

The wall, the door and the key? Exploring resilience in problem and solution identification in segregated Roma communities

Abstract

Segregation in its various forms causes myriad problems in the growth of and social cohesion in cities, nations and regions. The causes and consequences of segregation are complex and, at times, difficult to distinguish. Formal and informal responses to the negative consequences of segregation can be observed from the individual to the institutional level. Two distinct spheres where formal interventions against segregation have been carried out by both governmental and non-governmental agents are via housing and education.

The concept of resilience has been increasingly used to understand and ameliorate a range of social challenges through examining how individuals, families and communities respond and adapt to stressful conditions, such as those resulting from segregation. Resilience is appealing as it accommodates the complex, dynamic and multidisciplinary nature of the fields to which it has been applied, including in efforts to understand community functioning under strained conditions. Its value in designing solutions to social problems is of growing interest and may offer a new perspective on the problems of segregation.

In Europe, one group that overwhelmingly experiences segregation in all facets of life is the Roma, who chronically live in poverty, occupy sub-standard dwellings and operate at subpar education (and subsequent employment) levels. Interventions are ongoing at the local, national, regional and European levels; simultaneously, there is regular acknowledgment of the need for new and innovative approaches to the persistent challenges of realizing Roma integration.

The motivation underpinning this paper is an interest in how the concept of resilience has or could be used to design, implement and measure interventions made to improve the conditions of urban communities, such as the European Roma, that are considered to be living (to their detriment) under long-term stressful conditions.

Introduction

Interventions¹ that aim to address segregation – particularly housing programs and policies – have often not met expectations (Bolt et al., 2010). One glaring example of sustained segregation can be found in the case of the Roma, Europe's largest and most discriminated against minority group. The persistence of segregation and social inequalities found within the European Roma serves as evidence that an ultimate solution or formula has not yet been discovered for eliminating social segregation and

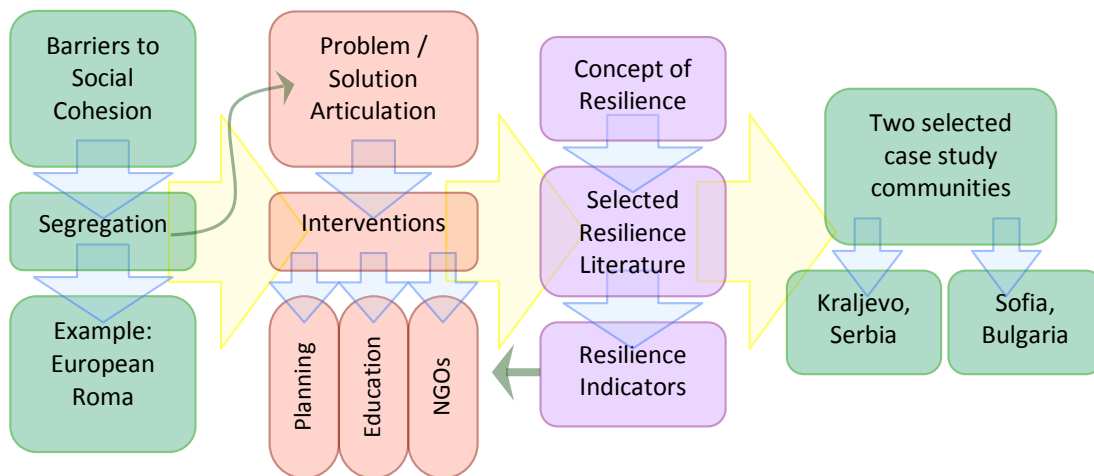
achieving cohesion. One concept that is of increasing interest for understanding and addressing social problems is that of resilience. Resilience in the social sciences refers to the ability of an individual or group to maintain their structure, cohesion and well-being despite difficult or trying situations, both traumatic incidents and long-term sustained stress.ⁱⁱ

This paper will consider the relevance of resilience in interventions related to segregation, specifically approaching resilience from three very different perspectives and scales: from the urban planning, education and non-governmental organization (NGOs) sectors. The selection of these three points of entry into the examination of resilience does not suggest their discreet compatibility; rather, the paper approaches each of them independently from each other (with some overlap seen in the case study analyses).

This effort will commence with a brief review of the literature on segregation; urban planning, education-related and NGO interventions; and the concept of resilience. This will be the basis of an attempt to examine the operational value of resilience by looking at its current and potential use in practice. In order to test the products of the literature review, the results will be examined through the lens of two case studies, both of which represent completed interventions intending to improving the living conditions in segregated Roma communities in Europe.

