-roma-strategy-needs-implementing.
[53] European Commission. Directorate General for Justice and Consumers. et al., "Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in the Czech Republic: Focusing on Structural and Horizontal Preconditions for Successful Implementation of the Strategy." (LU: Publications Office, 2018), https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/483613.
[54] European Commission. Directorate General for Justice and Consumers. et al., "Civil Society Monitoring Report on Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy in the Czech Republic: Focusing on Structural and Horizontal Preconditions for Successful Implementation of the Strategy." (LU: Publications Office, 2018), 14, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/483613.
[55] "Civil Society Groups: Czech Republic's Roma Strategy Needs Implementing | Center for Policy Studies," Center for Policy Studies. Central European University, cps.ceu.edu, September 7, 2019, accessed May 6, 2021. https://cps.ceu.edu/article/2019-09-07/civil-society-groups-czech-republics-roma-strategy-needs-implementing.

Third actors – EU response

Anita Danka and Iulius Rostas distinguishes the importance of the international organizations in combating against segregation and promoting of desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe applying the "pressure and name and shame" strategy. [56] The same argumentation was articulated by Iulius Rostas and Mona Nicoara in "Three Strategies for Desegregation". Authors raise the significant presence of human rights and Roma rights activists in bringing the international community to "mobilize shame and generate pressure for change."[57] Both academic works emphasize the vital role of European and International inter-governmental organizations in shaping the human rights agenda of the national governments in Central and Eastern European countries.

According to European Commission Funding for Roma integration for the 2014-2020 period, the Czech Republic were allocated a total of €22 billion in EU funds (current prices), out of which €16 billion will come from the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). [58]At least 22.1% of this amount were spent on the ESF, with at least 20% of that going towards promoting social inclusion and combating poverty. The latter could also finance Roma-related measures. Open Society Foundation held a program "Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma Inclusion", with help of over 50 million euros of EU funds into more than 700 projects addressing Roma exclusion. [59] Nevertheless, same source indicates that despite all of these funds provided for Roma inclusion, the Roma integration strategies promulgated by most states do not contain an agreed program and budget plan to achieve specific goals. As organization pointed out, many states tend to discourage the use of EU funds by creating procedure that interfere and make difficulties for NGOs and municipalities.

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[56] Danka, Anita, and Iulius Rostas. "Setting the Roma Policy Agenda: The Role of International Organizations in Combating School Segregation", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 37, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt128207.6

[57] Iulius Rostas and Mona Nicoara, "Desegregation Advocacy Strategies," in *Separate and Unequal: Combating Discrimination Against Roma in Education* (PUBLIC INTEREST LAW, 2004), 117, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292984348.

[58] European Commission. "Roma Inclusion in the Czech Republic." Text. Accessed 15 November 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-eu/roma-inclusion-eu-country/roma-inclusion-czech-republic_en.

[59] "Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma Inclusion to Conclude in 2015–16," Open Society Foundation, February 5, 2015, accessed 30 November, 2020. https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/newsroom/making-most-eu-funds-roma-inclusion-conclude-2015-16.

Angela Kocze et all. in their publication of "Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma (MtM)" program pointed out the administrative and financial burden, which limits access to EU funds. [60] Same source also indicates that most serious barriers include large differences between administrative and financial requirements of the calls and capacities of the organizations. Problems of access to funds also occur during project implementation. Unforeseen problems such as partial or late reimbursement of costs led to reduction of activities or even bankruptcy of a number of effective NGOs in the region. The publication rises one of the most important aspect in implementation of projects. As such, most of countries make a limit of duration of projects to 2-3 years, which negatively reflects for project's sustainable results. The initiation of Council for increasing the duration of projects for Roma integration up to 2020 (2014-2020) were the reason of unsuccessful implementation of projects.[61] The lack of capacity building seems a very important problematic in use of EU funds as well. [62] Making full use of the EU funds for Roma inclusion is hindered among others by lack of capacity among local governments, institutions, NGOs and Roma communities. The problem is explicitly mentioned – and OSF's Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma program is welcomed – e.g. by the European Commission in its first Communication on the Roma. The problem is most relevant for new member states with large Roma populations.

The most influential tool to expand the human and minority rights in Central and Eastern Europe was the process of the European Union enlargement. The EU has initiated Copenhagen criteria (after the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993 which defined them), for countries seeking to join the European Union. [63] There were three criteria for future members namely, political criteria, economic criteria and administrative and institutional capacity to effectively implement *acquis* (the body of common rights and obligations that is binding on all the EU member states). Thus, candidate states were enforced to implement the range of *acquis*, including anti-discrimination regulations. The Roma question was a key issue at the CEEC candidate countries. Thus, the European Union was lobbying the interests and rights of the Roma in those countries that wished to join to the EU. Among the obligatory actions should be

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[60] Angela Kocze et al., "Programming the Structural Funds for Roma Inclusion in 2014-20," *Open Society Foundation*, March 2014, 88, available at: https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/programming-structural-funds-roma-inclusion-2014-20

[61] Ibid., 81.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Accession Criteria," Text, European Neighbourhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations - European Commission, December 6, 2016, accessed 13 November 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/accession-criteria_en.

taken by candidate states were the reformation of their national legislations, establishment of new institutions, and efforts and changes in social attitude toward Roma people. [64]

The presence of Roma community in Central Eastern European countries reflects public opinion. Most of CEECs blame Roma community on the negative image of their countries caused by them. They claim that countries could have more prestigious image in world arena without attendance of Roma at all. The negative attitude and violence affected CEECs relations with the EU and was widely discussed and reported by international media. Unsuccessful accession of the Czech Republic into the EU was one of the diplomatic consequences because of its' "intolerance" toward minority group, which was admitted even by Prime Minister of the Czech Republic Milos Zeman in 1999. [65] The school segregation and the problem of the Romani children displacement in special remedial schools reflects on countries' image in an international arena. Rostas and Kostka claims that segregation of Roma in education manifests the "vicious circle of poverty", as well generates a stream of evaluations from various international organizations. The authors cite the assessments of various international organizations (European Commission, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, Roma Education Fund, United Nations Development Programme), and noted that all of these reports emphasized the seriousness of situations, condemning the practices of segregation and outlined a number of harmful consequences segregation affects the lives of thousands of Roma children.

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[64] Danka, Anita, and Iulius Rostas. "Setting the Roma Policy Agenda: The Role of International Organizations in Combating School Segregation", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 53, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt128207.6.

[65] Rick Fawn, "Czech Attitudes towards the Roma: 'Expecting More of Havel's Country'?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 53, no. 8 (December 2001), 1193, accessed 1 December 2020, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/826267.

3. Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

The clarification of pertinent concepts and terms must be made to better understand the position of the study and it's resulting analysis.

In the context of the study, the conceptual framework reveals the perception of the Roma by the majority and the state, as it plays an important role in the development of policies and practices by the state to eliminate segregation of Roma in schools. As the initiator of policies and programs in desegregation practice, the state is the main actor in the policy development process. The role of NGOs is to implement this policy, which they use as a tool in projects. An analysis of the perception of Roma by the state has given us several approaches, within which we investigate the participation of the state in the process of desegregation in further empirical research data.

After a discussion of the conceptual framework and providing at the same time respective literature background, the theoretical framework is explained in defining dependence theory and all it encompasses. The dependency theory presented as the tool to explain the consequences of state policies and strategies targeting desegregation of Roma school children in Czech mainstream education.

3.1.General Attitude: Perception of the Roma

In the Czech Republic, although the Roma are considered a national minority, the majority of the population and extreme right groups often use terms such as "cikán" (gypsy) or "Černý" (black) for the Roma. These derogatory terms, which in their essence are ethnocentric phrases, have been constantly mentioned and spread since the early 1990s, as the beginning of anti-Roma ideology. Stereotypes hung on the Roma, such as the presence of illiteracy, disregard for social and legal norms, a large number of homeless and uneducated children have created the image of the Roma as "the most rejected of all minorities".[66] The concept of otherness also applies to Roma, since in most cases they are perceived together with foreigners or immigrants, despite their official claims to belong to the Czech Republic.

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[66] György Csepeli and Dávid Simon, "Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-identification," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (January 1, 2004), 133, accessed 1 December 2020, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183032000170204.

Apart from discrimination, Roma are often victims of crime. Among the majority, skinheads are often the initiators of violent crimes against Roma. [67] The majority of the population perceive the Roma as a "homogeneous, depersonalized mass", ignoring their individual differences, but pointing out their collective illiteracy, lack of discipline and non-compliance with legal and social norms.[68] The same connotations were found in a qualitative and quantitative study by the World Bank and the Open Society Institute in 2005, where the overwhelming majority of the Czech Republic's population blames and opposes the Roma minority:

> The dominant antipathy and aversion of Non-Roma residents largely stem from the fact that these people believe that the Roma minority is a major source of social, political and economic problems that negatively affect their everyday life. Most of the non-Roma population admitted their fear of being mugged or robbed by Roma as well as general quality of life in areas, cities, towns or regions with a strong presence of the Roma minority.[69]

According to DM News reporter Markus Reichert and his report "Dealing with discrimination: Roma in the Czech Republic" most Czechs expressed their negative attitude towards Roma, noting that "we should get out people from our country who don't work". [70] However, at the same time interviewed Roma representatives stated that they wanted to work, but social and ethnic prejudices and discriminatory attitudes on the part of government institutions and authorities prevent them from creating conditions for work and life. According to the author, Roma simply faced discrimination everywhere because of their appearance and ethnicity.

Kalfirtová and Mares believe that public speeches and media coverages are full of premises and parallelism toward Roma and certainly strongly influences the general perception of Roma. [71] The authors in their study of Roma discourse in the Czech Republic, provide a good overview of the image of the Roma as perceived by the majority of society, political

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[67] Rick Fawn, "Czech Attitudes towards the Roma: 'Expecting More of Havel's Country'?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 53, no. 8 (December 2001), 1198, accessed 1 December 2020, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/826267.

