

FIVE YEARS LATER:

**The Nongovernmental Projects for
Desegregation of Roma Education in
Bulgaria**

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Introduction

In 2002 the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (BHC) conducted an evaluation of the nongovernmental projects for the desegregation of Roma education in Bulgaria.¹ At that time six projects were operating in the country. The projects were implemented by local Roma nongovernmental organizations and were supported by the Roma Participation Program of the Open Society Institute – Budapest. The goal of those projects was and still is integration of the education of Roma children into the system of education of their Bulgarian peers by taking Roma children out of the schools and kindergartens of Roma ghettos and their subsequent enrolment in the municipal schools outside the ghettos. The model of desegregation initially accepted by the Vidin project, and subsequently by the rest of the projects in the other cities, included all or most of the following elements:

1. Enrolment of Roma children in as many as possible host schools outside Roma neighbourhoods.
2. Specially hired teachers provided the academic administration of the project by determining (independently or through consultations with other project participants and the host school administrations) a strategy for enrolment, the need for extra academic work with children and the types of extracurricular activities that would be organized, and by supervising the work of the counsellors.
3. The project staff sought out political and social support for desegregation from the local educational authorities, from the Roma community, from non-governmental organizations, and from political parties active in the town.
4. The project hired counsellors, usually one per host school, who met the needs of the enrolled Roma children and of their teachers, and who provided an everyday link between the schools, the project administration, and the parents.
5. The pupils were transported from the Roma neighbourhoods to the host schools in buses specially purchased by the non-governmental organization for the purposes of desegregation and labelled accordingly.
6. The project organized supplementary classes for children who were falling behind in their classes. These were taught by teachers from the host school or by other teachers specially hired for this purpose. The project also provided supplementary preparatory classes during the summer and during other school vacations.
7. The project provided teachers from the host schools with opportunities for additional training, which had to lay special accent on multicultural education.

¹ See: Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, Sofia, December 2002, also available at www.bghelsinki.org.

8. The project organized extracurricular activities, holiday celebrations, excursions, summer camps, etc., of an explicitly multicultural character, and attracted both Roma and Bulgarian children and parents to participate.
9. The project sought the support of the media, the local educational and municipal authorities and NGOs.
10. The project provided school supplies and meals for the needy participants and in some cases also provided clothing and shoes.
11. The project supported the Roma parents and helped them participate in teacher-parents' meetings at the host schools and in the occasional meetings organized specially for parents of children in the project. The project staff also made efforts to keep Roma parents informed and to attract them to help with the work on the project.

The initial BHC assessment focused only on the administration of the projects, the political, municipal and general support within the respective communities, and on some of the repercussions and obstacles of and to integrated education in Bulgaria. The evaluation contained little, if any, analysis of the academic achievements generated by the projects. It touched upon academic achievement only so far as to present the children's current grades at a definite time of the school year. The assessment team based their work on the premise that integrated education is undoubtedly and apparently positive in its impact. Other than that, the short term of the projects' operation itself (most projects had been operating for only a year) rendered any evaluation of the practical effects of integrated education too difficult to make.

In the meantime, five years have already passed since the launch of the non-governmental desegregation projects. Those were years of both unfolding and strengthening of the projects, and of reinforcing the concept of integrated education in the mindsets of our community. The concept has already made its way into Bulgaria's political and social debates. It has influenced the minds of both Roma and Bulgarians alike, and of the administrators and developers of Bulgarian education. Governmental policies, combined with the interethnic dynamics and with the practical achievements of the projects, have also had their effect. Today we are able to dispose of a more detailed evaluation of the academic results from integrated education.

This is why five years later, in 2005, the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee undertook to make a follow up evaluation of the non-governmental desegregation projects. The evaluation was sponsored by the major donor of these projects, the Roma Participation Program of the Open Society Institute, Budapest. In order to accomplish the evaluation the BHC set up an extensive working team, composed of Ms Desislava Simeonova, Mr Emil Cohen, Ms Yuliana Metodieva and Mr Krassimir Kanev, each responsible for specific elements and stages of the evaluation process. The Ministry of Education and Science monitored the conduction of the testing, with the help of its two representatives - Mr Yosif Nunev and Ms Ofelia Krumova. The

survey into interethnic attitudes and into the attitudes toward integrated education among Roma and Bulgarians was conducted on location by BBSS Gallup International, directed by Mr Zhivko Georgiev. Mr Krassimir Kanev, Ms Desislava Simeonova and Mr Emil Cohen wrote the final report of the evaluation.

1. State Policy on the Desegregation of Roma Education in Bulgaria 2002-2005: Achievements and Weaknesses

When the government of the United Democratic Forces passed the Framework Program for the Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society on 22 April 1999², the desegregation of Roma education was postulated to be the objective of the policies of two consecutive governments. The Framework Program stipulated six types of measures to be undertaken in the sphere of education, all of which aim to overcome discrimination and its effects. These include: desegregation of Roma schools, doing away with the practice of sending normally developed Roma children to special schools for children with developmental disabilities, counteracting the manifestations of racism in the classroom, providing opportunities for the study of the Roma language at schools, preparing Roma pupils to continue their education at university, and the creating of literacy and vocational programs for adult Roma. The Framework Program provided for the creation of a long-term strategy for the complete elimination of Roma segregated schools and for active measures that will integrate Roma education into the education of Bulgarian children.

Unfortunately, the Framework Program has mostly remained a document for external use, one that did not display any sign of real desire for implementation and of any practical steps taken. The attitude and policies of all Bulgarian governments until 1999 to simply pass minority education documents without taking any practical steps towards their implementation continued well after 1999. After the parliamentary elections of the summer of 2001 a new government was formed in the coalition of the National Movement of Simeon II and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. That government continued, at least on paper, to maintain the policies on Roma education of the previous government. In 2002 the Ministry of Education and Science issued a Decree for the Integration of the Children and Pupils from the Minorities.³ In it the ministry set two strategic tasks concerning Roma education: preparation for the process of taking Roma children out of educational institutions in the Roma neighbourhoods and discontinuing the practice of sending normally developed Roma children to schools for children with developmental disabilities. On 25 June 2003 the MES set up Consultative Council on the Education of Children and Pupils from Ethnic Minorities.⁴ One of the tasks of the council was to create and implement an educational policy on the integration of the children from ethnic minorities in Bulgaria, and to suggest strategies and practical steps

² The Framework Program was officially published years after its passage. Only recently can it be seen on the website of the National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Demographic issues: <http://ncedi.government.bg>.

³ The Ministry of Education and Science, Organization and Management of the Activities at the Comprehensive, Professional, and Specialized Schools, Appendix 10, Sofia, 2002.

⁴ Ordinance by the Minister N D09-528/25.06.2003.

towards the desegregation of pre-school institutions and schools in Roma neighbourhoods. The official policy on Roma education of the MES was defined most explicitly in the Strategy for the Integration of the Education of the Children and Pupils of Ethnic Minorities, approved by the Minister of Education and Science on 11 June 2004.⁵ In it the “effective integration of Roma children and pupils through the desegregation of the kindergartens and schools in Roma neighbourhoods” was set as a priority goal whose implementation had to be launched immediately.

Along with the issuance of program documentation the government made two attempts to put the strategies for the desegregation of Roma education into practical action. The first attempt included the plan for the implementation of the Program for Equal Integration of Roma into Bulgarian Society for 2003-2004, which was hastily drawn on 25 September 2003, on the occasion of the forthcoming periodic report of the European Commission.⁶ The plan postulated that by January 2004 a list of the host schools outside Roma neighbourhoods had to be completed and a working model for admission into the integrated schools had to be drawn up. The model had to introduce criteria for merging Roma children with their Bulgarian peers. Another measure stipulated by the plan was the provision of transportation for Roma children to the host schools. Unrealistically enough, the deadline for this was January 2004. None of these measures was accomplished. The plan included other measures to do with Roma education, some of which were partly related, others - entirely unrelated, to the issue of desegregation. Most of those were unaccomplished, too.

The most extensive action plan for granting Roma children equal access to quality education was drawn shortly before the launch of the Decade of Roma Inclusion in February 2005 – the 2005-2015 National Action Plan.⁷ It stipulated the establishment of a special Centre for Education Integration for the Children and Pupils of Ethnic Minorities with the Ministry of Education and Science, and of a specialized fund for educational integration with a statute book. The fund had to have a statute-book and to dispose of 1 000 000 BGN [app. 500 000 Euro], allotted from the state budget. The plan provided for municipal programs and action plans, with a precise scheduling of the movement of the children out of the segregated Roma schools and of the subsequent “closure of the ethnically differentiated kindergartens and schools. Those two measures would take into account the need for transportation and the wishes of parents.” The actual financial support for these measures was not provided for in the plan. Both the implementation plan of the Framework Program and the National Plan of the Decade of Roma Inclusion integrated the government projects financed by the PHARE Program of the European Union into the set of measures stipulated by the plans for the

⁵ Available on: <http://minedu.government.bg>.

⁶ Available on: <http://www.ncedi.government.bg>.

⁷ Available on: <http://www.ncedi.government.bg>.

improvement of Roma education. Those measures include the aiding of Roma families with school supplies and the training of assistant teachers. Although these measures had to be taken simultaneously with the desegregation activities, some of them – such as the training of assistant teachers – started and was even completed long before the government's projects for the desegregation of Roma education were actually launched.

One of the measures that the government attempted to undertake to launch the desegregation process was the establishment of a specialized fund for the educational integration of the children and pupils from the ethnic minorities. The fund was to be governed by a Management Board, which consisted of state officials and representatives of non-government minority organizations. The fund was supposed to accumulate resources mainly from international donors, and partly from the state budget as a form of additional funding. The draft was completed in the autumn of 2004, but on 7 October 2004 it was rejected at first voting on the basis of a populist and outright racist argumentation put forward by a parliamentary majority composed of the left and right opposition and of some pro-government segments.

Finding itself in an unfavourable position, the government undertook to transform the draft for the establishment of the fund into a decree of the Council of Ministers. The latter was published on 19 January 2005. The decree established the Centre for Education Integration of the Children and Pupils from Ethnic Minorities within the Ministry of Education and Science. The centre had to generate financial projects, aimed at the equal access to quality education for these children. The centre was supposed to be chaired by a managing board and a director. The Board consisted of nine members, most of whom were officials from various state departments. Only three of the board members were representatives of non-profit legal entities. The centre had to pool resources from both international and local donors, as well as from the state budget, and had to spend them on projects for the joint education of children and pupils of different ethnic origin. Before being set into motion, the centre needed to draft a statute. In the spring of 2005 a specially created working group within the MES drew the centre's statute. Unfortunately, the latter was not yet approved by the Council of Ministers at the time of the composition of the present report. In the meantime, in August 2005 a new Bulgarian government was elected, together with an entirely new team of senior officials at the MES. Thus, for the time being, the outcome of the project remains entirely unknown.

As may well be seen, the major flaw of the approaches towards the desegregation of Roma education of the last two governments was the disparity between theory and practice. This is a general problem of Bulgarian politics. Yet the disparity between words and action is nowhere as conspicuous as in this particular field of the public life. Following all programs, strategies and plans drawn from 1999 till today, not one Roma child has been moved out of a ghetto school and enrolled at an integrated school as a result of the purposeful and

systematic activities and efforts of the state authorities. For all these years the desegregation of Roma education has exclusively been the province of non-governmental organizations.

The contradictory governmental policies in the field of educational desegregation drew the attention of the European Commission soon after the launch of the non-governmental desegregation projects. In the 2002 Regular Report on Bulgaria's Towards Accession, the Commission stated: "Efforts need to be made to combat segregation and encourage integration. Whilst some initiatives are underway through donors to address segregation, this is not yet in practice a Government policy."⁸ The evaluation that the Commission offered in the next regular report was contradictory to the previous one. The 2003 Regular Report mentions the publication of the September 2002 Regulations and the 2003 Action Plan for the implementation of the Framework Programs as practical steps in the right direction, but fails to register that actual measures were never taken, nor that no measures stipulated by previous documents had been taken either.⁹ The 2004 Regular Report was more uncomplimentary. It stated that as refers the desegregation of Roma education "there appears to be little commitment to devise a specific policy in this area over the short to long term."¹⁰ The 2005 Commission Monitoring Report mentioned the adoption of a long-term Action Plan within the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, but it also emphasized that the state should provide for its financial support and practical realization. The Commission's opinion was that the major necessary reforms to combat discrimination in education are far from complete. Its general conclusion was that "the strategic documents and programs on the educational integration of children from the Roma minority have not significantly changed the situation on the ground."¹¹ Yet, despite all the negative evaluation that the European Commission justly made of the governmental policies on Roma integration, and more specifically on the practical implementation of the desegregation of Roma education, the conclusions of the regular reports invariably stated that Bulgaria met the political criteria for European Union membership.

⁸ Regular Report on Bulgaria's Progress Towards Accession, 2002, p. 33. This and other regular reports are available at: http://www.eu.int/comm/enlargement/bulgaria/key_documents.htm.

⁹ Regular Report on Bulgaria's Progress Towards Accession, 2003, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰ Regular Report on Bulgaria's Progress Towards Accession, 2004, p. 26.

¹¹ 2005 Comprehensive Monitoring Report of the European Commission for Bulgaria, 2005, p. 15.

2. Evaluation Methodology

The BHC conducted the evaluation of the desegregation projects in the period of April – September 2005. The assessment team carried out several relatively differentiated activities, each one characterized by a different evaluation approach towards specific aspects of the educational desegregation as it is implemented through nongovernmental projects. The evaluation work done in one aspect of the field helped to bring information and insight into other aspects of the field.

2.1. Research of legislation. Use and generalization of the information accumulated to date by the BHC and by other organizations involved in evaluation of Roma education

BHC has been monitoring the legislation and the practices in the sphere of education of minorities since the mid 90s. However, the BHC team, which conducted the present evaluation, had to review anew the legislation and administrative acts from the last four years. BHC representatives took part in the drawing of the Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian society, in the advocacy initiatives for the latter's practical implementation, and in the preparation of several regulatory and other documentation to do with the desegregation of Roma education. Researchers from the organization took part in several international projects for monitoring the situation of the Roma population and for governmental policies on minorities. By means of its publications of the last several years BHC created a public forum where a wide range of views on the issues of Roma education and equal integration of Roma into Bulgarian society met and intersected.

Several aspects of Roma education have drawn the attention of BHC during the process of the evaluation of the system of children's institutions in Bulgaria. In the period 1996-2005 BHC published eight extensive publications about this system, in which Roma children were predominant. In 2004, a BHC researcher visited all unclosed so-called 'primary schools with extensive labour training' – which are currently segregated Roma schools - and prepared a report.

All the above-mentioned research and advocacy activities provided an extensive information pool, which contributed extensively to the current evaluation report. The BHC team also made research into the publications of other local organizations for Roma education and into several other related reports, published by international organizations.

2.2. Evaluation of the academic achievements in Bulgarian language and in mathematics of the students from the desegregation projects, conducted jointly with the Ministry of Education and Science

The evaluation of the academic achievements in Bulgarian language and in mathematics of the students from the desegregation projects was conducted in May 2005 jointly with the Ministry of Education and Science and the Regional Education Inspectorates. The purpose of the evaluation was to compare the academic achievements of the Roma children from the desegregation projects with those of the Roma children from segregated schools, as well as with the achievements of the Bulgarian children from integrated schools. The requirement for both the Roma children-participants in the desegregation projects and the Roma children from segregated schools was that they have had studied for four full years at integrated or respectively segregated schools, so that a thorough evaluation of the impacts of the two types of education could be achieved. The tests were carried out in the six cities where the desegregation projects had been operating: Vidin, Montana, Pleven, Sliven, Stara Zagora and Haskovo.¹²

2.2.1. Selection of the schools and classes for the test

The BHC jointly with the Ministry of Education and Science (MES) made the selection of the evaluated schools and classes. Local Roma schools in each of the six cities were selected together with a number of the host schools where the desegregation projects were operating. Advantage was given to those host schools that had a greater number of Roma children from the desegregation projects enrolled in them. Information about the pupils from the fourth grade was received from two sources – the reports of the principals of the evaluated schools¹³ and of the managers of the desegregation projects. In schools that had a greater number of classes in the fourth grade, the BHC/MES team arbitrarily selected classes where the fourth-graders accounted for more than 50% of the total number of the children in the IVth grade. Several of the preliminarily selected schools had to be taken off the test as the date of the tests coincided with the date of extra-curricular activities, such as “green school”. The

¹² A desegregation project has been operating in Sofia since 2002, and in 2005 a similar project was launched in Plovdiv. However, as the evaluation included only those pupils who had studied in integrated classes for four consecutive years, the Sofia and Plovdiv projects were excluded from the evaluation.

¹³ The reference on all the pupils from the 4th grade classes from the host and segregated schools in the cities where desegregation projects were operating, was prepared by the principles of the respective schools, with the cooperation of the MES, and was submitted to the BHC.

evaluation ultimately included a total of 26 schools, 18 host schools and 8 neighbourhood (segregated) schools, and a total of over 1100 children in the fourth grade.

Table 1 presents the generalised information on the number of pupils who took part in the two tests.

Table 1
Number of pupils who took part in the two tests

	Bulgarian Language	Mathematics
Total number of evaluated four-graders	1157	1172
Number of evaluated Roma four-graders – participants in the desegregation projects for four successive years	92	90
Number of evaluated Roma four-graders in segregated schools	196	198

More detailed information on the number of pupils that were tested given by the different schools and cities can be seen in Appendix 4.

3.2.2. Methodology of the evaluation of academic achievements

The evaluation of academic performance was conducted on two successive days through two tests: the test in Bulgarian language took place on 12 May and the test in mathematics on 13 May. Two differentiated groups were tested:

- The first group consisted of Roma and Bulgarian fourth-grades who had studied for four full years in integrated classes of host schools.
- The second group consisted of Roma fourth-graders who had studied for four full years in neighbourhood (segregated) schools where children of Roma origin predominate.

The tests were conducted at one and the same time at the time of the regular school lessons. The tests included all the pupils from the selected evaluated classes. This made it possible to include children that do not participate in the desegregation projects - that is, children of a non-Roma origin - in the tests in the host schools. This in turn enabled the team to draw a comparison between the academic performance of those children and the performance of their Roma peers from the two types of schools.

The process of testing was organized by commissions appointed by the directors of the regional educational inspectorates in each city. Regional inspectorates provided monitors for the two days of evaluation to guarantee the independent work on the test assignments. The monitors were RIE experts or teachers from schools that were not part of the evaluation program. On its part, the BHC also appointed observers in the classes that were tested.

These were BHC staff, as well as local pedagogues, journalists, and representatives of non-governmental organizations.

The tests were copied and given to the directors of the regional education inspectorates (REI) in sealed envelopes on the day before the evaluation. One hour before the beginning of the evaluation a representative of the REI opened the envelopes in the presence of the principle of the school, the primary teachers of the respective classes, the monitors and the BHC observers.

2.2.3. Contents of the tests in Bulgarian language and mathematics

The tests in Bulgarian language and in mathematics were provided by the Ministry of Education and Science. MES placed an order with the Faculty of Mathematics and Computer Science at the University of Sofia for a mathematics test to be drafted by Assoc. Prof. Nikolina Georgieva and Assistant Prof. Kiril Bankov, both scientists in the field of testology. The test in Bulgarian language was also drawn after Ass. Prof. Kiril Bankov's methodology. Both tests were first tried out in Sofia, and then all over the country in 1998. Mr Georgi Simitchiiski, a representative of an evaluation department of the MES, managed the teams that created the testing materials.

The test in Bulgarian language consisted of five sections: dictation and text composition, spelling assignment (filling in the missing letters), linguistic assignment (identification of the part of speech, of the gender and number of nouns and adjectives, and of the number and tense of verbs), and text editing (avoidance of repetition in the text of the dictation.)

The test in mathematics included four problems, each containing four sub-items: filling in with signs of greater than/smaller than/equal to between two six-digit numbers; addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and a combination of these; an arithmetic problem with one condition, (finding the price of one ton of rice and of one ton of sugar with some perimeters given); and a geometric problem with one condition (finding the parameter and surface of a rectangular with some perimeters given).

2.3. Accumulation of information about the structure, the manner of work and the local support for the projects

From April to the end of September the BHC team on several occasions visited the cities where the non-governmental desegregation projects were operating. At their visits, which took place at the time of and after the conduction of the tests in Bulgarian language and mathematics, the team accumulated information about the structure, manner of work and the local support for the projects in the following ways:

- Accumulation of all the documentation related to the projects (evaluation reports, project descriptions, donor reports, current reports of project staff members, reports of the REI, academic publications, informational brochures, media publications about the projects, etc.).
- Interviews with projects managers and with members of the project staff.
- Interviews with representatives of REI and of municipal educational departments.
- Interviews with the parents of Roma children enrolled in the projects.
- Interviews with Roma children enrolled in the projects.
- Interviews with the parents of Roma children not enrolled in the project.
- Interviews with principals and teachers at the host schools.
- Interviews with principals and teachers at the segregated schools.
- Interviews with the parents of Bulgarian children in the host schools.
- Interviews with NGOs working in the field of Roma education.
- Interviews with Roma activists working in the state and municipal administrations.
- Interviews with other experts.

The interviews and the reviews of related documentation were a major means to draw a comparison between the actual characteristics of the projects and the preliminary indicators for their evaluation. These indicators were compiled to create a survey questionnaire, which served as a point of reference for the documentation research and for the interviewing process. To a large extent the questionnaire coincided with the questionnaire on the preliminary evaluation of desegregation projects of 2002 (see Appendix 2.) Several additional questions in the questionnaire enabled us to further see into the tests' results and into factors other than integrated education that influenced the academic performance of Roma children.

2.4 On-site research of interethnic attitudes and the attitudes of Roma and Bulgarians towards desegregation

An additional sociological survey entitled "Interethnic Attitudes, Social Distances and Value Orientations" was carried out within the project for the evaluation of desegregation projects in Bulgaria. The survey included a national representative sample of Bulgarian citizens aged between 18 and 70. In May 2005, 1112 ethnic Bulgarians and 1104 Roma were interviewed. The tools used for the survey were created by the following team: Dr. Krassimir Kanev

(survey manager), Assistant Prof. Zhivko Georgiev, and Emil Cohen. In order to maintain the diachronic comparability of the survey instruments, together with the indicators especially constructed to the objectives of the present evaluation, usage was also made of indicators derived from previous works of Dr. Kanev.¹⁴ The on-site research was carried out by BBSS Gallup International in the second half of May in 180 settlements round the country. The research is representative of the ethnic communities of Bulgarians and Roma on the territory of Bulgaria. Appendix 3 lists the major social-demographic characteristics of the Bulgarians and Roma that were surveyed.

The most general purpose of the survey was to outline the social background against which the desegregation projects were operating. This is why the survey had to see into interethnic attitudes, interethnic differences of values and of political orientation, interethnic differences of religiosity. Different segments of the questionnaire consisted of different indicators that carried information about: pre-election political attitudes, frequency and quality of communication with various media, religiosity, attitudes towards religious freedom, opinions about qualities of other ethnic groups (the characteristics that ethnic groups ascribe to one another), propensity for establishing contacts with representatives of other ethnic groups, attitudes towards the mixed education of Bulgarian and Roma children and towards desegregation as a whole, attitudes towards the rights of habitually discriminated groups such as groups of different alternative sexual orientation and of people with mental disorders. The final part of the survey made use of the “F-scale” approach of the popular survey of Adorno and collaborators entitled “The Authoritarian Personality,”¹⁵ which aimed at making comparative analyses.

When interethnic attitudes are being investigated, respondents are usually expected to voice their opinions about other ethnic groups. Sets of questions are being asked whose answers are indicative of what qualities one ethnic group ascribes to another, i.e. what reputation one group has with another. Apart from just passive mindsets seen in expressed opinions, people also have mindsets accounting for their actions. Under the relevant conditions, those mindsets turn out to be the motives behind possible behavioural acts. We might say that these mindsets namely are the most reliable indication of our actual thoughts. When we ask one group about its opinions about another, we might be given misleading answers, which is due to the existent hidden public censorship over derogative comments directed at other ethnic groups.¹⁶ This is why apart from ascribing qualities to various groups, respondents

¹⁴ Krassimir Kanev, “Changing attitudes towards the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria and the Balkans, 1992-1997”. Sfikas, Thanasis D. and Christopher Williams (eds.), *Ethnicity and Nationalism in East Central Europe and the Balkans*, Aldershot etc.: Ashgate, 1999. The results from previous research into interethnic attitudes in Bulgaria were drawn from the latter publication.

¹⁵ Cf. Adorno TW et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York, London, Norton, 1982, Ch. V, pp 151-208.

¹⁶ From the point of view of the respondents, the opinions that they expresses are often seen as public, despite the guaranteed anonymity. There are two reasons for this. First, the interviewer represents an institution, which provides information for the public (although the institution on whose behalf the

were asked to specify possible actions that they would undertake. The core of these questions consisted of what basic social relations the respondent would establish with representatives of other ethnic groups, ranging from most personal relations to the basic co-existence with other ethnic groups within the borders of one and the same country. The apparent assumption here is that the less liked a person of another ethnic origin is, the smaller the will of others to establish personal relations with him. The inclusion of questions that indicated propensity for possible basic social relations between groups was a major methodological feature of the conducted survey.

In order to draw a comparison between the opinions, stereotypes and attitudes of the majority and respectively of the Roma minorities, the contents of the questionnaire were essentially the same for both groups. Differences were present only in the segment on attitudes towards integrated education.

respondent was interviewed might be private). Second, the interviewer is supposed to be an unfamiliar to the respondent person and one who does not belong to respondent's close and intimate circles.

3. Generalized test results

3.1. Methodology for checking and grading the written tests in Bulgarian language and mathematics

On the two days of testing - 12 and 13 May 2005, a total of 1157 children took the Bulgarian test and 1172 children took the mathematics test. After the work on the tests was completed, the written tests were collected by the monitors and submitted to the Director of the REI. Commissions appointed by the REI checked and graded the tests in accordance with the evaluation criteria and methodology prepared by the REI in advance. The total scores of the written assignments was calculated. The total number of score was then adjusted to the six-score grading scale. The grade of each child was then registered in a special protocol of the test results in Bulgarian and in mathematics.

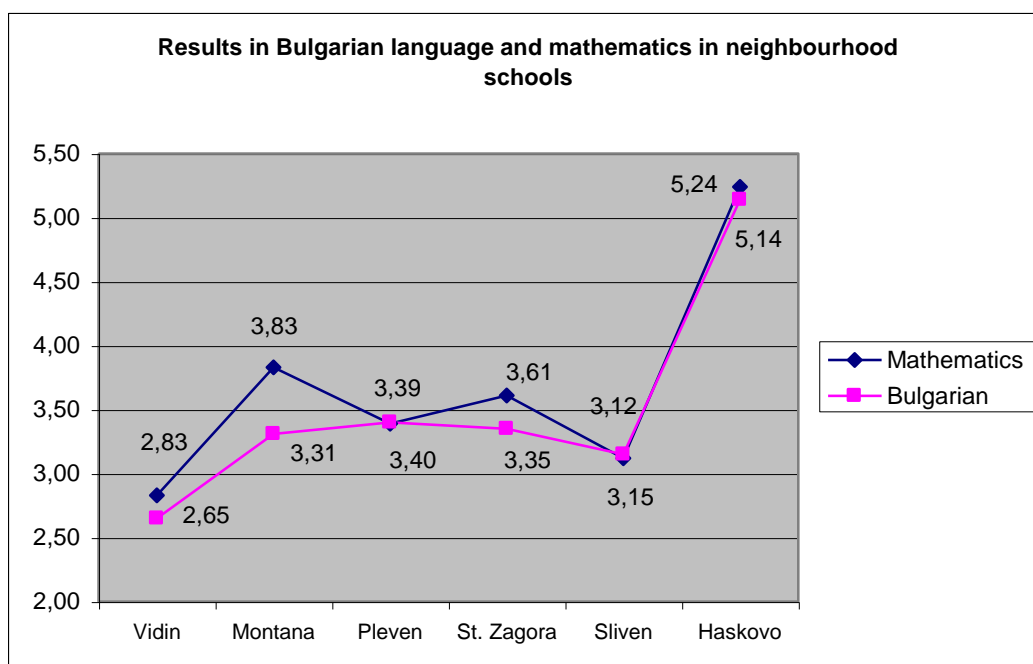
3.2. Reasons for the exclusion of the results of the segregated school in Haskovo from the final analysis of the results

In accordance with the MES instructions on the evaluation process, the protocols of the grades, together with the written assignments, were sent to MES directly after the evaluators had completed their grading and analyzing work. In the beginning of June 2005 the results from all the six cities had already arrived in MES. In the protocols with the results of the two exams, the “Nikola Vaptsarov” segregated school in the city of Haskovo stood out with an average result much higher than the average for the results from the rest of the segregated schools in Bulgaria (see chart 1 below). The average result of the rest of the host schools in Haskovo fell within the average norm for the country, whereas the average result of the pupils from class 4B in the segregated school was exceptional – 6.00 (the absolute highest possible result). Out of the whole country, this was the only class, including the classes from the host schools, which had achieved such results in either of the two subjects. The average result in Bulgarian language was also very high – 5.45. And this, in spite of the fact that the number of Roma children absentees was quite high – six children were absent from both tests.

Despite the MES instruction that gave access to the BHC observers to the classrooms, the two BHC observers in Haskovo were not allowed to monitor the whole process of testing. They were asked to leave the classroom at the 10th minute after the tests had started under the pretext that their presence was “making the children anxious.” A little later the REI monitor also left the classroom. As independent monitors were not present at the evaluation process in Haskovo, the BHC is not able to verify the correct organisation of the testing.