The purpose of this is to determine if resilience shows some potential as an innovative approach to understanding and addressing some of the core problems of segregation, which ultimately present barriers to social cohesion. Figure 1 illustrates the analytical framework developed and followed for this paper, which guides the paper from the broad issues of social cohesion and segregation to the specific case studies via specific interventions and the concept of resilience.

Figure 1. Analytical Framework



Background: Segregation, Interventions and Resilience

The Problems of Segregation

Segregation comes in many forms, including social, economic, residential and political. Segregated conditions disrupt the flow of knowledge and resources, ultimately hindering economic and societal growth. Segregation paradoxically has the ability to simultaneously constrain resilience (lack of access to information, economic opportunity, competence, social capital, and so forth) and encourage it (persistence, survival and coping) (Wang, 1995).

Just as assets, information and resources are often distributed inequitably in society, as is risk, with many of the poorest communities being exposed to excessive hazards (Norris et al., 2008). This applies to environmental conditions such as the tendency for poorer communities to live concentrated in geographical locations that are subject to more frequent natural disasters. Furthermore, the integrity of housing structures in impoverished communities is often not adequate to withstand extensive physical shocks. As a result, the damage experienced from natural disasters is frequently much more severe in poorer communities.

Taking into consideration that poorer communities experience more severe destruction, the fact that they are also often less able to access resources to recover only serves to further exacerbate this condition. Norris et al. present the “rule of relative needs” and the “rule of relative advantage”:

Ideally, the distribution or mobilization of support follows the “rule of relative needs.” Simply put, the most support goes to those who need it the most. Often, however, the distribution of support follows the “rule of relative advantage” because one’s embeddedness in the community, political connections, and social class determine the availability and accessibility of resources (Kaniasty and Norris, 1995 and 2004, as referenced in Norris et al., 2008, p. 137).

In addition to increased risk to environmental hazards and decreased capacity to recover from them, segregation also creates conditions of long-term sustained stress. Lack of access to infrastructure such as water and electricity can result in poor families paying higher rates for essential resources (Hart, 1973). Residential segregation can result in long travel distances to places of employment. Educational segregation results in lower quality education, higher drop-outs and, ultimately, higher unemployment rates and less economic flexibility.

Articulating Problems and Solutions through Interventions

In light of the aforementioned increased vulnerability, many inhabitants of high-risk communities make independent efforts to ameliorate their situation and minimize risk. Strategies include making physical alterations to dwellings, building up stores of food and assets, diversifying income sources and developing social support networks (Jabeen et al., 2010).

Beyond community-driven or individual efforts, there are and have been efforts by external agents to address the problems of segregation. Here we will focus on those related to or implemented via urban planning, education and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As mentioned in the introduction, the selection of these three perspectives does not propose their precise compatibility; the value and unique nature of each approach to understanding and ameliorating the negative consequences of segregation will be illustrated in the following background review.

Interventions via urban planning

In light of new trends in governance, participation and community involvement has become a high priority for planning departments worldwide (UN-HABITAT 2001), though achieving genuine participation has proven to be exquisitely challenging. Even in some of the best cases, minority groups, especially those that are segregated, are rarely engaged (Brand & Gaffkin, 2007).

Depending on the structure and guiding philosophies of a given planning agency, planning interventions are a potential tool for addressing and ameliorating social challenges. In his theories on advocacy planning, Davidoff presents the planner as an advocate that draws power on behalf of the powerless (Davidoff, 1996). Forester and Krumholz present the concept of equity planning, positing that planners are in a position to use their access to power and resource networks to influence and empower stakeholders (Forester, 1996). The theories of advocacy, equity and collaborative planning position the planner as a influential mediator with access to both resources and the communities that need them, describing the planning process as a mediating mechanism. According to Healey, if planners enter the process with this perspective, the result is a dynamic and cooperative discourse and an exchange and production of knowledge (Healey, 2003).

Relating planning interventions specifically with segregation brings us into the realm of housing policies and programs, one, if not the most implemented and examined forms of planning desegregation measures (Bolt, 2009). The following quotation speaks to the relative failure of the vast majority of housing interventions to combat residential segregation in Europe:

“...although a wide array of desegregation and mixing policies can be found across Europe, they are united in their failure to bring about a significant drop in the level of ethnic segregation. Social class segregation also remains fairly resistant to policy interventions...mixing policies often not only fail to meet the expectations of policy makers, but they can also lead to negative effects, such as the break up of communities and constraints on housing choice.” (Bolt et. al., 2010, p. 130)

If residential integration does not lead to increased social cohesion (and can actually decrease cohesion), then it can be argued that either residential segregation is not the core problem to be addressed or that there is a need for new approaches.