[68] György Csepeli and Dávid Simon, "Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-identification," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (January 1, 2004), 133, accessed 5 December 2020, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183032000170204.

[69] World Bank. "Final Report: Qualitative Survey (Focus Groups) Attitudes Toward the Roma in the Czech Republic", July 2005. Factum Invenio. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTROMA/Resources/CzechQualitativeReport.doc

[70] Markus Reichert, "Dealing with Discrimination: Roma in the Czech Republic | Journal Reporter" (Usti nad Labem: DW News, 2013), accessed 15 December 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=X3WyZFNeAyI.

[71] Martin Mares and Paula Kalfirtova, "The Roma Discourse in the Czech Republic," June 20, 2018, 3, accessed 25 May 2020, https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/KS4E5.

parties and, most importantly, the media. Among the repeatedly uttered phrases addressed to Roma, the authors noted that in public speeches and in the media they are often called "problem people", "welfare cheater", "troublesome", "others". The authors argue that Czech ethnocentrism is often fabricated by the authorities and politicians and their ideology, is the main tool for creating a stereotypical representation of Roma. In addition, the inability of the Roma to integrate often lies with the Roma themselves, according to the Czech population, but, according to the authors, discrimination and segregation are not taken into account in this context, since they are as significant factors in a failed integration of the Roma.

3.2.From State' perception: Culture of Poverty, Inheritance and Dominance Ideology

School segregation is one of the many problems under the Roma issue in the Czech Republic and the perception and understanding of this problem are perceived differently by participants and contributors of the desegregation process. The perception of Roma by government institutions and NGOs in the desegregation process influences the effectiveness of desegregation policies and agendas in general.

A culture of poverty is generalized as a popular way to explain the underperformance of disadvantaged people and to justify political inaction in this area.[72] Rostas and Kostka argued that this "myth" is simply a way to explain the inaction of political and state structures. Moreover, adherents of a culture of poverty say that low academic performance among Roma children is related to their cultural specificity, as well as the lack of motivation of Roma parents regarding the importance of education, which in turn is passed on to their children.[73] As a result, stereotypes about Roma's innate lack of interest in education and social progress create the deficit perspective, meaning that learners are determined by their weaknesses, not their strengths. The underlying factor of this term is the accusations of the Roma of unwillingness to participate in educational activities because of their "own moral and intellectual deficiencies."[74] The systemic conditions, the role of educational institutions and their inability to provide quality school education are somehow ignored in the context of the culture of poverty. As Taba and Ryder argue "[f]ull realization of the right to education is not merely a question of access

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[72] Iulius Rostas and Mona Nicoara, "Desegregation Advocacy Strategies," in *Separate and Unequal: Combating Discrimination Against Roma in Education* (PUBLIC INTEREST LAW, 2004), 273, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292984348.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

but is a holistic one, encompassing access to education, educational quality and the environment in which education is provided". [75]

Fawn claims that while Roma may argue that they weren't given sufficient opportunities to integrate into Czech society, majority of society, including the representatives of government structure, believe that Roma themselves have been unwilling and unable to do so.[76] This statement is a direct reference to Lewis's culture of poverty, where he explained that "the inhabitants of socially excluded localities are the guardians of specific cultural model that arose in the process of adaptation to long-term poverty ." [77]Valentine's criticism of this concept implies, "that poverty is not basically the result of a special set of values and behavior patterns of the poor, but rather the result of inequality in the social structure of the larger society."[78]

The culture of poverty is an approach that has been widely criticized by sociologists and academics since Oscar Lewis introduced it in 1959. The main idea of the theory is that people living in poverty demonstrate and use strategies based on practices embedded in the cultural framework that determines their choices at any given time[79]. Bourgois argued that this theory involves a narrative approach based largely on the blame of the victim, and making the person a passive agent with little or no power over the choices he or she made. [80] According to him, "politicians, the media, the general public, and even inner-city residents themselves often rely on blame-the-victim, racialized explanations for the extraordinary concentrations of poverty at the cores of all of the largest, wealthiest cities". [81] In other words, the author criticizes that the center is racist and that it underestimates its influence on the poverty of marginalized groups, but rather blames them. He also presented two theoretical approaches used in research, the first "liberal glorification of the poor as structural victims" and the second "conservative

[75] Marius Taba, Ryder, Andrew, "Institutional Responses to Segregation: The Role of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations", in *Ten Years After: A History of Roma School Desegregation in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Ilius Rostas, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012), 14 http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wfu/detail.action?docID=3137337.

[76] Rick Fawn, "Czech Attitudes towards the Roma: 'Expecting More of Havel's Country'?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 53, no. 8 (December 2001), 1215, accessed 22 December 2020, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/826267.

[77]Monika Štrbová, "The Culture of Poverty of the Roma in Slovakia," *Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne*, Seria Nowa 3, n.d., 183, accessed 13 June, 2021.

[78] Catherine Berndt, in review *Review of Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals*, by Charles A. Valentine, *Current Anthropology* 10, no. 2/3 (1969), 183.

[79] Oscar Lewis, "THE CULTURE OF POVERTY," *Athens Center of Ekistics* 23, no. 134 (1967), 3, accessed 22 June 2021, available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43614445.

[80] Philippe Bourgois, "Office Work and Crack Alternative among Puerto Rican Drug Dealers in East Harlem," in *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 202.

[81]Philippe Bourgois, "Confronting Anthropology, Education, and Inner-City Apartheid," *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2 (1996), 249, accessed 22 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/682884.

vilifications of marginalized groups, valueless families, and promiscuous welfare-bred teenagers".

Part of the problem is logistical: class segregation and racial isolation is so cemented into the fabric of US society that outsiders cannot access the daily lives of the very poor. Another reason for the murk lies in the overwhelming and contradictory nature of extreme urban poverty in the land of plenty. The centrality of external structures in constraining social misery rooted in histories of politics, economics, and cultural domination hides behind the hypervisibility of the individual propagation of terror and violence and its daily self-administration by inner-city residents against their neighbors and themselves.

It is important to note that many Roma families are entitled to social benefits from the state. And the debate about Roma, as mentioned in the previous section, being "welfare cheaters" is a perennial topic of discussion among Czech society and government. Recently, the Czech Chamber of Deputies passed a bill that is likely to deprive impoverished people of some of their housing allowance and subsistence if they repeatedly fail to pay fines for serious offenses. [82] It means that the authorities would automatically deduct outstanding fines from their benefits. Under this bill, the authorities will be empowered to deduct the amount of unpaid fines for offenses against public order, civil coexistence and against property from social benefits. Surprisingly, the authorities will act in a similar way in cases where the guardian does not register the child for compulsory school attendance or when the guardian does not guarantee that the registered student regularly attends school.

The members of Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Petr Beitl and Jan Bauer, believes that current welfare system is lacking "effective repression", and that it might be a "strong message to the people who do not value solidarity with the majority society. [83] In response to the new law on subjecting welfare benefits, civil society member of the Czech Government Council for Romani Minority Affairs fundamentally disagreed stating that, "[a]busing the law on aid to those in material distress in order to achieve a superficial kind of "justice" cannot become a justification for politicians to shore up their own positions by making decisions that interfere

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[82] Zdeněk Ryšavý, "Czech MP Alleges during Parliamentary Debate on Welfare Bill That Incest Is Part of Romani Culture, Open Racism on the Floor of the Lower House," trans. Gwendolyn Albert, romea.cz, July 11, 2021, accessed 22 July 2021, http://www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/czech-mp-alleges-during-parliamentary-debate-on-welfare-bill-that-incest-is-part-of-romani-culture-open-racism-on-the-floor.
[83] Ibid.

with the most impoverished and most vulnerable groups in the population in such a basic, destructive way."[84]

3.3. Structural factors leading to the school segregation: Habitus, Human Development and Participation

This section aims to analyze the structural factors leading to school segregation that go well beyond racial discrimination against Roma. Discussion of school segregation mainly takes into account the discriminatory attitudes of school teachers, administration and non-Roma children. One of the goals of this study is to identify a conceptual and theoretical framework that explains the structural factors underlying school segregation. The role of the state and its policies, government institutions and schools is important in analyzing the reasons why school segregation is a never-ending "phenomenon". The following paragraphs discuss concepts that highlight factors that can link segregation to structural factors.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Gianpaolo Baiocchi emphasize the importance of structural factors in individuals' lives. The authors take into account the role of the individual in creating their own social world, but they disagree that the behavior of individuals is a product of their "culture" (an abstract set of relatively fixed values and norms that determine actions).[85] What is important that, culture should be constantly in relationship with structures with which individual interacts in everyday life. Authors in this particular scope didn't deny that people's behavior is detrimental to their own position, but they argued that their behavioral patterns is in no way related to their cultural characteristics, but are the result of structural factors from the outside.

The role of the education in modern societies has a significant contribution in the inclusion of people in the social structure.[86] The educational system plays important role in distribution of position in social structure, because it creates the ground for opportunities and different accessibility of education levels and departments.[87] Thus, the educational segregation

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[84] Zdeněk Ryšavý, "Some Volunteer Civil Society Members of Czech Govt Roma Council Protest New Law on Subjecting Welfare Benefits to Collections," trans. Gwendolyn Albert, romea.cz, July 14, 2021, accessed 22 July 2021, http://www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/some-volunteer-civil-society-members-of-czech-govt-roma-council-protest-new-law-on-subjecting-welfare-benefits-to.

[85] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Gianpolo Baiocchi, "Anything but Racism: How Sogiologist Limit the Significance of Racism," in *Handbook of the Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research (New York: Springer, 2007), 91, https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-0-387-70845-4.pdf.

[86] Elzbieta Tarkowska, "Poverty and Education Risk of 'Inheritance' of Poverty in the Former State Farms in Poland," *Polish Sociological Association*, no. 138 (2002), 204, accessed 24 June 2021, available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41274817.