During its visit to Haskovo, the BHC assessment team interviewed one of the children from class 4A from the segregated school that had taken part in the test. The child had so scarce command of Bulgarian that the team needed an interpreter from Turkish to have a conversation with him. Yet, that particular child had achieved an excellent grade at the Bulgarian test – 6.00. The child informed us that the teacher and the children had previously agreed upon a system of hinting, and that the children were asked to change their usual seats in the classroom so that the children who were academically stronger could sit next to the academically weaker children.¹⁷

Chart 1



When asked to comment on the high results in the school, the principle of the “Nikola Vaptsarov” school stated that the pupils from the two tested classes had undergone a very intensive training before the May testing. The principal claimed that the teachers had prepared the pupils extensively after being informed about the imminent tests – a short period of only three weeks!

The results from the Roma school in Haskovo were ruled out as true by several local pedagogues, with whom the assessment team met in Haskovo. Those local pedagogues were Ms Danka Ilieva, principal of “Hristo Botev” primary school, and Ms Hristina Boeva, senior expert from the REI.

¹⁷ An interview with M.M, a student from class 4A in “Nikola Vaptsarov” Primary School, Haskovo, 22 June 2005.

For these reasons, the BHC regarded the results from the segregated school in Haskovo as unreliable and excluded them from the interpretation of the data. The evaluating team was not able to find out the real reasons behind these results and therefore asked the MES and the REI in Haskovo to conduct an investigation to clarify the circumstances around the evaluating process in this city. The results from the host schools in the city were also excluded from the interpretation so that the unity of the methodology could be maintained. This explains why the figures in the present chapter include only the Vidin, Montana, Pleven, Sliven and Stara Zagora schools. The section devoted to the project in Haskovo contains only an analysis of the results from the host schools.

3.3. Generalized results of the evaluation

3.3.1. General evaluation of the organization and the attendance rate

Out of the 1074 fourth-graders that took the Bulgarian test, 92 were Roma pupils that had studied in integrated classes for four consecutive years. The number of Roma pupils that had studied in segregated schools for four consecutive years was 196. Out of the 1088 pupils that sat the mathematics test, 90 pupils were Roma from integrated schools, and 198 were Roma from segregated schools. Apart from Haskovo, the tests in all other cities were well-organised. The BHC observers had certain remarks but they were not of a nature to question the verity of the achieved results.

The presence of all the pupils from the two evaluated groups was extremely important to the purpose of determining their academic performance. At the beginning of the plans for the evaluation, the project managers had voiced fears that the poorest students from the classes were not going to appear at school on the days of the tests.¹⁸ This is why the people who conducted the tests had to check and register very carefully the total number of pupils to each class, the number of the pupils actually present at the test, the number of pupils absent from the test, and the reasons for their absence.

The low attendance rate had to be taken into consideration at the final calculation of the results from the two tests. At some of the segregated schools there were striking differences

¹⁸ Several participants expressed such fears at the meeting organized by the MES and BHC on 21 April 2005. The meeting had to introduce the planned evaluation to the REI Directors, the schools' principals, and the desegregation project managers.

between the registered number of children in the classes and the number of children actually present at the tests. In some classes, which registered 20 children, only 7-10 children came to take the tests. There were absentees in the host schools as well but generally the absence rates in the segregated schools were higher than the absence rates in the host schools. Only one of the host schools in Stara Zagora registered a significant number of absent Roma children.

The two commonest reasons for absence that were filed in were “unknown reasons” and “health reasons.” Other common reasons were “moved school”, “dropped out” or “gone abroad.” But in the majority of cases this information was not backed with the date and number of the protocol for change of school. Therefore none of those cases could be verified. There were also reasons such as “truant”, “parents do not allow going to school”, “family reasons”, “gone for wood”, “no shoes/clothes”, “married.”

This is why the evaluating team found itself in a difficult situation how to evaluate the significant number of children absent from the tests, especially when it was impossible to verify whether the children were absent for good enough reasons. Therefore on every occasion of an absence, with the exception of the pupils registered in the protocols for change of schools, a technical poor mark was put down. This approach was applied both to the segregated and integrated classes and for Roma and Bulgarian children alike. Thus, the tables below display two categories of results – an average from the results of all the children who took the test, and an average calculated after the technical poor marks were included.

3.3.2. Average results of Roma children in segregated schools and integrated classes

Table 2 below presents the generalised average results in Bulgarian language and mathematics of Bulgarian and Roma children from both segregated schools and integrated classes.

Table 2
Average results in Bulgarian language and mathematics of Bulgarian and Roma children from neighbourhood schools and integrated classes

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children from neighbourhood schools	3.36	2.99	3.22	2.87
Girls:	3.39	-	3.37	-
Boys:	3.32	-	3.03	-
Roma children from integrated classes	3.72	3.44	3.85	3.57

Girls:	3.84	-	4.13	-
Boys:	3.61	-	3.57	-
Difference between the results of children from the neighbourhood schools and integrated classes:	+ 0.36	+ 0.45	+ 0.63	+ 0.70

As the table shows, the Roma children from integrated classes have generally achieved higher results than their peers from segregated schools. The pupils from segregated schools did better at the test in mathematics than at the test in Bulgarian language. The difference between the results in Bulgarian language in segregated and integrated schools respectively is greatest after the inclusion of technical poor marks – that difference is a 0.70. Conversely, the Roma children-participants in the programs displayed higher results in the Bulgarian tests in all the surveyed cities but Sliven. The average results in both the Bulgarian and the mathematics tests were higher in integrated classes than in segregated schools, even after inclusion of technical poor marks. The greater difference in favour of integrated pupils is due to the greater number of absentees in segregated schools.

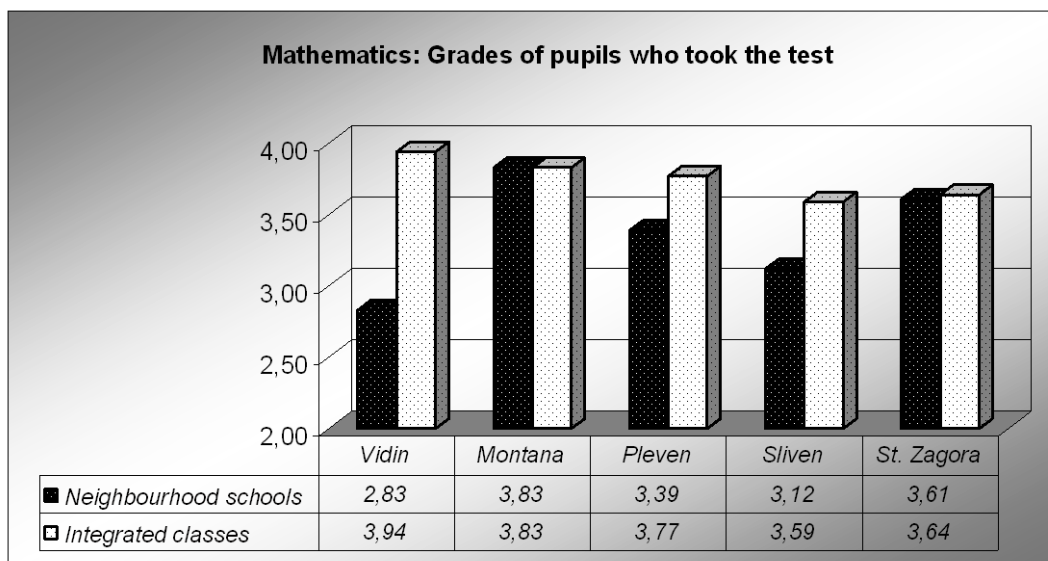
The percentage of poor marks among attendees reveals a worrying picture: 24% of the pupils from segregated schools were given poor marks in mathematics and 36% were given poor marks in Bulgarian language. The correspondent figures for the host schools are 6% for mathematics and 20% for Bulgarian language. The situation in Vidin is exceptionally worrying as every second child from the segregated school was given a poor mark in mathematics, which amounts to 12 out of a total of 23 children.

3.3.3. Average results of the Roma children from segregated schools and integrated classes in different cities

3.3.3.1. Tests in mathematics

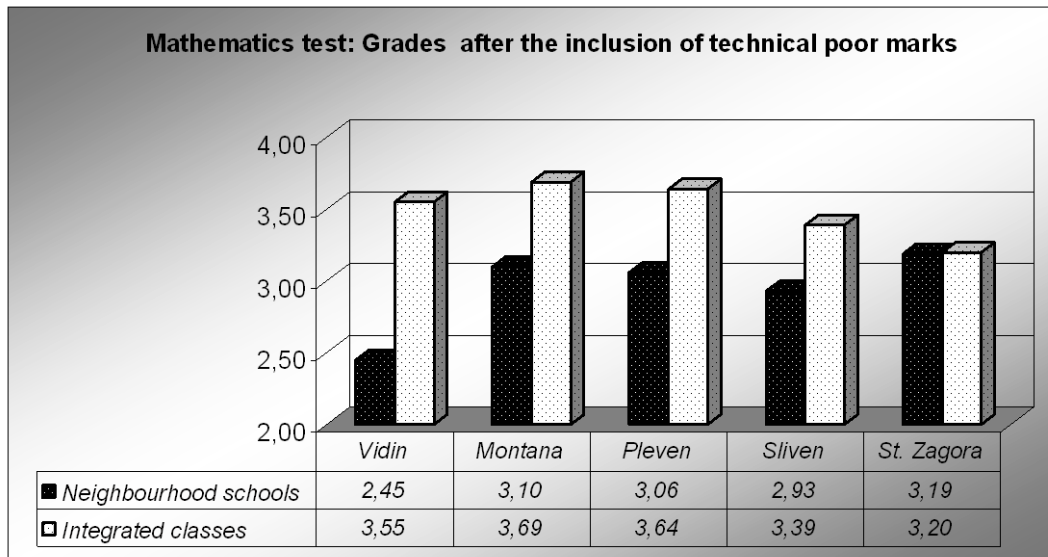
Chart 2 below presents the results at the tests in mathematics of children-attendees in different cities.

Chart 2



As the chart reveals, in all cities with the exception of Montana, where results are even, the children-participants in the projects performed better at the test in mathematics than their Roma peers from segregated schools. The difference between the results is greatest in Vidin – 1.11. The chart below is slightly changed after the inclusion of technical poor marks.

Chart 3

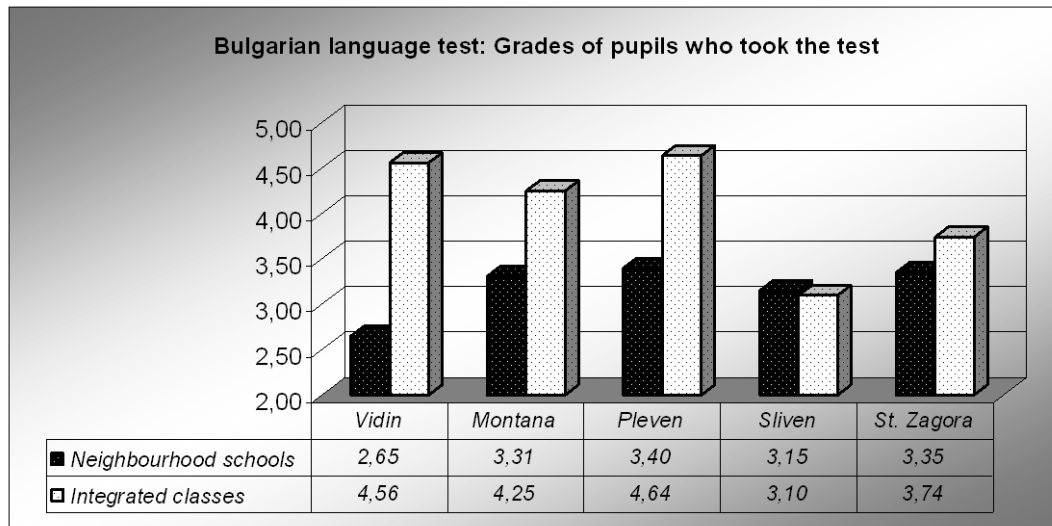


In this case the children from integrated classes in Vidin retain their advantage before the segregated school in the city. In Montana, the difference between the segregated and host schools goes up by more than half a grade in favour of the host schools. In Pleven, there is also a significant rise in the difference in favour of the integrated classes. The rest of the cities retain more or less the same difference of results.

3.3.3.2. Tests in Bulgarian language

Chart 4 below presents the results of the tests in Bulgarian language of children attendees in different cities.

Chart 4



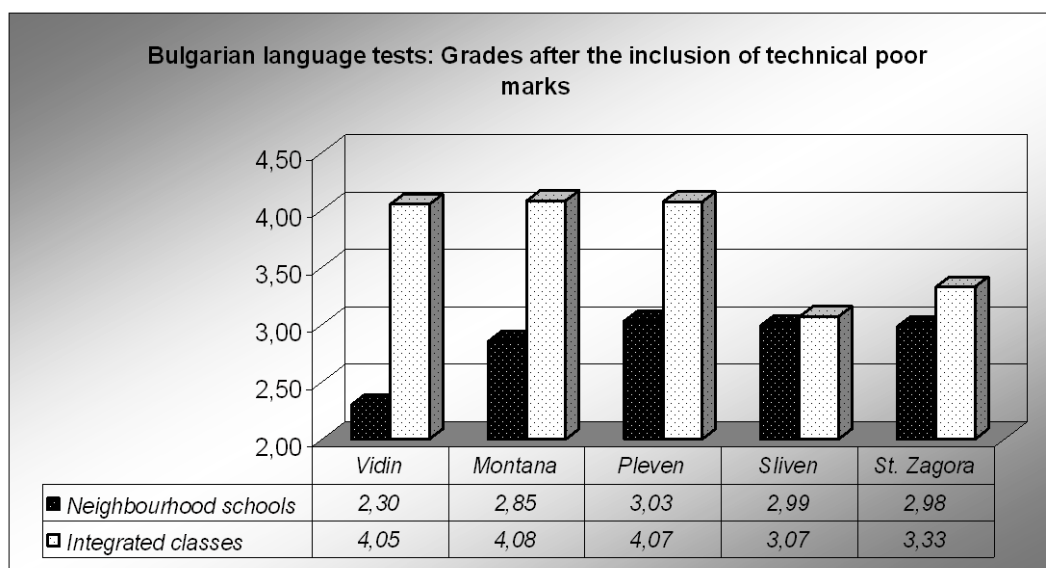
The performance of the Roma children from segregated schools at the tests in Bulgarian language is worse than at the mathematics test. The average result in Bulgarian language is 3.22 compared to 3.36 in mathematics (these are results of attendees only.) At the same time, the children-participants in the desegregation projects display better performance at the tests in Bulgarian language than at the tests in mathematics, that is 3.85 in Bulgarian language compared to 3.72 in mathematics. This is why the general difference between the two surveyed groups increases at the tests in Bulgarian language. The difference between the results of the children from the segregated school in Vidin and the children-participants in the project amounts to almost two whole grades – the average result in the segregated school is 2.65 compared to 4.56 of host schools. There is also a great difference in the results between the two surveyed groups in Montana and Pleven - around and over one whole grade unit in favour of the children-participants in the projects. Sliven is the only place where the pupils from the segregated school displayed higher results than their peers from the host school, by an insignificant 0.05 points. This is due to a set of factors, the major one of which is the dire poverty of the Roma families that take part in the project in this city.¹⁹

When the results are calculated after the inclusion of technical poor marks (see chart 5 below), the differences between the two groups of pupils in the cities, where those differences are the greatest, are retained at the same level (1-1.75 of a unit in favour of the host schools).

¹⁹ See below, 5.4. Sliven.

In Sliven, where the segregated school displayed insignificantly higher results of the pupils-attendees, when technical poor marks are included the host schools display higher results.

Chart 5



The figures above reveal that the difference between the results of Roma children from the segregated and host schools in Vidin is exceptionally large – it amounts to 1.11 grading units in mathematics and to 1.91 in Bulgarian language (results of attendees only.) The evaluation in Vidin was conducted at the St. Sofronii Vrachanski neighbourhood school, where there are three classes in the fourth grade. During the selection of classes, classes 4B and 4C were arbitrarily selected – these two classes included around 60% of all fourth-graders at this school. However, the school management considered this selection to be “unjust” insofar as the pupils from class 4A were reported to be academically the best of the three classes. Therefore, in order to exit level of the pupils from class 4A for internal use, test assignments were also given to them. Those assignments were not included in the analysis of outside evaluators and were not taken into consideration in the final interpretation of the evaluation. The school management then submitted a number of the written assignments of those children to the researchers from BHC. Without expressly aiming at evaluating those assignments, the BHC most generally concluded that those assignments contained a lot of uncompleted tasks, although the papers were generally better than some of the papers of other participants in the evaluation.

3.3.4. Comparison between the average results of the Roma children-participants in the programs and of the Bulgarian children from integrated classes in different cities

Table 3 provides a comparison between the results of the children-participants in projects with those of their Bulgarian classmates.

Table 3
Average results at the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language
of the Roma children from the integrated classes and of Bulgarian children

	Average results In mathematics		Average results In Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children from integrated classes	3.72	3.44	3.85	3.57
Bulgarian children from integrated classes	4.92	4.65	5.56	5.23
Difference:	+ 1.20	+ 1.21	+ 1.71	+ 1.66

The table shows that Bulgarian children in integrated schools performed generally better than their Roma classmates at both the tests. The test in Bulgarian language displayed a greater difference between the grades of the two groups than the test in mathematics did.²⁰ This fact came as no surprise to the evaluating team, as there was a range of specifically educational and social factors that could easily account for such results. Those factors are analysed further below.²¹

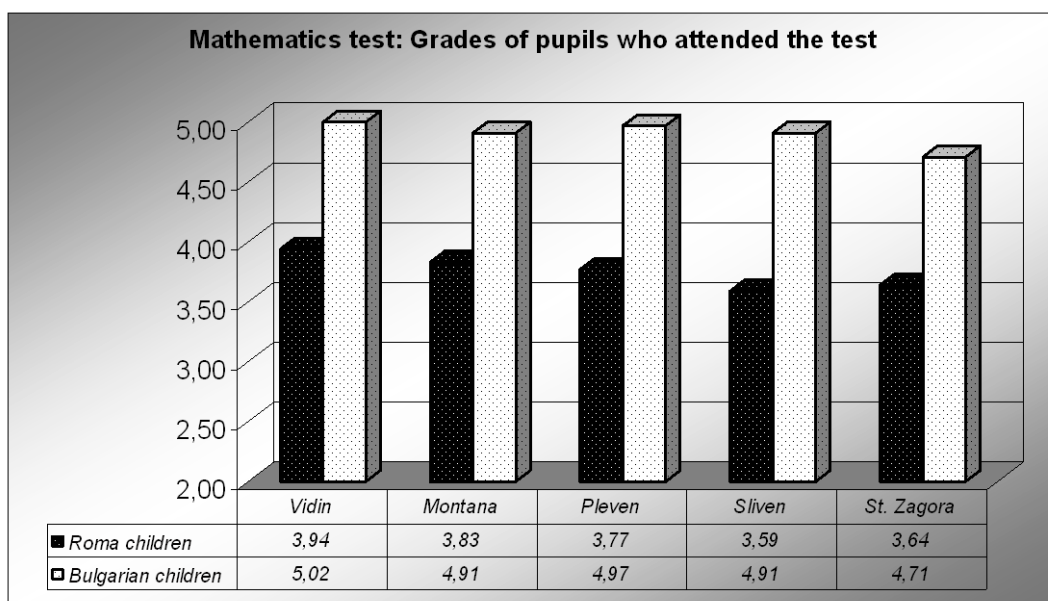
3.3.4.1. Tests in mathematics

Chart 6 draws a comparison between the results at the tests of mathematics of the Roma children from integrated schools and of their Bulgarian classmates.

Chart 6

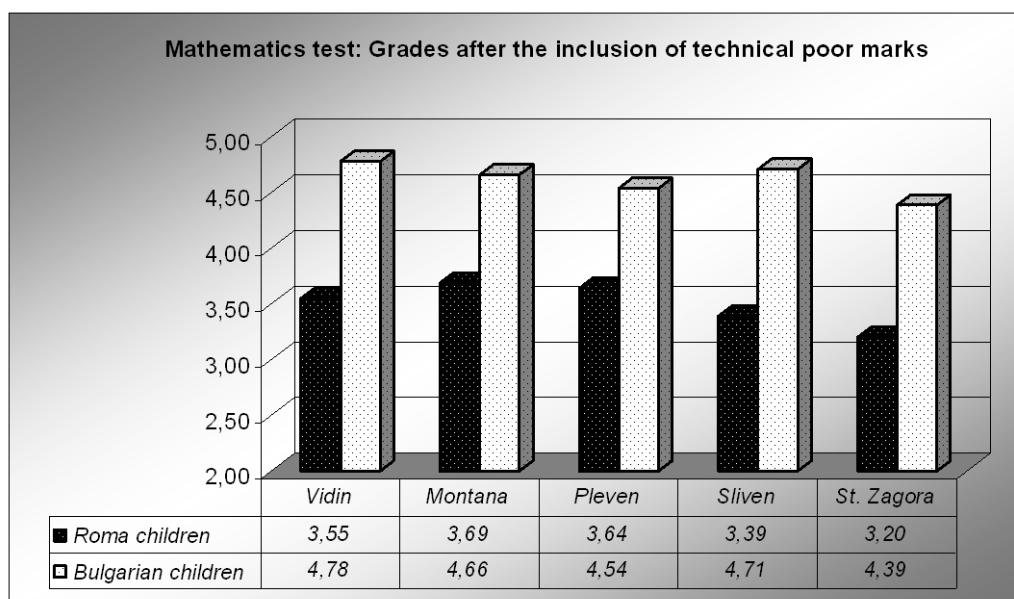
²⁰ If we compare the difference between the grades from the Bulgarian language test of the Roma pupils from the neighbourhood schools who took the test and the Bulgarian children from the host schools, the difference is even larger – 2.34 grade point units.

²¹ See below, Chapter 6 – Desegregation and the Objectives of Integrated Education.



As the chart shows, the pupils from both groups in Stara Zagora display relatively lower achievements. This also holds true after the inclusion of technical poor marks (see Chart 7 below). In all the cities the difference between the results of the children from both groups amounts to over one grading unit, reaching 1.32 in Sliven.

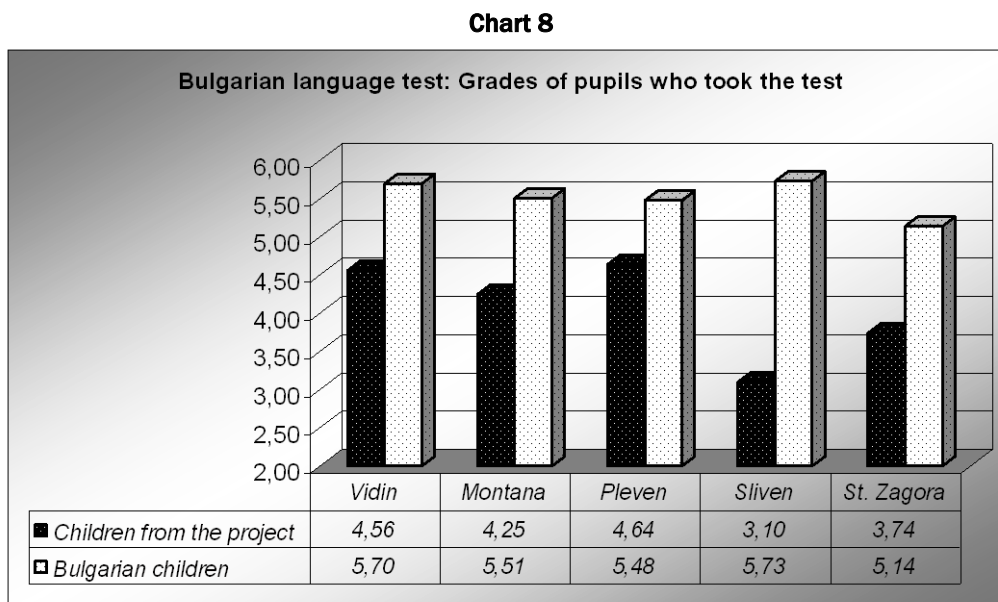
Chart 7



As a whole, after the inclusion of technical poor marks, the differences in the achievement rates of Roma and Bulgarian pupils remain almost the same. Once again, the greatest difference can be seen in the schools in Sliven (1.32). In Montana and Pleven this difference amounts to less than one grading unit while in Vidin and Stara Zagora it reaches 1.19-1.23.

3.3.4.2. Tests in Bulgarian language

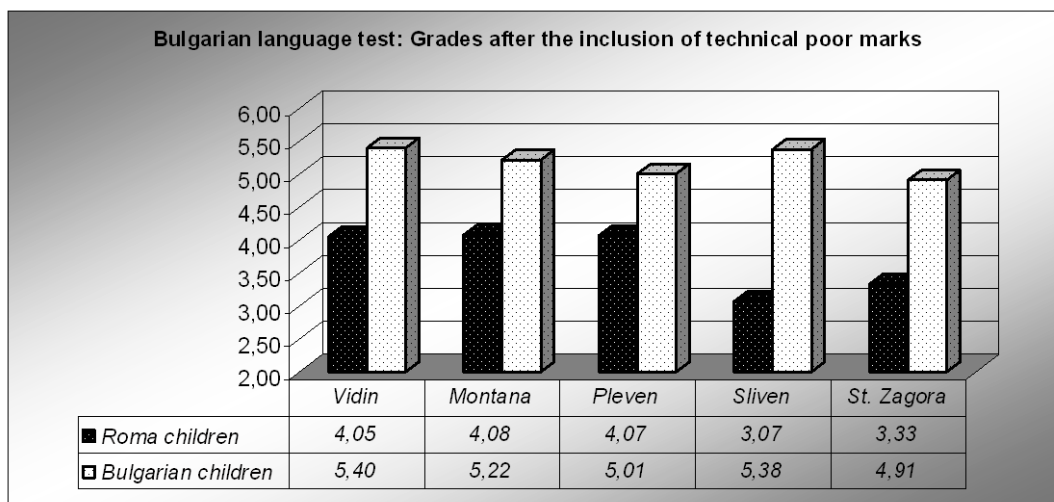
Chart 8 below draws a comparison between the results at the tests in Bulgarian language of the Roma children from integrated schools and of their Bulgarian classmates in different cities.



The tests in Bulgarian language displayed sharper differences between the achievements of the two groups of children. Difference rates are also more varied in different cities. Due to the lowest performance rate of the Roma children-participants in the Pleven projects and to the relatively low performance rate of the Bulgarian children, the difference rate is the lowest there – 0.84. In Vidin, Montana, and Stara Zagora the difference amounts to 1.11 – 1.40, and in Sliven it reaches 2.63. Such a high difference rate has also been caused by the highest performance of Bulgarian pupils at this test.

Chart 9 below draws a comparison between the results at the tests of Bulgarian language of Roma children from integrated schools and of their Bulgarian classmates after the inclusion of technical poor marks.

Chart 9



The differences between the results of the Bulgarian and the Roma children from integrated classes tangibly go up at the tests in Bulgarian language after the inclusion of technical poor marks. After the recalculation of results, with technical poor marks included, the greatest difference can still be seen in Sliven but it is now smaller by 0.32 to reach 2.31. The changes in the recalculated results in other cities are insignificant.

3.4. Comparison between the results of the Roma children from integrated classes in different cities

Charts 10 and 11 show the results of Roma children from integrated classes in the different cities.

