



# Roma & Traveller Children with a Parent in Prison



A Follow-Up Report with  
Case Studies & Recommendations



**Children of Prisoners Europe (COPE)** is a pan-European network of non-profit organisations working on behalf of children separated from an imprisoned parent. The network encourages innovative perspectives and practices to ensure that children with an imprisoned parent fully enjoy their rights under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, and that action is taken to enable their well-being and development.

Children of Prisoners Europe is a non-profit organisation registered in France under French Association law 1901.  
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## I. Introduction

In 2017, COPE issued *Children of Roma and Traveller Prisoners: A Short Guide* based primarily on the experience of COPE members and affiliates working with and for children of prisoners supplemented by desk research. The exchange of information and ideas created by this research led to the decision to look in greater depth at the work being done with Roma prisoners and their children in three countries: Bulgaria, Croatia and Finland. The overall objective was to highlight different approaches and programmes, and to see what could be learned from them with a particular view to sharing their experiences and recommendations, both with others working in or considering working in this area and with policy-makers. Particular thanks are due to Romano Missio, Status: M and Child & Space for taking the time to share and reflect on their work in this way.

### **Definition:**

The Council of Europe uses the term 'Roma' to encompass a wide diversity of groups: a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Calé, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish and the populations designated under the administrative term "Gens du voyage", as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies. This report uses 'Roma' in the same way.

### **Context:**

Roma tend to be over-represented in prison populations across Europe, although documenting this is difficult because some countries<sup>1</sup> do not provide prison populations by 'ethnicity' and 'race'. In addition, where identification is left to the choice of the individual prisoner, they may choose not to identify as Roma, thus leading to under-reporting of the actual numbers. However, some statistics, or indications, are available. For example, recent information includes: in Latvia, statistics from August 2016 show the incarceration rate per 100,000 persons is 2,319 for ethnic Roma, compared with 137 for ethnic Latvians and 280 for ethnic Russians.<sup>2</sup> In Finland, it was estimated in 2010 that 6 per cent of the prison population was Roma, who comprise 0.2 per cent of the general population of the country.<sup>3</sup> This general over-representation is present in male prisons, but appears to be even greater in female prisons and in juvenile/youth offender facilities. For example in Ireland, Irish Travellers make up 0.6 per cent of the general population, but 15 per cent of the male and 22 per cent of the female prison population.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eg. Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Poland.

<sup>2</sup> FIDH Latvian Human Rights Commission: Alternative report on Latvia for the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), 96<sup>th</sup> session, 16 July 2018.

<sup>3</sup> KRITS Probation Foundation response to COPE questionnaire, 1 August 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Irish Penal Reform Trust: Travellers in the Irish Prison System (19 May 2014); Tanya Lalor: Ethnic Identifiers in Irish Prisons (Travellers in Prison Initiative, March 2017); Pavee Point Traveller & Roma Centre and National Traveller Women's Forum: Irish Traveller & Roma Women, Joint Shadow Report (20 January 2017).

Bulgarian Helsinki Committee research suggests a heavy over-representation of Roma among prisoners in Bulgaria: in both their 2015 and 2017 surveys, the share of Roma among newly arrived prisoners was higher than 50 per cent (50.1 per cent in the 2015 survey and 50.8 per cent in the 2017 survey).<sup>5</sup> Child & Space estimate that some 80 per cent of imprisoned women at Sliven (the only women's prison in Bulgaria) are Roma. (According to the 2011 census results, ethnic Bulgarians make up 84.8 per cent of the 7,364,570 population, ethnic Turkish Bulgarians 8.8 per cent and Roma 4.9 per cent.<sup>6</sup>) And according to the Republic of Croatia Ombudsperson for Children, approximately 38 per cent of those in the Correctional Institution for Minors in Turopolje are Roma.<sup>7</sup>