Education-related interventions

The education system has long been recognized as a means for class distribution and the maintenance of class divisions (Apple, 1995). “The causes of exclusion run deep in the architecture of schooling” as schools actively “reflect and refract social inequalities” (Slee, 2010, p. 102). Despite the longstanding tendency for the education system to hold people in their current levels of prosperity or poverty, some argue that the school is the ideal setting for significant social change. The classroom is where children are empowered and learn about democratic participation (Ladson-Billings, 2004; Radó, 2001; Szalai et al., 2009). The early school experience is where many social norms and rules are acquired, where students learn the “rules of the game” that become important in social functioning later in life (McDonnell et al., 2000). Condly discusses the value of the school as a vehicle for interventions due to the compulsory nature of education in most societies, the sheer number of hours that children spend there and the fact that schools simultaneously address academic, moral and health issues (Condly, 2006).

In addition to its use as a means for social development (McDonnell et al., 2000), education is often seen as a critical factor in the segregation of minorities, both in its causes and solutions. The exclusion of minorities from the education system can often be seen as a microcosm of their segregation in larger society (Szalai et al., 2009). Many of the root causes and solutions of the segregation of minorities can be traced to the quality and duration of their education (Goodenow, 1992).

Understandably, many agents working for the improvement of the lives of target populations focus on educational desegregation and eliminating unwarranted placements of minorities in special and lower quality schools and classes (Friedman et al., 2009). Indeed these efforts have shown some results (at various scales) in school desegregation, decreased drop-out rates and increased school enrollment. However, there are limitations to education in development at the regional and national scale, particularly in the absence of complementary resources.ⁱⁱⁱ

Interventions implemented by non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

NGOs have and continue to play a significant role in community advocacy, often provide a sort of moral authority, have a sense of legitimacy and public trust and are perceived to represent the public independent of economic influence (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004). Historically, NGOs emerged as a direct result of changes in political power structures and the redistribution of power; this occurred when public funds were redirected to independent NGOs for the delivery of public services (Kaposvári et al., 1997; Powell, 1987). NGOs are also key in the production and distribution of culture and serve a “central role in molding public opinion” (Powell, 1987, p. 307). The professional advocates available through NGOs can increase formal access to resources and political power for communities. Regarding their roles in participation and governance, NGOs can serve as an organizing force in the absence of a community’s capacity for self-organization.

Despite their unique positioning as an agent for positive social development, NGOs are not without their own challenges, criticisms and perceived failures. One area noted for improvement is the long-term sustainability of NGO initiatives:

“Successful NGOs need to be both lauded for the successful extension of social capital, but also implored to work at further indigenizing it.” (Buckland, 1998, p 237)

The Concept of Resilience

In terms of urban planning and development, resilience has largely been applied to disaster preparation and recovery, looking at how to minimise community vulnerability and improve response times and access to resources (Norris et al., 2008). Building on this work, persistent resilience looks at how communities survive and cope under conditions of long-term sustained stress, such as those resulting from segregation, poverty and oppression (Andres & Round, 2011).

Additionally, there has been some development of the concept that combine or supersede these two general categories. This includes 1) human agency, which differentiates between mere survival and intentional action to improve one’s situation and 2) social and institutional resilience which suggests that the presence or lack of resilience at the individual, family or community scale may be symptomatic of a lack of resilience at a larger scale.

As the concept of resilience has produced new insights and a deeper understanding of social problems, the discourse has naturally led to the potential use of this understanding to prevent or minimise problems. The application of resilience in the design and implementation of interventions is naturally more developed in those disciplines that

were early adopters of the concept, namely child development and psychology (Walsh, 1996). Other areas are following suit, for example in the fight against increasing environmental vulnerabilities due to climate change (Cinner et al., 2009). This then begs the question of how the concept of resilience is or could be translated into measurable characteristics or indicators. Figure 2 was compiled from the aforementioned literature to provide a general sense of the indicators of resilience that can be found across and between research and disciplines.

Figure 2. Summary of factors, criteria and indicators of resilience^{iv}



Case Studies: Roma Integration in Europe

In order to test the potential application of the theoretical results of this paper, an analysis of two interventions aiming to improve the living conditions of segregated Roma communities was conducted. The following section provides a brief background on the European Roma and a presentation of the case study methodology and results.

The Roma in Europe

The European Roma are a population well-documented to be found to be living in poverty and segregation, suffering from discrimination and oppression at various

degrees of severity. It is generally accepted that the Roma originated from the Indian sub-continent and are thought to have been in Europe as early as the 14th century (Vajda & Dupcsik, 2008). More recent Roma migration has been attributed to conflict (e.g. in Kosovo) and European expansion (e.g. following Romania's ascension into the European Union).