Chart 10

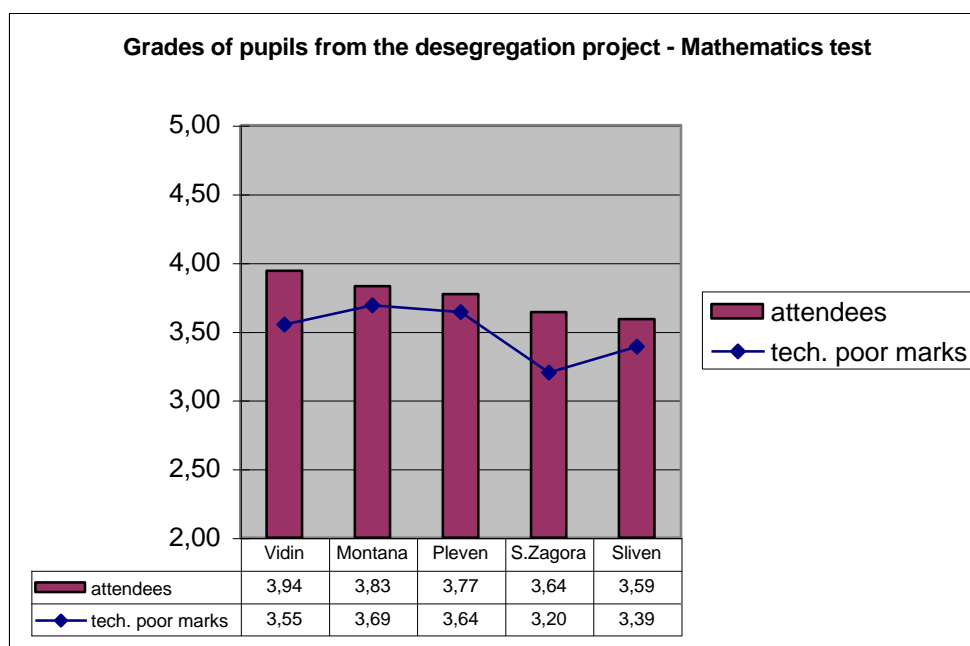
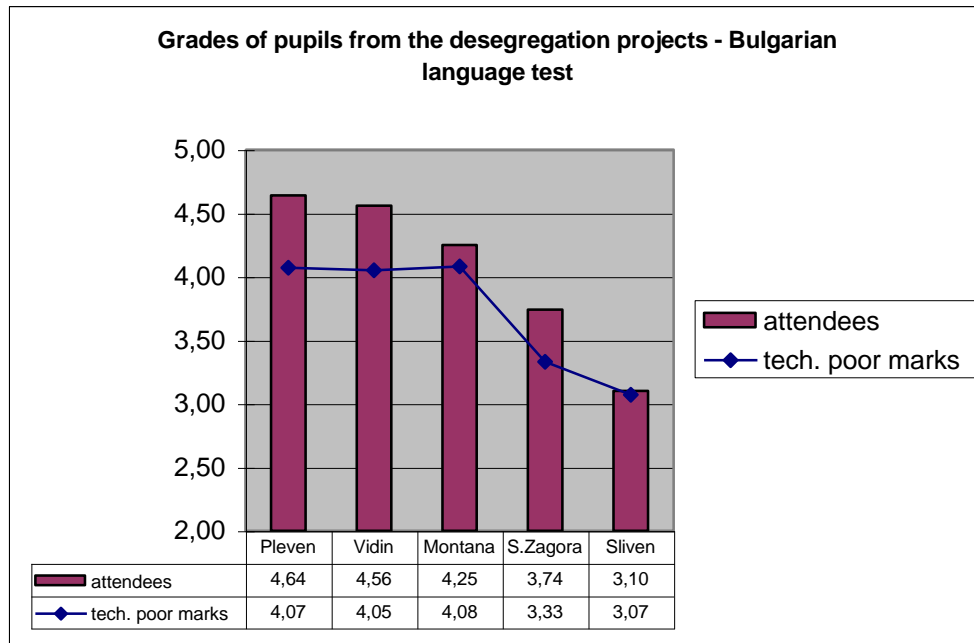


Chart 11



These results reveal a gradation tendency in which the children-participants in the desegregation projects in Vidin, Pleven and Montana stand out with higher achievement rates than those in the other two cities, especially in Sliven, whose rates are the lowest at both the tests. Such results have to be interpreted against a background of a number of other additional factors, which are: the social status of children and their families, the quality of the education in the integrated schools under surveillance, the existent local interethnic relations and more specifically, the interethnic relations in the field of education, and the level of administration and operation of the projects. All these factors will be discussed below.

3.5. Conclusion

To conclude, the Roma pupils from integrated classes who have taken part in the desegregation projects for four consecutive years – in every single city without exception - have achieved higher results than the children from segregated schools. The most considerable difference is seen in the results of the test in Bulgarian language – 0.70 points.²² The gap between the academic achievements of Roma children from the segregated schools and of their Bulgarian peers is melting away with the better achievements of the Roma children from the desegregation projects. However, there is also a visible difference between the results of Bulgarian and Roma children in integrated schools. The factors influencing the

²² After the inclusion of technical poor marks.

academic performance of children are thoroughly discussed in the chapters devoted to the analysis of the projects in the separate cities and are respectively generalised further down.

The results at the test of Bulgarian language in Sliven reject the common assumption that the weaker pupils in a class contribute to an overall weaker performance of the whole class. The Roma children from the integrated classes in Sliven performed the worst at the tests but this did not prevent their Bulgarian peers from performing the best of all other schools.

4. Results from the survey of interethnic attitudes and attitudes towards desegregation

4.1. The problematic situation

Bulgaria is usually claimed to be a model of ethnic tolerance. The notion of the so called "Bulgarian ethnic model" is widespread. Bulgaria is put forward as a positive example for the other Balkan nations. However, over the last year there has been a visible increase in the open expression of negative attitudes towards the minorities, especially towards the Roma minority. There have been multiple signs of this tendency, varying from the way in which clashes between Bulgarians and Roma are covered in the media, to the unheard of hostility and aggression seen in the large number of Internet forums, which discuss the minorities and mainly Roma.

At the June 2005 parliamentary elections the "Ataka" [Attack] xenophobic coalition won seats in parliament. In under two months this new-established group achieved a political success unheard of before, one that the "traditional" fifteen-year right-wing parties could only dream of. As is well-known, the chauvinistic slogans of the type "Let's give Bulgaria back to the Bulgarians!", "Let's stop the Gypsification of our nation!", "Let's stop the Gypsy terror!" were the major propaganda weapons of Ataka. The two major suggestions of the chauvinistic circles were that the minorities are inferior people and that those, together with the mercenary political elite of Bulgaria, are the chief culprits for all Bulgaria's misfortunes. Apparently these allegations were well-received by the audience and as such, they won about one tenth of the electorate.

Thus an apparent problem showed up, a problem that lied in the contradiction between the officially accepted concept of somewhat perfect interethnic relations and the naked-eye apparent worsening of these relations in the public life. The conducted survey sought to see whether there are internal, mental, and uncaused by circumstance, preconditions for this worsening.

The political success of the extremely nationalistic Ataka coalition at the elections was an indisputable evidence that all the allegations for the existence of an exceptionally high rate of ethnic tolerance, otherwise untypical for the rest of the Balkans, were nothing but a political myth. The only grain of truth in similar allegations was the fact that despite the so-called "revival process", ethnic groups never shot at each other here, nor did the tension between the majority and the minorities reach the level of destruction it reached in the former Yugoslavia.

4.2. Major conclusions

The survey found out the following:

- Ethnic Bulgarians most commonly share racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic prejudices and stereotypes;
- Prejudices and social distances of Bulgarians about and towards Roma are maintained at a steady high level over time.
- One fifth of our society is incited against Roma and Turks to the extent of denying their right to live in the same country together with “pure Bulgarians.” To the contrary, the Roma minority is much more tolerant towards both the Bulgarian majority, and the Jews and the Turks.
- The feeling of being discriminated by the Bulgarian majority is exceedingly intense among the Roma minority.
- Negative attitudes towards the minorities and mainly towards Roma and Turks are relatively evenly distributed across age, class and education groups.
- Authoritarian sentiments and the wish for an “iron-hand” national government are widespread. To the “average ethnic Bulgarian” (if we are allowed to use this approximating phrase) democracy, human rights and respect for those who are different, still remain nothing more than empty slogans and clichés for public-use, which most people have not adopted as their inner beliefs.
- Desegregation meets tentative and half-hearted support. Even those who are in favour of it, view it as a one-aspectual process which incorporates Roma children into Bulgarian culture rather than as a process of the mutual enrichment of two different cultures, Bulgarian and Roma. To the contrary, Roma people are strongly in favour of it.

The survey indisputably demonstrated that militant racism is deeply rooted in Bulgarian society; that the political success of its recent political manifestation – the Ataka group - was not accidental; that we are now facing deeply entrenched prejudice which is being directly or indirectly reproduced in the minds of younger generations through their upbringing and through the educational system, and is spread and reinforced by the media.

The format of the present evaluation does not entitle us to a more thorough analysis of all the aspects of the survey. The evaluation touches upon only on those results of the survey that are immediately related to the effects of integrated education.

4.3. The image of the minorities in the eyes of the majority

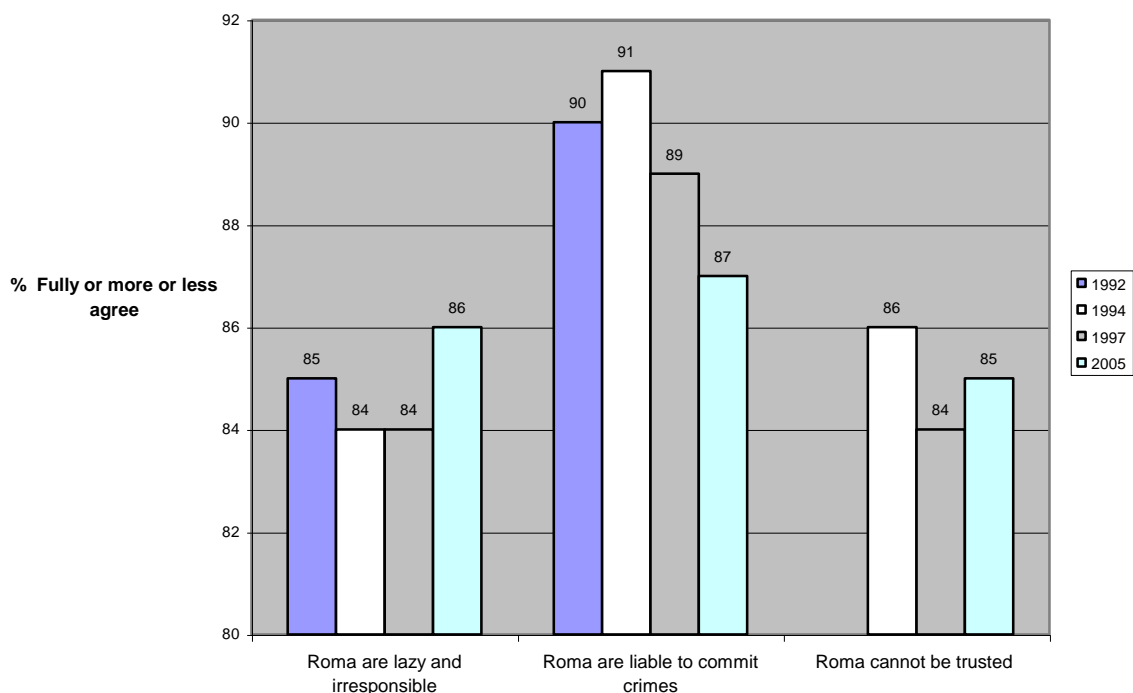
A predominant majority of ethnic Bulgarians hold an extremely negative opinion of the qualities characteristic of the Roma, Turks and Jews in Bulgaria. We should emphasize that the popularity of these opinions is not significantly changed by factors such as sex, age, size of settlement, or income level, which, on its part, reveals that the negative stereotypes about the three minority groups constitute a stable system of socialization in the nation, rather than that those are determined by the major stratificational categories.

4.3.1. Attitudes towards Roma

Eighty-six per cent of Bulgarian respondents partly or fully agree that Roma are “lazy and irresponsible”; 87% believe that Roma are “naturally predisposed to crime”; 84% agree that Roma people live on the “toil of others.” Eight out of every ten Bulgarians attribute the reason for the poverty of Roma to their own “laziness and irresponsibility.” The number of those who account for the poverty of Roma by the century-long discrimination is eight times smaller (11%). Furthermore, 85% agree that Roma are impossible to “trust or rely on.” Many years of surveying into interethnic attitudes have shown that the greater the social distance between the surveyed groups, the more the negatively stereotyped groups are seen as “equal to one another.” To the contrary, the more valued an ethnic group is, the more its representatives are seen as differing from one another and are perceived as individuals. Eighty-two per cent of ethnic Bulgarians believe that “all Roma are alike, with very few exceptions.” Only 14% do not agree with this, being likely to distinguish different individualities in different Roma people, rather than to view each Roma as a type whose constituents are impossible to untangle. The figures of the four surveys of 1992, 1994, 1997 and 2005 reveal a fairly insubstantial fluctuation in the negative ethnic prejudices against Roma among Bulgarians (See Chart 12).

Chart 12

Negative ethnic prejudices among the Bulgarians toward the Roma



Within the context of these “inherent” qualities of Roma, it comes as no surprise that 76% of the answers to the question “If, at the next elections, the party that you support nominated a suitable (competent and honest) candidate for your region, would you vote for him/her, if he/she were Roma/Turk/Jew/Armenian?” are negative when a Roma candidate is visualised. For all that, a small number of respondents seem to have remembered that elections, after all, are a contest between different concepts of government and between the professionalism of contestants. This is why, perhaps, about 11% of Bulgarian respondents answered: “I don’t know”, which is about three times as many as the answers “I don’t know”, given to the question as to what the inherent qualities of Roma are. An eloquent testimony to the allegation that negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudice are deeply rooted, especially in relation to Roma, is the fact that 75% of men and 77% of women, 71% of the people aged 18-30 and 80% of the people aged 60-70, are convinced that they would not vote for a Roma contestant even if he were an honest professional nominated by the party the respondent supports. This conviction is shared by 68% of the people of higher education, 80% of the people living in Sofia, and 77% of the people living in small villages. Apparently, the main stratification categories do not influence these deeply shared opinions of people.

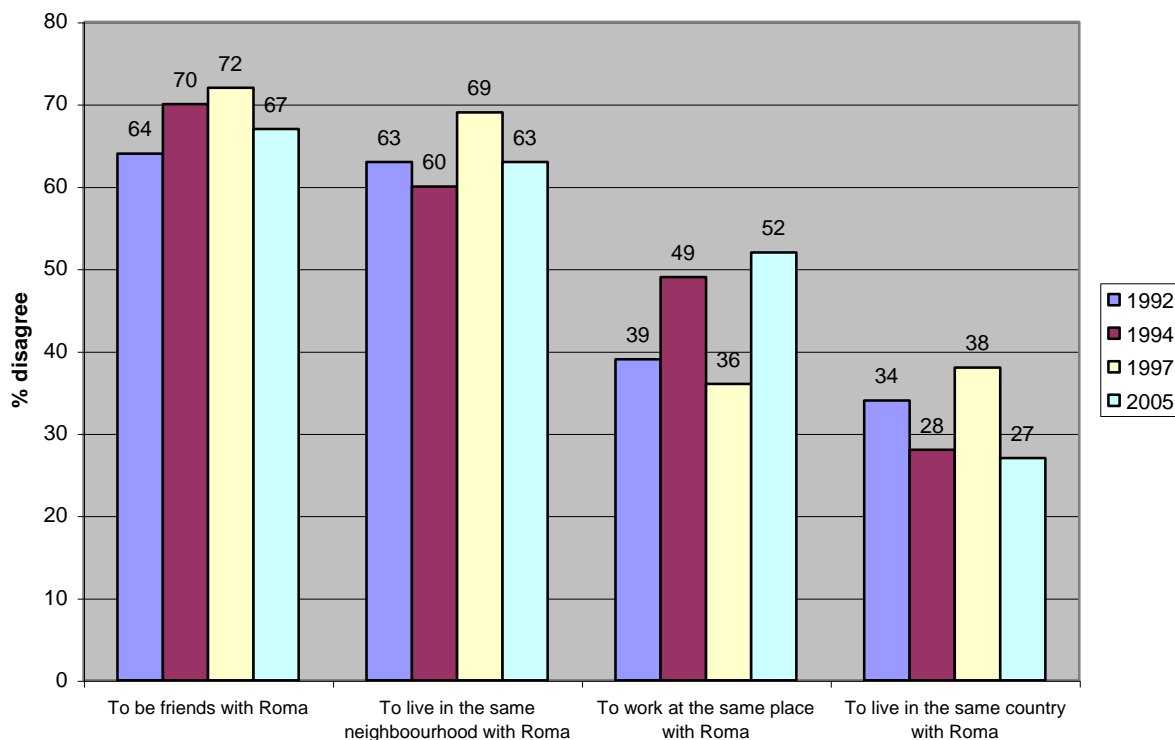
Then, due to the listed “heap” of negative qualities, Bulgarians believe that Roma do not fit any state positions. The question “Would you personally accept a Roma chief of the local police office?” received negative answers by 82% of the respondents; 74% are against the

presence of Roma officers in the army, 76% cannot even imagine that a Roma person might ever become a government minister. The concept of a Roma chief of police is absolutely inconceivable – 82% of Bulgarians are against it, a bare 10% would agree with it, and 7% cannot express an opinion.

Against the background of the negative image of Roma people in the minds of Bulgarians, the high percentage of the negative answers to the questions measuring social distances (“Would you agree with...?”) looks absolutely logical. Moreover, these answers do not vary in time, as the four analogous surveys of 1992, 1994, 1997 and 2005 reveal (see chart 13):

Chart 13

Attitudes to social distances among the Bulgarians towards the Roma



As the chart reveals, negative attitudes measure very high, even when related to the social relations which are beyond the personal control of the respondent – in 2005 63% of Bulgarians do not agree to live together with Roma people in the same neighbourhood and 52% would not agree to share the same workplace with Roma people. More than a quarter of the respondents do not want to live alongside Roma in the same country.

Negative attitudes among Bulgarians, with few exceptions, show a very small variation with the variation of the social situation. One of the exceptions are the attitudes regarding a Roma teacher of your child. The attitude of the 73% of Bulgarian respondents who do not agree to have their child taught by a Roma teacher varies significantly across income levels, although

it does not vary across sizes of settlement. Variation can also be seen across categories of education – the number higher-educated people who do not agree to have their child taught by a Roma teacher scores comparatively the lowest - 58%; conversely, the “I don't know” answers score the highest comparative percentage – 24%.

How do you come to know Roma – through direct personal contact or indirectly, through the media coverage? Three quarters of Bulgarians have never visited a home inhabited by Roma. In other words, the main source of information about the qualities and the everyday life of Roma people in such cases is indirect, most often being the media. It is well-known, however, the media mostly draws the audiences' attention to what is negative, repulsive and abnormal.

Self-evaluation of the generalized attitude towards the minorities (and towards Roma specifically) can be achieved by answering the question: “What is your attitude towards the people from the following ethnic groups or nationalities?” (the listed groups were Roma, Turks, Bulgarian Muslims, Armenians, Jews, Russians, Serbs, Americans and Arabs.) Respondents are supposed to grade their own attitudes along a ten-unit scale, ranging from heavy antipathy to deep sympathy. Almost two thirds (59%) of Bulgarians feel some antipathy toward Roma, less than a quarter (23%) are indifferent and a bare 8% feel some sympathy for Roma. Six percent, perhaps the most sensible and realistic ones, said that they “Cannot speak of Roma as of one whole.”

4.3.2. Attitudes towards Turks

The attitude of the majority towards Turkish people reminds one of the attitudes toward the Roma. However, the indicators that measure negative ethnic prejudice and social distances register slightly lower rates here. Very much like the situation of Roma people, the stereotypes here are deeply rooted. Once again, no significant variation is seen in the opinions, orientation and stereotypes, across the categories of social group, income stratification and place of living, with the only exception of the division of those living in Sofia and those living in other settlements. The respondents living in Sofia displayed a higher level of tolerance.

A considerable number of Bulgarians adhere to the stereotype of the Turkish person as a “religious fanatic.” The average percentage of these respondents is 60% for the country, while their percentage among residents of Sofia is smaller by 15%. In the country, the number of respondents disagreeing with the above-mentioned statement is two times smaller than in Sofia (29%). Sixty-nine per cent of Bulgarians believe that Turkish people have “occupied too many leadership positions.” (This is apparently due to the wide representation of the

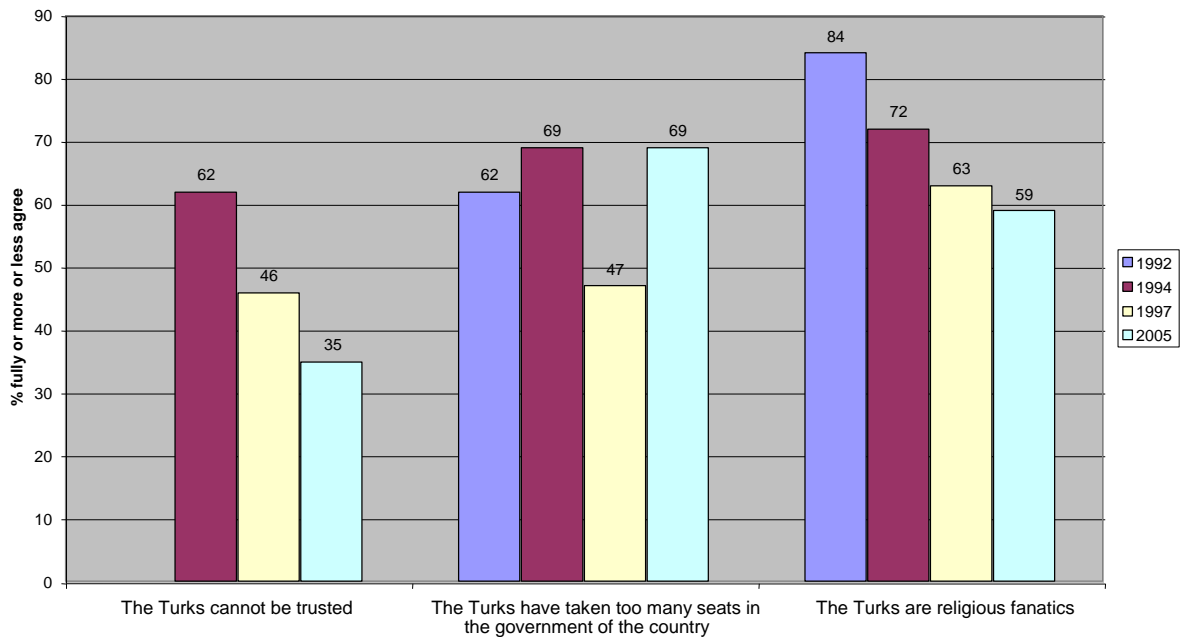
Movement for Rights and Freedoms in government.) A bare 19% do not agree with this statement. The widespread support for the belief that the Turkish people have taken too many positions in the government is very suggestive. The MRF was widely represented in the government of the former monarch Simeon II, as it had two ministers, several regional governors, and a relatively great number of mayors of districts and settlements, although the latter were all in places where Turks or other Muslims comprised the greater part of the population. At the time of the conduction of the survey, the political representation of the Turks on a national and local level was a direct and lawful consequence of the results from democratic parliamentary and local elections. Thus it became obvious that the notion of “excessiveness” was actually an expression of a different, deeper belief, namely that Turkish people must be subjected and must be kept far from the government as they represent a danger when in there.

Unlike Roma, Turkish people are ascribed negative qualities in a smaller degree – only 35% of Bulgarian agree that “Turks cannot be trusted”, about half (48%) do not adhere to this statement, and 17% say that they cannot express an opinion. Once again, a major differentiating factor is the division between Sofia and other settlements. The relative percentage of respondents agreeing (partly or fully) with the statement that Turkish people do not deserve to be trusted is 18% in Sofia while the percentage among the residents of smaller towns fully or partly agreeing is two times higher – 44%. Another slightly considerable differentiating factor is education – 27% of respondents with university degrees would not have personal trust in Turkish people, while the percentage of the like-minded people among the respondents of primary or secondary education is 44%. Although to a lesser degree than Roma, Turkish people are also perceived by Bulgarians to be almost the same as one another. Nearly 60% of respondents agree with the statement that “All Turks are alike.” Respondents who disagree are two times fewer (26%), while the rest, who remembered that after all their personal experience of relating to Roma people is not sufficient, say they cannot express an opinion.

Unlike the situation of Roma, the rate of negative ethnic prejudice against Turkish people among Bulgarians reveals an increase in tolerance over the last few years (see chart 14). Only the item of “Too many positions in government” indicates a slight increase in the number of those who are displeased with the fact, compared to 1997.

Chart 14

Negative ethnic prejudices among the Bulgarians toward the Turks



Almost two thirds of Bulgarian respondents (64%) would not vote for a Turkish person even if he is honest, qualified and nominated by the political party they support. Nevertheless, compared to the situation of Roma, things look better here – the Bulgarians who would not vote for a Turkish person only because he is Turkish, are by 12% fewer than those who would not vote for a Roma person only because he is Roma. Only 13% of Bulgarians would vote for an honest and qualified Roma person, while those who would vote for a competitive Turk are more by 7% (they comprise a total of 20%). As is the situation with Roma people, the majority cannot get used to the idea of having Turkish officers in the Bulgarian army (65% are against this concept, 24% “Do not mind”). The concept of a Roma person becoming a government minister garners support of 13%, while the analogous concept for a Turkish person meets almost three times greater approval (30%). Yet, although for years now there are Turkish people who have been ministers in the Bulgarian government (which means that Turkish have proved their ability to be ministers),

59% of Bulgarians reject the concept of Turkish people as members of the government “in general”. In other words, this rejection stems from the general belief that Turkish people cannot be entrusted with leadership positions. The same is valid for an army officer – 65% of Bulgarians do not agree with the concept of Turkish officers and even a greater number of respondents (79%) cannot put up with having a Turkish local chief of police.

Very much like the Roma, Turkish people are never visualised as prospective marriage partners (86% of BG respondents are “against the idea”). However, most people would not

mind to making friends with them (62% agree with this idea), living in the same neighbourhood with them (69% agree), and sharing the same workplace with them (74% of Bulgarians are not against it). Eight out of every ten Bulgarians do not oppose the concept of sharing the same settlement with Turkish people and 82% agree to “live in Bulgaria together with Turks.” However, it is precisely the number of those who disagree to live alongside Turks in the same country (amounting to a fifth of all Bulgarians) that poses a serious problem. Very much like the situation of Roma, the concept of “cleansing” the nation from Turks meets significant support, though in a relatively smaller degree.

While negative attitudes concerning Roma are a product of deeply rooted racist prejudice lying in a total rejection and non-acceptance of the group as such, as well as of everyone who belongs to the group, the racist aspect of the attitudes toward Turkish people is also apparent, though not so domineering. The latter is mingled with the feeling of a political threat.

4.3.3. Attitudes towards Jews

We shall briefly look into the image that Jewish people hold in the minds of ethnic Bulgarians. The common stereotype goes that Jewish people are “united and very supportive of each other.” This belief is maintained by over two thirds of the Bulgarian respondents (68%). Jewish people can generally be trusted (41% of Bulgarian respondents reject the statement that “Jewish people cannot be trusted.” The concept that Jewish people are not honest and are treacherous finds twice fewer adherents. All Jewish people are very much “alike” (46% agreement versus 19% disagreement, and 35% ambivalence). What is really puzzling are those 29% of Bulgarians, who agree that Jewish people have “occupied too many positions in the government.” About 16% of the interviewed majority approves of the idea of not having any Jews in our country at all. As is the case with the other two minorities, the percentage of those who would not marry a Hebrew person is too high (74%). Sixty-three per cent though would strike a friendship with a Jewish person, would share the same workplace with him, and would share the same town. Similarly to the other two minority groups Hebrew people would not be accepted as candidates for leadership positions in the state administration but the percentage of those who reject this idea is, once again, lower than the percentage of those who reject Roma and Turkish people as responsible state officials.²³ Over a third of all people (38%) feel a different degree of sympathy for Jewish people, 11% feel antipathy toward them, while 32% are indifferent.

²³ Half of the respondents are against Jewish ministers, the same number are against Jewish officers, while 52% cannot imagine a Jewish chief of police.

4.4. Attitudes towards the rights of ethnic minorities

The abstract request for the equality of the minorities, which is a request for “the state and the community to treat them in the way in which they treat the majority”, garners the support of 80% of ethnic Bulgarians.⁵ This slogan can be interpreted in two ways - as arguing against any “positive discrimination” against Roma and Turkish people and conversely, as arguing for the application, over a period of time, of certain affirmative measures, in order to achieve actual equalization. Slightly more than a tenth of Bulgarians stated that they are against abstract equality but the tools that the survey made use of did not enable us to see further into the motives of those 12%.

Indirect indicators detecting opponents to equality are supposed to extract opinions on the following issues: whether or not the minorities should be allowed to establish their own cultural and educational organizations, to print literature in their own language, to study this language in state and private schools, to have an opportunity for a teaching process conducted in their mother tongue, to have their representatives in the Parliament and to have representatives in the local government bodies, to set up their own political parties, to put up signs in their own language in the settlements where they constitute the majority of the population, and to be granted the right of territorial autonomy.

Table 4 below shows the percentage ratios between support for and resistance, on part of ethnic Bulgarians, along the following items:

Table 4
Support for and resistance to the rights of ethnic minorities among Bulgarians

Right	For %	Against %	Do not know %
To be treated as the majority	80	12	8
To establish their own cultural organizations	69	16	14
To print books in their own language	52	35	13
To study their language in state schools	24	64	12
To study their language in private schools	61	26	13
To study all subjects in their mother tongue	8	84	9
To select their own representatives in the Parliament	55	29	16
Their own representatives in the local authorities	52	32	16
To put up signs in their mother tongue	12	78	10
To form their own political parties	40	49	11
To be granted the right of territorial autonomy	3	91	6

The main conclusion this table enables us to draw is that ethnic Bulgarians treat the cultural autonomy of minorities in a relatively positive way, especially when this is the latter’s own

⁵ This ideological slogan garners greater than the average support among the people of higher education (90%) and among citizens of Sofia (86%).

business, and when the state is not expected to provide support for the realization of this autonomy. However, we stumble upon the following paradox here – more than two thirds are “for” the cultural and educational organizations, while only half of the respondents are well disposed towards the minorities’ opportunity for publishing books in their own languages. Respondents accepted that minorities could learn their languages at school only if the schools are their own private schools. Hesitant support (55%) was expressed for the presence of representatives of the minorities in parliament. However, such representation should not be achieved through minority parties. Then, the visible signs of cultural autonomy – boards or signs in their mother tongue – were rejected categorically. The same applied to territorial autonomy.

4.5. Attitudes and concepts about behavioural tolerance

One of the sets of questions in the survey treated the problem of “Security versus human rights.” The analysis of these questions’ answers showed that for ethnic Bulgarians democracy and respect for human right are still ideological slogans for public use rather than inner beliefs of people.

Bulgarians largely accept the concept of restricting the democratic freedoms to the detriment of human rights on grounds of maintaining “order and security” and keeping the “economic stability.” The majority of people (64%) would approve an “iron hand” government. A small 20% declare they oppose violent attempts on people’s lives on account of the major achievements of the 10 November 1989 change - democracy and respect for human rights.