The reasons for this over-representation include discrimination<sup>8</sup> and marginalisation in many forms<sup>9</sup> including in sentencing<sup>10</sup>, access to education, employment, housing, health care<sup>11</sup>, state benefits, telephone and internet<sup>12</sup>, which combined with consequent poverty<sup>13</sup> and over-policing<sup>14</sup> leads many into conflict with the law and raises the likelihood of detention during the pre-trial period and during trial. This also increases the likelihood that they will receive a prison sentence on conviction, rather than a fine, parole, suspended or community sentence. In this way, the general marginalisation and discrimination of Roma, which despite

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<sup>5</sup> Written Comments of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee Concerning Bulgaria for CERD, 92nd Session, March 2017, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the UN independent expert on minority issues on her mission to Bulgaria (A/HRC/19/56/Add.2), 3 January 2012, para.3. However, some NGOs suggest that a more realistic figure is around 10% of the population being Roma.

<sup>7</sup> Response to COPE questionnaire, 14 September 2016.

<sup>8</sup> CERD Report of Finland (CERD /C/FIN/23), 17 February 2016, para. 42

<sup>9</sup> CERD Concluding observations on the combined eleventh and twelfth periodic reports of Slovakia (CERD /C/SVK/CO/11-12), 12 January 2018; Observations of the Slovak National Centre for Human Rights on the Combined Eleventh and Twelfth Periodic Reports of the Slovak Republic to CERD, 2017; Islamic Human Rights Commission: Europe's Shame: Anti-Muslim Hatred and the Roma of Bulgaria (2010) points out that the majority of Roma in Bulgaria are Muslim, and the European Roma Rights Centre highlights the particular intersecting discrimination of Muslim Roma in South East Europe in their Third Party Intervention for the *Alkovic v Montenegro* (Application no. 66895/10) case at the European Court of Human Rights (20 May 2016).

<sup>10</sup> In 2010 the European Court of Human Rights found a violation and direct discrimination in the sentencing of a Roma person: CEDH, *Paraskeva Todorova c. Bulgarie*, no. 37193/07, Arrêt du 25 mars 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Including within the prison system: List of Issues by the European Roma Rights Centre concerning Macedonia For Consideration by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) at the Pre-Sessional Working Group of the 71st Session (12-16 March 2018), p.7.

<sup>12</sup> Joint Submission Friends, Families and Travellers National Federation Gypsy Liaison Groups 12th September 2018 To the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Mission to UK.

<sup>13</sup> Information for CEDAW to consider in its adoption of the issues listed in the Sixth Periodical Report of the Republic of Macedonia, 71st Pre-Sessional Working Group, 12-16 March 2018 (January 2018).

<sup>14</sup> Submission by the Hungarian Helsinki Committee Regarding the 6th Periodic Report of Hungary to the UN Human Rights Committee for consideration at its 122nd Session (March –April 2018); Roma Women's Initiative information for CEDAW to consider in its adoption of the issues listed in the Sixth Periodical Report of the Republic of Macedonia, 71st Pre-Sessional Working Group, 12-16 March 2018 (January 2018).

recent efforts persists across Europe<sup>15,16</sup>, have specific implications in relation to Roma prisoners and their children and as such are important factors to take into consideration when working with them during imprisonment as well as beforehand and after release.<sup>17</sup>

## II. Case Study 1: Bulgaria, Association Child & Space

The Association Child & Space's involvement at Sliven Women's Prison grew out of their work with marginalised Roma in Novi Pazar, a town in the province of Shumen in northeastern Bulgaria, as they often encountered parents in prison. The first Family and Consultative Centre in Bulgaria began as a time-defined UNICEF project during which they trained teams to work with marginalised Roma, providing regular training and supervision during a period of four years. The prison service requested that a similar kind of Family and Consultative Centre working with disadvantaged Roma minorities be set up at Sliven. Child & Space asked one of their nurses, a woman of Roma origin with experience performing preventive childcare for Roma infants, if she was interested in working at Sliven with young infants living in prison with their mothers until the age of one. The Sliven Centre has been operating for over 6 years and is giving rise to a new programme called *Papa Plus*, designed to work with imprisoned fathers. The first step for this was a meeting in Sofia Prison in September 2018 to learn more about prison staff experiences with imprisoned fathers and children visiting them in prison; to highlight the situation of those parents not in contact with their children; and to look at the various ways in which prison impacts the child-parent relationship and makes it difficult for some parents to remain a parent in prison. The ultimate aim of *Papa Plus*<sup>18</sup> is to enhance the protection of children's rights and well-being.