[87] Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice, Theory, Culture & Society (London ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990), 10.

of Roma children leads to more serious consequences, such as the inability to start a professional career, difficulties in communicating with the majority of the population and a general inability to adapt to the environment. Olomofe stresses the importance of the education system being equal and accessible to all on an equal basis:

> Educational strategists should/could seriously contemplate that the aims of education are to provide (mainly young) people with the basic "tools" which would assist them in their quest to lead independent, meaningful lives. As a basic requirement then, the aim of educational policy would be to ensure that this provision (of tools) is made, thereby expanding the opportunities available to people. It goes without saying that this provision/process should be equitable and fair. By employing habitus as the basic premise of government policy, the aim would be to broaden the scope of potentialities and possibilities available to society's members.[88]

Current practice shows that segregated schools still exist in isolated areas where Roma live. Some believe that the Czech educational system is structured in such a way that instead of helping children from a difficult social environment, it creates a vicious circle for them. [89] Many of the Czech schools were proven to be limited in providing equal education for children, as they work with "families which adequately prepare their children" and give them all pre-school preparatory information and skills. [90]

In schooling practice, Bourdieu attempted to examine the dominant group ideology under the concept habitus. Pierre Bourdieu presents the term 'habitus' as a method of "simultaneous analyses of the experience of social agents and ... the objective structures which make this experience possible."[91] Reay claims that the use of habitus as a conceptual framework in research ensures that the focus of the research is always wider than the particular focus being studied.[92] The author emphasizes that despite the fact that individual should be seen as active agent in constructing its own social world, "Bourdieu's method emphasizes the way in which 'the structure of those worlds is already predefined by broader racial, gender and class

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[88] Larry Olomoofe, "Contemporary Political and Academic Descriptions of Poverty among Minority Groups," Text, European Roma Rights Centre (European Roma Rights Centre), Hungary, accessed May 24, 2021, http://www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/contemporary-political-and-academic-descriptions-of-poverty-among-minority-groups.

[89] Kristyna Syslova, "Segregating and Separating Roma Children in Czech Primary Schools," Education Policy and Equal Education Opportunities (Open Society Foundations, 2012), 257 http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep27130.14.

[90] V. Zeman, (2009) *What is the situation in Czech Republic two years after the European Court of Human Rights's decision in Case No. 57325/00—DH and Others vs. the Czech Republic*, in Kristyna Syslova, "Segregating and Separating Roma Children in Czech Primary Schools," Education Policy and Equal Education Opportunities (Open Society Foundations, 2012), 256, http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep27130.14.

[91] Diane Reay, "'It's All Becoming a Habitus': Beyond the Habitual Use of Habitus in Educational Research," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25, no. 4 (2004), 439, accessed 29 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4128669.

[92] Ibid,

relations."[93] In other words, habitus presents the idea of the relationship between the individual and social structures (government, the majority of society, institutions, etc.), as a result revealing the inner nature of the relationship between the two of them.

Harker emphasized Bourdieu's argument that the dominant group or groups that control economic, social and political resources embody their culture in schools. [94] He argued that "…the schools take the cultural capital (as same as economic capital) of the dominant group as the natural and only proper sort of capital, and treat all children as if they had equal access it." [95] Hereinafter, Bourdieu believed that the low performance of minority groups in society is a consequence of the way schools operate, but in no way the cause of the innate cultural differences of this group.

Roy Nash presented the good overview of Bourdieu's contribution to the sociology of education, educational attainment, cultural autonomy and culture of the schools under habitus. Nash examined the correlations of the school culture and its effect on the performance of the students of the different classes. The author described Bourdieu's position as:

> If the cultural arbitrary of the school is not the cultural arbitrary of the students, or a section of its students, then the effectiveness of the school as an agent of cultural transmission will be weakened greatly. Thus, if the culture of the school is essentially middle-class then it may be expected that working class students will find themselves in a culturally alien setting and unable to benefit to the same extent as middle-class students.[96]

In other words, Nash determined that under Bourdieu's theory, the school failed in developing a "universal pedagogy – a pedagogy that takes nothing for granted – able to succeed with relatively unprepared working class pupils."[97] According to Bourdieu's theory, a school system controlled by socially and culturally dominant classes is expected to perceive students possessing and accepting the conditions of the dominant classes as evidence of readiness and acceptance of school knowledge, and conversely, students who refuse to accept the conditions of the dominant classes as evidence that the child is defective.[98] In this particular case, author emphasized that the school and the relevant authorities do not take into account the lack on their

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Richard K. Harker, "On Reproduction, Habitus and Education," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 5, no. 2 (1984), 118, accessed 2 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1392945.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Roy Nash, "Bourdieu on Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 11, no. 4 (1990), 435, accessed 2 July 2021, available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1392877.
[97] Ibid., 436.
[98] Ibid.

part in the development of pedagogical practices that take into account the mental formation and behavioral attitudes that such children bring to school.

As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu's theory suggests that schools tend to ignore children from non-dominant classes, and that such a system is the main reason for the low achievement of working (minority) class students. The theory also assumes that in the case of protest against the class or ethnic domination of the school strategy, the strategy of the dominant class will be to isolate, transform and eradicate the expression of this culture. Contrary, Ervin believes that "marginalized, impoverished, and exploited should be encouraged to do their own research to formulate their own policy."[99] The author is convinced that the neglect and reluctance of marginalized groups in relation to state institutions are the direct reason that the dominant class points out their problems and the way to solve them. The author claimed that marginalized groups should themselves determine urgent problems and issues, choose methods of solution and, ultimately, be the initiators of problem solving. Proponents of participatory research believe that policies / projects should be democratically shaped, relying much more on local, traditional knowledge and overlooked community strengths.[100] Same as participatory approach, human development concept convince that people should be an active agents of social change.

Human Development concept concerned that people cannot be considered as passive beneficiaries of social and economic progress, but rather should be determined as active agents of change. [101]*A regional Human Development Report,* held by UNDP, use the human development approach as the main prism to analyze the Roma problem. [102] The study on human development approach expands three factors:

1. Development must be defined in terms of people's welfare and the expansion of their capabilities and functioning. Growth in goods and services is a means and not the end of development process.

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[99] Alexander M. Ervin, *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 221.

[100] Ibid., 219.

[101] Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, "Rescuing the Human Development Concept from the HDI: Reflection on a New Agenda," in *Readings in Human Development: Concepts, Measures and Policies for a Development Paradigm* (New Delhi, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 120, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/551696.

[102] Andrey Ivanov et al., "The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap: A Regional Human Development Report," A Regional Human Development Report (Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, February 15, 2002), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316190002.

2. Human development is inexorably linked to the freedom and dignity of the individual. The expansion of freedoms is at the heart of the concept and should be at the heart of its implementation. But they also include the enabling opportunities given by schooling, or the liberty and economic means to move freely and to choose one's abode. There are also important 'social' freedoms, such as the capability to participate in the life of the community, to join in public discussion, to participate in political decision-making and even the elementary ability 'to appear in public without shame."

3. The human development paradigm does not regard people as passive beneficiaries of economic and social activities. People must become active agents of social change. This connotes opportunities for participation, empowerment, access to information, and to influence policy making. People can and should be agents of change through individual and collective action. Being change agents means possessing the health and education necessary to understand social processes and act upon this understanding. [103]

The main idea behind this approach is to broaden people's choices. The authors of this report believe that even "perfectly" constructed and oriented programs that are not sustainable can even more deepen the dependency problematic of Roma. The concept underlines that failures appeared due to inability of the government to provide "equal" human development plans, opportunities to all citizens regardless of their ethnicity. In addition, the participation of Roma and non-Roma communities is the leading factor in development of successful policies. In schooling system, the concept of participation is widely discussed by Freire. Hederman gives constructive overview of the main features of the concept:

> …it essential that the pupil must, at all times, be a conscious participator in his own education. The first step must come from him. Although the relationship has to be monitored by the educator and prevented from becoming fully inclusive, it must, at the same time, be lived responsibly by the pupil. No one can be educated in spite of himself.[104]

Sometimes, community groups that lack the power or organizational capacity to improve their situation are largely excluded from the policy development process. [105] For some, a long history of exploitation, neglect, discrimination, exclusion, and the effects of poverty can undermine willingness to participate.

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[103] Ibid., 8
[104] Mark Patrick Hederman, "Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed,'" *The Crane Bag* 6, no. 2 (1982), 59, accessed 26 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30023905.
[105] Alexander M. Ervin, *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 222.

3.4. Clarification of Terms: Dependence, Welfare Dependence, State Paternalism, Dominant Ideology.

After discussing the conceptual framework, the theoretical framework is explained in the definition of dependency theory and everything it covers. In this sub-section, dependency theory is presented as a tool to explain the consequences of state policies aimed at desegregating Roma students in the Czech public school.

For the purpose of this study the following terms must be clarified: state dependence, welfare dependence, state paternalism and dominant ideology. In general, dependency theory claims to be a globally applicable, objective approach to understanding how poorer nations have been deceived and become victims of a unidirectional exercise of power.

As a result of the socialist era policies of resettlement, ethnic mixing and employment, Roma communities have come to rely especially on social policies and benefits to meet basic needs. Ivanov et al. emphasized that poverty in Roma communities makes social protection the main key to their coping strategies, which leads to complete dependence on the state, and social security benefits can hinder the adoption of proactive life strategies. [106]The authors believe that social assistance should go hand in hand with efforts to enhance social aspirations, especially in education.

Cheng presented factors and characteristics which related to the dependency and supplementation modes of adaptation. [107] Among factors he differentiated employment factors, personal experience, individual characteristics and welfare policies. He suggested that people with limited education has been found to be associated with longer periods of supplementation or dependency. [108] Referring to the cultural background, Cheng specified that most studies have indicated that white recipients are more likely to leave dependency or supplementation than ethnic minority recipients. [109] Noah and Eckstein summarized the various claims and assertions of dependency theory within education:

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[106] Andrey Ivanov et al., "The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap: A Regional Human Development Report," A Regional Human Development Report (Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, February 15, 2002), 41 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316190002.
[107] Tyrone Cheng, "Welfare Recipients: How Do They Become Independent?," *Social Work Research* 26, no. 3 (2002), accessed 20 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/42659497.
[108] Ibid., 161.
[109] Ibid.