Though they are classified as one ethnic group, substantial differences exist within the Roma population (Ringold et al., 2005). They do not, for example, necessarily share a common language or religion. One consistent characteristic shared by the majority of Roma is that they live in poverty and are deeply discriminated against in nearly all facets of society (Vajda & Dupcsik, 2008). Data on the various Roma populations are typically incomplete or non-existent due to such reasons as lack of formal registration and national regulations against collecting data based on ethnicity. This presents a challenge to understanding and addressing Roma-related issues; estimates on population sizes and specific cohorts can range wildly, in some cases by the hundreds of thousands (Baucal, 2008).

Many interventions to improve the situation of the Roma have been and continue to be implemented. One example of this can be found in the Decade of Roma Inclusion,^v an international initiative to improve the situation of Roma in twelve countries.

Case Study Methodology

The data used for the selected case studies is a mix of primary and secondary, quantitative and qualitative. Background information on Case Study 1 was obtained through current and former UN-HABITAT staff, the texts and publications they provided as well as independent internet searches (predominately the UN-HABITAT^{vi} and Kraljevo Municipality^{vii} websites). Additional information was obtained through direct communication with the project manager via an in-person meeting in Belgrade.

Background information for Case Study 2 was obtained through documents provided by the international NGO the Roma Education Fund (REF),^{viii} as the project was funded by (and thus subject to the reporting and monitoring requirements of) REF's grant program. More detailed information was acquired through participation in a routine REF grant program monitoring mission wherein the project's implementing agency and project sites were visited. Additional information was obtained through internet research and REF reports on the education system in Bulgaria.

Objectives and Methods

Following is the first of three main objectives of the full case study analyses and the corresponding method used to meet that objective. The remaining objectives and methods from the full thesis upon which this paper is based have been excluded here.^{ix}

- Objective 1:** Determine the relevance of the identified resilience indicators in practical application.
- Method 1:** Review the relevant problems, solutions and outcomes and correlate with related resilience indicators.^x

In order to compose a list of intervention-related resilience indicators, I returned to the list of indicators extracted from the literature reviewed on resilience (see Figure 2). These indicators were correlated with the literature on the three areas of focus; Table 1 summarizes the results. It should be noted that this list is not exhaustive; the aim was to produce a sufficient number of indicators for conducting exploratory case studies analyses.

Table 1. Distribution of resilience indicators by focus area

Resilience Indicators						
Agents of Resilience	Urban Planning	Empowerment & creating points of entry for participation	Education	Literacy, level/equity of formal education, training, language & effective communication	NGOs	Power (in terms of influence on public opinion) and distribution of information
		Distribution of knowledge, power & resources		Participation, social networks and a sense of belonging		Inclusivity/exclusivity of institutions & organizations
		Social capital, networks and relationships		Critical thinking, decision-making & problem-solving skills		NGOs as product or means of self-organization & leadership
		Distribution and accuracy of information		Mediating structures & alternative spaces		Relationships, social capital, trust & legitimacy
		Mediating structures & advocacy		Employment & economic diversity		Linkages with institutions & organizations
		Problem-solving & decision-making		Identity and esteem		Distribution of power and resources

Following this, the available documentation and interview results from the two case studies were reviewed, extracting instances where language correlating with the identified indicators emerged. A presentation of the two case studies and the results for each follows; as this analysis is being extracted from a larger text, it should be noted that only the urban planning-related resilience indicators are utilized here.^{x1} A brief summary of notable findings concludes this section.

Case Study 1. Sustainable Improvement and Regularization of the Roma Settlement Grdicka Kosa 2 in Kraljevo, Serbia

Kraljevo is a city in central Serbia with 121,707 inhabitants recorded in the 2002 census.^{xii} Due to historical regional conflicts, Kraljevo, like much of Serbia, is home to many refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and vulnerable populations. One group classified as vulnerable are the Roma.

In 2001, the Italian government committed €15 million towards a long-term settlement and integration program, to be overseen by UN-HABITAT. In 2005, implementation of the three-year Settlement and Integration of Refugees Program (SIRP)^{xiii} began. SIRP aimed to achieve long-term integration through national and local policy and direct project activities. One direct activity component of SIRP was the Alternative Housing Solutions Project; Case Study 1 falls within this grouping.^{xiv}

Grdicka Kosa 2, one of four Roma settlements in Kraljevo, is a five hectare site situated on the city’s periphery. At the time of the project, 407 inhabitants were living in 87 houses. From 2007-2008, UN-HABITAT implemented the “Improvement and Regularization of the Roma Settlement Grdicka Kosa 2 in Kraljevo” project in partnership with the Municipality of Kraljevo and the Municipal Housing Agency (Ramirez et al. 2008). The project aimed to both improve the living conditions of the community and to fully integrate its inhabitants into the larger society.