The concept of people being beaten by the police in order to give away their accomplices or inform of further details of the committed crime is rejected by only 60% of people. One out of every four strongly or “to some extent” supports the beating of detainees in the police. One out of every seven cannot express an opinion on this matter. Thus a significant part of the people who ‘cannot express an opinion” on whether it is lawful to beat an arrested person, are secret adherents to the legal possibility of physical violence in police stations, prisons, and all other isolated places where the state could exert violence. This information gives rise to serious worries. Another thing that gives rise to worries are those 60% of Bulgarians who would approve of the introduction of some kind of birth-prevention measures among certain ethnic groups.

Only one out of every four Bulgarians treats the people with mental disorders as “people like everybody else.” Attitudes toward homosexual people are exceptionally negative – only 9% of people treat them as “people like everybody else.” Homosexual people are subject to severe ostracism – 15% of respondents treat them as “people like us”, while over four times

more respondents (66%) believe that “they must not have anything to do with such people.” HIV-positive people suffer approximately the same attitudes.

Pre-marital sexual relations are generally approved of (as confirmed by other surveys) – they receive 80% approval v. 20% disapproval. However, sexual relations between under-aged young people, meet 27% approval v. 67% disapproval. This is due perhaps to fears of unwanted pregnancies and to the resilience of the traditionally accepted concept of the time of beginning of sexual life. Sexual relations between people of the same sex are rejected – 19% of Bulgarians treat men’s unisexual contacts as something “natural”, while three times as many (66%) hold the opposing opinion. The same is the ratio on women’s unisexual contacts.

4.6. Attitude towards the integrated education of the children from minorities

Bulgarians approve of integrated education only under certain conditions. Ethnic Bulgarians would generally accept it only if there are a few Roma children in a class. If the number of Roma children in a class exceeds 10 % of the total number of children, Bulgarian parents would think of enrolling their child into another school “clean” from Roma kids. This was the major conclusion form the series of questions regarding attitudes toward the process of desegregation and toward the mixing of the two groups of children.

The very concept of desegregation meets hesitant acceptance – 38% of respondents are “for”, 36% are “against”, and the rest cannot express an opinion. However, projective questions of further specification show changes in the general situation:

Table 5
Approval of desegregation among Bulgarians

Question: Do you agree to have your child study in a class where:	Yes %	No %	I do not know %
- Only a few children are Roma	65	27	7
- Half of the class are Roma	12	77	10
- Most of the class are Roma	5	86	9

Most of those who generally support desegregation, see it as a one-way process of “joining” Roma children to the Bulgarian culture, rather than as a process of mutual enrichment. Sixty three per cent approve it for the reason that Roma children will receive better education, 55% add the reason that Roma children will “absorb Bulgarian culture more effectively, 47% agree that the mixing of the children would “help the two groups of children to learn to live together

from an early age.” A bare 18% believe that desegregation is valuable because it helps “Bulgarian children to learn things about Roma.”⁶

The attitudes of Bulgarian parents toward integrated education furthermore reveal that:

- If the number of Roma children is no greater than 10% of the overall number of the pupils in a class, 68% of Bulgarian parents would approve of it, or would just “accept it as a fact.” In such a case only 15% claim that they “will move their child to another school.”

- If Roma children are between 10% and 50% of the class in number, almost a half of Bulgarian parents claim that they would move their child to a school “clean” from Roma, while 15% would protest in one way or another.

- If the number of Roma children exceeds half of the total number of children, only 3% of Bulgarian parents would be “pleased” and 15% would “accept the fact.” Eleven per cent would protest in various ways while two thirds (65%) would enrol their children or grandchildren in another school.

4.7. Attitudes of Roma

4.7.1. The image of Bulgarian, Turkish and Jewish people in the eyes of Roma

Generally, Roma are considerably more tolerant toward the Bulgarian majority and the other minorities than the majority is toward Roma and the other minorities.

83% of Roma people partly or fully agree that Bulgarians are in a privileged position compared to Roma. Still, to a great degree, Bulgarians can be relied on – 53% of Roma disagree with the statement that ‘Bulgarians cannot be trusted.’ One out of every four Roma people (38%) does not trust Bulgarians. More than half of the Roma people (51%) believe that “Bulgarians are hostile towards Roma”, while 40% think that Bulgarians are not hostile to Roma. A little over the half of Roma (55%) believe that all Bulgarians are alike, while the rest disagree with this.

The opinion of Roma of the other two minorities is slightly more positive than the opinion of Bulgarians of the same minorities. “I do not know” was a repetitive and meaningful answer given to the questions whether “Jewish people have taken too many positions in the

⁶ The quoted percentages entail only those 38% of all ethnic Bulgarians who approve of desegregation “in principle.”

government”, whether “Jewish people are united and support each other”, or whether “all Jewish people are alike” (the majority of Roma – 64% answered “I do not know”.) The reason for this is the social isolation that Roma are subjected to. Roma have a limited opportunity of meeting Jewish people, even more limited than Bulgarians. Moreover, due to their poor general education, Roma people are less predisposed to stereotypes, which are usually reinforced by the educational system and by the media.

Roma people are much more inclined to establish personal relations with Bulgarians than Bulgarians are to establish relations with Roma – 59% do not mind marrying a Bulgarian, 89% do not mind being friends with Bulgarians, the non-acceptance of Bulgarian neighbours, work colleagues and fellow-citizens is close to none – only 2-6% of Roma would not agree. Roma are also inclined to maintain personal relations with Turkish and Jewish people, though to a lesser degree. Roma people see having Turkish and Jewish neighbours, work colleagues and fellow-citizens as a normal thing.

Roma are much more inclined to approve of the occupation of public positions by the members of the other minorities. For instance, 63% of Roma people do not mind having Turkish people as ministers, while the corresponding number for Bulgarians accepting this possibility is twice smaller. The approval of the concept for Turkish officers (59%) is twice greater than the disapproval, whereas the great majority of ethnic Bulgarians (74%) do not accept the possibility for Turkish army officers. Of course, Roma approve the state support for the development of the culture of the minorities much more than Bulgarians do.

4.7.2. Attitudes towards educational desegregation

Roma people are radical supporters of integrated education. 84% of the Roma respondents claim that they support the process of desegregation, while 12% say they cannot express an opinion. Only 4% are “against.” These figures put an end to the whole controversy whether desegregation is sought after by Roma people themselves. The motive that desegregation would help the two ethnic groups to “better learn how to live together” is more pronounced among Roma (52%) than it is among Bulgarians (47% out of only those 38% of Bulgarians who “generally” approve of integration, point out this motive.) Much greater (28%) than among Bulgarians (18%) is the number of the Roma parents who believe that through the mixing of the two groups Bulgarian children would learn things about Roma and Roma culture.

Only 2.3% of the Roma respondents find segregated schools better than other schools. 30% of them believe that segregated schools are worse than other schools. These figures enable us to draw the conclusion that Roma parents are radical supporters of the concept of

integrated education, though the supposedly higher quality of education in integrated schools do not always account for their underlying motives. To many of those Roma mixing the two groups of children stands for social and psychological equalization with the privileged Bulgarian majority. The latter motive will be gaining further popularity and significance in the political slogans and programs of the Roma political formations.

4.7.3. Feelings of discrimination

The majority of Roma respondents feel discriminated against. However much is said on the issue of discrimination, discrimination is ultimately a matter of the judgment of those who are discriminated against rather than of those who practice discrimination.

56% of Roma claim that they have been refused a job because they are Roma; 21% believe that their Roma belonging was the reason why they were refused service in cafes or restaurants and 27% - why they were declined social aid. About two thirds (64%) claim they were insulted because of their ethnic belonging. Then, 35% of Roma respondents think that all or some of the media insults Roma people (31% answered that they "could not tell", mainly due to the fact that they are not regularly exposed to any media at all). 51% are inclined to trace the reason for the poverty of Roma people into to the discrimination against Roma people.

5. Overview of current projects

5.1. Vidin

5.1.1. General information about the project

The desegregation project “Free Access for Roma Children to All Schools in Vidin” started a year ahead of the rest, as early as the 2000-2001 academic year and served as a model for the projects in other cities. Currently it is still the project with the largest number of enrolled children and those of them who took the test in May 2005 achieved very good results. The project has been implemented by the Drom Organization, a Roma NGO that is well-known in the city and throughout Bulgaria, managed by Ms Donka Panayotova.

A total of 605 pupils from the first to the twelfth grades completed the Drom Project successfully for the 2004-2005 academic year. 40% of them are from primary schools (first – fourth grades). The percentage is comparatively small due to the fact that the desegregation process in Vidin is already in its fifth year and there are fifth-grade pupils who have been participating in the project since its very beginning. Furthermore, the organizers of the project have always enrolled pupils from all grades, unlike the situation in some other cities and towns where only pupils from primary schools are enrolled. The total number of pupils enrolled in the project during the 2004-2005 academic year was 730; 125 dropped out. The main reason for this, according to Drom, is the fact that a great number of Roma families left the country in search of jobs abroad. The children, especially the older ones, left together with their families. This situation – of a large number of pupils on the enrolment list and later drop-outs due to leaving the country – has been typical of the Vidin project for the last two years as well. The reason for this is the severe economic depression and the growing depopulation of the region over the last years.

Chart 15 below represents the dynamics of the number of pupils who have successfully completed the project.

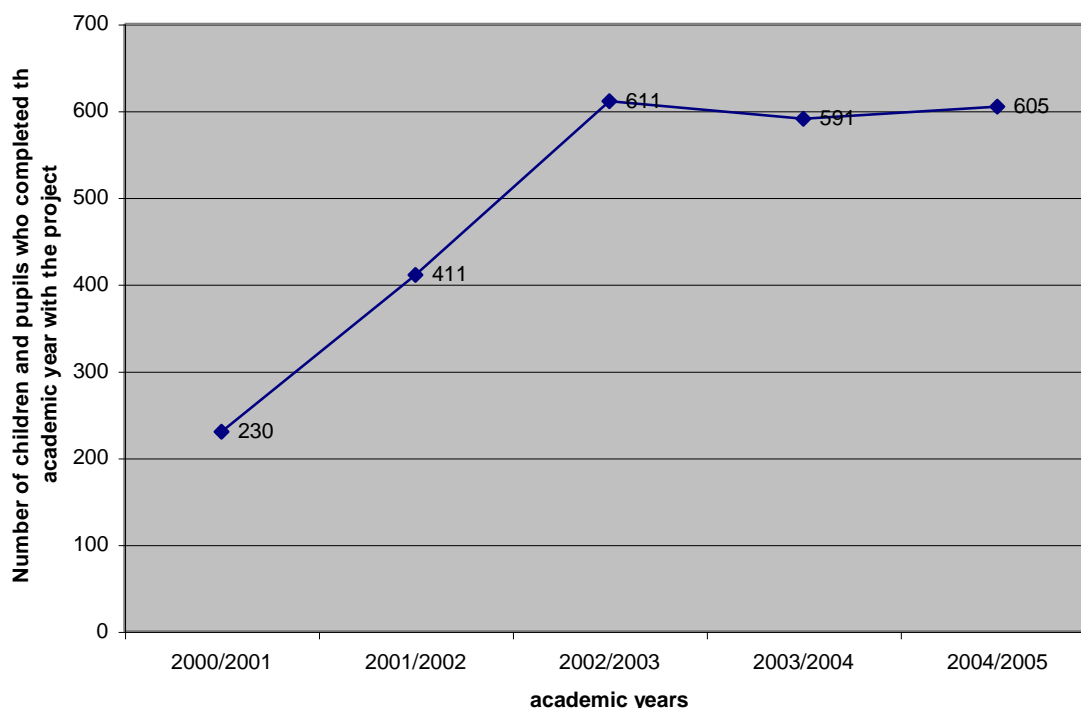
As the chart shows, the increase in the number of students in the Vidin project has been incessant from its first to its third year. During the third year this number became fixed at approximately 600 children completing the project every year, which is obviously the limit in terms of capacity.

The Drom Organization focuses its efforts on the children from the Roma Nov Pat neighbourhood with a population of approximately 15,000 inhabitants from several Roma groups – *yerlii*, *kalaydzhii*, *tzuztumani*, and others. Until the project started, the children from the neighbourhood visited the local “Bishop Sofronij Vrachanski” Primary School. For the

2005-2006 academic year 516 children are officially included in the school's enrolment lists. According to information supplied by the school principal between 10 and 15 children from the Roma neighbourhood go to schools in villages in the area around Vidin²⁴. Other sources, however, claim that the students in all the villages in this area (like Makrish and Kosovo) are from the Roma Nov Pat neighbourhood.²⁵ The schools in these villages offer transportation for the children from their homes, so that the schools can maintain the number of pupils in their grades in compliance with state regulations. While meeting the assessment team, the principal of the neighbourhood school expressed no anxiety as to enrolling a sufficient number of pupils in the classes, supporting this with their even distribution from the first to the eighth grade (2-3 classes per grade). However, when asked about the percentage of children who enrol in the first and finish the eighth grade, she stated that it was not higher than 40%. This comes to show that the even distribution actually shows a tendency of decreasing the number of students in the neighbourhood school. The principal of "Bishop Sofronij Vrachanski" Primary School also stated that some years ago the first grade started the year with 6 or 7 classes. Currently there are only 3 classes in the first grade.

Chart 15

Dynamics of participation of Roma children in the Vidin desegregation project



During the 2004-2005 academic year the Drom Project has worked with 11 Vidin

²⁴ Interview with Ms Nina Ivanova, principal of "Bishop Sofronij Vrachanski" Primary School, Vidin, 13 September 2005.

²⁵ "Donka Panayotova: Desegregation has settled in Vidin and the process is irreversible", interview by Angelina Dakova, *Drom Dromendar* newspaper, issue 18, 17-30 September 2005.

schools. The distribution for the children from the project in the host schools is as follows:

- "Father Paisiy" Primary School – 65 children
- "St. Kliment Ohridski" Primary School – 86 children
- "Lyuben Karavelov" Comprehensive Secondary School – 69 children
- "St. St. Cyril and Methodius" Comprehensive Secondary School – 85 children
- "Petko Rachev Slavejkov" Comprehensive Secondary School – 72 children
- "Tzar Simeon the Great" Comprehensive Secondary School – 66 children
- "Ivan Vazov" Primary School – 25 children
- "Hristo Botev" Comprehensive Secondary School – 77 children
- "Vela Piskova" Professional Secondary School for Clothing and Cookery – 18 children
- "Asen Zlatarov" Technical Secondary School for Chemical Technologies and Economy – 3 children
- "Vassil Levski" Professional Technical Secondary School – 39 children.

With its very launch, the Vidin desegregation project provoked tension among the local municipal and education authorities. Like Roma leaders, they were divided into supporters and opponents of the project. The argumentation of the latter was mostly grounded on personal issues or emotions. Moreover, even Roma parents whose children were enrolled on the project and were visiting host schools expressed some views in support of the neighbourhood school.²⁶ Over the last academic year some of the opposition has obviously been partly neutralized and the management of the project even signed a partnership contract with the neighbourhood school.

The students from the Nov Pat neighbourhood commuted to the host schools on two buses that were in good condition. However, in view of the large number of children, this task has been too labour- and resource-consuming and was therefore performed in several rounds in the morning, noon and afternoon.

The project team stated that they continue facing difficulties with acquiring certificates of leave for the children due to impediments of various nature created by the management of the neighbourhood school. No problems with the host schools were reported. The project team is involved in the choice of host school made by Roma families – such interference only aims at a more balanced distribution of the children. Generally, they do not refuse participation in the project to any Roma parent.

²⁶ This is the case with Mr Petar Stefanov, manager of "TV Roma", who spoke in support of the neighbourhood school during the visit of the assessment team to Vidin, as well as repeatedly on other occasions, although his own children were enrolled in the desegregation project.

5.1.6. Project team

The team of the Vidin desegregation project is composed of 17 people: 11 project managers, 8 counsellors, 1 coordinator working with the schools, 3 coordinators working with the parents, 3 bus drivers, 1 office manager. Ms Donka Panayotova is the project's director and its only academic advisor.

The project has so far assigned counsellors at 8 of the 11 host schools. These are schools in which Roma children study at the primary and junior-high school levels. The counsellors should have secondary school education and are selected through a job competition. Four of them are currently majoring in Primary School Pedagogy in the distance-learning program at the College of Pedagogy in Vratza, which is a subsidiary to the University of Veliko Tarnovo. They take over the children from the Roma neighbourhood in the morning and remain at the host school until the end of the lessons for the day. The counsellors are the living connection between teachers and parents – the teachers address to them any remarks on the children's behaviour, progress and material educational needs. The counsellors then solve these issues individually, together with the parents or using the resources of the Drom Organization. In the 2004-2005 academic year two of the counsellors left for Italy and had to be replaced with new ones. During the mid-day bus rounds the coordinators working with the parents ride on the buses together with the children. They also actively participate in the enrolling of the children and in organizing of teacher-parents meetings.

Due to the great work-load, Drom employs three drivers. The number of the children is too large, therefore the drivers work in shifts making three rounds in every shift. A special schedule is being drawn to make the work as effective as possible.

The counsellors submit weekly reports to the project manager, in which they describe how their work has proceeded over the week and relate the more significant problems and incidents. The drivers prepare monthly reports. The Vidin project manager also prepares monthly and bi-annual reports.

5.1.3. Academic profile of the project

5.1.3.1. Project organization

Ms Donka Panayotova, who is a pedagogue with many years of experience in the educational system of Vidin, personally manages the project. She joins in at all levels and stages, but

mostly in the coordination of public relations with institutions and supplementary academic work.

The children participating in the project have been distributed in the host schools so that their number does not exceed 30% of the number of children in class. Exceptions have been made in special arts classes – the profiles of music, choreography and folk singing, where the percentages of Roma children are a little higher. Taking into consideration the large number of drop-outs throughout the school year, the level of attendance varies – it is generally the highest in winter.

The Drom Organization desegregation project has organized supplementary activities for the children-participants on a large scale. At each of the eight primary and junior-high host schools, there are day-time boarding-school groups for the children. In addition, three groups for “individual study” for children who are falling behind their classes have been formed at each school. These groups are taught by teachers from the host schools, who receive additional monthly remuneration from the Drom Organization. The number of such lessons varies at the different schools, but it is generally between 3 and 4 lessons a week.

The academic work within the Vidin project is aided by two non-governmental organizations in the city – “Unity” and “SOS-Parents”. These are teams of psychologists and pedagogues, who get together with the project team on a monthly basis to discuss the problems children and parents on the project face. Sometimes they deal with individual cases.

During the 2004/2005 school year the project manager organized regular trainings for the guardians. The teachers from the host schools, however, have not gone through any training. For the 2005/2006 school year the organization has decided to pay the fees of at least 12 teachers for a major in intercultural education at “St Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia.

The project has been cooperating with parents for organizing parents’ meetings at the host schools and providing transportation to the respective school. For the 2004/2005 school year the project organized three parents’ meetings in “Nov pat” neighbourhood – in September and December 2004 and in April 2005. The guardians and coordinators attended all these meetings.

The average grade of the Roma children from the Vidin project is 4.44 on a six-point marking scale. It varies at the different primary and junior-high schools, but is in all cases above 4.00.

The average annual grades are as follows:

- “Father Paisiy” Primary School	4.45
- “St. Kliment Ohridski” Primary School	4.35
- “Lyuben Karavelov” Comprehensive Secondary School	4.61

- “St. St. Cyril and Metdius” Comprehensive Secondary School 4.07
- “Petko Rachev Slavejkov” Comprehensive Secondary School 4.35
- “Tzar Simeon the Great” Comprehensive Secondary School 4.70
- “Ivan Vazov” Primary School 4.20
- “Hristo Botev” Comprehensive Secondary School 4.05

21 children from two host schools had to take supplementary examinations at the end of the school year, which they passed successfully.

5.1.3.2. Test results

The tests in Vidin were conducted in the fourth grades of three host schools: “Petko Rachev Slavejkov” Comprehensive Secondary School, “St St Cyril and Methodius” Comprehensive Secondary School, and “Tzar Simeon the Great” Comprehensive Secondary School. Judging by the average result of Roma children in those schools, it is both high and low. In addition, tests were conducted in two classes of the local “Sofronij Vrachanski” Primary School. 20 children from the three integrated schools and 43 children from the segregated school were expected to take the test. The summarized results from the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language in Vidin are as follows:

Table 6
Average results from the tests in Vidin

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the segregated school	2.83	2.45	2.65	2.30
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.94	3.55	4.56	4.05
Bulgarian children at the integrated schools	5.02	4.78	5.70	5.40

The results of Roma children at the integrated schools are obviously higher in comparison with those of children at the segregated school. They are better on all points with more than a whole grade unit. The difference between the two groups of children who actually took the test is impressive – reaching almost two grade units.

The results at the segregated school are generally higher in mathematics than in Bulgarian language, whereas the results at the integrated schools are substantially higher in Bulgarian language than in mathematics. The Roma children at the neighbourhood school in Vidin had the lowest results of all neighbourhood schools. Their grades, especially in Bulgarian language, are sheer failure. The segregated school in Vidin is the only school of all tested

schools, where the children from a whole class were given poor marks in one of the tests. Moreover, the percentage of children from this school that failed to take the test (owing to non-attendance) was too great – between 41% and 65%.

Despite the considerable difference in the results of the Roma children from the neighbourhood school and Roma children from the integrated schools, there is also a substantial difference in the test results of the Bulgarian and Roma children at the integrated schools. The difference is greater in Bulgarian language than in mathematics.

5.1.4. Extracurricular and social activities

During the 2004-2005 academic year, the extracurricular activities of the Vidin desegregation project do not seem to have been so varied as at the beginning of the process. This is natural, taking into consideration the greater number of children whose educational integration is supposed to be achieved with comparatively limited financial resources. Several children from the project were sent to a children's camp in Kranevo, approximately 50 children have been enrolled in high-school entrance exam preparation courses with their fees paid out of the project funds. During the school year the project supported a poster contest and a literary competition on the topic "Together in School".

The large number of children made it impossible for the project to provide all of them with day meals and teaching aids. Snacks were provided for children of unemployed parents, children from large families, orphans and children of single parents. The project bought teaching aids at a total cost of 3 880.64 leva for some of the children who come from poorer families.

5.1.5. Political, administrative and public support for the project

In 2000 the Vidin desegregation project was launched in an environment intensely charged with confrontation and uncertain support by almost all local authorities. The spirits were gradually calmed down and the relations with the authorities improved. A point of cooperation was even reached which produced the co-lateral participation of the Drom Organization and the Regional Education Inspectorate (REI) in the drafting of a regional strategy for the education of children from the ethnic minorities in Vidin. The Department of Education at the Vidin municipality, the school principals and the teachers' union are also part of the initiative. During the 2004-2005 academic year the two sides, which were in the beginning irreconcilable enemies – the project team and the management of the segregated school – became partners in the organizing of extracurricular activities. The project work enjoyed

positive media coverage throughout the year. There is also progress in the relations between the project team and the local Roma NGOs, formal and informal leaders.

Despite these positive developments in public support, the assessment team was left with the impression that both the municipality and the REI had not fully comprehended and taken at heart the idea for educational integration in Vidin. With its limited financial resources the municipality set up only 50 day-time boarding-school groups in its schools, the greatest number of which were in the segregated school – six groups. None of the three buses received by the state for 2005 has been used for desegregation needs.²⁷

The team of the Drom Project stated that Bulgarian parents had a positive attitude to integrated education. But during a meeting of the assessment team with the head of the REI, it became clear that Bulgarian parents in some host schools had protested against the enrolment of Roma children there.²⁸ During the discussion of the test results, the management of the REI did not seem too worried by the bad results in the segregated school. They did not express any views regarding the perspectives for the education of Roma people in the neighbourhood.

5.2. Montana

5.2.1. General information about the project

During the 2004-2005 academic year the fourth year of the “Free Access of Roma Children to the Schools of Montana” finished. From its very beginning the project has been implemented by the Sham Foundation, chaired by Mr Petar Borisov. Throughout the school year 217 pupils and children participated in the project. The same number of children and pupils finished the school year successfully, as there were no drop-outs. Among these 193 were students from the first to the eighth grade and 24 were children from preparatory groups formed in all-day kindergartens (ADK). 68.2% of those who finished the school year successfully are students at the primary level (first through fourth grades), including children from the preparatory groups. At the beginning of the year the project started with 191 pupils and 24 children in preparatory groups.

Since its launch in 2001 the Sham Foundation Project has constantly been increasing the number of Roma children successfully participating in the project. Chart 13 below represents

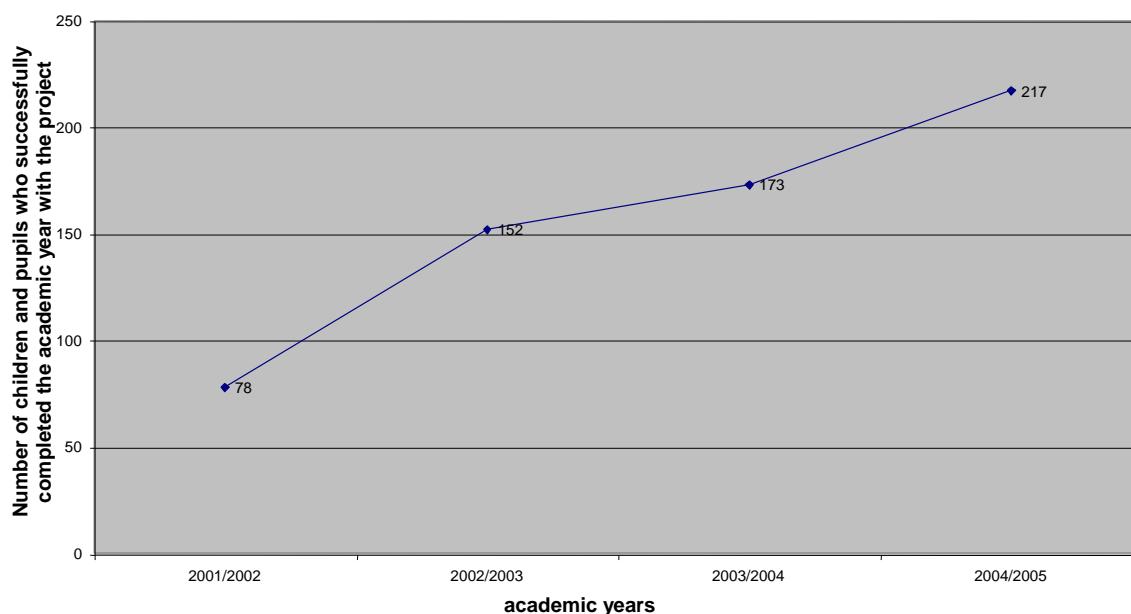
²⁷ Interview with Mr Svetlin Nitzov, director of the “Regional development, Europrogrammes and Humanitarian Activities” directorate at Vidin municipality, Vidin, 13 September 2005.

²⁸ Interview with Ms Zoya Yordanova, head of REI, Vidin, 13 September 2005.

the dynamics of the number of children and students whose participation in the project has been a success.

Chart 16

Dynamics of participation of Roma children in the Montana desegregation project



The chart shows a continuous increase in the number of Roma children taking part in the project. While in the beginning, the Montana project was the smallest of all desegregation projects, which – with the exception of the Vidin project – were launched at the same time in five Bulgarian cities, currently it is ahead of the Pleven project in terms of children participants and is following closely behind the Stara Zagora project along this indicator. This is a serious success, especially at the background of the comparatively small number of Roma, who are the target group for the project. These are the residents of the Kosharnik neighbourhood, where only about 2,700 Roma live, mostly *kalaydjii*.

The success of the Montana project has resulted in the decrease in the number of students in the Roma segregated “Georgi Benkovski” Primary School to 63 for the 2004-2005 academic year. This figure includes the 14 children in the class (exclusively Roma) for children with special needs, which has existed in this school for many years. Judging by parents’ statements, project team members and the students’ participation in the tests in Bulgarian language and mathematics conducted in May 2005, the number of the students visiting this school regularly is considerably smaller. Besides this school, the children from the Kosharnik neighbourhood enrol in a school in the near village Studeno Buche, from where a bus arrives

to pick them up. There are a lot of Roma children at this school, but there are also some Bulgarian children.

During the 2004-2005 academic year the desegregation project in Montana enrolled children in the five schools in the city with which it started working from the very beginning, as well as in three ADKs. Two of these schools are primary and three are secondary ones. The children from the Roma Kosharnik neighbourhood have been distributed in a relatively even manner:

- 3rd Primary School – 41 children
- 4th Primary school – 49 children
- 5th Comprehensive Secondary School – 35 children
- 7th Comprehensive Secondary School – 33 children
- 8th Comprehensive Secondary School – 35 children

The preparatory groups functioned at the three ADKs with the following distribution of Roma children:

- 4th ADK – 7 children
- 5th ADK – 5 children
- 6th ADK – 12 children

Four schools in Montana remained outside the project. These are 1st and 6th Primary Schools, in which there is a considerable number of Roma children from the other Roma neighbourhood and the near villages as it is; 2nd Primary School, which was neglected by the project due to its being a long distance from the bus route, and 9th Comprehensive Secondary School, which is a special school for sports, which enrolls children after the sixth grade. Besides, the limited funds of the project do not allow it to hire more than 5 counsellors.

According to the project team, children from the “poorer social layers” remained at the Roma school of the Kosharnik neighbourhood.²⁹ However, the assessment team was left with the impression that these differences are minor, since it is not only poor children who are enrolled at the segregated school. Some parents enrol their children there not because they are poor, but for other reasons as well – for example, that they work there. On the other hand, a considerable part of the students enrolled in the desegregation project are from the poorest part of the Roma neighbourhood (located at the “top of the hill”).