1.   Dependency theory views educational structures and education content as essential means by which the center exercises thought control over the periphery, reproducing the conditions for its survival and advancement. These means operate not only in obvious ways, but also in ways that are extremely subtle.

2.   Dependency theory claims to show that the process of thought control is so powerful that parents and citizens are incapable of recognizing their children's best educational interest, and are helpless to make independent choices in the face of overwhelming ideological hegemony.

3.   Dependency theorists tend to deny that we can look to education or educational reform in any important degree for improvement in this state of things: radical (and even violent) rupture of the hegemonic power of the center is required.

4.   Dependency theory claims that the greater a country's degree of dependency, the greater will be a country's difficulties in establishing effective social and educational institutions.[110]

Heckman attempted to examine the behavioral patterns of individuals in the context of state dependence. He argued that "individuals who have experienced an event in the past are more likely to experience an event in the future that are individuals who have not experienced the even."[111] The main argument of the chapter presented by Heckman underlines the importance of the past experience of the individuals that has behavioral effect in the future of the individuals. Intergenerational transmission of welfare dependence, presented by Duncan et al., suggests that "children growing up in welfare-recipient household are themselves more likely to receive welfare when they become adults."[112] Both authors underlined the past and environment conditions under which individual live as factors determined his/her position.

Laura Schmidt et al. give a good overview of the welfare dependence under the human capital theory. The authors claimed that "poverty is particularly linked to deficiencies in education… welfare dependence is more common among clients with lower investment in human capital, including those with lower levels of education, fewer jobs skills and less work

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[110] Max A. Eckstein and Harold J. Noah, "Dependency Theory in Comparative Education: The New Simplicitude," *Prospects* 15, no. 2 (June 1985) 218, accessed 26 July 2021, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02196891.
[111] James J. Heckman, "Heterogeneity and State Dependence," in *Studies in Labor Markets*, A Conference Report / Universities--National Bureau Committee for Economic Research, no. 31 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 91, http://www.nber.org/chapters/c8909.
[112] Greg J. Duncan, Martha S. Hill, and Saul D. Hoffman, "Welfare Dependence within and across Generations," *Science* 239, no. 4839 (1988), 469, accessed 11 June 2021, available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1700273.

experience."[113] High dependence on wealth can be detrimental to future incomes because while a person receives help, work skills deteriorate and their links to the labor market are weakened. Moreover, they suggest that dependent recipients do not have the necessary social capital (ability to accumulate resources through membership is sustainable networks in which money and resources generation skills shared) to refuse assistance, provided by the state. [114]Thus, it leads to the question of the dependence over the welfare and the state in general.

Dependence on social welfare has problematic consequences affecting both the majority of the population and minorities. A minority is likely to fall inti "vicious circle" of marginalization that weakens incentives to leave social safety nets. [115] Gheorghe and Tanaka agreed that Roma specific policies may also create a negative reaction among non-Roma majority, as non-beneficiaries. [116] The authors argued that strictly social policies may not take into account intermediary institutions and individuals who, due to deeply rooted prejudices and stereotypes, may act in such a way as to discourage the full participation of Roma in public relations. Such economic divisions between Roma communities and income-generating non-Romani populations often underlie claims that "employed" non-Romani populations are "raising Roma children".[117]

[113] Laura Schmidt et al., "Addiction and Welfare Dependency: Interpreting the Connection," *Social Problems* 49, no. 2 (May 2002), 223, accessed 14 July 2021, https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2002.49.2.221.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Andrey Ivanov et al., "The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap: A Regional Human Development Report," A Regional Human Development Report (Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, February 15, 2002), 42 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316190002.
[116] Nicolae Gheorghe and Jennifer Tanaka, "Public Policies Concerning Roma and Sinti in the OSCE Region" (Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR, 1998), 11, accessed 23 July 2021, available at: https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/1/a/16621.pdf.
[117] Andrey Ivanov et al., "The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap: A Regional Human Development Report," A Regional Human Development Report (Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, February 15, 2002), 42 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316190002.

4. Methods

4.1. Research Design

The study comprises an in-depth analyses of subsequent Roma educational segregation system related academic work and legislative works. A significant part in the methodology make up data collection and qualitative content analysis, mostly presented in literature review and theoretical/conceptual framework parts, which need to be thoroughly explained so that the process of conducting research could be clearly understood. While describing the process of data collection, it is necessary to mention that primary sources, that is, official statistical data and policy documents, not only in the database of the European Union, Council of Europe, European Commission, but also in the databases of international organizations, such as the UNDP, ILO etc. were used. Combining both international, national and the EU sources allowed achieving a certain level of objectivity in the research. As for secondary sources, following materials were used: research papers and reports prepared either by relevant think tanks or by individual researchers, which proved to be quite helpful in finding out information on the topic from a non-governmental perspective and seeing how the situation is viewed by different actors. Diversifying the sources also helped effectively exercise the process of data analysis as it gave a more objective image on the topic.

The paper takes qualitative content analysis which included a semi-systematic literature review, interpretation of texts within certain contexts as described by Snyder. [118] According to Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge a qualitative research approach aims to expand and to deepen understanding and awareness of how everything has turned out to be appropriate images and how things came to be the way they are in our social world.[119] Quantitative data from international organizations, NGOs and government statistics were collected to present compelling evidence-based arguments as well as conflicts between government ministries and national and international observers.

Moreover, the paper constructed on the grounded theory methods. Charmaz explains this approach as "systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative

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[118] Hannah Snyder, "Literature Review as a Research Methodology: An Overview and Guidelines," *Journal of Business Research* 104 (November 1, 2019): 335, accessed 5 May 2021, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039.

[119] Beverley Hancock, Elizabeth Ockleford, and Kate Windridge, "An Introduction to Qualitative Research," *The NIHR RDS EM / YH*, 2009, 32, accessed 3 April 2021, available at: https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/5_Introduction-to-qualitative-research-2009.pdf.

data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves."[120] Thus, the data we collect for our study appears as the foundation of our theory and the analysis of these data generates the concepts we construct. A grounded theory relies on separating, sorting and synthesizing of the data through coding, means that the researcher attach labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about. [121] This study applies interviews, which were analyzed through the grounded theory coding.

The research purpose of this study is to analyze the perceptions of NGOs in the Czech Republic specializing in topic of Roma children segregation in the mainstream school education, in the context of state's involvement in solving this particular problem. As it was previously mentioned, referring to the ground theory methods, the approaches and frameworks of given study were constructed only after the collecting of data and has generated as a result of the analysis of the gathered data.

The ground theory method was applied in the research to one-on-one interviews with the representatives of the Czech NGO specializing in the segregation of Roma children in the mainstream school education. The interviews have a semi-structured nature. In total, 6 interviews were conducted. The questions in the semi-structured interviews were organized in the following sections:

1. General Information: general information about the NGO.
2. Professional Background: professional experience, work position of the respondent and description of the main responsibilities of the respondent.
3. Projects: a detailed description of the projects and activities of the NGO.
4. Method of Support: how the NGO supports its beneficiaries (social services, scholarship programs, advocacy program, tutoring and mentoring clubs etc.)
5. Sustainability of Projects: duration of projects and their repetitiveness.
6. Financing of the NGO Projects and Activities: who finance the projects (state/government, international organizations, the EU, private donors)
7. Participation and Involvement of Roma Children: how they interact with Roma children in projects and activities, if they take into account the views of recipients (children, parents) when developing projects and any activities, if they ask Roma children to

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[120] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (London; Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 2, available at: http://www.sxf.uevora.pt/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Charmaz_2006.pdf.
[121] Ibid., 3.

conduct assessment after the implementation of projects and activities, if their assessments and suggestions are subsequently taken into account.

8. Understanding of State Policies/Programs/Strategies (Inclusive Education): understanding and awareness of state policies and programs for desegregation and inclusion.

9. Understanding of State/Policy Actors: how the respondents define the state and who they consider to be a state actor (government, institutions, ministries, local and municipal authorities, schools).

10. Perception of State Policies (Inclusive Education) and State participation in desegregation: the position and perception of the state strategy / policy / programs on desegregation by the respondent, perception of their effectiveness and relevance for desegregation and inclusion.

11. Suggestion for Policies: for improvement or consideration, if any.

12. Challenges of Inclusion of Roma Children (if any, in the context of state involvement): what are the main challenges and obstacles to the inclusion and desegregation of Roma children in the school system.

13. Biggest Challenges in Working with Target Group (if any, in the context of NGOs): difficulties in working with the target group.

14. Understanding state dependence (welfare dependence): dependence on welfare as a possible result of state participation in desegregation, respondents' perception of Roma dependence on social benefits and services provided by the state.

15. Understanding "Roma Culture": Understanding "Roma culture": general perception of Roma in the desegregation process, the aim is to understand how NGO respondents perceive the Roma, whether they consider them to be passive beneficiaries, or whether they see other structural factors leading to poverty and dependence on social security.

16. Self-position in the process of desegregation: how the respondent positions the NGO and its methods in the process of desegregation (supporters of the state system and structure / no).

For confidentiality reasons, the names of the NGOs were not disclosed, and pseudonyms were given to all participants. For confidentiality reasons, the names of the NGOs were not disclosed, and pseudonyms were given to all participants. Each interview lasted about 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted in May-June 2021. Due to the pandemic, the researcher requested an online interview with NGO representatives. All respondents were fluent in English

and fully understood the terms and words used in this context. All interviewees were informed that the online conversation would be recorded for further analysis of this study.

2.2. Sampling

A total of 6 respondents were interviewed. Since the task was to find social workers of NGOs in the Czech Republic specializing in working with Roma children, the researcher predetermined the importance of following specific criteria in choosing an NGO. An important criterion was that the NGO had a clear program for working with Roma children and a strategy aimed at eliminating the segregated position of Roma children in schools. Before contacting an NGO, the researcher carefully studied its position, projects, and everything related to their work with Roma children. As a result, if the selected NGO met the criteria of this study, the researcher began the process of creating contact with representatives of the NGO.