Table 2 provides a synopsis of the analysis of the available information related to problem and solution identification and the recorded outcomes of the intervention.^{xv}

Table 2. Analysis of Case Study 1

Project Name: Sustainable Improvement and Regularization of the Roma Settlement Grdicka Kosa 2
Problem (as defined by UN-HABITAT)
Distribution of knowledge, power and resources <i>Low income, low formal education levels, high welfare reception levels, land tenure issues, low quality housing, limited access to utilities.</i>
Solution
Distribution of knowledge, power & resources <i>Initial physical/socio-economic survey conducted, weekly project meetings, national design competition was means for developing community plan.</i>
Empowerment & creating points of entry for participation <i>Citizen workshops, opportunities to actively participate in implementation, overall settlement improvement (including community committee that selected which families would receive housing improvements).</i>
Problem-solving & decision-making <i>Trainings in communication and conflict management.</i>
Mediating structures and advocacy

<p><i>Long-term integration through policy, implemented by UN-HABITAT in partnership with Municipal Housing Agency, funded by Italian government.</i></p> <p>Distribution & accuracy of information <i>Project-specific survey generated new data, weekly project team meetings.</i></p> <p>Social capital, networks & relationships <i>Formation of a team of municipal experts and settlement representatives, project manager encouraged direct communication (i.e. holding meetings in the settlement vs. municipality), main objective was inclusion and integration.</i></p>
<p>Outcome</p>
<p>Distribution of knowledge, power and resources <i>Upgrading of settlement infrastructure, improvement of housing conditions for most vulnerable, construction of indoor toilets and extra rooms, completion of previously incomplete housing, creation of a draft programme for a Detailed Regulation Plan.</i></p> <p>Empowerment and creating points of entry for participation <i>Community participated in workshops, trainings and meetings, housing upgrade recipients selected by community.</i></p> <p>Social capital, networks and relationships <i>Framework of Cooperation to continue settlement improvements was generated, direct communication between municipality and community continued after the project ended, there was some political resistance that prevented the implementation of portions of the plan.</i></p>

Case Study 2. Equal Opportunities Initiative in the Fakulteta Community of Sofia, Bulgaria

The case of the Roma in Bulgaria is no exception to trends observed of Roma populations elsewhere – high rates of poverty, unemployment and residential and social segregation. One of the most well-known segregated Roma communities in the capital of Sofia is Fakulteta, which has an estimated 40,000 inhabitants and where low levels of educational attainment and high early school leaving rates are a significant problem.

In Bulgaria, completion of preschool and kindergarten is compulsory; a document stating completion is required for registration into the first grade. Therefore, not enrolling in and completing preschool more often than not effectively excludes students from the school system for life. In 2008, the Municipality of Sofia launched an internet-only registration process for preschool. Although this represented an advancement for the municipality, it simultaneously presented new barriers for the inhabitants of Fakulteta – lack of computer and internet access and low literacy rates make the internet registration process difficult.

It was under these conditions that the NGO Equal Opportunities Initiative Association obtained a grant from the Roma Education Fund (REF) to increase preschool and kindergarten enrollment of the Romani children in Fakulteta, primarily through assistance with the online registration process. The Equal Opportunities Initiative Association, founded in 2006, works to promote and preserve Roma culture and traditions in Bulgaria and facilitate integration of Roma in Bulgarian society through

legal and advocacy services, housing advocacy, fighting against discrimination and building the capacity of other Roma organizations.

Table 3 provides the analysis of the available information related to problem and solution identification and the actual and anticipated outcomes.