The pupils and children from Kosharnik commuted to the integrated schools on a bus and a minibus. These are obviously insufficient for the great number of children on the project. Moreover, their technical condition was not good at the end of the school year – the bus needed to undergo basic repairs.

²⁹ Interview with Mr Petar Borisov, project manager, Montana, 12 May 2005.

The project team shared that they continue facing problems when enrolling children in the integrated schools, especially when the parents of a child who has already been enrolled in the segregated school wish to move him/her to an integrated school. The problems stem mainly from the reluctance of the segregated school principal to issue leaves to such pupils.³⁰

The project team does not generally refuse any Roma parent enrolment in the project. The distribution of the children in integrated schools is decided by the parents based on proposals by the project team. The team interferes more firmly with the parents' choices only when they are enrolling children in 5th Comprehensive Secondary School, which specializes in the arts. In this case they do a preliminary assessment of the child's abilities.

5.2.2. Project team

During the 2004-2005 academic year the desegregation project in Montana was implemented by 11 people: 1 project manager, 5 counsellors, 1 coordinator working with the parents, 1 coordinator working with the institutions, 1 academic advisor, 1 driver, and 1 accountant. Mr Petar Borisov, a Roma social figure in the city of Montana, is the project's manager, and Ms Irena Mihaylova is the project's academic advisor.

The project has appointed a school counsellor in each host school – usually a Roma from the Kosharnik neighbourhood. Counsellors are appointed after a test in cooperation with the REI. Counsellors are required to have at least secondary school education and to be popular in the Roma neighbourhood. Some of them are long-distance students at universities and colleges in the region. The evaluation team was greatly impressed with the school counsellors – they were motivated, they knew “their” children well and took care of them not only during the lessons, but also after lessons were over for the day.

The counsellors take up the children from the neighbourhood in the morning and remain with them until the end of the lessons in the late afternoon. They supervise the learning process of the pupils on the morning shift, as well as the extra afternoon lessons. They also distribute the snacks provided by the project. The counsellors have separate rooms in the host schools where they can be found by pupils and teachers. The teachers address to them all kinds of remarks on the pupils' behaviour, academic progress and material education needs. They are the connection with the children's families. The counsellors react to any problems, which may arise in the schools, on their own or ask for the teachers' and parents' support.

³⁰ Interview with Mr Petar Borisov, project manager, Montana, 12 May 2005.

The counsellors are required to submit periodic reports to the project manager. In them they report about the current conditions at their host school, as well as any incidents, including pupils' absences. The counsellors' reports offer a basis for summarizing the project work on a regular basis and this done by the project manager. These summaries are submitted to the donor. At the end of the year the team prepares a report for its activities, which includes summarized information about the annual grades of the participants in the projects for each of the host schools.

While at the beginning of the project the job of the coordinator working with the parents was devoid of meaning to a great extent due to the small number of children, now it is highly necessary. They communicate with the parents daily. In addition to this, they are responsible for organizing extracurricular activities and securing the learning process.

5.2.6. Academic profile of the project

5.2.3.1. Project organization

The project academic advisors in Montana have been attracted to the project by the appointed academic advisor, Ms Irena Mihaylova. Part of her main responsibilities include monitoring academic achievements and organizing the supplementary lessons with the children falling behind their studies. Ms Mihaylova is a pedagogue with considerable experience, including in teaching Roma children.

At the start of the project, the Sham Foundation had placed a priority on distributing the Roma children in classes and schools in such a way that their number should be about 10% of the pupils in the host schools.³¹ With the increase of the number of pupils enrolling in the project this percentage apparently became too low. The aim for the 2004-2005 academic year was that Roma children do not exceed 30% and everywhere where it was possible they had to be less, but in all cases at least a few. This aim has more or less been achieved. The distribution of Roma children in classes in host schools is comparatively even.

One of the notable achievements of the Montana project is the lack of drop-outs throughout the year, even for "cogent reasons". As elsewhere in Bulgaria, some Roma parents have taken the opportunity for temporary job migration in the country and abroad, but their children remained in the city with grandparents or other relatives. Six children had to take supplementary examinations after the end of the school year, which they passed successfully.

³¹ See: Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, p. 62.

The average school attendance, according to the project team, ranges between 65% and 100%. For the day-time boarding-school groups it is nearer to 100%. Attendance is usually lower in the first months of the academic year and after March due to the higher mobility of the parents in these periods. It is highest in the period November – December, when the parents settle down, but the harsh winter months have not come yet – which turns out to be another challenge for attendance for both children and parents.

Some of the Roma children participating in the project visit the day-time boarding-school groups that have been organized in all schools. The project also organizes supplementary lessons for the children lagging behind their classmates, a total of 630 throughout the whole year. They are taught by teachers from the host school, who receive additional remuneration for this, and by the project academic advisor.

The academic advisors from the host schools in Montana attended a seminar on the desegregation of Roma education, which was organized by the project and the local Teachers' Centre. At the beginning of the 2004-2005 academic year there was a meeting between the principals and teachers from the host schools and the Roma parents councils and the project team. The team went through a short training in intercultural communication lead by a psychologist at the beginning of the year.

The project manager stated his desire for more frequent meetings with co-workers from the other desegregation projects.³²

The project assisted the organisation of teacher-parents' meetings at the host schools by providing transportation for the parents to the schools and back. Throughout the school year there have been four teacher-parents' meetings at each school: at the beginning of the year, at the end of the calendar year, at the end of the first term and at the end of the school year. The school counsellor and the coordinator working with the institutions were present at every teacher-parents' meeting. In its annual report, the project team complained about the disinterested attitude on part of some of the parents and the low attendance at teacher-parents' meetings (between 20% and 50%).

The evaluation team held interviews with members of the Sham Foundation, with parents and children at the integrated schools in Montana. Among other issues, the team was interested in incidents of racially motivated insults on part of the Bulgarian children towards their Roma classmates, as well as in the reaction of school boards and the project team. The team of the Sham Foundation reported some incidents of racial insults towards Roma children at host schools, but stated that they were isolated occurrences. In their opinion, the project team and

³² Interview with Mr Petar Borisov, project manager, Montana, 12 May 2005.

the school boards manage to react in time and effectively to arising conflicts. The responses of the children and parents were mixed, but some of them reported about such incidents. The evaluation team came across a case, which had very dramatically affected the educational perspective of its young victim:

*The case of A.B.*³³

A.B. had been enrolled in the fifth grade at one of the host schools. She had studied until the fourth grade at the Roma school in the Kosharnik neighbourhood. She had difficulties at the new school, but her parents insisted on her studying in a mixed school. Unfortunately, in the school A. became the object of scorn and racial insults by several Bulgarian children. They spit on her snack a number of times. This was made known to her teacher more than once, but she did not take the necessary measures for discontinuing the violence against A. As a result, her parents were compelled to enrol her in the school in the village of Studeno Buche. On 15 June 2005 A. and her parents still wanted her to study at an integrated school in Montana, but had not made any steps towards enrolling her again.

5.2.3.2. Test results

The summarized results from the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language conducted in May 2005 at the fourth grade in Montana are as follows:

Table 7
Average results from the tests in Montana

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the segregated school	3.83	3.10	3.31	2.85
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.83	3.69	4.25	4.08
Bulgarian children at the integrated schools	4.92	4.65	5.56	5.23

As the table above shows, the results of the Roma children from the project are generally higher than those of the children from the segregated school. The difference in the results in Bulgarian language is especially impressive. The only point on which the results of the Roma children from the segregated school come close to those of the Roma children at the integrated schools is the result of the ones who took the test in mathematics. The greatest

³³ The team received information about A.B. during an interview with the counsellor at the 5th Comprehensive Secondary School Rosa Georgieva, Montana, 15 June 2005.

difference between the two groups of Roma children is in the Bulgarian language test results after the inclusion of technical poor marks.

In Montana, too, the percentage of Roma children from the segregated school that did not attend the test was higher than the respective percentage of Roma children from the integrated schools. The non-attendance rate at the mathematics test was 40%, and at the Bulgarian language test – 35%. Although the reasons the school board gave were of various nature, the evaluation team was left with the impression that in most cases these are children who are perpetually absent or not attending lessons at all.

Although the grades of the Roma children in integrated schools in Montana are higher than the grades of children in the segregated school, their grades are, on the other hand, lower than those of the Bulgarian children in the integrated schools. Moreover, the differences are great both in mathematics and Bulgarian language – especially in the latter.

5.2.7. Extracurricular and social activities

The Montana project has maintained a busy agenda of extracurricular and social activities throughout the whole period since its beginning. The Sham Foundation maintains a Roma dance group made up of children from the project. In December 2004 it participated in the Christmas and New Year celebrations organized by the municipality of Montana. In honour of 3rd March - Independence Day in Bulgaria - in cooperation with the municipality and several other institutions and NGOs from the city, the Foundation organized and held a karaoke contest. The awards were given out by the municipal mayor. For April 8, the International Day of the Roma, in cooperation with the municipality of Montana and under the mayor's patronage the Foundation organized a competition entitled "I Am Painting a Fairy Tale". Bulgarian and Roma children from the first to the fourth grade took part in the competition.

The Sham Foundation has supplied textbooks and teaching aids to all children from the project who do not receive them from the state. Old textbooks are collected and given to children for free for the following academic year. During the 2004-2005 academic year all children were enrolled in the governmental programme "A Cup of Warm Milk". The Foundation provided breakfast only to the pupils from the fifth to the eighth grade. It also provided afternoon snacks for some of the poorest children who stay at the school for extra lessons. Throughout the year the Foundation has also supplied clothes and shoes sent from Germany as humanitarian aid.

The Sham Foundation is a mediator in securing jobs for Roma from the city of Montana. The organisation's annual report states that it has secured jobs for 82 parents of children on the project.

5.2.5. Political, administrative and public support for the project

The Sham Foundation project enjoys the support of part of the institutions and the people of Montana. The evaluation team spoke to Mr Aleksandar Gerasimov, director of the Humanitarian Activities Directorate at the municipality, with Ms Anka Zaharieva, head of the REI, and Ms Katya Davidkova, primary education expert at the REI. All of them demonstrated good knowledge of the project and declared their full support for it.³⁴ The REI representatives expressed a desire for the extension of the project to other municipalities of the Montana district. According to the project team, the other institutions in Montana, including the Social Support Office, the Child Protection Agency and the police are also in favour of the project. Together with other events organized by the Sham Foundation, the project has received favourable coverage in the local media. With minor exceptions, the project also enjoys the support of the local NGOs.

5.3. Stara Zagora

5.3.1. General information about the project

During the 2004-2005 academic year the project "Free Access of Roma Children to All Schools in the City of Stara Zagora" finished its fourth year of work. It has been implemented from its very beginning by the Rainbow Foundation, chaired by Mr Mityo Kemalov. The Stara Zagora project has functioned not without problems throughout the years of its existence, but they became especially dramatic over the last year, which ended in a serious organizational chaos. As we will see below, this affected badly the influence school desegregation has had over the participation and the results of Roma children in the project, as well as the image of integrated education at the territory of the municipality.

In the 2004-2005 academic year, 235 pupils and children finished the Rainbow Foundation project successfully. Sixteen of them studied in the preparatory grades at the host schools and seven – in the junior-high grades. All the others were children from the first to the fourth grades. The percentage of children and pupils at the primary level of education (including the preparatory grades) was 97%. The percentage of the drop-outs in Stara Zagora during the

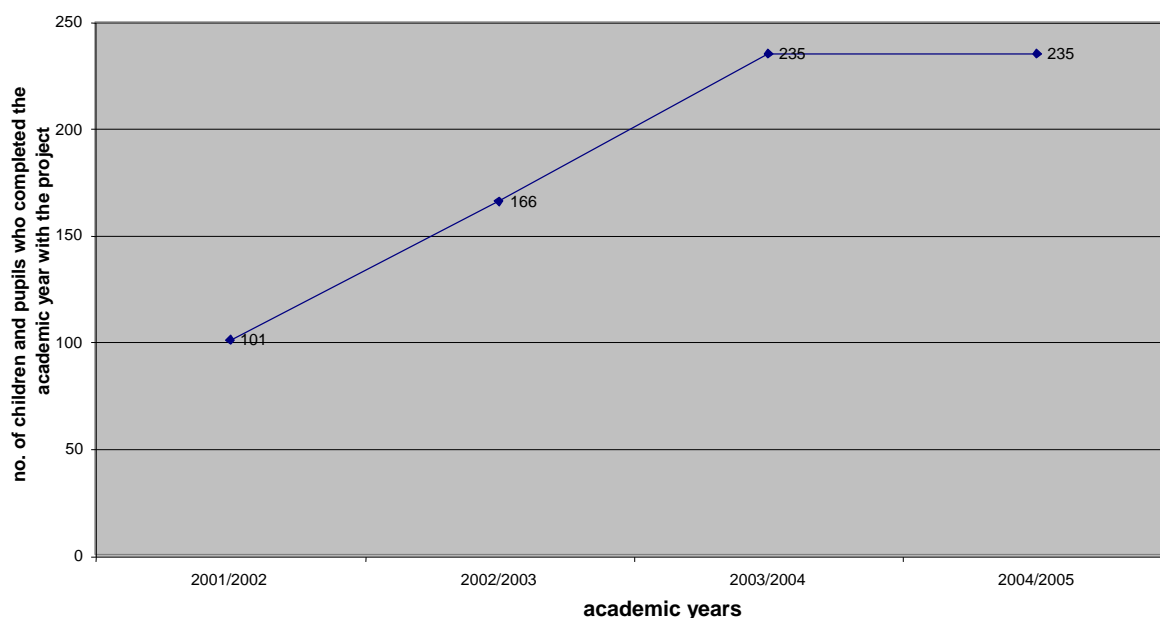
³⁴ The interviews with all of them were conducted on 15 June 2005 in Montana.

2004-2005 academic year is comparatively high. The project team gave the evaluation team different accounts about their number. According to the project team the total number of children who participated in the project during the year was 283. Some of the children who dropped out (32 in total) went back to the neighbourhood schools.

After the launch of the project in 2001 the Rainbow Foundation considerably increased the number of Roma children who successfully participate in the project. Chart 17 below shows the dynamics of number of children who have participated successfully in the project since its beginning.

Chart 17

Dynamics of participation of Roma children and pupils in the Stara Zagora desegregation project



As the chart shows, during the first three years the number of children marks a notable increase only to be stabilized in the last year after reaching the peak of its potential taking into consideration the capacity of the buses and the limited opportunities for control over the children and pupils by the limited number of staff. The children taking part in the project are but small part of the Roma children living in the city of Stara Zagora. Just two of the Roma neighbourhoods in the city are inhabited by 28,000 people. The two local entirely Roma schools continue to enrol the greater part of children from these neighbourhoods – they continue to work undisturbed by the perspective of losing its children to other schools.

The two neighbourhood schools, “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School and “Georgi Garbachev” 12th Primary School, have a total of 1800 children on their enrolment

lists. Although they have most of the problems typical of segregated Roma schools, there are also some differences between the two of them. 12th Primary School is situated in the heart of the Lozenetz neighbourhood and the children enrolled here are poorer and more neglected by their parents. “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School is different – it is the local “elite” school, where children from wealthier Roma families living at the edge of the neighbourhood closer to the Bulgarian residential districts are enrolled. The level of student attendance is quite high and the school usually achieves better results. In the past a number of Bulgarian children were also enrolled in it. The Rainbow Foundation desegregation project enrolls Roma children from the regions of both schools. Children of both wealthier and extremely poor families are enrolled in it.

During the academic year the project worked with 9 host schools on the territory of Stara Zagora, in which the children were distributed quite unevenly. While at the elite 2nd Primary School it enrolled only eight children and at 9th Primary School – 13, at 1st Primary School it enrolled 44 children, and at “Georgi Raychev” Comprehensive Secondary School – 38 children. Generally speaking, the numbers are greater at the more peripheral and less prestigious schools, which have been affected by the demographic crisis to a greater extent and at which the loss of children to other schools is more acute. Children from these 5 schools have been enrolled in preparatory classes:

- 1 Primary School – 4 children
- 5 Primary School – 2 children
- 6 Primary School – 3 children
- 7 Primary School – 4 children
- “Georgi Raychev” Comprehensive Secondary School – 3 children

A lot of schools still remain outside the scope of the Rainbow Foundation project, where it obviously does not have the possibility to work. Stara Zagora is a city with a population of more than 160,000 with great distances between the Roma neighbourhood and the schools, which renders the work using the current funds and capacity of the project impossible at most of the city schools.

Children commute to the host schools on two buses, which the project manager says are in bad technical condition. The distances from the Roma neighbourhood of Stara Zagora to the host schools are long, which turns the transportation into a laborious and resource-consuming task. Throughout the whole year the project management team constantly complained of shortage of money due to the high fuel consumption and the frequent repairs.

In 2004-2005 the project continued to face difficulties with the enrolling of children because of the refusal of the neighbourhood schools to issue certificates of leave and the reluctance of some of the host schools to enrol Roma children. As a rule, the project team tries to fulfil the

parents' desire, but it sometimes joins in the distribution of children in the host schools in order to achieve a more balanced distribution. Generally, the project team also performs some kind of selection of the enrolled children in order to ensure that those who remain are appropriately motivated.³⁵

5.3.2. Project team

The total number of the Rainbow Foundation project staff during the 2004-2005 academic year was 15 people:

- 1 manager,
- 9 counsellors,
- 1 coordinator working with the parents,
- 1 accountant,
- 1 academic advisor,
- 2 drivers.

However, the project team did not remain unchanged throughout the whole school period and it passed through some serious trials. During the year three of the counsellors and the academic adviser quit the project and during the evaluation team visit to Stara Zagora on 17 June 2005 all counsellors had left because they had not received their salaries since March. Four drivers had changed during the year also.

When the project had counsellors on its staff, one counsellor was appointed at each of the host schools. The evaluation team did not manage to find out what the criteria for their recruitment had been, but generally, the project management had tried to recruit people with at least secondary school education. During the June visit the counsellors that the evaluation team met were not motivated, they were displeased and not interested in their work. According to the project manager, the counsellor at 11th Comprehensive Secondary School, one of the schools where the test was conducted, was often absent and when he was present, he was not available to the pupils and teachers. The evaluation team met with this counsellor and heard his explanations, which boiled down mainly to the bad and irregular remuneration.³⁶ He did not manage to give any sensible explanations for the bad test results of the Roma pupils at his school and was genuinely surprised by them.

Most of the counsellors are young people from the Roma neighbourhood. They meet the children in the morning in their neighbourhood and accompany them to the host schools.

³⁵ Interview with Mr Mityo Kemalov, project manager, Stara Zagora, 12 May 2005.

³⁶ Interview with Mr Sasho Sashev, counsellor at 11th Primary School, Stara Zagora, 17 June 2005.

They remain there during the whole day, supervising – at least in theory – the attendance and behaviour of the Roma children. They receive tasks set by the school management boards and aim at solving them on their own or in cooperation with the parents. In the project manager's opinion, they have to compensate – as much as they can – for the missing family care.³⁷ The counsellors submit weekly reports, in which they describe any problems with the attendance, performance and discipline of the children.

The coordinator working with the parents participates in the recruitment and enrolling of children in the project. He also assists the counsellors and the project management in their contacts with the parents and the school management boards. He organizes – at least in theory – the extracurricular activities and the teacher-parents' meetings. These activities in the Stara Zagora project, however, were not a priority during the school year. Generally speaking, the evaluation team was left with the impression that in Stara Zagora this position and the functions connected with it are formal and carried out at a level far lower than in the other desegregation projects.

5.3.3. Academic profile of the project

5.3.3.1. Project organization

During the second half of the academic year, with the leaving of the academic counsellor, the Rainbow Foundation project had no academic counselling. None of the project team members had the capacity to take these functions. Therefore after February 2005 the Foundation activities were reduced only to transportation and supervision of the pupils by the counsellors. The project team did not undergo any training during the year.

The Roma pupils on the Stara Zagora project go to school in two shifts, which means that the counsellors spend the whole day at the host schools. Extra classes are organized only for first-graders, and all first-graders are enrolled in these classes. The project has not offered any supplementary lessons to the upper grades.

³⁷ Interview with Mr Mityo Kemalov, project manager, Stara Zagora, 18 February 2005.

At the host schools the children are distributed unevenly in schools and classes. For example, at the “Nikolay Liliev” 11th Primary School there are 14 children enrolled in the fourth grade, two children – in the first grade, and five children in the second grade. The situation is similar at 1st Primary School, 5th Primary School and at most of the other host schools. The Roma children are more evenly distributed at 7th Primary School and at “Georgi Raychev” Comprehensive Secondary School. The aim of the Rainbow Foundation is to enrol Roma children in classes where they constitute 10-30% of the all pupils. This proportion has more or less been adhered to at all host schools.

The project has been aiding Roma parents with the transportation to the host schools for teacher-parents’ meetings, which are held 3-4 times a year. According to the project team, however, the parents do not attend these meetings regularly and some parents do not attend them at all. The school guardian attends each teacher-parents’ meeting.

5.3.3.2. Test results

The tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language in Stara Zagora were conducted with a relatively large representative group of 137 Roma children – 107 children from the two segregated schools and 30 children from the three integrated schools. None of the latter was among the so-called “elite” schools in the city where the project started enrolling children only during its second and third years of operation. All three integrated schools on the project are situated in the suburbs of the city and have obviously encountered difficulties in enrolling enough students for years. Perhaps this is the reason for their willingness to enrol Roma children. These schools were chosen for the test due to the higher number of Roma fourth-graders in them, while most of the downtown “elite” schools did not have any fourth-graders.

The summarized results from the May 2005 tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language among fourth-graders are as follows:

Table 8
Average results from the tests in Stara Zagora

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the segregated school	3.61	3.19	3.35	2.98
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.64	3.20	3.74	3.33
Bulgarian children at the integrated schools	4.71	4.39	5.14	4.91

In Stara Zagora these results are, generally speaking, better for the Roma pupils from the integrated schools, although the difference is not as great as in some of the other projects. It

is greater in Bulgarian language than in mathematics, where the results are almost the same. In Stara Zagora the pupils at one of the two segregated Roma schools achieved better results than the average result at the integrated schools. This school is the “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School, where the average result in mathematics is 4.02 (3.64 after the inclusion of technical poor marks) and in Bulgarian language – 3.96 (3.63 after the inclusion of technical poor marks). This paradox is the result of the accumulation of a number of factors the major of which are:

- The lower results of the children from the integrated schools come mainly from one of these schools, namely “Nikolay Liliev” 11th Primary School. The results of the Roma children from this school are pitiful – 3.00 in mathematics (2.46 after the inclusion of technical poor marks) and 2.29 in Bulgarian (2.15 after the inclusion of technical poor marks). If the results from this school were excluded from the calculation of the average grades, the of the Roma children from the integrated schools would be much higher.
- “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School is the more “elite” of the two segregated Roma schools. The children enrolled there are from wealthier families – their parents have the opportunity to provide better for their children and are more strongly motivated for their children to receive better education. The project enrolls children from both the region of “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School and the poorer part of the Roma neighbourhood.
- The unsatisfactory work done by the desegregation project – the poor organization, the lack of academic advisors, the lack of additional lessons, the poor performance of the counsellors.

The share of Roma children who did not take the test at the two segregated schools was different. At “Hristo Smirnenski” 12th Comprehensive Secondary School this percentage was 18.6% in mathematics and 16.9% in Bulgarian language. At “Georgi Garbachev” 12th Primary School, on the other hand, it was 35.4% in mathematics and 39.6% in Bulgarian language. The share of pupils who did not take the test at the integrated schools is 26.7% in mathematics and 23.3% in Bulgarian language. These comparatively high non-attendance rates were due to the Roma pupils at “Nikolay Liliev” 11th Primary School where the percentage of those who did not take the test was 53.8% in mathematics and 46.2% in Bulgarian language. Non-attendance rates at the other two host schools were low – at 1st Primary School all pupils took the test and at “Georgi Raychev” Comprehensive Secondary School only one student did not take the test.

In Stara Zagora the results of Roma children at the host schools are again lower than those of Bulgarian children. The difference is considerable in mathematics and even more so in Bulgarian language. The results of Bulgarian pupils at “Nikolay Liliev” 11th Primary School are considerably lower than the results of Bulgarian pupils at the other two host schools. At this

school it is 4.45 in mathematics (3.93 after the inclusion of technical poor marks) and in Bulgarian language – 4.78 (4.44 after the inclusion of technical poor marks)

5.3.4. Extracurricular and social activities

The Rainbow Foundation desegregation project cannot boast of a busy agenda of extracurricular and social activities. The chronic lack of resources has brought these aspects of the process almost down to nil and the lack of academic advisors has deprived the project team of the capacity to carry out such activities. The only extracurricular activities have been the awards, which the Foundation bestows on pupils at the end of the year.

The Rainbow Foundation gave out snacks to the children on the project during the school breaks. They did this until the middle of the year when the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) started its “A Cup of Warm Milk” Programme in Stara Zagora. The first-graders received free textbooks from the Ministry of Education and Science (MES). The Foundation bought teaching aids for them as well as textbooks and teaching aids for older children. Some of the children on the project also received backpacks.

5.3.6. Political, administrative and public support for the project

The desegregation of Roma education has been supported both by the municipal authorities and the REI. The evaluation team had the opportunity to see this at its numerous talks with representatives of both institutions. Neither of them, however, has supported the project financially or by organizing trainings, academic supervision, etc. The only assistance has been given by the municipality, which pays for the lunch of all first-graders who remain for extra afternoon lessons.

Unlike in previous years, the political parties and NGOs in the city have not opposed and criticised publicly the project and the Rainbow Foundation activities. However, they have not done anything to support it, either. The other institutions and public bodies are indifferent. According to the Foundation team, from time to time some local media stir up strife between the Roma schools and the Foundation.³⁸

Several Protestant churches in the Roma neighbourhood have been encouraging their members to enrol their children in the project, but have denied the project special presentation at their gatherings. Local Roma leaders are generally in favour of the

³⁸ Interview with Mr Mityo Kemalov, project manager, Stara Zagora, 12 May 2005.

desegregation of Roma education, although some of them have a problem with it being carried out by the Rainbow Foundation. Some of these leaders have opposed taking the poorest Roma children out of the neighbourhood, since this has created negative moods among Bulgarian parents and children.³⁹

5.4. Sliven

5.4.1. General information about the project

In the city of Sliven the “Desegregation – Sliven” project has been carried out since its very launch in 2001 by the Roma Youth Organization (RYO). The director of the RYO is Ms Stela Kostova. In the 2004-2005 academic year the project finished its fourth active year successfully. 431 pupils in total took part in the project, of whom 368 finished it successfully. Only 20 of them (5.5%) were between the fifth and eighth grades and the other 94.5% were pupils between the first and fourth grades. This is owing to the initial project strategy to focus the project only on enrolling first-graders. The share of children who dropped out of the project during the 2004-2005 academic year was quite high – 63 children between the first and eighth grades.

As in other cities, throughout the years the Sliven project has managed an increasing number of children who participated in it successfully. Chart 18 below shows the dynamics of the number of children and pupils who have participated successfully in the project since its beginning.

The chart shows a rapid increase of the number of children between the first and the second years of project operation, and a gradual decrease of the rapidness of this trend after that; still the growing trend is preserved during the following years. Currently, with the number of enrolled pupils, this is the second-largest desegregation project after the Vidin project. Nevertheless, considering the large number of Roma people in the region, the share of Roma children enrolled in the project is comparatively low.

Sliven has two Roma neighbourhoods, Nikola Kochev and Nadezhda. The social situation of the Roma in these two neighbourhoods is quite different. While the 6000 or so Roma residents of the Nikola Kochev neighbourhood enjoy a relatively high social status and education, the 14,000 residents from Nadezhda are comparatively poorer Roma. This is especially true of the so-called “naked gypsies” who live in the central part of the

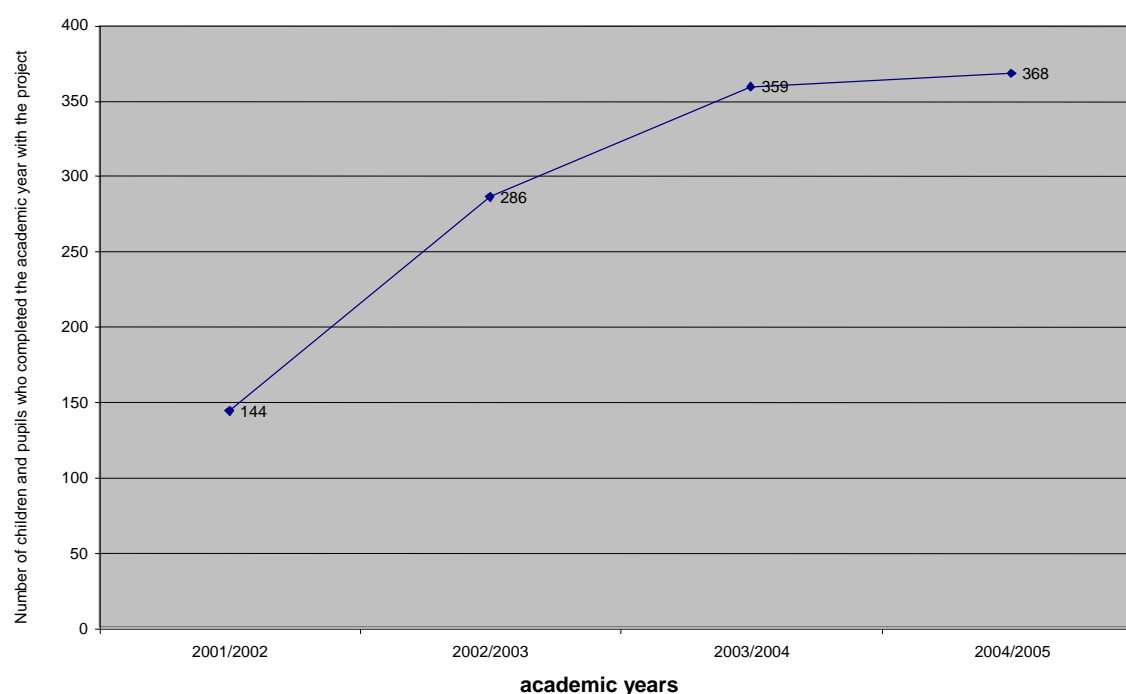
³⁹ Interview with Mr Mityo Kemalov, project manager, Stara Zagora, 12 May 2005.

neighbourhood in profound poverty. The squalor and the short-term goals for their lives, as in all similar communities, push education towards the bottom of the scale of priorities.