The prison work at Sliven is Roma-specific: all the women prisoners participating in the programme are Bulgarian Roma but reflect the diversity of Bulgarian Roma who are not homogenous but comprise distinct groups and sub-groups which differ in religion, mother tongue, cultural and traditional practices and lifestyles.<sup>19</sup> The Sliven programme participants are equally divided between Christian and

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<sup>15</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: Fundamental Rights Report 2018, Chapter 5 (pp99-122); Written comments submitted by the European Roma Rights Centre concerning Bulgaria for the consideration of the UN Human Rights Committee for its 124th session (8 October to 2 November 2018); Alternative Report to Sweden's 22nd and 23rd Periodical Reports to CERD Submitted by the United Nations Association of Sweden, March 2018, pp26-29.

<sup>16</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: Working with Roma: Participation and empowerment of local communities, 2018.

<sup>17</sup> Roma prisoners from other countries face the usual problems of foreign national prisoners, including maintaining contact with their children/family, but often to a greater degree because of their general situation.

<sup>18</sup> A video about *Papa Plus* is available at <https://childrenofprisoners.eu/videos/papa-plus/>

<sup>19</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: Working with Roma: Participation and empowerment of local communities, 2018, para. 12.

Muslim. They also encompass a broad age range, from very young women up to 50-year-olds. The programme staff include both Roma and non-Roma, and they work directly with the women prisoners but also train prison officers and 'social inspectors' (prison staff who have received additional training and education but who have often started out as prison officers).

In the specific programme for imprisoned Roma mothers at Sliven Prison, Child & Space provide support in writing to their children (many are hampered by low levels of literacy and difficulties in expressing themselves), and, through their mobile family counselling service going from one Roma community to another, are able to connect those in the prison with life outside. Many of the mothers whose babies are in the prison with them have little knowledge of child care so the programme focuses on developing practical care skills as well as communication between mother and baby, emotional care and an understanding of child development.

In addition to the direct individual results of the programme for the mothers and their children, Child & Space seek to use it as a basis for wider impacts based on their practical experience and interviews to develop learning tools, including a book which they have distributed to other prisons and to other organisations as a guide, and videos<sup>20</sup> to raise awareness about child care within the Roma community, with the goal of shifting the sometimes negative perspectives of prison personnel toward Roma. In addition, they not only seek to improve the interactions between Roma and prison personnel and community agencies, but also to help prepare for the prisoners' release, to enhance community services, and to forge a different image of the Roma amongst the Roma communities themselves.

Child & Space identify two major challenges for this work. Within the prison, the biggest challenge is in working with prison officers, some of whom are hostile to the programme both for reasons of bias towards Roma and because they see the programme as an additional burden in their already overworked lives. Child & Space have been able to diffuse this to some extent by inviting a filmmaker and photographer to come into the setting. The effect of an outside presence—and the presence of the camera as a 'third party', making each individual more aware of and accountable for their behaviour and comments—eased some of the tension in the room, as her presence had a reassuring and structuring effect. Externally, although Child & Space have been able to make some headway in Noviy Pazar in developing tools for supporting released prisoners and in preventive work, a great deal remains to be done. (A small percentage of the women are chronic repeat offenders whose only structured life is in prison. Many are victims of violence and are exploited.)