Table 3. Analysis of Case Study 2

Project Name: Equal Opportunities Initiative in the Fakulteta Community of Sofia, Bulgaria
Problem (<i>as defined by Equal Opportunities Initiative Association</i>)
<p>Distribution of knowledge, power & resources <i>Low levels of education attainment, literacy, computer skills, access to computers/internet; high drop-out rates; inequality in all aspects of life for Roma; residential segregation, distance from most mainstream educational facilities; difficulty paying school fees.</i></p> <p>Distribution and accuracy of information <i>Advertising campaign about electronic enrollment did not reach the community; enrollment communication and information only available through the internet; contact information obtained by school staff for Romani parents is often incorrect (school staff does not trust contact info from Health & Social Services).</i></p> <p>Social capital, networks and relationships <i>Discrimination is high, Roma are not welcomed into mainstream schools; Romani children typically spend all of their time in the Roma community and are not well-prepared for integrated environment; tensions between school staff and parents; perception that NGOs only absorb money (there are more important investments).</i></p>
Solution
<p>Distribution of knowledge, power and resources <i>Increase enrollment rates in mainstream schools, assist with school lessons, increase enrollment in the schools near to the community to prevent transportation need, provide books for additional at-home work, meet with parents about working with children using the books.</i></p> <p>Empowerment and creating points of entry for participation <i>Regular and frequent communication with parents, enroll children in school to encourage early social integration, engage volunteers in project implementation, hold community meetings at beginning of project.</i></p> <p>Problem-solving and decision-making <i>Visit surrounding schools, gather information about school's profile, distributed this information to parents to encourage informed decision-making.</i></p> <p>Distribution and accuracy of information <i>Targeted information campaign about electronic enrollment process; assign a group coordinator to track registration, application, enrollment processes and attendance; hold weekly or bi-weekly meetings to monitor project implementation; meet with teachers to obtain supplementary data; develop relationships with Municipality.</i></p> <p>Mediating structures and advocacy <i>Provide direct assistance with online enrollment process, meet with municipality and schools on behalf of Roma to identify and solve specific technical issues, monitor absenteeism to determine actual (vs. perceived) causes, addressed misunderstandings of both parents and schools.</i></p> <p>Social capital, networks and relationships <i>Develop relationships with municipality and schools; implementing organization located adjacent to community.</i></p>

Outcome
<p>Distribution of knowledge, power and resources <i>Increased understanding of parents and increased number of students enrolled.</i></p> <p>Empowerment and creating points of entry for participation <i>Community meeting sessions and training for parents on working with children on supplementary activities.</i></p> <p>Mediating structures and advocacy <i>Identified technical issues and negotiated solutions with municipality, worked with community to complete enrollment, maintained lists of existing enrollment profiles and required documents, monitored enrollment system weekly.</i></p> <p>Social capital, networks and relationships <i>Obtained partnership agreement between NGO and municipality regarding project support.</i></p>

Results

Table 4 summarizes the results of the two case study analyses in terms of Objective 1.

Table 4. Synopsis of Case Studies 1 and 2 as related to Objective 1

	Case Study 1	Case Study 2
<p>Objective 1 Determine the relevance of the identified resilience indicators in practical application.</p>	<p>Many observable correlations with a variety of indicators throughout the project. It is noteworthy that all of correlations identified in the problem section fit into one indicator category, that of the distribution of knowledge, power and resources. Other indicators emerged throughout the solution and outcomes sections.</p>	<p>Presence of resilience indicators was extensive, and likely not completely captured here as there were many. It was not difficult to identify instances of this.</p>

Though perhaps not intentionally sought as an objective or aim as such, elements of resilience (as measured by the selected indicators) indeed emerged throughout both projects. That said, there is some variation in the profile and distribution of these interpreted indicators. In Case Study 1, the fundamental focus of the project was physical improvements to housing and infrastructure and the creation of an overall community plan. Housing and infrastructure both correlate to the distribution of and access to resources. This can be seen in the resilience indicators extracted from the problems defined in Case Study 1 – in fact, they all relate to the distribution of resources.

When looking at the solution and outcomes for the same project however, the distribution of resources as a resilience indicator carries over, but other resilience indicators emerge as well. If one were to create a resilience-based model, this case would likely show a predominant focus on just one just element of resilience in the

problem identification, i.e. access to resources, with additional elements found in the solution and outcome design, perhaps acting as a kind of added value towards the success or sustainability of the intervention, but not necessarily core to the motivation of the project or the implementing agency.

Compared to Case Study 2, one finds less of a concentration on one type of indicator in problem identification. Perhaps this reflects the nature of the implementing organization and may be explained by the mission-based nature of many NGOs – their interest is often based on an overall situation or trend perceived as unacceptable, in this case the discrimination, oppression and inequity that Roma suffer from in Bulgaria. Galvanized by this, the NGO in Case Study 2 works to solve the problem as such, subsequently revealing a full cadre of social spheres where these unacceptable conditions exist.

More may be learned from considering additional differences in circumstances between the two projects – for example, UN-HABITAT was a temporary element in the community, with their staff being involved only for the duration of the project. Perhaps this made making direct links that were not dependent on UN-HABITAT's presence essential and part of the implementation strategy. Further, the nature of the intervention should be considered; the UN-HABITAT project, while working in principal towards equality, was relatively finite and short-lived as just one component of a much larger program (SIRP). In comparison, the NGO in Case Study 2 is, to a degree, a member of the community itself, with its office located literally next to the Fakulteta community; the development of more long-term and established relationships directly with the community is perhaps more natural and appropriate as well as being an objective in itself.