At first, attempts were made to contact the e-mail address indicated on the official website of the NGO. Since the waiting period for answers in most cases was somewhat delayed, the researcher considered it necessary to directly call the indicated numbers on the official websites. Unfortunately, the language barrier of the researcher (Czech language), as well as the NGO representative (English language) speaking on the line, did not help the researcher to explain the whole situation.

The most effective method to contact NGO representatives was to search for the personal email addresses of specific employees, which the researcher looked for in references, project descriptions and articles on the official website of the NGO. Some NGOs also had a list of employees, their positions and their email addresses. The researcher suggests that many potential respondents were forced to refuse interviews due to the language barrier.

2.3. Limitations

Limitations for this study are mainly due to COVID, as most of the interviewed respondents intended to make face-to-face interviews. Because of pandemic, the researcher saw the best and more safe option to conduct online interviews.

The researcher concluded that in the case of conducting physical interviews, one would expect more respondents. The original goal and method of selecting and searching for suitable NGOs, the researcher intended to physically visit organizations and conduct wider interviews. Due to COVID, the researcher was limited in his ability to communicate with NGOs in general.

The second major obstacle was the difficulty in finding contacts with suitable NGOs. The methods that the researcher considered effective were primarily to contact the PR and SMM departments of the NGO, since in most cases it was these departments that helped to find a suitable employee who could give an interview. Since the goal was to find a respondent who would be fully aware of projects and work in general, the researcher eventually came to the conclusion that it would be better if the respondents held managerial positions. This outcome added complexity to the search for respondents. But as a result, 6 employees of NGOs were interviewed, 4 of whom are in managerial positions.

5. Findings

5.1. Analysis of Responses

Before moving on to discussing and defining topics, the first step is to provide analysis of findings. The subsections below are divided according to the thematic blocks of answers asked during the interview, and namely are:

1. General Information and Background
2. Perception of state's action and policies toward desegregation of Romani children
3. Challenges of inclusion of Roma children
4. Projects and strategies toward desegregation
5. Social benefits and dependency

All responses will be organized to show similarities and differences in respondents' perception of the study. The summary and synoptic concepts will reveal the perception of Czech NGOs about the state's involvement in solving the problem of segregated Roma children in mainstream education. The synopsis reveals the self-position of NGOs in desegregation process of the Roma children in school system. These are

General Information and Background

In total, six respondents from five different Czech NGOs were interviewed. Four respondents work in four different NGOs in the Czech Republic, among which two work in the same organization, but in different branches and in different positions of the same organization. In terms of working experience, the overall working experience range from four to twenty years. Most of the respondents hold managerial positions, which add particular value and perspective to their responses, as they can consider the situation with the desegregation process and the Roma in a wider format, taking into account the role of the state and schools.

All five NGOs focus on the problems faced by Roma children in the school system of the Czech Republic. Two non-governmental organizations are located in Ostrava, one in Brno, one in Olomouc and two of them in the capital city Prague.

Three NGOs out of five provide tutoring clubs, mentoring clubs and non-formal education clubs for school and pre-school children. One of these NGO units works mainly with Roma in the field, or in other words, they are mainly involved in providing social services. This means that people can ask them for help in solving various problems that they face on a daily basis. The Deputy of this branch, Alexander, explained that in most cases people ask for help

with debt payments, and social workers can help them overcome a bad situation by providing assistance in protecting their interests and filling-out needed documents. Alexander noted that their organization helps people who are in need, which means that they work not only with Roma families and their children, but everyone who is in distress. Moreover, one of the Ostrava-based organization is spearheading a campaign to enroll Roma children in mainstream schools and kindergartens and advocating for equal access to education. The Deputy Director of this NGO, Pavel, stressed out that the most of the NGOs in the Czech Republic are dealing with service provision instead of improving things. So their main goal as he said is to "solve the actual problem of segregation of Romani children, not providing them service provisions." Organization E, based in Prague, is very diverse in helping not only Roma children, but also the Roma community. They post news on the web portal about all the events concerning the Roma. Another service provided by this NGO is a scholarship program for talented Roma from secondary and higher education in the Czech Republic.

The positions of the respondents are varied as well. Four of six interviewees are in managerial positions, primarily leading and running the group of people within the organization. The Director of NGO A, Pavel, is the community organizer of the entire organization, while two other respondents, Karla and Alexander, are managers of two branches of the same NGO. Pavel also takes the positon of the educational adviser to the Council of Europe and the European Commission. The respondent Hanna is the coordinator of the educational projects (social facilities and need of children coordinator) and held all administrative tasks and responsibilities, in the NGO C, based in Ostrava. Gabrielle is a human rights activist, researcher and translator focusing on human rights violations committed against members of the Romani minority, as well as the member of the Government Council for Roma Minority Affairs in the Czech Republic. Currently she works at the NGO E, based in Prague. And lastly, Anna is lecturer and mentor in tutoring and mentoring club in the NGO B, based in Brno.

The researcher was trying to interview the people from NGOs which differ in the context of providing the support for Romani children. As a result, the researcher achieved the goal differentiating the services provided by the interviewed respondents.

Perception of state's action and policies toward desegregation of Romani children

In the context of the study, the classification and definition of the state in the perception of NGO respondents is significant. When discussing government representatives, respondents

referred to government and local institutions and bodies with which they cooperate. Nevertheless, the respondents indicated that they mainly cooperate with local authorities, municipalities and schools. In fact, the participants see these institutions as a part of governmental structure. When discussing state policy, respondents usually refer to ministries, parliament and executive bodies, which they say are responsible for legislation, laws and social programs. By combining these two categories of stare structure, the respondents asserted that they don't see the difference between them. Because ministries and parliament are responsible for legislating laws, policies and social programs, while local authorities, municipalities and schools are implementing all initiatives. The respondents didn't indicate their position within the state structure. Rather, they separate themselves from government structure and its policies and position themselves as those who are trying to change the system developed by state institutions, which they believe is not effective and being implemented in practice.

Since the aim of the study is to determine NGOs 'perception of the state's involvement and its consequences in solving the problem of segregation of Roma children in the school system, the respondents' answers include a description of the actions and policies of the state as a whole. The general perception of respondents about government's concern over desegregation and integration policies and actions was negative rather than positive. The general themes raised by respondents during interviews were inaction of government institutions, the existence of institutional racism against Roma, ineffective educational policies, and bureaucratic challenges.

All respondents consider that NGOs are more effective when it comes to desegregation actions toward the Romani students. The phrase "NGOs do things, that government should do" were mentioned by every single interviewee. State concerns about the segregation of children in schools are limited to providing financial support to them, as well as to local authorities and municipalities, which subsequently usually transfer financial assistance to NGOs. Anna emphasized that "…government cares, but not enough. They don't see the importance of the problematic things, and think that's enough to have money." Same as Anna, Hanna noted that while working with local government and municipalities, she couldn't see from their side the interest and care about the people and target groups. As predicted, the low awareness about the work in the field with Roma people was a cause for state's low concern about the segregation. Karla and Alexander referred to state's absence of experience in the field. Both interviewees agreed that working in the field with Romani children at tutoring clubs, communicating with their parents, cooperating both with schools and local authorities are the strong reasons to

consider that the state does not realize the seriousness of the problem with the segregation of Roma children.

During the interviews, the position of the state in relation to the work carried out by NGOs in their perception was also discussed. In general, the respondents shared the idea that the government and relevant institutions that are involved in solving the "Roma problem" do not criticize or oppose projects and actions carried out by NGOs. As Karla said, "…ideologically, they are not against you. They just don't care. There is money from them, so you can navigate and use it for something good. " While other respondents claim that in some cases, government may have a different vision and solution to some issues. The campaign lead by Pavel sometimes are criticized for wrong approach applied while working with Roma families and children. He pointed out that government ministries criticize "that instead of the giving power to the parents, we [NGO] should concentrate in forcing them to send their children to the schools." Stating this, Pavel explained that their main campaign is to educate parents and children about their rights, and not just to push them to send their children to school, whether it is segregated or not. Alexander shared that in their practice they faced the interference of local authorities in the life of Roma families. Local municipalities and authorities are pushing families in serious troubles to work with them and cooperate. Alexander explained the strategy of the municipalities, stating that they have the opportunity to push them by referring to laws that protect children, and as a result, families are forced to cooperate with them. Nevertheless, the respondent believes that it is better for the family to work with them to resolve issues, rather than refuse their help, which happens in practice, but not often.

According to the respondents, state structures as well as local authorities are interested only in statistical data and figures stated in project reports implemented by NGOs. Some respondents have a negative attitude towards the reports that they have to submit to donors, that is, local authorities, municipalities, while others fully understand the bureaucracy that is created around projects. Most of the projects carried out by the interviewed NGO representatives are funded by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Social Affairs and EU funds. In any case, as noted by some of interviewees, all EU funds are first allocated to the ministries and government sector and then distributed to NGOs on a competitive basis and on demand. Other fund allocations come from international donor organizations, for example, Visegrad Fund, EEA Norway Grants, etc.

The discussion of project financing in the previous sections showed that respondents prefer cooperation with international donors and organizations than with government ones. The reason lies mainly in the different approaches of the two sides, which often lead to contradictions and misunderstandings. However, in terms of finance, most of the respondents stated that they receive funds from state institutions, that is, local municipalities, ministries. Although the EU provides funds to the Roma community, ministries are responsible for the distribution of these funds. Some respondents reacted negatively to the system of how the Czech government distributes funds to the Roma minority group. During the interview, Gabrielle raised the issue of how [they] at the Government Council for Roma Minority advised the government on how to allocate funds and developed a spending strategy. According to her, the task was to come to an agreement on the efficiency and transparency of the allocation of funds.