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<sup>20</sup> For more information about Child & Space's videos contact them at [vbanova@gmail.com](mailto:vbanova@gmail.com)

### **Child & Space Recommendations:**

For COPE members, practitioners and professionals:

- *Papa Plus* is truly unique for Bulgaria, with its emphasis on good practice and preventive measures. It is backed by the prison service, who have a positive attitude as a result of the work at Sliven. In implementing *Papa Plus* sessions: remain as concrete as possible in discussions with prison staff when trying to change attitudes; identify areas in which their work intersects with our ideas and how their work can be enhanced; break down into small groups as much as possible (mixing together prison officers and social inspectors); work with what already exists (e.g., build on an existing initiative or one that used to be in existence); and ensure that there is some kind of follow-up to the good practice sessions, even if only a report to the Justice Ministry documenting discussions and highlighting challenges and needs.

For Policy-makers:

- Continually work to change and enhance life in prisons by introducing, implementing and systematising good practice.

### **III. Case Study 2: Croatia, Status: M**

Status: M is a non-profit organisation which has been working with young men on violence prevention, gender equality and the promotion of positive masculinities and healthy lifestyles through a gender transformative approach since 2008. In 2010, their work with youth was recognised by the Ministry of Justice as an obligatory educational measure for youth sent to the Centres for Social Welfare. This in turn eventually led to staff of the treatment programme of the Correctional Institution for Minors in Turopolje identifying the Status: M programme as beneficial for working with their young men as a recidivism prevention measure. In 2013, Status M delivered training for the Turopolje staff to present the Methodology of Manual M (the educational programme used by Status M, which is internationally recognised as a violence prevention programme), which is what they have continued to use in their programme in Turopolje.

Thus their work in the prison system developed from their general work with youth and men on violence prevention and gender equality. Initially this was only the 'Be a Man Club Turopolje', for young males (15-21 years old) in the Turopolje Correctional Institution for Minors, a programme which includes a broad range of issues around gender equality, power relations, expressing emotions and domestic violence, as well as parenting. Since 2015, they have expanded to work with adult males in the prisons in Turopolje and Zagreb and the Penitentiary in Glina. Known as Programme D (another internationally recognised and developed programme for engaging men on the issue of childcare), the program differs from Status: M in

### **Status: M Recommendations:**

For NGOs:

- NGOs/organisations who work in the community need to adjust their educational programmes specifically for the prison system and the needs of that particular population.

For Policy-makers:

- Policy-makers need to recognise NGO initiatives and support them as integral programmes working with prison populations as well as supporting work of NGOs with people after they leave prison.
- Policy-makers/government should not only improve the conditions of prisoners in terms of accommodation, food and treatment, but also invest more in the capacities of prison staff for their work, especially the security officers, in terms of education as well as training and development.

that they are working with adults specifically on developing their skills in parenthood and values of gender equality, especially with regard to child care and domestic work.

The Status: M prison programmes are general but have significant levels of Roma participants because of the high proportion of (Croatian) Roma prisoners. An interesting observation from Status: M is that, although there are strong animosities between Roma and non-Roma prisoners (especially visible in the youth Correctional Institution),<sup>21</sup> having mixed groups in their programme is not a problem, and in fact includes a session on prejudice, violence and racism *per se*. The programme encourages the young men at Turopolje Correctional Institution to continue to work with Status: M in their own communities after their release, which has resulted in cooperation with the Croatian Roma Union and Social Welfare Centres with large Roma populations.<sup>22</sup> Although Status: M has some Roma staff, these do not currently work in their prison programmes.