Conclusions and Intended Future Research

Overall, this paper demonstrates that resilience is present in and has potential as a tool for urban interventions, though the extent of this potential is to be debated. The key hypotheses moving forward are that 1) fundamentally, examining the problems of segregation through the lens of resilience can reveal the root problems of segregation, 2) encouraging the development of elements of resilience is already innately of interest to many agents currently working to identify and solve social problems and 3) though resilience may offer common ground and complex consideration of community context, resilience and resilience-thinking still needs to be approached on a case-by-case basis and does not eliminate the unique features and nuances of any particular social problem.

Future research could work to further operationalize the concept of resilience via interventions aimed at improving conditions and participation in segregated communities, aiming to produce more precise guidance or articulate a clear formula for utilizing resilience in practice.

References

- Adger, W.N., 2000. Social and ecological resilience: are they related? *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(3), pp.347-364.
- Andres, L. & Round, J., 2011. The role of "persistent resilience" within everyday life: communities coping with marginality. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers (AAG), Seattle, WA, April.
- Apple, M.W., 1995. *Education and Power* 2nd ed., New York: Routledge.
- Baucal, A., 2008. Monitoring and Evaluation Three Years After: Still in the dark?. Presentation made as a representative of the University of Belgrade, Department of Psychology, Educational Support Programme on the status of monitoring and evaluation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion.
- Bolt, G., 2009. Combating residential segregation of ethnic minorities in European cities. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 24(4), pp.397-405.
- Bolt, G., Phillips, D. & Van Kempen, R., 2010. Housing Policy, (De)segregation and Social Mixing: An International Perspective. *Housing Studies*, 25(2), pp.129-135.
- Brand, R. & Gaffikin, F., 2007. Collaborative Planning in an Uncollaborative World. *Planning Theory*, 6(3), pp.282-313.
- Brown, D.D. & Kulig, J.C., 1996. The Concept of Resiliency - Theoretical Lessons from Community Research. *Health & Canadian Society*, 4(1), pp.29-50.
- Buckland, J., 1998. Social capital and sustainability of NGO intermediated development projects in Bangladesh. *Community Development Journal*, 33(3), pp.236-248.
- Cinner, J., Fuentes, M.M.P.B. & Randriamahazo, H., 2009. Exploring Social Resilience in Madagascar's Marine Protected Areas. *Ecology And Society*, 14(1).
- Condly, S.J., 2006. Resilience in Children: A Review of Literature With Implications for Education. *Urban Education*, 41(3), pp.211-236.
- Davidoff, P., 1996. Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning. In R. T. LeGates & F. Stout, eds. *The City Reader*, 4th Edition. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 400-410.
- Forester, J., 1996. Planning in the Face of Conflict. In R. T. LeGates, Frederic Stout, ed. *The City Reader*, 4th Edition. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 387-399.

- Friedman, E. et al., 2009. *School as Ghetto: Systemic Overrepresentation of Roma in Special Education in Slovakia* E. Friedman & M. Surdu, eds., Budapest: Roma Education Fund.
- Ganor, M. & Ben-Lavy, Y., 2003. Community resilience: Lessons derived from Gilo under fire. *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, 79(2/3), p.105–108.
- Ghaus-Pasha, A., 2004. Role of Civil Society Organizations in Participatory and Accountable Governance.
- Goodenow, R.K. & Marsden, W.E. eds., 1992. *The city and education in four nations*, Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Hart, K., 1973. Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11(1), pp.61-89.
- Healey, P., 2003. Collaborative Planning in Perspective. *Planning Theory*, 2(2), pp.101-123.
- Jabeen, H., Johnson, C. & Allen, A., 2010. Built-in resilience: learning from grassroots coping strategies for climate variability. *Environment and Urbanization*, 22(2), pp.415-431.
- Kaposvári, A., Králik, M. & Sebestény, I. eds., 1997. *Hungary: A Civil Approach, A survey of the Hungarian nonprofit sector*, Budapest: European House, Civitalis Association.
- Ladson-Billings, G. & Gillborn, D. eds., 2004. *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Multicultural Education*, Abingdon, Oxon: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Landau, J., 2007. Enhancing resilience: families and communities as agents for change. *Family process*, 46(3), pp.351-65.
- Lorenz, D.F., 2010. The diversity of resilience: contributions from a social science perspective. *Natural Hazards*.
- McDonnell, L.M., Timpane, P.M. & Benjamin, R. eds., 2000. *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Norris, F.H. et al., 2008. Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American journal of community psychology*, 41(1-2), pp.127-50.