International organizations, foundations and private donors were presented as more "friendly" to cooperate with, because they want NGOs to build and manage projects, relying on their experience and a better understanding of the problem behind them. Distinguishing between government and international donors, the respondents emphasized that they prefer to work with international organizations and donors. The reason is that often government institutions are not always "flexible" to work together at the stage of project initiation, implementation or at the stage of finalizing reports. The Ministry of Education has been called the most "inflexible" government body to work with. The reluctance of the respondents to cooperate with government agencies was explained, rather, by the documents and reports that they must submit at each stage of the project. Serious problems in working with ministries and municipalities were not mentioned by the respondents during the interview. The respondents were more reluctant to regard the state's lack of awareness of the segregation problem and to the "ineffective policy" that only works on paper.

Participants noted that the state has developed sufficient policy and legislation with a sufficient number of laws over the past ten years. Paul even gave an example of a law that allows every child to be enrolled in school. Unfortunately, he noted that even if this law exists, schools can often refuse to accept a Roma child using other "tricks and tactics." Other respondents also noted that regular, "non-segregated" schools do not want to deal with Roma children, saying, for example, that they have no place or making difficulties for Roma parents with application and documents that are need to enroll their children in school. The main obstacle for Roma families and their children at present is the lack of documents indicating their official residence address, since most of them live in isolated areas and ghettos or have

temporary housing. When trying to get a paper with an address of residence in local municipalities, they often encounter institutional racism and their unwillingness to cooperate with Roma. As a result, demotivated Roma families choose the segregated schools for their children. These schools are often located in segregated areas and have a significantly low level of teaching. But they do not oblige Roma parents and children to provide residence documents and etc. This example shows that laws and policies do not always work and not effective in practice, because Roma often face with other consequences and obstacles. And even the fact, that special schools are officially prohibited in the Czech Republic, they still exist, and, as Karla has noted "they just don't have official name".

Some respondents noted the lack of a legal instrument to combat segregation in schools. Paul noted that while there are "well-written" laws and legislation in general, there are no provisions prohibiting segregation. There is no specific concept that segregation is illegal and that anyone who creates segregation is committing a crime. From his point of view, this will be the first step towards starting the process of desegregation in the school system. In fact, according to all participants, all these rules, laws and policies exist within ministries and government agencies, but are not applied or used as a legal instrument in local administrations, municipalities and, most importantly, in schools.

Challenges of inclusion of Roma children

When asked about the general challenges of including Roma children in mainstream schooling, cultural differences, the wrong approach of schools, the government and sometimes the NGOs were mentioned. It is important to note that when describing the approaches of NGOs, some respondents referred to any other than their own NGO. In this regard, the researcher noted that each participant tried to show the better working competence of their NGO in comparison with other NGOs that "have less effective approaches" than them.

The difference between the Roma and the majority, noted by some respondents, is the collectivism of the Roma community and the Roma family. One of the respondents gave an example of how this looks in practice: "For example, when one cousin does not go to school, the other does not go either. And that's why, in fact, when one family of eight and only one of them is working, everyone expects him to share his money and everything else." Collectivism, according to the researcher, was presented as a preconceived stereotypical view of the Roma community. The term has been explained without regard to its social context. This can be explained by the fact that, for example, since Roma mainly live in isolated areas or ghettos,

collectivism becomes a mechanism of protection against external influences and racism. Another respondent indicated that some families do not prioritize education, and as a result, the respondent stated that in their work they deal with Roma children with low self-esteem and anxiety, because at school they may feel different and "not good enough and not smart enough". The respondent pointed to the role of the family and the discriminatory attitude towards the child in the school system as the reason that Roma children feel isolated in the classroom.

According to the respondents, the role of parents and their influence on the choice of school can affect the future of their children. Interviewees agreed on the statement, that parents of the Romani children play a crucial role in the life of their children. Being faced with the exact same problem as their children, they were themselves victims of segregated schools and most likely would repeat it with their children. Gabrielle emphasized that "if they [Roma parents] had gone themselves to a special school or to a school that did not lead to them being able to go on to higher education, this wasn't even an aspiration for them. This was something that was completely unknown territory for them." The respondents were trying to explain the problem of Roma being uneducated, referring only to the social structure underlying.

Pavel and Hannah noted that the reason for the segregated position in which Roma children find themselves is the social construct created by the government and the state. As mentioned earlier, parents are responsible for choosing a school for their children. They often try to get their children into a "normal" rather than segregated school. However, this is not always possible due to the circumstances and consequences in which the Roma find themselves. As noted in previous sections, this is often due to racism and the reluctance of local governments and schools to cooperate with Roma. As Hannah noted, "I don't see that Roma children refuse to attend educational institutions because of some kind of social prejudice, this is more like a situation in which they are forced to be". That is, the well-known prejudices that Roma do not see the point in learning or that they are "lazy" only aggravates the majority's relationship with Roma. Hannah tried to explain that Roma children often do not want to go to school, just because they do not want to hear and feel discriminatory statements and attitudes from peers and teachers. Pavel emphasized that Romani culture is often confused with a culture of poverty. Since most people point to all the "known" characteristics of the Roma, they think that this defines their culture. He said that other nations, other minorities, the majority of the population, who are actually on the path of poverty, are doing the same.

The wrong approach of the government to solving the segregation of the Roma was described by Pavel states that:

> If you imagine, for example, some kind of disease. And as a result, there are people who have this disease. If we really try to catch all these sick people and heal them, but do not cure the real disease, we can succeed, but with a great investment of money and time. Thus, instead of looking at the consequences of racism, we can focus on racism itself. And then we will understand that Roma have the same problem as non-Roma. So, if people say that there are lazy Roma, we find that there are also lazy non-Roma. So we will start working not only with Roma, but, for example, with drug addicts, etc. We will not work with Roma as a problem. We will not have the Roma as a problem, but we will have the problem itself, for example, racism, etc.

He argues that the provision of social services to Roma families and their children cannot solve the problem of segregation, because the problem is not tackled from the root. Thus, the government that provides social benefits to these families "heals" the consequences of segregation, but does not try to solve the problem of segregation itself. Pavel highlighted the same problem with NGOs that work with Roma children and Roma families to overcome segregation in schools. According to him, the main mission of most NGOs in the Czech Republic is to provide social services and services to Roma children and families, simply following the path of the state system. In general, after each interview with the respondents, it seems that each NGO has its own vision of how to solve the problem of Roma segregation. Someone sees the goal of working with children in tutoring clubs and helping them who already have problems with subjects and academic performance, with teachers and even with the school system. Someone is trying to eradicate segregation problems by advocacy program, informing, first of all, parents that education and school choices strongly influence the child's future and that every Roma family and child have opportunities and choices.

Schools are the main intermediaries and implementers of desegregation strategies for Roma children. According to the respondents, in most cases, teachers and school administrators are the first to initiate discrimination and racism against Roma children. According to teachers and school administrators, many of the problems with Roma children are due to the combination of social, cultural and family backgrounds of students. The participants stated that the school can say that the Roma parents themselves do not show any desire to communicate with the school administration. The respondents' answers to this point show that this is due to the wrong approach of the school system and teachers in working with Roma children and their parents. In most cases, Karla thinks, teachers are not fully aware that they can be racist towards Romani children. Anna shared the same idea that teachers might consider Roma children to be

insufficiently educated, lacking in learning ability, or simply not smart, like his or her non-Roma peers. As a result, sometimes such acts of severe discrimination are a direct pretext for legal proceedings. Karla said that this is a rare case when parents go to court and succeed. Often, schools interpret laws and regulations that prevent segregation so that Romani children simply may not have the chance or opportunity to go to school. And even if the family agrees to go to court, the children's lives can be destroyed by psychological stress from the school administration, teachers and peers.

Projects and strategies toward desegregation

This section is aimed at analyzing the approaches of the interviewed NGOs, differentiating and comparing projects and strategies that they use in their work with Roma children. Most of the interviewed NGOs provide social services to Roma children, mainly by tutoring and mentoring clubs. The main goal of these clubs is to help Romani children in their school life, whether it is explaining a school subject or learning the Czech language, which in most cases is a big problem for Romani students, or even providing psychological assistance, because often Romani children are faced with discrimination against them by their non-Roma peers and even teachers. Nevertheless, one of the five NGOs has different approach and method in desegregation process of the Roma children in school system. Unlike the other four, this NGO focuses on a program to protect the interests and rights of Roma parents and children, raise awareness of the importance of school choice and eliminate existing segregated schools.

The main activity and goal of the NGO A, based in Ostrava, is "the enrollment of Romani children into good, non-segregated schools". As the Director of the NGO said that they expand their strategy, not only concentrating on the service provisions to Romani children. As it was previously mentioned, this organization tries to solve the actual problem of segregation of Romani children. Romani parents are the important actors in their children's future lives. Members of the NGO A work with the parents, mostly informing about the importance of the school choice for their children. In this regard, it should be clarified that, nevertheless, special schools are officially prohibited by law, in practice there are schools, as Pavel said, who "uses tactics and tricks not to enroll Roma children". Gabrielle share the same thoughts, that there are schools in the Czech Republic that are more likely to put the child on the path to college and there are schools that are more likely to put the child on the path to technical trainings, entrepreneurship, or to something that is less prestigious. So basically, the priority of the NGO A is to educate the parents to their rights and learn what means to enroll their children into school.

Two NGOs have concentration on providing educatory assistance to Romani children. The first is NGO B, based in Brno, have the tutoring club for almost seventeen years and, as Anna mentioned, is well known among the Romani community of Brno, and each year they have approximately 70-80 Romani children under their guidance. The main challenge the Romani children face at their school is with the Czech language, because at home they use only Romani language. The proficiency and ability to speak in the language of instruction badly influence to their academic achievements and communication with peers and teachers as well. They use different methodic in teaching Romani children, for example Montessori with first grade pupils. And the individual approach, as Anna mentioned is the privilege of their tutoring clubs. Children can visit those clubs for a long period of time, depends on the subject with which child has difficulties at the moment. The second NGO C, based in Ostrava, has a wide range of services provided to the Romani community, as humanitarian, educational, human rights, social and legal advice, housing, employment, conflict resolution and negotiations. In terms of education service support, they have non-formal education clubs for pre-school kids, two of them in dislocated areas. Their mission is to support inclusive education and include socially disadvantaged children of preschool and school age to the mainstream education.