According to the analysis of the “Municipality of Sliven programme for integration of the children and pupils from the ethnic minorities in the educational system” approved in 2004 out of the approximately 180-190 first-graders to be in this neighbourhood only 54 pupils graduated from the eighth grade in 2004. Out of those who graduate from the eighth grade almost no one finishes the secondary level of education.⁴⁰

Chart 18

Dynamics of participation of Roma children and pupils in the Sliven desegregation



The Sliven desegregation project focused on the poorest layers of the Roma community in the Nadezhda neighbourhood. The consciously chosen strategy of the team throughout the years of the project activity has always been to attract the poorest of the poor towards integrated education. This is the reason for the lower standard of living of the children enrolled in the project in comparison with that of the children at the segregated school. The only exception are the Roma children from the neighbourhood who enrol in the nearby integrated schools themselves (mainly “Yurij Gagarin” 8th Comprehensive Secondary School), to whom the project also offers some services. The segregated “Miladinovi Brothers” 6th Primary

⁴⁰ “Municipality of Sliven Programme for Integration of the Children and Pupils from the Ethnic Minorities in the Educational System”, part 2.

School taught, at least on paper, 1150 pupils over the 2004-2005 academic year. Due to the great number of pupils who drop out, 33% of them are at the junior-high level.⁴¹ Roma school drop-outs are also a big concern for the municipality.⁴²

The municipal programme for educational integration of the children from ethnic minorities puts great emphasis on the desegregation of Roma education. However, it has not been financially provided for and the municipal authorities did not seem to be well acquainted with it – at least as far as can be judged from the opinion of the deputy mayor in charge of education, Ms Ophelia Kaneva. During her meeting with the evaluation team she offered another approach for handling the problem with Roma school drop-outs – enrolling some of them in reform schools for juvenile delinquents.

During the 2004-2005 academic year the Sliven project enrolled children at 11 host schools, as follows:

- “Anton Ivanov” Elementary School – 17 children,
- “Hadzhi Dimitar” Elementary School – 14 children,
- “Hristo Botev” 2nd Primary School – 12 children,
- “D-r Ivan Seliminski” 3rd Primary School – 14 children,
- “Dimitar Petrov” 4th Primary School – 22 children,
- “Peyo Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School – 39 children,
- “Panayot Hitov” Primary School – 17 children,
- “Yurij Gagarin” Comprehensive Secondary School – 82 children,
- “Yordan Yovkov” 10th Comprehensive Secondary School – 39 children,
- “Konstantin Konstantinov” 11th Comprehensive Secondary School – 62 children,
- “Elizaveta Bagryana” 12th Primary School – 47 children.

Most of the major Sliven schools have been included in the project, with the exception of those situated far from the bus routes, such as 9th Primary School in the Rechitza neighbourhood, and those, which have opposed the enrolment of Roma children since the very beginning of the project, such as “Vassil Levski” Elementary School.⁴³ 1st Comprehensive Secondary School, which enrolls a great number of Roma pupils, has also been neglected due to its being close to the other Roma neighbourhood Nikola Kochev.

The uneven distribution of children in the host schools is due to three factors:

- The project started working with the downtown schools at a later stage.

⁴¹ “Municipality of Sliven programme for integration of the children and pupils from the ethnic minorities in the educational system”, part 2.

⁴² Interview with Ms Ophelia Kaneva, deputy-mayor of the city of Sliven, 21 June 2005.

⁴³ See: BHC, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, p.71.

- The more peripheral schools enrol Roma children with greater readiness due to their being affected by the demographic crisis to a greater extent.
- 8th Comprehensive Secondary School has traditionally attracted Roma children due to its nearness to the Roma neighbourhood.

Children commute to the host schools on two buses, which are in good technical condition. One of them was granted by the municipality and the expenditures for it, including the driver's salary, are paid by the municipality. The pupils at 8th Comprehensive Secondary School do not use the buses, since it is close to the neighbourhood.

The project enrolls only first-graders, therefore it does not encounter any difficulties with getting certificates of leave from the segregated school. The only reason, however, for some of the host schools to enrol Roma children is so that they can fill in their classes and not because of their conviction in the value of integrated education. For instance, the principal of "Elisaveta Bagryana" 12th Primary School refused to enrol Roma children from the project during the 2005-2006 academic year after having filled in her first-grade classes.⁴⁴

The project team has tried to find a balance between parents' preferences and the need for a more even distribution of Roma children at host schools. This is not always achieved in practise, especially in the case of 8th Comprehensive Secondary School, towards which many parents have firm preferences. On the whole, however, the evaluation team did not register any tensions between the team and the parents regarding the choice of host schools.

5.4.2. Project team

The Sliven project team is the biggest of all desegregation teams in Bulgaria – it comprises of 38 people. This, however, is not due to its better funding but to the fact that thanks to its contacts with municipal authorities and the Social Assistance Office the project manager has succeeded in securing serious additional aid for the project. This is the only desegregation project in Bulgaria to which state and municipal authorities have supplied target financing in accordance with its own goals and structure.

The large number of project staff is mainly due to the number of staff directly engaged in the education and supervision of the children at the host schools. Each host school has two coordinators (the analogue of the counsellors in the other projects), which makes a total of 22 people. Besides them, nine of the host schools have assistant teachers assigned in the first grades. They have been employed by the schools in accordance with new state policy for

⁴⁴ Interview with Ms Stela Kostova, project manager, Sliven, 21 June 2005.

introducing this position at schools with Roma pupils. Some of the coordinators have been employed along the MES programme entitled “From Social Aid To Employment”. Beside the coordinators and assistant teachers, the other positions on the project include: 1 lead coordinator, 1 coordinator working with the parents, 1 academic advisor, 1 technical secretary, 2 drivers and the project manager. One of the drivers and one of the buses have been provided by the municipality.

With such a large team to serve them, the children from the Sliven desegregation project are well cared for. The coordinators work half-day changing shifts at noon. They are in constant contact with the children’s parents and teachers and supervise the children’s behaviour and performance. Every Friday they submit weekly reports on the week events. Beside the reports they submit information on the children’s absences to the project manager. In cases of continual absences they meet the parents, clarify the reasons for them and look for ways to discontinue such occurrences. The general management of the team of coordinators is taken up by a chief coordinator, who also summarizes the information received by the school coordinators at the end of each term and school year.

The project’s academic advisor, Mr Petar Kotanov, is a pensioner. He has been an expert at the REI and is a pedagogue with rich experience and good knowledge of the educational system in Sliven. He manages the academic work on the project, including the enrolling, the distribution of supplementary lessons, the supervision of the performance and behaviour of the children. He also inspects the weekly reports of the coordinators and gives them specific directives. He should also maintain constant contact with the management boards of the host schools.

The coordinator working with the parents, Mr Yulian Yunakov, is a well-respected public figure from the Nadezhda neighbourhood. He has a central role in enrolling children and organizing teacher-parents’ meetings. He also assists the coordinators in maintaining every-day contact with the parents and in securing the children’s attendance at school.

5.4.5. Academic profile of the project

5.4.3.1. Project organization

In its academic aspect the Sliven project has been managed by Ms Stela Kostova, who is a pedagogue, and by Mr Kotanov, also an experienced pedagogue. The two of them manage the large project team, which does a broad-scoped and difficult academic work. Taking into consideration the peculiarities of the children enrolled in the project, this type of work requires a lot of devotion and perseverance.

Since the beginning, the project has aimed at enrolling the Roma children at the integrated schools so that they do not exceed 10-20% of the classes. Due to the unbalanced distribution in schools, however, this percentage was exceeded – even though it was exceeded in small numbers. This happened mainly at 8th Comprehensive Secondary School and at 11th Comprehensive Secondary School, where in some of the classes 6-7 children are enrolled.

During the entire 2004-2005 academic year the Sliven project fought against children dropping out of the project and as it seems, out of school in general. Nevertheless the number of dropouts remained high enough – 63 for the whole year. This is the greatest number of dropouts for all desegregation projects. The report of the project team reveals that the reasons behind this have been various: going abroad, moving to another city, dropping out of school due to lack of desire to study or too many absences. Six children were enrolled in the segregated 6th Primary School. 17 children from 11th Comprehensive Secondary School, all of whom at junior-high grades, were taken off the project although they continued going to the integrated school.

During the 2004-2005 academic year day-time boarding school groups were set up by the municipality in Sliven only for first-graders. The project paid for extra afternoon lessons for pupils from the second to the fourth grades. The total of the additional lessons provided by the project was 620. Eight children took supplementary examinations at the end of the school year, which they passed successfully. The team says that attendance of lessons goes down in the winter months and some of the children dropped out of school altogether.

The grade point average of the children on the project is comparatively low – 3.40. Grades vary considerably from school to school and from grade to grade, the highest being in the second grade at “Hristo Botev” 2nd Primary School – 4.51, and the lowest – in the third grade at “Yordan Yovkov” 10th Comprehensive Secondary School – 3.11.

The project management team has conducted regular work meetings with host school principals. However, there have been no trainings or exchange of experience organized for them during the school year. The issue with the qualifications of the coordinators and the assistant teachers is of a better standing. All of them went through basic training for working on the project. Two of the assistant teachers took the training course for assistant teachers at the University of Veliko Tarnovo. Some of the coordinators and assistant teachers participate in the lessons at the request of the teachers. They spend the rest of the time in their rooms or in the corridors of the school or in the yard. With the exception of three of them, all other coordinators have their own rooms in the schools.

The project has assisted the parents in attending the teacher-parents' meetings, which are often held in Sliven – once every month or month and a half. The project buses have been used to this end. The coordinator and the assistant teacher attend each teacher-parents' meeting.

The project team related some cases of racist and biased attitude of some of the principals towards the children and the coordinators on the desegregation project. The project academic advisor reported such behaviour at “Elisaveta Bagryana” 12th Primary school and the coordinators – at “Peyo Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School. The evaluation team heard a great number of complaints concerning racist attitude of Bulgarian children to Roma children. These were reported by Roma children at the integrated schools, as well as by some of the coordinators.

5.4.3.2. Test results

In Sliven the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language for the fourth grade were conducted among 101 Roma children in total – 70 children from three classes at the segregated “Miladinovi Brothers” 6th Primary School and 31 children at three integrated schools: “Yurij Gagarin” 8th Comprehensive Secondary School, “K. Konstantinov” 11th Comprehensive Secondary School and “Elisaveta Bagryana” 12th Primary School.

The summarized results from the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language conducted in May 2005 are as follows:

Table 9
Summarized results from the tests in Sliven

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the segregated school	3.12	2.93	3.15	2.99
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.59	3.39	3.10	3.07
Bulgarian children at the integrated schools	4.91	4.71	5.73	5.38

These results are a real challenge for analysis. The comparison between the two groups of Roma children again shows a general advantage of Roma children from the desegregation project, especially if we consider the results after the inclusion of technical poor marks. Together with this, these results are paradoxical on two points. In the first place, Roma children from the integrated schools did better in mathematics than in Bulgarian language. Sliven is the only city where this happened. The other unique fact about the test results in

Sliven is the slightly higher results in Bulgarian language of the children from the segregated school in comparison with those from the integrated school. Things come back to their place only after the inclusion of technical poor marks.

The table also shows a great difference between the results of Roma children at integrated schools and their Bulgarian classmates. The contrast is especially obvious in Bulgarian language, where it is 2.63 grade units with those who took the test. This is the greatest difference between the two groups of pupils from the integrated schools in comparison with all other cities.

As a whole, the results of Roma children who took the test at the integrated schools in Sliven are the lowest among all projects – both in mathematics and in Bulgarian language. Here we face another paradox: the children from the Sliven desegregation project are the ones of whom the greatest care is taken and in spite of this their results are the lowest. In the Sliven desegregation project, more than in any other project, the factors affecting Roma education outside integration are most strongly manifested. The most central of these for the specific situation in Sliven is the considerably lower status of the children on the project in comparison with that of the children at the segregated school. Another factor typical of Sliven is the strong psychological discomfort the children on the project are placed in due to the contrast between their social status and that of the Bulgarian children. The fact that despite the presence of these factors the children on the Sliven project did generally better at the test than the children at the segregated school should be treated as an achievement for the project. It comes to show that desegregation is possible among the poorest Roma groups, too.

5.4.6. Extracurricular and social activities

As in other projects, the extracurricular activities on the Sliven project have been considerably limited during the 2004-2005 academic year in comparison with the initial years. The project manager explains this imitation with the impossibility to maintain the initial amount of extracurricular activities together with the needs of the growing number of children on the available financial funds. The project organized a Christmas party at which each child received a bag of sweets.

During the school year all children at the schools in Sliven were included in the governmental programme “A Cup of Warm Milk”. Within this programme they have received a snack every day since the beginning of the second school term. The textbooks for the first-graders were paid out of the state budget. The teaching aids for the first-graders, as well as all textbooks and teaching aids for the older Roma children studying at integrated schools were bought by the project.

5.4.7. Political, administrative and public support for the project

The Sliven desegregation project has the support of the municipality of Sliven and more specifically that of the mayor – not only moral, but also financial support. This is the only city in which the municipality, alongside the local Social Assistance Office, provided their own funding for assisting the school integration of Roma children. In words, the REI is in favour of the project – the evaluation team had the opportunity to be convinced of this during a meeting with its representatives. In practice, however, the project team say that this support has been weakened after the change of the management team. The project team demanded, but did not receive, greater attention to the quality of teaching at the integrated schools, including the quality of teaching in the extra afternoon lessons as well as a more radical anti-racist policy.

The political parties in Sliven also support the project although there are some differences of opinion among them. At the session of the municipal council in July 2004 the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization opposed the term “desegregation” as well as the idea of funding the programme of the Sliven municipality for the integration of the children and pupils from the ethnic minorities into the educational system. Several of the local NGOs have also been criticising the desegregation programme, although not on the basis of principle.

During the academic year parents of Bulgarian children at the integrated “Elisaveta Bagryana” 12th Primary School tried to collect signatures against the presence of Roma children in the school. This initiative was blocked with the cooperative efforts of the project and school management.

5.5. Haskovo

5.5.1. General information about the project

During the 2004-2005 academic year the “Equal Access for Roma Children to All Schools in the City of Haskovo” desegregation project continued being implemented by the Tolerance and Mutual Assistance Foundation. The organisation is managed by Ms Zina Yankova. Since its very beginning this project has been amorphous and unclear as to the contribution of the NGO that implements it.⁴⁵ This remained unchanged for the four years of the functioning of

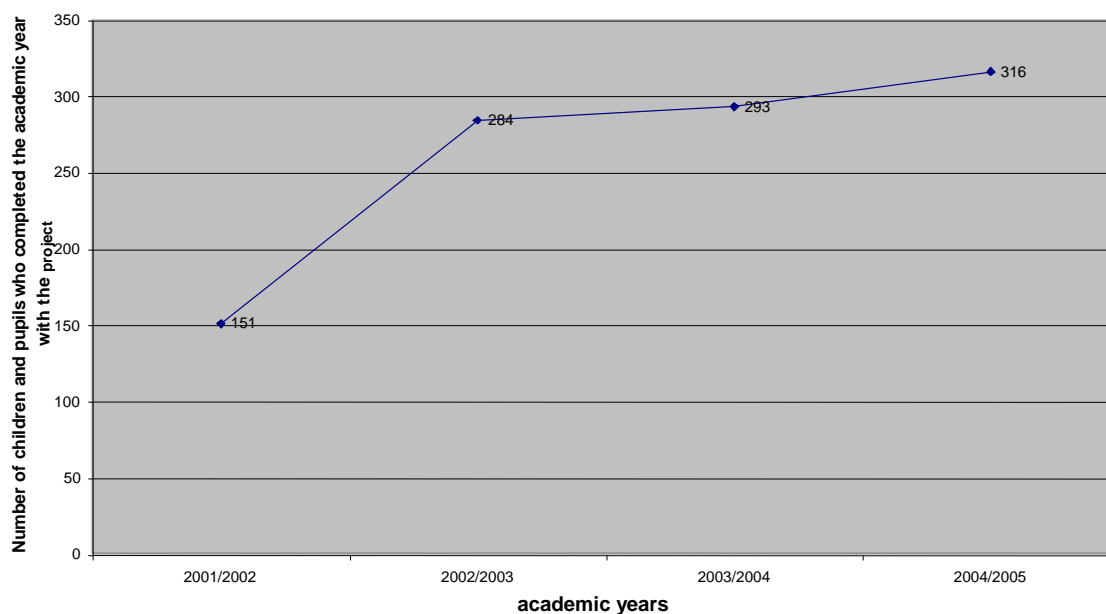
⁴⁵ See: Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, p.82.

the project. The strong opposition of the segregated schools in the city, the closing down of one of the schools, the refusal for cooperation by another school, as well as the indifference of the municipal and district authorities compelled the Tolerance and Mutual Assistance Foundation to limit its activities in the city even more and take them out to the surrounding villages. This decision coincided with the closing down of small village schools by the government and the transportation of children with municipal resources to central district schools. Like at other places in Bulgaria, these children are mostly Roma and they study in an integrated environment among Bulgarian and Turkish children. The Foundation only took some additional functions in assisting their educational integration at the central district schools.

In a situation of this kind it is difficult to judge what exactly the role of the NGO is in taking the Roma children out of their segregated surroundings and how much of the effect of keeping them at school and their successful education at the integrated schools is owing exactly to its efforts. Over the years the Foundation has attracted a great number of pupils to its project. The dynamics of their participation is given in Chart 19 below.

Chart 19

Dynamics of participation of Roma children in the Haskovo desegregation project



As the chart reveals, the dramatic increase in the number of children who complete the project occurred between the first and second project years. After this the numbers became stable with a slight tendency towards increase.

320 children participated in the Haskovo project in the 2004-2005 academic year. 316 of them finished the first through the eighth grades successfully. Four of them dropped out. 54.4% of them were at the primary level of education, which is a small percentage in comparison with other projects.

Out of the seven city schools in which the project was initially launched, only two were still on the project in the 2004-2005 academic year – “Hristo Botev” Elementary School and “Hristo Smirnenski” Primary School. One of the elementary schools was closed down and the rest stopped enrolling Roma children. Those initially enrolled in them continued attending them without the assistance of the project. Instead of them the project is currently working with six schools. The distribution of Roma children in them is as follows:

- “Nestor Markov” Primary School, Krivo Pole village – 84 children,
- “Hristo Botev” Primary School, Voyvodovo village – 57 children,
- “St St Cyric and Methodius” Primary School, Konush village – 41 children,
- “Prof Assen Zlatarov” Primary School, Mineralni Bani village – 70 children,
- “Hristo Botev” Elementary School, Haskovo – 48 children,
- “Hristo Smirnenski” Primary School, Haskovo – 20 children.

The Roma children enrolled at “Hristo Smirnenski” Primary School commute by public transport from the nearby village of Stambolijski. In practice, the only ones who need transportation by the project are the children at “Hristo Botev” Elementary School. Most of them are from the Haskovo Roma neighbourhood called Republika. This neighbourhood has traditionally been populated by Muslim Roma some of whom self-identify as ethnic Turks. A great part of them vote for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). The parents enrolled in the project there, however, are comparatively few to be able to affect in whatever way the educational perspective of this large neighbourhood with two segregated schools. “Prof Assen Zlatarov” Primary School in the village of Mineralni Bani is a central district school for Roma children commuting from the villages of Tatarevo and Sirakovo, and “Nestor Markov” Primary School in the village of Krivo Pole is a central district school for the Roma children from the villages of Elena and Koren. In the other two villages the project “enrolled” the Roma children who had been enrolled at the local village schools anyway studying in an integrated environment.

The only bus of the project is used for the daily transportation of the Roma children from the Republika neighbourhood enrolled at “Hristo Botev” Elementary School. There are children, including Roma, from other neighbourhoods and districts of Haskovo studying at this school. The project bus is in bad technical condition.

5.5.2. Project team

During the 2004-2005 academic year the Tolerance and Mutual Assistance Foundation implemented the project with 11 people in total: 4 counsellors, 2 academic advisors, 1 coordinator working with the institutions, 1 driver and 1 accountant. With the exception of the counsellor in Voiyvodino village, the other counsellors are not assigned to a specific host school and the evaluation team could not get an accurate idea of what precisely they do. It looked like they are rather a mobile team visiting the integrated schools supervising the performance and behaviour of the pupils. The principal of "Hristo Botev", however, praised the work they have done and declared that without them the educational process would not be adequate. She emphasised their role as the connectors between the school and the parents.⁴⁶ At other integrated schools, however, there are no counsellors whatsoever and at the meeting organized by the MES and the BHC on 21 April 2005 aimed at acquainting the heads of the REI, the school principals and the desegregation project managers with the tests to follow the principal of "St. St. Cyril and Methodius" Primary School in the village of Konush denied the existence of a desegregation project at her school. The Tolerance and Mutual Assistance Foundation team explained that this reaction was a result of the conflict it had had with this principal. The evaluation team remained uncertain, however, as to the actual role of the Foundation besides buying learning materials for some Roma children at this integrated school.

The two academic advisors of the project work with only two of the integrated schools – "Hristo Botev" Elementary School in Haskovo and "Hristo Botev" Primary School in Voyvodovo. In Haskovo Ms Marina Vancheva, academic advisor and a pedagogue with rich experience, organized extra afternoon lessons for the Roma children on the project, since there are no such lessons offered by the school. Ms Katya Stoeva, academic advisor, did the same in the village of Voyvodovo. According to the team such a distribution of the work of the academic advisors meets the needs of the project, since some of the remaining schools have organized extra lessons themselves. At others, however – like, for example, at "St. St. Cyril and Methodius" Primary School in Konush – there are no such lessons and the evaluation team could not learn the reasons for the children being left with no supplementary teaching.

The evaluation team was left with the impression that of the two coordinators only Mr Rosen Atanassov was genuinely involved in the project by coordinating the work of the counsellors, joining in the enrolling of children and establishing contacts with the institutions. The functions of the other coordinator, Mr Yosif Hristov, a Roma public figure in Haskovo, remained unclear.

5.5.3. Academic profile of the project

⁴⁶ Interview with Ms Danka ILieva, principal of "Hristo Botev" Elementary School, Haskovo, 22 June 2005.

The Haskovo project, as much as it is a unit with a unified strategy and methodology, has been implemented at many different places, which function separately to a great extent. Although there are two academic advisors on the project, to a large extent they act independently of one another. Mrs Marina Vancheva – the academic advisor working with the pupils at “Hristo Botev” Primary School in Haskovo – occasionally advises the other projects on some issues of teaching and methodology. It is difficult, however, to define this as academic advising in the strict meaning of the word.

The project aimed at distributing the children in a way that they are two or three in a class. At the two city schools, however, there are classes with six children and at some of the village schools the proportion of the Roma children amount to half the class. The number of dropouts is comparatively small – only four children dropped out due to leaving the country with their parents.

The parents of Roma children on the project whom the evaluation team had the chance to meet were unanimous that they preferred the integrated schools because of the better level of education they offer for their children. Those of them whose children had studied at the segregated school before they were enrolled at the integrated one had had the chance to compare the two and expressed firm preferences for the integrated schools.⁴⁷

The grade point average of the children on the Haskovo project are comparatively low – 3.58. These are the second lowest after the grades in Sliven. The GPA at the different schools is as follows:

-	“Nestor Markov” Primary School, Krivo Pole village	- 4.01
-	“Hristo Botev” Primary School, Voyvodovo village	- 3.98
-	“St St Cyril and Methodius” Primary School, Konush village	- 4.23
-	“Prof Assen Zlatarov” Primary School, Mineralni Bani village	- 3.30
-	“Hristo Botev” Elementary School, Haskovo	- 4.09
-	“Hristo Smirnenski” Primary School, Haskovo	- 3.40

As it be seen, the average grades of the children on the Haskovo desegregation project are above 4.00 only at three schools, among which is “St St Cyril and Methodius” Primary School, where the work of the project is minimal. At the end of the year approximately 15 children from junior-high grades had to take supplementary examinations, which all of them passed successfully. The test results of the Roma children-participants in the Haskovo desegregation

⁴⁷ Interview with Ms Dëshka Ivanova, mother of a pupil at “Hristo Botev” Elementary School, Haskovo, 22 June 2005.

project are also comparatively low. The tests were taken by a planned representative group of 14 fourth-graders at “Hristo Botev” Elementary School and “Prof Assen Zlatarov” Primary School, Mineralni bani village. The summarized results are as follows

Table 10
Average results of Roma children at the integrated schools in Haskovo

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.09	2.86	3.36	3.07

As it can be seen, the average result from the test in Bulgarian language is higher than the average results in mathematics. However, in general, at both of them the Roma children from the project performed badly. Haskovo is the only city where the result of the Roma children-participants in the project after the inclusion of technical poor grades is lower than 3.00 in one of the subjects (mathematics). The reasons for this are complex, but one of them is doubtlessly the bad academic work within the project itself.

The Tolerance and Mutual Assistance Foundation organized several meetings at the host schools to introduce the project at the beginning of the year. Besides this, however, there have been no other trainings or qualification programmes. Teachers from the integrated schools participated in trainings and exchange of experience sessions organized by the REI, but they did not focus on desegregation and integrated education.

The Foundation assisted Roma parents from Haskovo in their participation in teacher-parents’ meetings at “Hristo Botev” Elementary School. It also organized three parents’ meetings in Haskovo with the parents of the children from this school. The level of attendance at these meetings was high.

The evaluation team registered several cases of racially-motivated behaviour on part of Bulgarian children towards their Roma classmates at the host school. However, the team was left with the impression that this problem in Haskovo is not so serious as in other cities. The project team also mentioned several such cases but clarified that they have been incidental and have usually been dealt with quickly and effectively with the interference of the school management boards and the counsellors.

5.5.4. Extracurricular and social activities

The extracurricular activities of the Haskovo project were brought down to almost nil during the 2004- 2005 academic year. According to the project team this had to be done, since there

was no money on the budget for such activities. Therefore, such activities were limited to small encouragement gifts for the children who performed outstandingly during the year at school.

Until the beginning of March 2005, when the MLSP programme “A Cup of Warm Milk” was launched in Haskovo, the project provided snacks for some of the children on the project. After the start of the government programme, it stopped giving out snacks. The project also provided teaching aids and some textbooks for the children-participants in the project. The textbooks for all first-graders were provided by the state. In some cases – like for example in the village of Konush – this actually exhausted the role of the Foundation in the education of the Roma children at the host schools. According to the project team they also contributed to the “motivation” of the children for going to school. The evaluation team could not learn how exactly and with what means of its own the Foundation provoked this “motivation”.

5.5.5. Political, administrative and public support for the project

Since its very launch, the Haskovo desegregation project has worked in isolation from the educational and other authorities in the city and the district. The situation had not improved much in the 2004-2005 academic year. The REI and the municipal authorities declared their support before the evaluation team, but throughout all the years of the functioning of the project they obviously have not gone much further beyond oral declarations. No other public authorities in the region have expressed support on any occasion.

None of the political parties in Haskovo has supported the project in any way. In the beginning the MRF were even hostile because of its Roma profile but later they reconciled and the project withdrew from the Republika neighbourhood towards whose residents the MRF has had political claims.

The project received some media coverage at the beginning of the school year at a local newspaper, with which the media support and interest came to an end. The rest of the local NGOs are also indifferent and a Roma organization, (United Roma Union - Haskovo) was continually hostile and cooperated with one of the segregated schools.

On several occasions the project ran into the reluctance and opposition of Bulgarian parents towards the enrolment of Roma children at the schools where their children study. In the past, before its closure, this was the case with parents of children from “Ivan Vasov” Elementary School and later – with “Shandor Petyofi” Primary School. The teachers from the latter succumbed to this opposition and perhaps to their own prejudice, which became the central reason for the project to stop working with this school.