Powell, W.W. ed., 1987. *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Radó, 2001. *Decentralization and the Governance of Education: The State of Education Systems in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Poland and Romania*,

Ramirez, L. et al. eds., 2008. *SIRP BOOK The Settlement and Integration of Refugees Programme in Serbia 2005-2008*, UN-HABITAT.

Ringold, D., Orenstein, M.A. & Wilkens, E., 2005. *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*, Washington, DC.

Round, J., Williams, C. & Rodgers, P., 2010. The Role of Domestic Food Production in Everyday Life in Post-Soviet Ukraine. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 100(5), pp.1197-1211.

Round, J., Williams, C. & Rodgers, P., 2008. Everyday tactics and spaces of power: the role of informal economies in post-Soviet Ukraine. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(2), pp.171-185.

Slee, R., 2010. A cheese-slicer by any other name? Shredding the sociology of inclusion. In M. W. Apple, S. J. Ball, & L. A. Gandin, eds. *The Routledge International Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 99-108.

Smith, K., (2011). The wall, the door and the key: resilience, education and planning in segregated urban communities. Masters thesis, Université Pierre-Mendès-France, Grenoble.

Sonn, C.C. & Fisher, A.T., 1998. Sense of community: Community resilient responses to oppression and change. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(5), pp.457-472.

Szalai, J. et al., 2009. *EDUMIGROM Comparative Papers: Comparative Report on Educational Policies for Inclusion*, Budapest.

UN-HABITAT, 2001. *Building Bridges Through Participatory Planning*, UN-HABITAT.

Vajda, R. & Dupcsik, C., with EDUMIGROM, 2008. Country Report on Ethnic Relations: Hungary.

Walsh, F., 1996. The Concept of Family Resilience : Crisis and Challenge. *Family Process*, 35, pp.261-281.

Wang, M.C. & Kovach, J.A., 1995. Bridging the Achievement Gap in Urban Schools: Reducing Educational Segregation and Advancing Resilience-Promoting Strategies.

ⁱ This includes policy, programs, projects, initiatives and so forth, generally categorized in this paper as interventions.

ⁱⁱ See endnote iv.

ⁱⁱⁱ For one example of addressing this in practice, see Harlem Children's Zone; information available at <http://www.hcz.org/> (link accessed 1 September 2011)

^{iv} Based on Norris et al. 2008, Jabeen et al., 2010 Andres & Round 2011, Round et al. 2008 and 2010, Ganor & Ben-Lavy 2003, Hart 1973, Sonn & Fisher 1998, Brown & Kulig 1996, Adger 2000, Lorenz 2010, Cinner et al. 2009, Walsh 1996.

^v <http://www.romadecade.org/>, accessed 23 August 2011

^{vi} <http://www.unhabitat.org.rs/programmes/sirp/sirp.htm>, accessed 19 August 2011

^{vii} http://www.kraljevo.org/OPSTINA-KRALJEVO-About-Kraljevo_112_6_eng, accessed 19 August 2011

^{viii} <http://www.romaeducationfund.hu/programmes/project-support-programme>, accessed 8 April 2012

^{ix} Following are the remaining two objectives which were excluded from this abbreviated text: Objective 2. Determine the actual and potential participatory nature of the intervention. Method 2. Identify and describe points of entry for participation. Objective 3. Determine the presence and role (if relevant) of education and NGOs in the intervention. Method 3. Review the case and extract instances (or perceived instances) where education and NGOs are referenced.

^x The urban planning-related resilience indicators were selected for the analysis of the problem and solution identification due to the urban planning focus of the original paper. The education- and NGO-related resilience indicators were utilized in Objective 3.

^{xi} Readers interested in the data for Objectives 2 and 3, the latter of which included analysis utilizing the education- and NGO-related resilience indicators, can request them from the author by email at kari.smith@yahoo.com.

^{xii} http://www.kraljevo.org/OPSTINA-KRALJEVO-About-Kraljevo_112_6_eng, accessed 19 August 2011

^{xiii} <http://www.unhabitat.org.rs/programmes/sirp/sirp.htm>, accessed 19 August 2011

^{xiv} It should be noted that the project in Case Study 1 was funded by the €15 million from the Italian government, but was not the sole use of the Italian funds. Rather, it was one of many projects within and funded via SIRP.

^{xv} The original table includes more detailed evidence and is available to interested readers upon request from the author.