Status: M have found that prison staff usually take part in their workshops, providing personal insights about the equal division of childcare and domestic work, and about types of violence, and this staff participation has been an added value. The reactions to the programme have been positive from both prisoners and staff. In the short term, the prisoner participants often give feedback that they had never previously thought about these topics (such as harmful masculinity, self care, gender norms and stereotypes), and as a result of the awareness-raising have

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<sup>21</sup> Report to the Croatian Government on the visit to Croatia carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) from 14 to 22 March 2017, CPT/Inf (2018) 44, p. 48, para. 76 notes "Inter-inmate violence did not appear to be a major problem; however, the CPT's delegation received some allegations of bullying and intimidation, verbal conflicts, and some physical violence, often between groups of different ethnic origins."

<sup>22</sup> See also Jurica Pacelat, Status: M, Croatia, 'Strengthening parental competencies of young prisoners', in *European Journal of Parental Imprisonment* (Winter, 2016), pp 5-7.



decided to make some personal changes and be more aware of their obligations as parents and partners. The prison staff state that participants show better behaviour in the institution and get better marks, and in a few cases have asked to have a visit from their child.

For Status: M, working with the actual prison staff or prisoners is not a problem (around 96 per cent attend the full 12 sessions, once a week for 1.5 hours, and very few drop out), and communication with the prison treatment staff is excellent, to the point where they have been asked to double the number of sessions and participants in the Glina Penitentiary because the programme is seen as so effective. The main challenge for Status: M is the time taken to get approval from the Ministry of Justice for their staff to enter the prisons, thus creating uncertainty as to when they can start the work inside.

#### **IV. Case Study 3: Finland, Romano Missio**

Romano Missio is a national child welfare and social service organisation working to support Roma people in Finland. It was established in 1907 and has a number of programmes, including a child protection unit for Roma children and counselling in housing, employment, educational and social issues for Roma people. The Roma community in Finland continues to suffer from marginalisation following a history of persecution and discrimination, and on-going negative attitudes, and is acknowledged as having problems with drugs, crime, schooling and work, all of which are relevant in relation to working with imprisoned Roma.

Romano Missio has been working with female Roma prisoners since 2010. The initial project was requested by the Director of Vanaja Prison following a lecture about Roma culture the previous year, and was started with the help of the NGO KRITS (Finnish Foundation for Supporting Ex-offenders), a COPE member organisation with experience working in prisons. The women's prison has a family unit where prisoners can live with their children if they were under 2 years old at the time of incarceration, and can remain until they are 3 years old.

Romano Missio had two projects, both of which were Roma-specific and staffed by Roma: *Naisten vuoro* ('Women's Turn'), a culturally sensitive service with practices that have now been incorporated into mainstream prison services and, from 2015-16, a follow-up project called *Muutoksen vuoro* ('Time for Change'), which offered female Roma prisoners support during their post-release resettlement process.

In 2017, they secured permanent funding from the Criminal Sanctions Agency for work with female Roma offenders and established Women's Corner, a meeting point and support centre in Helsinki. This meeting point offers personal support with

post-release resettlement and service counselling, as well as coordinating the prison work. The latter includes two Roma workers who visit four prisons during a week, in which they spend 2-6 hours at a time and either go through the rehabilitative 11-step VOIVA-programme<sup>23</sup> with the Roma women, hold individual discussions about any acute subject with the women, or provide consulting time for the prison staff. The work includes released prisoners and focuses on finding ways to reduce recidivism through a personally planned support network with other organisations and rehabilitation centres when needed. This involves cooperation with child protection services and other organisations that support the mother-child relationship, the overall idea being to support the mother to use existing services with the assistance of a Roma worker, including cultural interpretation both ways. Women's needs—including for support in parenting—guide the project, in order to provide help and support in as many situations as possible during imprisonment and after release.