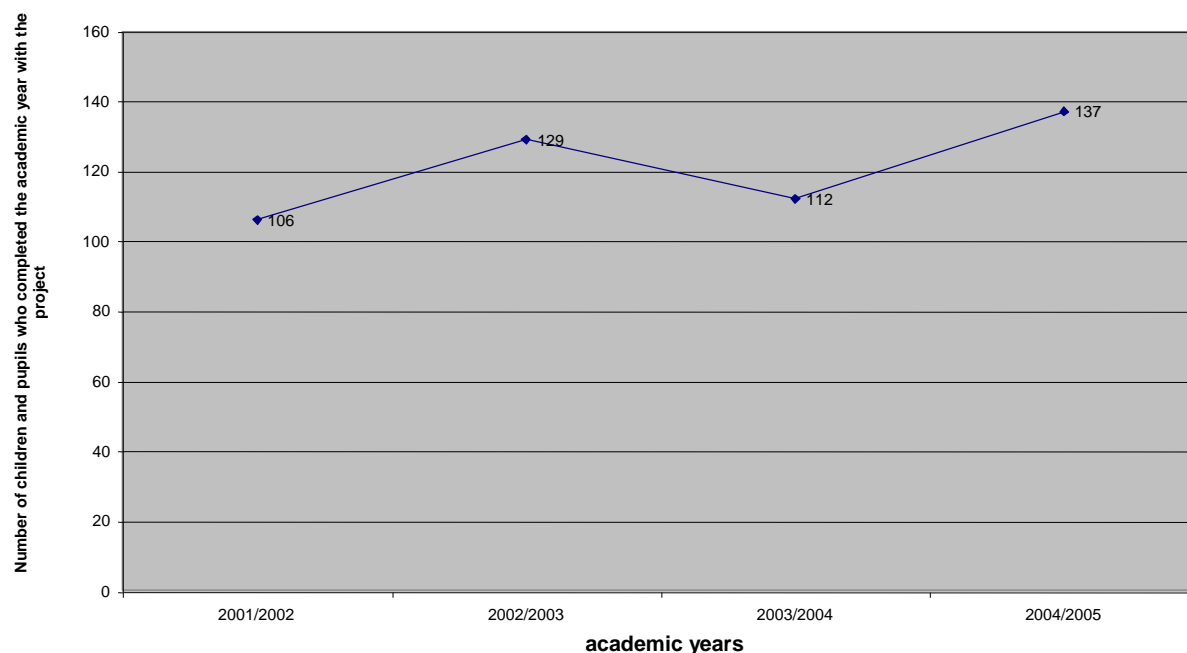
5.6. Pleven

5.6.1. General information about the project

The 2004-2005 academic year was the fourth for the project “Free Access for Roma Children to All Schools in the City of Pleven and the Region”. From its very beginning the project has been implemented by the Amala-R Foundation, chaired by Mr Milan Nikolov. During the 2004-2005 academic year – according to data from an official report of the Foundation – 149 children participated in the project. 137 of them finished the project successfully. There are 12 dropouts. This is a comparatively small figure, taking into consideration the Foundation’s capacity. The number of children who have completed the project over the last four years is as follows:

Chart 20

Dynamics of participation of Roma children in the Pleven desegregation



The general tendency has been towards increase although within very small boundaries. Besides having the smallest number of children of all desegregation projects active for four years, the Pleven project is also the one with the smallest growth rate. This is also the project with the greatest proportion of the total budget to the number of children finishing the project (378.4 USD per child completing the project for 2004-2005 academic year). 136 of the total number of 149 children participating in the project were pupils from the first to the eighth

grades (19 in the first grade, 26 – in the second, 18 – in the third, 16 – in the fourth, 26 – in the fifth, 15 – in the sixth, 10 – in the seventh, six – in the eighth), three pupils - from the tenth grade and ten children in the preparatory groups at ADKs in the city. The percentage of the pupils from the primary level of education (including the children in the preparatory groups) within the project is 60%.

The two schools from the neighbourhood from which the project attracts children are “Kiro Stanev” Elementary School in the city of Pleven, situated on Osam Street, near the Roma neighbourhood, and “Kliment Ohridski” Primary School in the Bukovlak neighbourhood. This is a village situated 4 kilometres away from the city, mainly populated with Roma, most of whom are Christian and some – Muslim. Since these two schools are the Roma segregated schools in the city. Therefore, there are no segregated schools in Pleven left outside the project. “Kiro Stanev” Elementary School is a really small school with an extremely poor material base and during the 2004/2005 school year no more than 20 children from the first to the fourth grades studied there. In the 2002/2003 school year 35 children studied there⁴⁸ and the decrease of their number is due partly to the project. Actually, this school rather reminding of cell schools from the beginning of the 19th century, should have been closed down a long time ago. Its existence has been maintained for phoney social reasons.

In the 2004/2005 school year 350 children studied at “Kliment Ohridski” Primary School according to Valeri Todorov, academic advisor of the Pleven desegregation project⁴⁹ and 419 children according to the principal of the school, Nedyalka Nikolova. According to information the project team has and in the opinion of the parents and children interviewed by the evaluation team, the number of children actually attending the school is twice as small. In the 2001-2002 academic year 500 children studied at this school officially, but not more than 200 actually attended it.⁵⁰ So, for three years there has been a decrease of the number of children at this school owing to several factors – decrease in the demographic growths, the emigration of parents and the activity of the Amala-R Foundation project.

During one of its visits in Pleven the project team informed the evaluation team that they enrolled Roma children at the following five schools in the city of Pleven – the secondary level schools “Hristo Smirnenki” Comprehensive Secondary School and “Peyo K. Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School and the primary level schools “Vasil Levski” Primary School, “Nikola Y. Vaptzarov” Primary School and “Petar Beron” Primary School. In the report of the REI the distribution of children according to schools at the time of the tests is as

⁴⁸ See: Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, p. 44.

⁴⁹ Interview with Mr Valeri Todorov, academic advisor of the project, Pleven, 13 May 2005.

⁵⁰ See: Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: An Evaluation of the Nongovernmental Desegregation Projects in Six Bulgarian Cities*, p. 44.

follows: 28 children at “Nikola Y. Vaptzarov” Primary School, 20 children at “Vassil Levski” Primary School, 23 children at “Peyo K. Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School, 36 children at “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School, 23 children at “Petar Beron” Primary School (where there are currently no fourth-grade classes). There are also 4 children in half-day kindergartens (HDKs). That is 134 children in total.⁵¹ As these numbers were valid on the date of the tests, they have more or less the same as the numbers the Foundation has as information.

These host schools have traditionally been partners of the Amala-R Foundation. With the exception of “Peyo K. Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School, which was added later, the project started four years ago. At four of the five schools there were no Roma children before the start of the project. There were Roma children going to non-segregated schools outside or independent of the project at “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School, too, which is close to the Izgrev district (known by its old name, Balabair), situated between Pleven and the Bukovlak neighbourhood.

According to the project team, children commute on two buses, which are enough for their transportation. According to Ms Elisaveta Sergeeva, however, there is only one bus. Perhaps she has had this impression from the fact that the buses are old, they often break down and one of the two is constantly in repairs and when it is not, it is not used in the afternoons with the aim of economizing fuel. The children on the project commute to school using only the project buses.

The expectations of the project team were that 40 new children would enrol over the next year and thus (by excluding those who have graduated from the eighth grade, who are not going to continue studying in the upper secondary level of education) the expected absolute growth is of at least 15 children. According to the counsellors, the parents have been persuaded to enrol their children in the project by going from house to house and speaking to them. They were told that besides better education, the project would do everything possible to provide textbooks for the children, as well as clothes and shoes for the poorest children. The counsellors report that there are some parents who receive the clothes and backpacks provided by the project, but then stop their children from participating in it. The team say that the children from Bukovlak, who form the majority of the participants in the project, are well motivated, because their parents also want their children to be better educated. The majority of the children on the project are from wealthier and more educated parents.

⁵¹ Interview with Ms Elisaveta Sergeeva, expert at the REI, 13 May 2005. According to the Foundation the total number of the children who completed the 2004-2005 academic year, as stated above, is 137, and 10 children were in ADK.

5.6.2. Project team

During the 2004-2005 academic year the desegregation project in Pleven was implemented by 11 people. The chairman of the Foundation, Mr Milan Nikolov, a Roma public figure, is project manager. Valeri Todorov is academic advisor and Valentina Nikolova is coordinator working with the institutions. There are five guardians and two drivers, as well as a part-time accountant. In average, there are 14 children per person. There is a counsellor at each of the host schools, usually a Roma from the respective neighbourhood. There are no special procedures (competitions, tests) for their appointment, but the necessary requirement is that they "have authority among the people from the neighbourhood, so that parents can be free to trust them their children".

The counsellors take up the children at the beginning of the day, remain at the schools until the lessons are over and then accompany the students on the buses back to their homes. In the schools not only do they observe the learning process, but are also obliged to take care of the children during the extra afternoon lessons. They are available for both children and teachers in this way. The latter establish contact with the parents through them, they make their remarks and recommendations on the performance, behaviour and the provision of textbooks and teaching aids for the children. During the school year there was a conflict between the counsellor and the principal at "Petar Beron" Primary School as a result of which the counsellor's room was "taken away".⁵² Like at other places, the counsellors interfere when there are problems with their children and look for the parents' and teachers' assistance to solve them.

In the opinion of both the project team and the evaluation team, the children's motivation is generally good. The counsellors, however, have not been hired on permanent labour contracts, but on short-term service contracts, which does not satisfy them. They want to have permanent appointments and higher remuneration. The team is stable, only at one of the schools one the counsellors left because she married and was replaced by another counsellor.

Every two weeks the counsellors should submit written reports on the performance, behaviour and problems of the children in their custody. These reports are kept in a special archive. In another archive information on the children's term and annual grades is kept in computer files.

The operational organization of the project is done through the instructions by the manager and the academic advisor, as well as through general staff meetings every second Friday of the month. Tasks are distributed then and current problems solved.

⁵² Interview with Ms Yulka Aleksandrova, counsellor at "Petar Beron" Primary School.

6.6.3. Academic profile of the project

5.6.3.1. Organization of the project

The academic organization of the project is performed by Mr Valeri Todorov, academic advisor. He has been on the project for one year and he has the necessary qualifications but in the last few years before the project he had not worked as a pedagogue. Mr Todorov had the task of monitoring the dynamics of educational achievements and failures of the children, as well that of organizing supplementary activities with the children whose achievements are not satisfactory or who face difficulties in acquiring new material.

The children go to school in two shifts in the morning and in the afternoon and they also attend extra lessons at each of the host schools. They have been distributed so that there are 3-4 Roma children in a class, which is about 10-15% of the total number of children in the respective classes and schools. The distribution is balanced. According to the spoken information supplied by Mr Todorov, 12 out of 149 children dropped out in the 2004/2005 school year – this is 8% of dropouts.

The average grade of the Roma children on the project is “Good” - 4.27. The breakdown by host schools is:

- “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School	– 4.38
- “Peyo K. Yavorov” Comprehensive Secondary School	– 4.18
- “Vassil Levski” Primary School	– 4.24
- “Nikola Y. Vaptzarov” Primary School	– 4.41
- “Petar Beron” Primary School	– 4.03

According to information supplied by the Foundation, the level of attendance is 78% on average. In the winter period it is lower due to lack of good shoes or frequent illnesses or the need for the children to take care of their younger siblings. The academic advisor describes the mechanisms of academic organization in the following way: “I am responsible for the work of the counsellors. I spend time with them every day. I am also responsible for the counsellor’s and the children’s discipline. I buy textbooks. I fix the drivers’ schedule. I do the documentation. I write new project proposals.”⁵³ There is no information that the REI or the school management boards have offered any methodological support to the project. The project team did not report any trainings, seminars or exchange of experience events that

⁵³ Interview with Mr Valeri Todorov, academic advisor of the project, Pleven, 13 May 2005.

they have had with principals and teachers at the host schools. There is no information as to trainings with the project team.

This year the project has not offered any extra lessons to children at and outside the host schools. There used to be such in previous years. For the extra teaching of the children the project relies on the extra lessons organized by the host schools themselves.

According to the project team only the parents of well-performing children attend the teacher-parents' meetings organized by the schools. The project itself organized one such meeting for the parents of its children at the beginning of the school year. The team say they work well with the host schools, with the exception of "Petar Beron" Comprehensive Secondary School, where the relations with the principal are not good. The team estimates the relations between the Roma and Bulgarian children as good. On several occasions, however, the evaluation team received complaints from Roma children-participants in the project concerning racially-motivated insults on part of the Bulgarian children.

According to some of the guardians, the principal of the segregated school in Bukovlak created problems with giving certificates of leave. He tells parents that if they enrol their children in the project, their social aid for children will be cut off.

5.6.3.2. Test results

The tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language in Pleven were carried out on 12 May 2005 and 13 May 2005. They covered 14 Roma children in the fourth grade at three integrated schools: "Nikola Vaptzarov" Primary School, "Vassil Levski" Primary School, "Hristo Smirnenski" Primary School, as well as 34 children from the segregated "Kliment Ohridski" Primary School and "Kiro Stanev" Elementary School. The summarized results from the tests are shown in table 9 below:

Table 11
Average test results in Pleven

	Average results in mathematics		Average results in Bulgarian language	
	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks	Of those who took the test	After the inclusion of technical poor marks
Roma children at the segregated school	3.39	3.06	3.40	3.03
Roma children at the integrated schools	3.77	3.64	4.64	4.07
Bulgarian children at the integrated schools	4.97	4.54	5.48	5.01

As the table shows, the results of the Roma children from the integrated schools are higher than that of Roma children at the two segregated schools. The results in mathematics after the inclusion of technical poor marks is more than half a grade unit higher and in Bulgarian language, again after the inclusion of technical poor marks, it is a little more than a grade unit higher. Similarly to other places, the difference in Bulgarian language is striking in favour of the children at the integrated schools.

The percentage of the children at the segregated schools who did not sit the test is much higher than that of the children at the integrated schools who did not sit the test. In average, it is between 21% and 24% and at "St. Kliment Ohridski" it amounts to one quarter of the children. A frequent excuse for the absences was "the lack of appropriate clothes". But taking into consideration that according to most of the reports, the school in Bukovlak is regularly visited by only half of the officially enrolled pupils, a more probable reason for being absent at the test would rather simply be the continual absence from school altogether.

Like at other places, the difference between the results of Bulgarian and Roma children at the integrated schools is not negligible – almost a grade unit in both mathematics and Bulgarian language.

5.6.4. Extracurricular and social activities

The project has provided textbooks and teaching aids for its students, the criterion being the status of the parents – they should be unemployed for their children to receive free textbooks. In practice, the majority of the children on the project receive their textbooks from it, as well as some clothes and shoes for the poorest. Before the 2004-2005 academic year the children received snacks at school, provided by the Amala-R Foundation, but this has not been done for the last year, since the children from the first to the fourth grade have been included in the governmental programme "A Cup of Warm Milk".

During the school year the children were taken to "green school" in spring. The Amala-R buses were used by both the children on the project and their Bulgarian classmates. The Foundation paid for the transport of all children – Bulgarians and Roma and it covered the rest of the expenditures of the children on the project.

5.6.5. Political, administrative and public support for the project

The head of the Department of Education at the municipality of Pleven, Ms Reni Krasteva, stated that she is in favour of the project, but expressed her regret that their contacts with it

are too incidental.⁵⁴ In her opinion this is owing to the fact that some time ago the counsellors received their remuneration by the municipality, but for two years now this has not been possible, which made the project cease its connections with the municipal Department of Education.

The head of the REI, Ms Ani Petkova, stated that she has a positive attitude towards the project and that she stands behind the concept of integrated education. At the same time she said, “contacts between the REI and the Foundation have not been as frequent as they should. They have rather been sporadic and only when there have been problems, which usually happen at the beginning or the end of school years. The REI would like to have more information from the project itself and not only from the school principals. We have not met people from the Foundation for more than a year, actually.”⁵⁵

There is no information that the political parties in the city have any special attitude to the project. Unlike them, the local media regularly inform society about the progress of desegregation – there were two TV programmes recently. In the opinion of the people the evaluation team spoke to, Roma organizations have no special attitude towards the project. The same can be said about the local non-Roma NGOs.

According to the project team, the relations with the Bulgarian parents are more or less normal. In the opinion of Ms Ani Petkova, too, there are no negative attitudes among them. However, Ms Reni Krasteva reported that some Bulgarian parents of children at “Hristo Smirnenski” Comprehensive Secondary School, “Petar Beron” Primary School and “Vassil Levski” Primary School move their children to other schools because of the presence of Roma children.

5.7. Other desegregation projects

After 2001 two more desegregation projects were launched in the country. They are supported by the Roma Participation Programme of the Open Society Institute – Budapest in the cities of Sofia and Plovdiv. Since there were no children who were fourth-graders at the beginning of the project and the MES did not have tests for the lower grades available, these projects could not participate in the tests in mathematics and Bulgarian language. The evaluation team assessed only with the organization of these projects and the academic achievements on the basis of the grades received at the host schools.

⁵⁴ Interview with Ms Reni Krasteva, head of the Department of Education at the municipality of Pleven, Pleven, 16 June 2005.

⁵⁵ Interview with Ms Ani Petkova, head of the REI of the MES, Pleven, 13 May 2005.

5.7.1. The Sofia desegregation project

The Sofia desegregation project, which is implemented by the Romani Baht Foundation, was launched in the largest Roma neighbourhood in the city, Fakulteta, during the 2002-2003 academic year. In the beginning it enrolled 120 children from the neighbourhood at several schools outside the Krasna Polyana district, in which the neighbourhood itself is situated. The project also supplied textbooks and teaching aids to 40 Roma children, who were already studying at host schools. Since the very beginning of the project the school management boards have been reluctant to allow Roma children to be enrolled through the Romani Baht Foundation and the municipal and regional authorities did not lessen this opposition in any extent. The Foundation even assisted the filing of a lawsuit in court for discrimination on ethnic grounds due to a refusal to enrol children at one of the schools. In consequence, the Foundation broadened the scope of the project and increased the number of children enrolled. However, the number of children enrolled in the schools of the Krasna Polyana district, with who the Foundation works, has remained unchanged. 312 children finished the 2004-2005 academic year successfully. The greater part of them (87%) came from the first to the third grades.

During the 2004-2005 academic year the Romani Baht project was carried out at six host schools in Sofia outside the Krasna Polyana district and at four host schools in this district. 272 children – that is, all Roma children studying outside the district – commute. Transportation was secured through a contact with the Sofia Autotransport Company, which is paid by the Foundation. The latter has only one minibus, which is used for the transportation of children at specific periods of the day, as well as of parents for teacher-parents' meetings.

The Fakulteta neighbourhood is traditionally the area of the segregated 75th Comprehensive Secondary School, which is situated at the centre of the constantly growing in population neighbourhood. Until one year ago it formed 8-9 first-grade classes and faced considerable difficulties in finding place for the lessons of all classes. This is the reason why in the 2005-2006 academic year the municipality and the REI forbade the school to form more than four first-grade classes. A larger part of the remaining children have been enrolled in the project, which increased the number of children-participants to 395 for the 2005-2006 academic year. Another part of the children, however, seem to have remained unenrolled or else have been enrolled by their parents at schools outside the neighbourhood without the Foundation's assistance.

The Romani Baht Foundation implements several other projects alongside desegregation. Eight staff members are directly and permanently involved with the desegregation project: the seven assistant teachers and one coordinator responsible for the contact with the schools who sometimes substitutes some of the assistant teachers. The chairperson, the legal programme director, the administrative director and one more employee at Romani Baht are also involved in the project in addition to their other functions. Two other pedagogues assist the project academic work – associate professor Dr. Hristo Kyuchukov and Lili Kovacheva.

There is one assistant teacher (the analogue to the counsellors in the other projects) in each host school with the exception of 136th Primary School, which has two assistant teachers. They have been employed at their positions by the host schools, but they receive additional remuneration by the Foundation. At the host schools they supervise the attendance, performance and behaviour of Roma children and in some cases assist the teachers during regular and extra afternoon lessons. Four of the assistant teachers have gone through a six-month course of training along a CARE – Germany project financed by the European Commission. Three other assistant teachers are being trained at the Department for Information and Development of Teachers (DIDT) at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia. The Romani Baht team expressed their satisfaction with the CARE project training, but were worried that the training at DIDT, which was of a lower quality, did not finish with granting the certificates initially promised.

At the host schools the children are distributed 5-7 in a class. The level of attendance is generally high, although it drops in winter months. The project team claim that the performance of the Roma children enrolled at host schools is high. At almost all of them it is “Good - 4” or “Very Good - 5” and at 66th Comprehensive Secondary School 49% of the children have “Excellent” average grades. Two or three children had to take supplementary examinations after the end of the school year, which they passed successfully. There are day-time boarding school groups formed at all host schools – some of the children take part in them. In addition, the project organized a “summer school” after the end of the school year using the territory of the segregated 75th Comprehensive Secondary School in the Fakulteta neighbourhood. Two classes of 25 pupils who need extra lessons were formed. They were taught for four hours a day by teachers from the host schools whom the Foundation paid additional remuneration. The total number of extra lessons was 320. Some teachers from the host schools went through a qualification course at the DIDT – together with some of the assistant teachers on the project – where they were taught subjects on intercultural education.

The Foundation has been aiding parents in commuting to teacher-parents’ meetings on the project minibus. Besides, three meetings between the team and the parents were organized during the school year in the office of the Foundation.

The evaluation team received information from the Romani Baht team regarding racially-motivated insults towards Roma children at the host schools and other similar incidents. At the beginning of the year Bulgarian students came to school carrying posters protesting against the presence of Roma children. The school principal reacted more out of a desire to cover up the incident, rather than with actions aiming at rooting out the problem itself. Although the Foundation team is striving to solve such issues as far as it is capable of doing so, the evaluation team was left with the impression that this was neither a special concern of the school management boards, nor of the city and state educational authorities.

During the school year the Romani Baht team has received support from the REI and the MES in Sofia, with which it has a signed contract. In terms of speaking, the municipality is also in favour of the project, although it has not undertaken any specific actions towards its support. The NGOs active in the neighbourhood are rather indifferent. The media interested in the project usually give it favourable coverage.

The project team supplies teaching aids for all its 312 children-participants, as well as textbooks for additional subjects. It has sometimes been necessary to buy other things for some of the poorest children, like for example sports clothes and jackets. Since March and April 2005 the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) launched its "A Cup of Warm Milk" programme at the host schools.

5.7.2. The desegregation project in Plovdiv

In the 2005-2006 academic year the Roma Foundation initiated a desegregation project in the city of Plovdiv with 103 children from the first to the eighth grades. Most of them (81%) are at the primary level of education and 45% are first-graders. They started attending eight host schools in the city:

- "Paisij Hilendarski" Comprehensive Secondary School – 15 children
- "Nikola Vaptzarov" Comprehensive Secondary School – 14 children
- "Knyaz Aleksandar 1st" Comprehensive Secondary School – 19 children
- "Hristo Danov" Comprehensive Secondary School – 14 children
- "Vasil Levski" Primary School – 13 children
- "Dimitar Dimov" Primary School – 25 children
- "Aleko Konstantinov" Primary School – 2 children
- "Kliment Ohridski" Primary School – 1 child.

The majority of the children are from the biggest Roma neighbourhood in the city, Stolipinovo. Another, smaller, part of them come from the Sheker mahala neighbourhood. The Roma children at Mr Dimitar Dimov Primary School had been enrolled at this school before the

beginning of the project. The Roma Foundation has transported the children from Stolipinovo to the host schools by bus.

A counsellor is appointed at each of the six host schools with the greatest number of children. All counsellors have secondary school education. There are five other people working in the team. The only pedagogue in the project is Mr Vasil Vargulev, who is also principal of one of the segregated schools in the Stolipinovo neighbourhood. This is a bizarre situation for a project that aims to recruit children from the region of this very same school.

There are no day-time boarding-school groups at all host schools on the project. Therefore some of the Roma children from the project are supposed to receive extra lessons at the Second Chance School of the Roma Foundation, which was originally intended for the education of Roma adults. All children-participants in the project receive teaching aids and backpacks bought by the Foundation. There are also snacks provided for the children who stay at the host schools for extra afternoon lessons.

At a seminar organized on 12 September 2005 by the project team the representatives of REI and the local authorities expressed unanimous support for the project and readiness for cooperation. The representatives of two political parties – the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the Union of the Democratic Powers – also declared their support.

7. Desegregation and purposes of integrated education

At their beginning the desegregation projects in Bulgaria aimed to abolish the structural discrimination of Roma education by making the educational opportunities of the Bulgarian and Roma children equal, by mutual socialization through positive inter-personal contacts, and by broadening the social horizons of Roma children through taking them out of the ghettos.⁵⁶ Desegregation would supposedly influence their academic performance in a positive way, as well as improve the general interethnic relations throughout the country. The two purposes of integrated education – the educational and the social purposes - are relatively independent from one another. In such a way, desegregation is supposed to contribute separately to the achievement of each. In practice, though, it is difficult to divide the two lines of contribution from one another, even for the purposes of the present evaluation.

6.1. Desegregation and factors influencing academic performance

It is still a controversy today whether the mixing of children from different ethnic communities would impact positively the academic performance of the children from the minorities. The issue remains controversial even in the countries where educational desegregation has had a long history.⁵⁷ Researchers are prone to ascribe positive educational effects of the enrolment of children of the minorities to different schools only when the latter is accompanied by changes in the teaching approaches, the structure of the educational process, the material supplies, the qualifications of the teachers, and the level of social relations at the school. Undoubtedly, along with, or independently from integrated education, a range of other factors exerts influence upon the academic performance of the pupils from the minorities. These factors are specific to a definite cultural context and operate both separately and jointly. In the present chapter of the evaluation we shall attempt to see into the impact of these factors upon the operating projects for the desegregation of Roma education in Bulgaria.

6.1.1. Additional training

Additional academic training is exceptionally important for those Roma children whose academic condition and motivation are worsened by other social factors. Additional work can acquire various forms – part-time boarding school groups, “summer camps”, others. The

⁵⁶ Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *The First Steps: Evaluation of the Non-governmental Desegregation Projects in six Bulgarian Cities*, p.107.

⁵⁷ For instance see: David Armor, “Desegregation and Academic Achievement”, in: Ch. Rossell, D. Armor, H. Walberg (eds), *School Desegregation in the 21st Century*, Westport, London: Praeger, 2002, pp.147-187.

impact that supplementary academic work exerts is not contained only in the greater amount of time the child spend in academic activities. The additional training fosters discipline and organizational skills. Longer and varied studies help to foster the relevant motivation and orientation for educational priorities.

There are numerous illustrations of the role that additional training has played in the Bulgarian desegregation projects. An outstanding example is the project in Vidin, where the achievements of Roma children can mainly be accounted for by the extensive additional training that these children have were given. Apart from being provided for the children in great amounts, the additional training in Vidin was also highly and consciously individualised. The achievements of the Sliven project are also the result from supplementary training, which involved a large number of the children participants in the project. There were also negative examples – the projects in Stara Zagora and Haskovo. In the 2004-2005 school year the desegregation project in Stara Zagora did not provide a single additional lesson for the Roma children in those the host schools, which do not organize part-time boarding school groups. The desegregation project in Haskovo provided a certain number of supplementary lessons but those involved a very small number of children out of the total number of children enrolled in the project. Undoubtedly therefore, a major reason for the bad performance of these children at the tests was the lack of additional training.

Of course, the supply of extra lessons should not be turned into an end itself. These lessons are necessary when other social factors exert unfavourable influence on the education of Roma children. The evaluating team met children who performed excellently at the tests, yet had never taken any supplementary or extra afternoon lessons. Those were usually children who had received proper care in their families and had decent conditions for studies at home. Making a decision as to the necessity for supplementary training and as to the number of lessons that need to be assigned in specific cases is an invaluable skill for the academic organization of the desegregation process.

6.1.2. Quality of the education at the host schools

The positive impact that educational integration has had in the specific conditions of Bulgaria is largely due to the fact that Roma children are enrolled at schools, which by definition offer a higher quality of education than segregated schools. Such a difference in the quality is inevitable in a stratified society, characterized by an intensive structural discrimination against the Roma population. This discrimination is unavoidably transposed upon those social institutions that provide services for Roma. It also exists in the educational systems of other societies in the form of differences in the qualification of teachers, in the varied interference of the state and of the communities in the process of education, and in the financial provision.

Research shows that poor children who attend middle-class schools always perform academically better than middle-class children who attend the school of poorer classes. The evaluating team came across examples illustrative of the positive impact of the higher quality of education at the host schools.

The case of M.M. from Vidin

M. performed excellently at the tests – he received a Very Good – 5 in mathematics and an Excellent – 6 in Bulgarian language. He had been studying for four consecutive years in “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” School. His average grade at the end of the school year was Excellent - 6.00. He lives with his parents and his older brother in a very poor house in the “Nov Pat” Roma neighbourhood. Both his parents are unemployed. The family speaks Roma language at home. As the school is specialized in the arts, there are seven other children from the Roma neighbourhood in M’s class. He himself is learning to play the piano. He sits at the front desk in the classroom next to a Roma boy from the same neighbourhood. However, most of his friends are Bulgarian children. He does not complain of any racist insults. His brother also studies in an integrated school, but his performance is not as high. Their parents were convinced that this was due to the fact that the older brother had studied in a segregated school for his first four years at school. In their opinion those four years “wasted away” the boy’s academic powers and this was why he did not manage to catch up in the host school.

The higher quality of education at the host schools is not the only reason why Roma parents select these schools. Very often the host schools vary as to the quality of education they offer. An exceptionally telling example in this respect is “Nikolay Lilev” 11th Primary School in Stara Zagora, where Roma children-participants in the desegregation project performed poorly at the tests. This is due, along with other factors, to the apparently low quality of teaching and the poor organization of the process of education in this school, which is situated in the town’s suburbs.

Undoubtedly, the differences in the quality of education in different host schools is a factor which should be taken into consideration in the enrolment of Roma children in a particular host school. The demographic crisis in certain towns has opened up schools for the enrolment of Roma children. Unfortunately, these are usually schools, which offer poorer quality of education. This is why desegregation projects have to take the “demographic factor” into account only after a thorough analysis of its impact upon the host schools.

6.1.3. Social status of the parents and the children

The social status of the parents and the children reflects on academic performance in many various ways. A decent financial situation of the family guarantees proper supplies for the child at school and better conditions for preparation at home. A higher social status usually (though not necessarily) means that education holds a higher standing upon the family's scale of values and that the parents are willing to instil respect for education in their children. It also contributes to broadening the horizon of the child by providing greater mobility, better access to information, and a higher level of inter-personal relations.