From NGO D, there are two respondents who were interviewed. Despite the both respondents come from the same organization, they have different branches and programs. The one, based in Prague, runs the tutoring and mentoring clubs as the NGO B, but the concept and ideology of the service is different. As the manager of clubs for educational services, Karla, has mentioned in interview, in their work they cover wide spectrum of problems which families and their children might face with. The important is that they don't identify the families and children by ethnicity, so which means that their services are open to anyone who needs a help. The help is not as it was described in NGO B, individual tutoring, mentoring clubs concentrated on the school subjects, this NGO provides more social and strategic support to its clients. So, in terms of the support specifically to the schoolchildren, their target is 13-14th years old pupils "somehow struggle with planning of the time, communication with others, strategic decision". Karla stressed out that mentors are not taught to tell their pupils how to overcome problems, but rather navigate, lead and advise in the process of learning. Unlike the NGO B, the programme of supporting the child lasts for two years.

The other branch, based in Olomouc, and managed by Alexander, who is a Deputy Director of the branch. The both branches have the same ideology of helping to those who are in need, not specifically concentrate on one ethnicity or minority group. They have different

kinds of services, provided to the people, like social provisions, advocacy, debt counselling, individual counselling. They also have services and projects that are focused on school kids. Those are pre-school facility service to prepare the kid for the school. Alexander emphasized that most of the families, including Roma, have troubles when their children begin the school, due to their inability to write, read. The NGO created its own kindergarten for those children, who were not admitted to the regular kindergarten provided by the state. Both branches of the NGO D intend to provide social services and products to families and children. Both respondents noted that most of the work is done by volunteers whom they have trained and taught.

The last interviewed respondent from NGO E, Gabrielle, emphasized the importance of the work run by this NGO. First, it has a big online platform and server, that share the important news in the Romani world and everything is related to the lives of the Romani community in the Czech Republic. The organization has a spectrum of different projects related to the support of the Romani community. As for example, they have the campaign aims to educate the general public on a lesser-known aspect of minority history, Roma history, through the personal stories of participants in historical events, famous people. The project, related to the providing the support to Romani children, is that organization runs the scholarship program. The scholarship program aims to support the talented Romani children, who do not have opportunities to cover the tuition fees to enroll universities, colleges and other higher educational institutions.

The involvement of the Roma in decision making process and implementing the projects considered as the most important factor by the respondents. Having Roma employee positively effects on the efficiency of the implementation of project. Roma children more willingly contact with Roma assistants, mentors and tutors. The practice of Roma assistants become very frequent since the topic of the segregation appears in the public. Their main duty is to assist in solving issues which Romani child might have at school. Hanna said that "my Romani colleagues do everything with our target groups [Romani children]. And I couldn't imagine this being in other way or different. Because the clients and kids feel more secure with some of my Romani colleagues, and they talk to them sincerer and they feel that they can understand them better." The only obstacle and reason why not many Roma invited in the projects, mentioned by Pavel during the interview:

> We don't have enough educated Roma, or even when they are educated, they already work somewhere. So that's why we might employ some non-Roma lawyer some expert on special education. It doesn't exclude non-Roma from being at the organization, but

the main base of the Roma organization should be Roma or someone who is thinking as Roma, feeling the same as the Roma. (ADD INTERPREATION)

Participants agreed that the voices of Roma children and parents should be taken into account before, during and even after the implementation of the project, as some of the respondents shared. Sometimes, even perfectly constructed projects might not be effective, because the target groups' consideration was ignored. Hanna said that they always try to get a feedback from the Romani target group in their projects. Even before the constructing the projects, they get a feedback and generate the project and apply for grants. Parents in this process take the role of mediators. Because, as some respondents mentioned, if parents are correctly informed of ongoing processes and project goals and its efficiency, the project will have more success. Other respondents have a different approach, and even want to "educate" Roma parents. As Anna and Alexander said, they try to make them literate and teach them new skills.

Social benefits and dependency

The approaches to desegregation of Roma applied by the state in politics, schools in teaching methods and NGOs in projects affect the life and position of Roma in society. Some respondents shared that the government's approach is to tackle the Roma problem by providing social services and welfare. But as a result, the Roma find themselves in a dependent position from the state, and do not have the opportunity to independently support themselves and their families. As Karla emphasized, "they [the poor] want to overcome poverty on their own, but they do not have the necessary mechanisms and resources." When talking about mechanisms, Karla means that the main obstacle is racism and discrimination in all institutional bodies and sectors, educational institutions, the employment sector, housing, etc.

When asked about the strategies, projects and activities implemented by the NGOs, described in the previous section, the respondents were asked the topic of dependence on social benefits. Under the perception of NGO respondents' social benefits create dependency. On the other hand, during the interviews, the researcher realized the importance of the question about the position of respondents regarding their self-perception in relation to state strategies and policies in the process desegregation, which with in fact they have to deal and follow in the course of the project implementation.

In mentioning the inability of many Roma to overcome segregation and poverty, participants asserted that dependence on social benefits, services and provision is the main

reason why Roma are in poverty risk. In the previous sections, interviewees mentioned ineffective approaches of state institutions in general. The interviewees named inappropriate approaches and strategies of the state as a direct source of Roma dependence on social services and benefits provided for them. For example, Pavel argued that social provision and benefits create dependence, specifying that whoever adopts this strategy can easily create a vicious circle of dependency. He believes that if the government somehow stops some of the social programs that provides benefits and focuses on eliminating racism, the Roma community can benefit even more than just receiving some services. Schools in this regard were presented as the followers of governmental system. Most of the respondents noted that even if special schools are prohibited by the law, practice shows that there are still segregated schools for Roma, especially in segregated areas. These schools are not trying to change curricula or methodology to provide better education for students. They still remain and are considered in a wider public to be "schools for Roma" with a low quality of education. In the best case, as highlighted by respondents, the school can be closed and the children sent to other schools.

Participants see the dependence of Roma on social benefits and services as a structural problem. All respondents argued that Roma cannot refuse state benefits simply because often they do not have an alternative income, or parents cannot send their children to non-segregated schools, because the discriminative system of the school itself doesn't allow them. The reason is the racism that Roma face everywhere. They are often denied employment, even as some of the interviewees mentioned, during the telephone conversation employers can be very friendly and open to cooperation, but after a personal meeting they can simply say that the position is already taken. Roma are often denied housing, and landlords often can be extremely racist towards Roma families, claiming they are "dirty", "noisy" or simply "we don't offer rooms for Roma". Hanna argued that "…experience like these really demotivate you to keep trying and look for other options, because they encounter racism almost everywhere. So they found themselves more comfortable in receiving state support, NGO support and live in dislocated areas."

Respondents from NGOs that provide social services to children in their projects were asked questions about the implications and effectiveness of their strategies. Some of them tried to explain that they were not doing anything for their beneficiaries, rather they were assisting and helping them with the consequences they faced. For children, as discussed in this chapter, they provide mentoring and tutoring clubs. The respondents did not mention parallels between the government's approach to the provision of social benefits and the strategy for the provision

of social services by NGOs. Participants seem to separate themselves from state ideology and state action to desegregate Roma children in the school system. They seem to view the state as a passive participant. The reason for this can be seen in the mentioned ineffective policies and programs, the inability to see the real situation in this area, which, according to the respondents, can only be observed by NGOs. The respondents positioned themselves as those who are trying to change the system created by the state.

6. Discussion

The purpose of this study was, firstly, to determine the perception of the Czech NGOs over state policies and its consequences for the process of desegregation of Roma children. Secondly, to identify the position of NGOs and implementation of inclusion policies within desegregation process. The analysis of the study gave focus to identifying themes derived from the interview responses. Using conceptual and theoretical foundation of the study, following sub-chapters provides further elaboration and interpretive implications of these themes in order to reflect on and answer the research questions of the study.

6.1. Unconscious dependency

An analysis of the interview responses showed that the majority of the respondents express a negative attitude to the participation of the state in the process of desegregation of Roma children in the school system. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the culture of poverty lacks consideration of systemic conditions such as equal access to education, the quality of education and the environment in which education is provided. The responses of the interviewees mostly confirmed this fact, condemning that the segregated situation in which Roma children find themselves is a direct reason of the failure of the state to provide quality school education and environment.

The respondents identified schools, local municipalities and authorities as subjects of the state system, therefore the analysis of the answers mainly contains the perception of the involvement of the mentioned institutions in the desegregation process. The discriminatory attitude of local institutions, municipalities and schools is a major obstacle for Roma families, children and NGO as well. An important result of the analysis of the study showed that Roma children often refuse to attend school and miss school programs due to the high risk to be discriminated in the school environment. Thus, the prejudice of participants of the school system and government that Roma do not attend school due to their unwillingness to participate in educational activities is shown as a discriminatory bias toward Roma culture. This statement confirms Bourdieu's assertion that low academic performance among minority groups is a consequence of the school system, and not a cause of cultural differences of this group.

Regarding prejudices about low academic performance among Roma children, participants referred to structural problems rather than as partisans of a culture of poverty, recognizing that this is due to the lack of motivation of Roma parents and children themselves regarding the importance of education. Hereinafter, the study shows that government agencies

may interfere in the lives of Roma families through the forced cooperation of these families with local authorities or municipalities. One of interviewed respondents even shared that they become part of this process, as local authorities may appoint NGOs to help some Roma families. Obviously, government bodies seek to control and impose their vision and solutions to the problems that Roma face.

The theory of dependence within education assumes that the center (state) controls a non-dominant group, reproducing the conditions for its survival and advancement. Therefore, within the framework of the study, the theory assumes that the state dictates its methods and conditions to eliminate segregation in the school system. The analysis of the study shows that the majority of respondents are inclined to believe that the state does not just merely wish to dictate rules and methods for eliminating segregation, but adheres to an incorrect and ineffective approach, which, as practice shows, leads to an unconscious dependence of the Roma on the state. State authorities, local municipalities, as well as schools, rather do not take this problem seriously and in most cases they do not try to tackle the problem of segregation itself, which primarily affects the topic of racial discrimination against Roma.