Undoubtedly, part of the reasons behind the better performance of some children are rooted in the fact that these children normally belong to families of a better social situation. The evaluating team had the opportunity to encounter a number of such cases.

The case of R.K. from Vidin

R. performed excellently at the tests – he received a Very Good - 5 in mathematics and an Excellent - 6 in Bulgarian. He is a pupil in class 4A of the prestigious "Tzar Simeon the Great" integrated school. There are three more Roma children in the class. He graduated the 2004/2005 academic year with an average grade of Excellent - 5.66. He lives in a neat house in the Roma neighborhood together with his parents and two siblings. The other two children are very good students as well. The father runs a private business in the city and earns a decent income. In the evenings he helps his children with their studies and often provides entertainment and additional social contacts in the city for them. The family does not speak Romanes at home. R. has a computer at home, which he uses to prepare his homework assignments. He can also use a computer in Internet clubs. He dreams of becoming a computer programmer when he grows up. R. has both Roma and Bulgarian friends. He does not complain of any racist insults.

The relation between social status and academic performance can be seen in its relatively pure form in the generalized results from the different desegregation projects. For instance, this relation was clearly demonstrated by the higher achievement of the children from the segregated "Hristo Smirnenski" Comprehensive Secondary School in Stara Zagora. Conversely, the low social status of the Roma children-participants in the Sliven's desegregation project is the reason why they performed poorly, despite the extensive amount of additional training and care that they had received.

The low socio-economic status undoubtedly impacts academic performance of Roma children but this in no way presupposes direct relation. The low social status exerts its influence in

combination with a number of other factors. The evaluating team met many children who, despite belonging to families of a low socio-economic status, performed well at the tests.

6.1.4. The education of the parents

The parents' education is an important constituent of their social status. A higher education usually relates to a higher financial situation of the family. There are also exceptions. In these cases the educational situation of the parents, in combination with their concerns about their children's education, exerts a positive influence on the children's academic performance.

The case of S.L. and E.L. from Montana

When the assessment team met S. and E. on 15 June 2005 they had graduated from their fourth year at the 5th Comprehensive Secondary School and had performed very well at the tests. S. had received a Good - 4 grade in mathematics and an Excellent – 6 in Bulgarian, while E. had received a Good – 4 in mathematics and a Very Good – 5 in Bulgarian. The children live in a poor house in the Kosharnik area. Part of the house is made up of boards hammered together. The mother graduated from a secondary school specialized in economics. The father also had received secondary education. The parents do not get on well with the grandparents, which is the reason why they are now living on their own. The father was at his job at the time of the interview. The mother is unemployed and was at home with her children. She said that occasionally she worked odd jobs but that she mainly assisted her two children in their studies. She is doing her best to secure conditions for them to prepare for their lessons, despite the misery they are living in. After they come back from school she work at their lessons with them. At school S. and E. are learning to play the piano. In 2004 S. performed very well at the Concert for Talented Roma Children in the High School of Music in Sofia. The children told us that Bulgarian children at school call them "Tzigani", for instance ("Tzigani" translates literally as "Gypsies", the word has accumulated a number of derogatory connotations.). They tell their teacher about these insults but she takes no notice. Their mother advises them not to pay any attention.

6.1.5. Racism

An atmosphere which is educationally and communicatively conducive is exceptionally crucial to the academic performance of the Roma children at the host schools. Racist behaviour is exceedingly destructive to interpersonal relations and often causes psychological breakdowns, which, on their part, are extremely detrimental to the process of education. The

assessment team made efforts to investigate the situation, in which Roma children turn into targets of racist insults, the effects of such insults, and the role of the school's and projects' management teams to counteract such occurrences. One of our observations was that insults are often coupled with problems of interpersonal communication. They are experienced differently by different children and are especially devastating when combined with the effects of a low social status.

The case of R.S. from Sliven

R. performed poorly at the tests – she received poor marks in both the subjects. She lives in the innermost part of the Nadezda Roma neighbourhood, among the homes of the poorest residents there. Both the mother and the father are unemployed and subsist on social benefits and odd jobs. The grandparents are deceased. The family has seven children – four boys and three girls. Two of the children are deceased. The oldest boy is 16. R. studies in one of the integrated classes in “Konstantin Konstantinov” 11th Comprehensive Secondary School. At the interview she informed us that the Bulgarian children from the school constantly call her names. They say to her: “You filthy Gypsy, you stink.” She told her parents but they did nothing about it. We could not understand whether the project coordinator was aware and whether he undertook any action to counteract this situation. R. usually has not a single stotinka (Bulgarian small currency) to buy food for lunch before her extra afternoon lessons. Only one of her sisters is a student. She studies at the integrated 12th Primary School. The rest of the children of the family do not go to school. R. was extremely dejected during the interview.

Racism causes alienation from the group and from the environment. Alienation often causes loss of communicative skills, which, on their part, are invaluable to the process of education.

The case of A.A. from Pleven

A. performed poorly at the tests. She received grades of Satisfactory – 3 both in mathematics and in Bulgarian. She lives in a very poor house in a small Roma neighbourhood near the Pleven prison. She studies in class 4A in the “Hristo Smirnenski” Primary School. A. does not attend the extra afternoon lessons because she does not want to. She has problems in the communication with all teachers except her class teacher. A. complained that several Bulgarian children called her Tziganka and even hit her on several occasions. Their teacher scolded them but apparently to no effect. She complained to her mother and guardian but this did not help to prevent the insults either. The child looked extremely dejected during the interview.

Racism undoubtedly reflects on the educational prospects of Roma children. However, the experience of the desegregation project's teams has shown that its effects can be surmountable in an integrated environment but only if the school management team, the parents, and the desegregation project's teams unite their efforts single-mindedly to counteract it.

6.1.6. Religion

In recent years the number of Protestant churches has been steadily growing in Roma neighbourhoods. This is due to a range of factors, some of which are: the simplicity and accessibility of the Protestant doctrine (which on some occasions is presented in Roma language), the location of the churches in the very neighbourhood, the inclusion of Roma pastors, the provision of social aiding and of mutual assistance. In addition to these comes the poor interest that the Orthodox Church takes in the problems of Roma people and the Roma neighbourhoods.

Many of the Protestant churches nurture a positive motivation for education in their congregations and even aid families in their children's education. A large number of the Roma children-participants in desegregation projects belong to such families.

The case of I. R. from Stara Zagora

I. performed well at the tests – he received a Good – 4 at the test in mathematics and a Very Good - 5 in Bulgarian. He is a pupil in class 4B of "Georgi Bakalov" 1st Primary School. He is the grandson of a Protestant pastor and the only child in the family. The father works, his mother is unemployed. They live in a small, neat, one-floor house, located in a relatively poor part of the Roma neighbourhood in Stara Zagora. I. speaks very well of his class teacher and of his other teachers. He sits next to a Bulgarian child called M. He said that M. was worse at writing than him. I. does not attend extra afternoon lessons but he receives assistance from his father at home. The father is highly motivated for his son to study. He was convinced that it is necessary for Roma children to mingle with Bulgarian children so that Bulgarian children could set positive examples. I. said that he got on very well with his classmates. They would sometimes call him names but never called him Tziganin. He did not take their insults seriously.

6.1.7. Individual specifics of the social relations in the family and at school

The individual characteristics of children and the way in which the latter are shaped by the specifics of the family and by other social groups sometimes have no smaller effect on academic performance than other factors. Children, who are impacted by the same quality of training, share the same social status and social circles, and whose parents have the same level of education, would often have contrasting attitudes to the learning process and would respectively achieve differently in their studies. Undoubtedly, such cases can be accounted for by the specific individual characteristics and by the varying impact of a varying micro-environment.

The case of V.D., Y. D. and P.D. from Montana

The evaluating team visited the home of the two brothers V.D., Y. D., and their sister P.D. on 15 June 2005. V. and Y. are studying in the 8th Comprehensive Secondary School. At the tests V. received a grade of Satisfactory - 3 in mathematics and a Poor – 2 in Bulgarian language. The grades of Y. were the same. Y. is one year younger than V., although they started going to school at the same time. They live in a very poor house in the Kosharnik area, which is out of the town-planning area. The house has no water supply. The residents carry their own water from the neighbourhood's fountain and pool it in a copper. Both parents are unemployed. The family speaks Romanes at home. The Bulgarian vocabulary of the parents consisted of a few words. The brothers are fairly unruly at school and do not study, as their guardians report. Both brothers attend extra afternoon lessons. They complained that the Bulgarian children insulted them on grounds of their ethnic belonging. They tell their teacher and she does her best to stop the insults.

The two brothers have a younger sister, P., who is also enrolled in the project. Her guardians report that she is performing well in her studies. She did not sit the tests, as she was not of the required age. P. is highly motivated to study hard. She said that she was never insulted at school and that everybody treated her well. At home she prepares hard for her lessons, though completely unassisted by her parents.

6.1.8. Financial support

During the first few years of the operation of the desegregation projects greater amount of social aid was granted to Roma children-participants than is granted nowadays. This reduction in the amount of aid was brought about by the greater number of children enrolled in the projects, by the refusal of the teams themselves to aid just a limited number of the enrolled children, and by the turning of certain duties of social aiding into the province of the

state. We should emphasize that it is unthinkable to speak of any academic performance of a child unless the latter is well fed, well clothed, healthy and disposing of all the necessary school supplies. Moreover, financial difficulties undermine the Roma child's self-esteem, and especially in cases when they turn into a reason for insults hurled at the child, they put off the child from both school and studies. This is why this aspect of the desegregation process should be taken care of with the utmost diligence.

6.2. Desegregation and interethnic attitudes

Integrated education is supposed to bring about more frequent and more stable relations between Bulgarians and Roma. However, can the very existence of such relations improve interethnic relations? Research into social psychology does not provide us with a clear-cut answer to this question. The impact of interethnic relations on attitudes and on the quality of communication depends on the very nature of these relations. Certain kinds of relations generate positive attitudes, while other generate negative effects.

The survey into interethnic attitudes, social distances and systems of values of Bulgarians and Roma has showed that the Bulgarians who have established some kinds of contact with Roma people are less disposed to nurture negative ethnic prejudice. Those Bulgarians also display lower rates of social distances. Thus the Bulgarians who have visited a Roma home are about 3.5 times more likely to express disagreement with the statement that "Roma people are lazy and irresponsible" than those who have never been to a Roma house. The first group of respondents are also twice more likely to express disagreement with the statement that "Roma live on the toil of others" and about 2.5 times more likely to express disagreement with the statement "Roma cannot be trusted." The first group is twice as likely to agree to live in the same area and share the same work place with Roma. The survey of Bulgarians whose child has or respectively has *not* studied in the same class with Roma children shows less convincing results in favour of the positive effect of interethnic contacts. Nevertheless, the attitudes of the parents whose child *has* studied in a class where the number of Roma pupils is no more than 10% of the whole class are slightly more positive than the attitudes of those parents whose child is studying in a class with no Roma pupils or whose child is yet at a pre-school age.

This is a good basis on which educational desegregation can draw on to help weaken the extremely negative attitudes of Bulgarian society towards the Roma population. But this can only be achieved through positive contacts between Bulgarian and Roma children, by means of:

- Guaranteeing equality in the communicative situation.

- Counteracting all attempts of threatening, domineering and humiliation.
- Encouraging interethnic friendships, cooperation and mutual aid.
- Individualization of contacts and avoidance of stereotypes.
- Stimulation of solidarity.⁵⁸

The proper management of interpersonal relations needs to become an everyday objective of the work of the desegregation project's teams. Therefore necessary resources need to be provided to secure the proper training of the staffs in this respect. The supervision of the operation of the projects should also register the success rate of the work done on interpersonal relations.

⁵⁸ Cf. Janet Schofield, "Fostering positive intergroup relations in schools", in: Banks, J. and Banks C., *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, San Fransisco, Jossey-Bass, 2004, pp.799-812.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1. Conclusions

Five years after its launching, the process of educational desegregation in Bulgaria has made serious achievements. Along with these and with the problems typical of the primary stages of development, the desegregation projects have provided us with a solid base for making analyses and for learning lessons about the specific approaches that must be adopted towards integrated education in our country. Although the Bulgarian state chose to walk the road of the desegregation of Roma education as early as 1999, it has not displayed the political will and energy to undertake the smallest steps needed for the implementation of this policy. This is why the main recommendations to the state institutions and to the local authority bodies, which we made in the very beginning of this process, are the same recommendations we are making today.

7.2. Recommendations to the state and to the local authority bodies

- The state must provide legislation that backs up the policy of educational desegregation. It must provide for the budget allotments necessary for the implementation of this policy.
- Six years after the passage of the Framework Program for Equal Integration of Roma in Bulgarian Society, the state must finally begin to finance the process of the desegregation of Roma education. It must establish, as a first measure, a fund for the educational integration of the children and students of ethnic minorities and must set aside enough resources for the latter's proper operation. The fund will support non-governmental projects, educational institutions, and others.
- The state's policy of social aid must be brought into conformity with the purposes of educational desegregation.
- The state and municipal authorities must create effective mechanisms for monitoring and counteracting racism in and outside of the Bulgarian school, and must encourage and support financially the programs for interethnic tolerance and cooperation.
- The state must finance scientific research into the process of the desegregation of Roma education and the training of pedagogues willing to work in this field.

- The regional educational inspectorates must relate all their activities, including their regular school inspections, to the purposes of the desegregation of Roma education.
- The Ministry of Education must make all effort to organize Roma language classes at the host schools for all those Roma children who are willing to learn their mother tongue. The Ministry must revise the curricula of the primary and secondary levels of education and must bring those into conformity with the principles of multi-cultural education.
- The local authority bodies must secure the free transportation of the Roma children to the host schools, when necessary, and must offer their full assistance for the process of the desegregation of Roma education.
- The state must secure leading roles for all the recognized Roma organizations and activists in the process of the desegregation of Roma education. The latter's active involvement will help to win the trust of the Roma community.

7.3. Recommendations to non-governmental organizations and to their donors

- The objective of the desegregation projects must be explicitly defined and must pursue a strategic change in the educational system and the state of interethnic relations in the given regions.
- The organization of the desegregation projects must take into consideration the whole range of factors that have an impact on the territory of the settlements where the projects operate, such as ethnic demography, the organization of the education, interethnic attitudes, attitudes of the local authorities, the support of the Roma community, etc.
- The desegregation projects must take into account the social situation of the Roma parents and children-participants and must accordingly define the formats of pedagogic work, and the need of transportation and social aiding.
- The academic organization of the projects must be provided at all stages of their implementation, including the stage of enrolling the children, of deciding on the amount of supplementary work with the children, and during the collection of information about the academic achievements and behaviour of the children at the host schools.
- Supplementary academic work, which is of extreme importance to the Roma children, must be individualized to the maximum. It must be organized both in the forms proposed by the host schools and in forms external to the host schools and tailored to the specific needs of the children. Special attention must be given to the additional training in those settlements where there are no half-day boarding school groups.

- Non-governmental organizations that run the desegregation projects must organize focused motivational campaigns for an all-year-round enrolment of Roma children in integrated schools.
- When Roma children are enrolled at a host school, notice must be taken of the quality of the education there, of the motives behind the cooperation offered by the school, and of the assessment of the school by the municipal authorities and the REI.
- The projects must collect and generalize information in a format, which is preliminarily defined and coordinated with all the projects. The minimum information this format should contain is: enrolment data, attendance and absence rates throughout the year, average and current grades of every single child, average yearly results of whole classes and host schools, specification of all additional training received by the children at the host schools, and of the number of the extra lessons taken, records of all incidents with the children, especially those that are ethnic-related, information about the families of the children-participants in the projects, the attendance and involvement of the parents in parent conferences, the provision of school supplies, snacks, clothes, etc.
- The projects must provide the training of the teams' members in the fields of their duties and in the principles of multicultural education. This training must chiefly include the guardians, who must be carefully selected and whose work must be constantly monitored.
- The projects must secure further qualifications of the teachers at the host schools in areas relating to the purposes of integrated education.
- The project teams must continue the practice of information exchange by organizing regular meetings and mutual visits. The professional forums for assessment of their experience must turn into an integral part of this exchange.
- The desegregation projects' teams must immediately and decisively counteract all racist violence and insults at the host schools. They must attempt to involve as early and as much as possible the schools' management teams in dealing with such situations.
- The desegregation projects' teams must encourage positive interpersonal relations between Bulgarian and Roma children and must organize suitable extracurricular activities to this purpose.
- The desegregation project teams must seek the greatest possible administrative and community support for the process of desegregation in the respective regions. They must attempt to encourage the involvement of the community in the process and must motivate the Roma parents and public figures to actively support desegregation.

- The projects must ensure that every Roma child who attends an integrated school is well-clothed and well-fed, especially during the winter months, and must adopt measures for the social aiding of the families and children in this respect.
- The purposes and activities of the Haskovo project must be reconsidered. So must be the organization and the management of the Haskovo and Stara Zagora projects.
- The Stara Zagora project must organize additional academic training for all the children who need it. It must also reconsider its cooperation with some of the host schools.

Annex No. 1

General data about the projects

	Vidin	Pleven	Montana	St.Zagora	Sliven	Haskovo
Number of students who completed the 2004-05 academic year with the project	605	137	217	235	368	316
Number of students enrolled in the project during the 2004-05 academic year	730	149	217	283	425	320
Number of students who dropped out during the 2004-05 academic year	125	12	0	48	63	4
Grade Point Average of the students who completed the 2004-05 academic year (on a six-point scale)	4.44	4.27	4.45	4.44	3.40	3.58
Grade Point Average from the Bulgarian language and Mathematics tests of Roma students studying in integrated schools (in brackets – after technical poor marks)	Maths: 3.94(3.55) Bulgarian: 4.56(4.05)	Maths: 3.77(3.64) Bulgarian: 4.64(4.07)	Maths: 3.83(3.69) Bulgarian: 4.25(4.08)	Maths: 3.64(3.20) Bulgarian: 3.74(3.33)	Maths: 3.59(3.39) Bulgarian: 3.10(3.07)	Maths: 3.09(2.86) Bulgarian: 3.36(3.07)
Number of additional tutorials given to children and students by the project in the host schools	3 456	0	630	0	620	610
Share of children and students from the primary grades (including pre-school kindergartens)	40%	60%	68.2%	97%	94.5%	54.4%
Number of staff implementing the project	17	11	11	15	38	11
Number of pedagogues on the team	1	1	1	1 - until February	2	2
Number of guardians	8	5	5	9	22+9	4
Ratio of project staff members to the children and students who complete the academic year in the project	1:35.8	1:12.45	1:19.73	1:15.7	1:9.7	1:28.7
Project budget for 2004-05 (in USD)	66 300	51 835	49 980	56 755	47 711 From OSI only	49 960
Ratio of the overall budget to the number of children and students who completed the academic year in the project (USD per child/student who	108.9	378.4	230.3	241.5	129.6 On the basis of the OSI grant only	158.1

completed the 2004-05 academic year)						
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Annex No. 2

Questionnaire for collecting information about the projects

I. General information about the Project

1. How many children participated in the project during the past academic year and in which grades/classes did they enrol?
2. How many children participated in the project in previous years?
3. How many and which Roma schools were desegregated? How many Roma children study in each school?
4. How many Roma neighbourhoods were involved in the project? How many people live in these neighbourhoods and what groups of Roma live in them?
5. In which host schools did the project work? How many schools and what kinds of schools were they?
6. How many schools (apart from the desegregated schools) in your region were not covered by the project? What is their name and type? Why did they not participate?
7. How many schools buses were used by the project during the past academic year? Was the number of busses sufficient? What is the current technical condition of the busses?
8. Did any children in the project travel to the host schools by other means other than the school buses? How many children used these other means and what neighbourhoods were they from?
9. What are the prospects for the coming school year?

II. Project team, project documentation

10. How many staff members worked on the project (total and in each category)? What was the ratio of staff members to children participating in the project?
11. What responsibilities did each type of staff member carry out?
12. What was the staff's level of motivation?
13. How were the staff paid? Were there any problems in this regard?
14. Were there any internal conflicts among staff members?
15. Were any staff members replaced during the past year? Why?
16. What documentation did the staff collect about the project and who maintains it?
17. What is the state of keeping of the documentation?
18. Who was the director of the project and how did he or she run things?

III. Academic profile of the project

19. In what shifts (morning/afternoon) do the children study?
20. How many Roma children are in each grade and classroom in the host schools?
21. What was the Grade Point Average of the children during the past academic year?
22. What was the Grade Point Average in each host school?
23. How does the Grade Point Average break down by classes (including by host schools)?
24. What was the average grade of the students from the Bulgarian-language and Mathematics tests held in May 2005?
25. How do the test results of the Roma children from the host schools compare to the test grades of other children from the schools?
26. How do the test results of the Roma children from the host schools compare to the test grades of the Roma children from the segregated schools?
27. How does the quality of education available in the Roma schools compare to that in the host schools (evaluations of parents, children, project staff, teachers, principals, regional education inspectorate, municipal authorities, etc.)?
28. How many children dropped out of the project (including by school)? For what reasons did they drop out?
29. How frequently were pupils absent from school? For what reasons?
30. How was the academic portion of the project implemented and what was the quality of academic supervision provided by the project staff?
31. What other kinds of academic supervision was undertaken (by the regional education inspectorate, by the host schools, by other NGOs)?
32. How were the counsellors selected? What qualities were they required to possess?
33. Were any counsellors replaced during or after the past academic year? Why?
34. Was any education, exchange of experience or other form of training related to the desegregation project provided to the teachers/principals of host schools? If so, what types of training?
35. Was any education, exchange of experience, or other form of training related to the desegregation project provided to the project staff (especially the counsellors)? If so, what types of training?
36. How many hours of extra classes were provided in the host schools? At what time of day were they offered, what topics did they cover, and how were the teachers paid?
37. Were any additional classes provided to Roma children outside the host schools?
38. Were textbook and teaching aids available?

39. Did any children have to make up their final examinations after the beginning of the academic year? If so, how many children, what grades were they in, and what subjects did they have to make up?
40. How often were teacher-parents' meetings held at the host schools and to what extent did Roma parents participate in them?
41. Did the project staff organize any other teacher-parents' meetings? If so, how often were they held and to what extent did Roma parents participate in them?
42. Were there elements of discrimination or segregation in the host schools (were Roma children seated in the back rows of classrooms, did teachers or school administrators make racist comments, etc.)? How did the project staff, host-school administrators or other organs react to such problems?
43. What were the relationships between the Roma and Bulgarian children like? How did the project staff, host-school teachers and principals and other institutions react to the problems in this regard?
44. Apart from desegregation, what other factors influence the educational achievements of the Roma children?

IV. Enrolment

45. Did parents have any trouble obtaining necessary documents for leave from the Roma schools for their children?
46. Does the city involved have a school-districting system? If so, what type of districting is stipulated and by what laws?
47. Did any schools refuse to enrol Roma children from the project?
48. Did the project staff have to intervene in the parents' choices of host schools for their children?
49. Does the project team make any kind of selection when enrolling children in the project? If so, what kind?
50. Does the project currently included any children who had already attended an integrated (non-Roma) school in the past? If so, how many children?

V. Political, administrative and public support for the project

51. Official local documents on the policy of Roma education.
52. Do the municipal authorities support the project?
53. Do the regional education inspectorates support the project?
54. Do the local political forces support the project?

55. Do other public authorities (district administration, police, social services, etc.) support the project?
56. How is the project covered by the media? What are the media's attitudes to the project?
57. Do NGOs and other sectors of civil society (trade unions, professional organisations, churches and businesses) support the project?
58. What are the attitudes of the parents of Bulgarian children in the host schools toward the project? How have they evolved over the years?
59. Do Roma organisations and formal and informal Roma leaders support the project?

VI. Social profile of the project

60. Does the project provide meals or snacks, textbooks, and/or school supplies to the participating children? What exactly was provided, in what quantities, and to whom?
61. What is the social burden on the Roma parents whose children participate in the project?
62. How does the social burden compare to enrolling them in Roma schools?
63. Do local authorities or NGOs exercise discriminatory practices against project participants in their distribution of humanitarian assistance?
64. Did the desegregation project organise any summer camps and other extracurricular activities for the children in the project?
65. Did the project provide any awards or other encouragement for children and parents participating in the project? If so, what kind?
66. Did the project support other children apart from project participants? How?

VII. Additional comments

Annex No. 3

Main socio-demographic characteristics of the Bulgarians and Roma from the respective samples

Bulgarians:

- *Sex:* 49% of the respondents are male, 51% - female.
- *Age:* 21% of the interviewed Bulgarians are aged between 18 and 30, 20% are aged between 31 – 40, those aged 41 – 50 are 21%, another 21% are aged between 50 and 60, and 17% of the interviewed are over 60.

- *Education:* 1% of the respondents have lower than 8th grade education (primary education), 18% have completed the 8th grade, 60% have secondary education, 6% are college graduates, and 15% - university graduates.
- *Social group:* students – 4%, university students – 4%, employed in industry – 11%, employed in the sphere of the services – 19%, farmers – 1%, hired agricultural labourers – 1%, private entrepreneurs or traders – 7%, employees in non-managerial positions – 11%, employees in managerial positions – 2%, technical, healthcare and educational intelligensia – 7%, pensioners – 23%, unemployed – 9%.
- *Marital status:* single – 21%, married – 62%, living with a long-term partner – 2%, divorced – 5%, long-term separated without divorce – 2%, widowers – 8%.
- *Monthly household income:* up to 150 BGN – 12%, 151-300 BGN – 30%, 301-450 BGN – 14%, 451-600 BGN – 21%, 601-750 BGN – 5%, 751-900 BGN – 4%, over 900 BGN – 7%, respondents who refused to answer – 7%, and “don’t know” – 1%.

Roma:

- *Sex:* Half of the respondents (50%) are men, and the other half - women.
- *Age:* 33% are aged between 18 and 30, 28% - between 31 and 40, 20% - between 41 and 50%, 13% are in the age group from 51 to 60, and 6% - over 60.
- *Education:* 8th grade education and lower than 8th grade education – 88.3%, secondary school education – 10.6%, university education – 1.1%.
- *Professional group:* student in school or university – 1.8%, employed in industry and construction – 8.7%, employed in services – 10.8%, private entrepreneur or trader – 1.2%, employee in non-managerial position – 0.8%, employee in managerial position – 0.7%, intelligensia (teacher, doctors, engineers) – 0.7%, pensioners – 10.9%, unemployed – 58.5%, others – 3.1%.
- *Marital status:* single – 12.9%, married – 61.9%, living with a long-term partner without marriage – 14%, divorced – 3.8%, separated from spouse – 2.1%, widow/widower – 5.3%.
- *Monthly household income:* up to 150 BGN – 20.4%, from 151 BGN to 300 BGN – 19.8%, from 301 to 450 BGN – 19.2%, from 451 BGN to 600 BGN – 21.3%. The remaining respondents up to 100% responded “I do not know” or gave indefinite answers.

Annex No. 4

Number of fourth-graders who took part in the May 2005 testing (by city and school)

Vidin

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"St. St. Cyril and Methodius" Comprehensive Secondary School	3	59	59
"Petko Rachev Slavejkov" Comprehensive Secondary School	4	62	61
"Tzar Simeon the Great" Comprehensive Secondary School	4	73	78
"Bishop Sofronii Vrachanski" Primary School	2	20	23
Total children who took the test:		214	221
From them children 4th year in host schools:		16	16
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		20	23

Montana

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"Hristo Botev" 5 th Comprehensive Secondary School	3	59	58
"Ivan Vasov" 4 th Primary School	2	44	45
"Prof. Dr. Assen Zlatarov" 7 th Comprehensive Secondary School	2	36	35
"Father Paisii" 8 th Comprehensive Secondary School	2	44	44
"Georgi Benkovski" Primary School, Kosharnik neighbourhood	1	13	12
Total children who took the test:		196	194
From them children 4th year in host schools:		12	12
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		13	12

Pleven

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"Nikola Vaptsarov" Primary School	3	50	50
"Hristo Smirneski" Comprehensive Secondary School	3	39	40
"Vassil Levski" Primary School	3	48	48
"Kiro Stanev" Elementary School	1	4	6
"Kliment Ohridski" Primary School, Bukovlak neighbourhood	1	21	20
Total children who took the test:		162	164
From them children 4th year in host schools:		11	13
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		25	26

Sliven

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"Elisaveta Bagrjana" 12 th Primary School	4	91	91
"Yurii Gagarin" 8 th Comprehensive Secondary School	3	63	65
"K. Konstantinov" 11 th Comprehensive Secondary School	4	89	92
"Bratja Miladinovi" 6 th Primary School	3	60	58
Total children who took the test:		303	306
From them children 4th year in host schools:		30	27
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		60	58

Stara Zagora

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"Georgi Bakalov" 1 st Primary School	2	44	44
"Nikolay Liliev" 11 th Primary School	3	40	44
"Georgi Raychev" Comprehensive Secondary School	2	37	36
"Hristo Smirnenski" Comprehensive Secondary School	3	49	48
"Georgi Garbachev" 12 th Primary School	2	29	31
Total children who took the test:		199	203
From them children 4th year in host schools:		23	22
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		78	79

Haskovo

	No. of classes who took the test	Test in Bulgarian language	Test in mathematics
"Hristo Botev" Elementary School	1	29	30
"Prof. Dr. Assen Zlatarov" Primary School	1	25	25
"Nikola Vaptzarov" Primary School	2	29	29
Total children who took the test:		83	84
From them children 4th year in host schools:		n/a	n/a
From them children 4th year in segregated schools:		29	29