It must be noted, however, that the participants never openly stated their perception of specific state policies, educational laws, regulations, but rather generalized their answers in this way, stating that all this legislation is aimed at desegregating Roma children in the school system. The negative perception over state strategy mostly were related to the state approaches in general, that aims to overcome the problem of segregation of Roma children. Policies, which are basically supposed to protect the rights of Roma in the education system, are ultimately not used as intended by institutional bodies.

In the course of the analysis, it was revealed that some respondents considered the state policy to be ineffective, because its main goal is to socially support Roma by providing social benefits and financial assistance. As Pavel mentioned, "the government that provides social benefits to families and children "heals" the consequences of segregation, but does not try to solve the problem of segregation itself". Human Development and Participation approaches argue against the fact of people being as passive beneficiaries of economic and social activities and suggest that social assistance should go hand in hand with efforts to enhance social aspiration. In opposing tenant of these approaches, the respondents claimed that state fails in providing the sufficient strategy to eliminate segregation.

NGOs' respondents believe that the government is using the wrong approach to combat segregation in schools. NGOs view the state as a passive actor that is not sufficiently concerned about the segregation of Roma children. Government involvement in school segregation is limited to providing financial support to local governments, NGOs and student scholarships. In this regard, the participants confirm the fact of Roma's dependence on state and social benefits. Some of the respondents were extremely skeptical about this approach, citing as examples their methods and strategies for combating the segregation of Roma children, which they consider to be more effective than government ones.

The main reasons for the segregation and poverty of Roma families, as the interviewees stated, are social services, provisions and the wrong strategy of the state to combat segregation. In their opinion, the state is trying to solve the problem of segregation of Roma in the school system by providing them with social security and social services. Many respondents agreed with the opinion that the state is not very aware of what is happening in the field, does not see the real life of Roma and problems they face. The state structure, in the perception of the respondents, is a body that provides social security to minorities, but does not in any way fight against the problems of discrimination and racism, leading behind segregation.

Unlike a human development approach that sees people as active agents of social change, Roma families and children are deprived of opportunities for participation, empowerment, access to information and influence on policymaking. In the perception of NGOs, state bodies ignore cooperation with Roma families and children in order to understand the social process and act in accordance with their understanding. This was demonstrated by the respondents, as the majority of mainstream schools in the Czech Republic are unwilling to change teaching methods or simply do not want to create a more friendly, non-discriminatory environment for Roma children in classrooms. The study shows that the reluctance of government agencies, including schools, to tackle discrimination creates many obstacles for Roma. They, as the respondents considered, want to enjoy the same rights and receive the same treatment as the society of the white majority. Thus, as a result, structurally demotivated Roma families and their children find themselves in the path of dependence on state social services, benefits, programs, etc. Simply because they cannot withstand the school system or cannot change the attitude of the majority of the population towards them, and most importantly, they do not have the opportunity to participate in the life of the community, participate in public discussions, participate in political decision-making, and even the elementary ability to "appear in public without shame".

Summing up, answering the first research question of the study, about the consequences of state participation in the process of desegregation of Roma children in the perception of NGOs, the analysis shows that ineffective policies, wrong approaches and complete disregard for existing discrimination and racism in state bodies lead Roma to unconscious dependence on the state system. Based on the analysis of the respondents' answers, we can conclude that Roma children and their parents are more likely to find themselves in a vicious circle of segregation and dependence on government structures due to unawareness of their rights and resources in the education system. And even if they try to act according to their rights and system, such as sending their child to an unsegregated school, they often face many structural problems in the educational system, such as bureaucracy, discrimination, reluctance of state representatives to work with Roma.

6.2. "Not a state actor": NGOs' self-positioning in the process of desegregation

In general, the analysis of the respondents' answers was mixed in the context of their perception of the state policy against the segregation of Roma students in the Czech school system. Based on the answers of the interviewed respondents, we can conclude that each NGO participant also showed his or her position in the process of desegregation. It is important to note that respondents who criticized state policy and its methods subsequently mentioned their program for working with segregated schools and Roma children, which is different from the state's system. In contrast, respondents who refrained from harsh criticism of government policy, but still had a skeptical attitude, tended to present goals and solutions to the problem of segregation similar to those of the state.

Analysis of empirical data shows that NGO participants believe that they are not state actors and are not part of the state policy and system to eliminate the segregation of Roma children. On the contrary, they position themselves as participants who are trying to change an ineffective state system.

Funding plays a large role in building strategies to combat segregation. The interviewed NGOs are mostly funded by private donors and international grants. Public funding is directly related to the allocation of funds from the EU. That is, EU funds go directly primarily to state institutions, which subsequently decide on the further distribution of funds to local governments, schools, and NGOs.

The study revealed two main approaches used by the interviewed NGOs: the first is mainly a repetition of the state approach in the provision of social services, that is, preparatory

courses, tutoring clubs, mentoring clubs, the second is to inform and educate Roma parents and children about their rights within the educational system, that is, field work with Roma and trainings aimed at informing parents of Roma children about the importance of choosing a school, as well as work with schools and local authorities to eliminate segregated schools and segregation of children in schools. Thus, NGOs adhering to the first approach were seen as providers of social benefits. To a large extent, they did not realize that they were using the same approach as the state, but at the same time they did not consider themselves part of the state structure. Only one of examined NGOs has a different approach unlike other four, who provide mostly social services to Roma children.

7. Conclusion

They study reveals that since the case D.H. v. the Czech Republic, the Czech government has started its desegregation and inclusion campaign of Roma children. Though as study showed, the government has developed descent number of policies, strategies, laws, the official efforts to achieve the inclusion of Roma children in education system were ineffective, and national policies demonstrated to be ambiguous. Because of ineffective performance of the official state institutions to achieve this aim, civil society (NGO), and individual were taking actions on this from themselves.

Along with state participation, local NGOs, being those who interact with Roma children and their parents, as well as schools and local municipalities, are to certain extent the "mediators" and the practitioners of state policies, whose opinions and perception of state involvement and policy influences might influence the result of implementation.

This study intended to examine the perceptions of NGOs towards the state's policies and methods in the context of desegregation and inclusion, and the impact and consequences of these policies towards Roma. Semi-structured interviews with six representatives of NGOs from the Czech Republic were conducted to examine their perceptions of government involvement, its methods and impact in the context of desegregation, as well as their position in the desegregation process. All NGOs specialize in desegregation and inclusion of Roma children in schools. As the results of the study showed, despite the existing state policy to combat segregation and the official veto on special schools, Roma children are still segregated and placed in "unofficially" labelled segregated schools. The role of NGOs and their position in the desegregation process identified also as one of the important objectives of the study, which appeared as the target goal of the research to understand the approaches of the two actors within desegregation: NGOs and State.

The result showed that ineffective policies, wrong approaches and complete disregard for existing discrimination and racism in state bodies lead Roma to unconscious dependence on the state system. Based on the analysis of the respondents' answers, it is clear that Roma children and their parents are more likely to find themselves in a vicious circle of segregation and dependence on government structures due to unawareness of their rights and resources in the education system. And even if they try to act according to their rights and system, such as sending their child to an unsegregated school, they often face many structural problems in the

educational system, such as bureaucracy, discrimination, reluctance of state representatives to work with Roma.

In the course of the analysis, the structural factors of the dependence of the Roma on the state system as a whole were revealed. Thus, most Roma parents whose children are discriminated against are afraid to make a complaint to the court or the relevant authorities. As respondents explained, educators can directly threaten if Roma children's parents actually complain about the school system. For example, the school administration may contact child protection authorities or the department of social services with complaints about the Roma family, which may subsequently lead to the placement of their children in institutions. Also, parents fear that teachers will mistreat their children at school. In cases where NGOs persuade parents to file a complaint, the lengthy litigation process is simply exhausting both children and parents.

According to the respondents, ethnic segregation is usually a politicized and unpopular issue. Local municipalities and schools often state that de facto segregation is caused by the fact that Roma children and parents are not prepared for the education system than non-Roma. This argument, according to the respondents, is in no way supported by constructive facts and is completely devoid of structural factors standing in front. A system must be taken into account that reflects a willingness to support and take into account the cultural and social needs of Roma, and most importantly, to be accepted by society and a sense of children's safety in schools. The popularized argument that Roma themselves choose separate education does not confirm reality, as does the fact that parents and children of Roma themselves should improve attitudes towards education.

In the context of positioning NGOs themselves in the process of desegregation, the study shows that there are two main approaches used by NGOs in projects and methods in working with Roma children. The first is the provision of educational and social services, that is, it implies training courses, mentoring clubs, tutoring clubs. The second approach differs sharply from the first and implies informing and educating Roma parents and children about their rights in the education system, that is, field work with Roma, conducting trainings aimed at informing parents of Roma children about the importance of choosing a school, as well as work with schools. and local authorities to eliminate segregated schools and segregate children in schools. Thus, the researcher concluded that NGOs adhering to the first approach were seen as providers of social benefits, such as the state, or schools that have special preparatory courses for Roma

in order to maintain and improve their educational level. To a large extent, they did not realize that they were using the same approach as the state, but at the same time they did not consider themselves part of the state structure. Only one of the surveyed NGOs has a different approach from the other four, which mainly provide social services to Roma children.

In conclusion, the analysis shows that the efforts of NGOs to combat the segregation of Roma children today still remain a daunting task, and most Roma children are still segregated. A number of structural factors have a large impact on this situation, but discrimination remains the biggest obstacle for Roma children and parents. As a result, Roma are forced to follow the system of the state, to receive at least some benefits, which ultimately develops into a vicious circle of unconscious dependence on the state and its approaches. Demotivated by their attempts to cope with difficulties in the educational system, parents and children of Roma are forced to turn to local NGOs that could help them solve the problem. The outcome turns out to be positive if the NGO is really interested in solving the problem and defending the rights of parents and children, which primarily imply informing and training, and attempts to change or influence the structure of schools. But there is also the possibility that NGOs may unknowingly turn out to be social service providers and put Roma into dependence.

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