In 2017, inspired by the programme for Roma women in prison, Romano Missio started work with Roma men in prison, with an instructor from the same cultural background. This programme was developed with funding from the Finnish Criminal Sanctions Agency, but has yet to secure ongoing funding despite the high need, and they now have a project for Roma family work in general.<sup>24</sup>

There is evidence of real benefit of Romano Missio's work, and the programme has received praise at the national level; they were given the Criminal Justice Award for 2017 in recognition of their long-term and fruitful work for the benefit of Roma women and the establishment of the Women's Corner. Perhaps more importantly, Roma women in prison have expressed relief, and feel greater trust toward prison personnel, increased trust toward society, greater courage in seeking their rights, increased trust in themselves and their abilities and also courage to work toward their future plans. There are longitudinal evaluations under way but they cannot yet say whether their work has an effect on recidivism: ethnic compilation of statistics is not allowed in Finland, which presents a challenge for evaluating the effects of their work.

At the same time, challenges persist. The women are often reluctant to seek help, and distrust the child welfare institutions: there is a lot of misinformation and fear. The Roma worker explains and interprets why things happen in the way they do, and also comes along to meetings with the child welfare institution and the woman to ensure that the woman has understood everything and the child welfare agency has all the information needed, and in some cases acts as a guardian of interests. Some of the prison personnel reflect the attitudes towards Roma inherent in Finnish society, and Romano Missio have to continually explain how important the culturally sensitive approach is for the women but also for the prison's safety and well-being of the staff. For this reason, they also teach pupils in

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<sup>23</sup> For more about the VOIVA programme, see the case study in *Children of Roma and Traveller Prisoners: A Short Guide* (COPE, 2017).

<sup>24</sup> <http://romaniperhetyo.fi/> for more information in Finnish only.

the criminal sanctions education institutions who are going to work in prisons in the future.

### **Romano Missio Recommendations:**

For NGOs:

- Because having the support of the prison staff is vital for the work, educate them and keep them informed about what is being done and why this is crucial. Find examples of situations and ways of providing the staff with tools that help them to work through their daily tasks with these women who might strongly distrust the prison staff.
- Help the prison staff to understand that the Roma-specific programmes are a means of enabling the women to access the same information and help that the other prisoners get and not an added benefit for them. This is a crucial argument when stressing the importance of culturally sensitive services in general. The cultural nuances and details are often very subtle and visible only to members of the same cultural background.
- Evaluation, research and feedback are important as a means of providing information and evidence but also raising the voice of the women. Romano Missio have done five dissertations and a wider 90-page report about the needs and situations of these women, their families and backgrounds.
- Provide schooling for the women (most of the female Roma prisoners lack proper skills in writing and reading) and support them in motivating their children to go to school. There is also a need to offer application assistance for basic state documents such as birth certificates, ID cards or a passport to prove their identity, legal status and citizenship.

For Policy-makers:

- Policy-makers need to reflect on and decide about the purpose/goal of the criminal justice system and therefore use of money. Does prison exclude from the society, whereby the punishment continues past the time the prisoner is released, or does it bring the society closer to the prisoner with, for example, culturally sensitive work. Do we want imprisonment to further distance marginalised people from society or should it be an opportunity for trying to stop inter-generational marginalisation.

## V. Conclusions

These three case studies demonstrate the value of organisations which are already working in the community, engaging with imprisoned members of that community in helping them with their own situation, in supporting them in their parenting role with children left outside and when they leave prison, and with children in the prison with their mother. However, this does tend to mean that the needs of Roma prisoners from other countries – like all foreign national prisoners – receive less attention (although Romano Missio do some work with Roma from other countries).

It is interesting that two of the organisations started their work with imprisoned women (including imprisoned mothers in particular), but have now or are expanding that work also to men (who form the large majority of the prison population), while the third one started with juvenile males and is expanding to adult males. Possible benefits of these approaches is that the organisations gain experience of working with prisoners from the group with whom they already have experience of working with in the community first, and also that the benefits of their work become appreciated by the prison service, leading to requests for them to expand it. For the two organisations working specifically with imprisoned Roma, having Roma staff working with the prisoners is important because of the understanding of culture as well as language that this brings, although some prison staff may find it hard to adapt given the pervasive levels of prejudice against Roma. On the other hand, for the prison staff, the opportunity to learn about Roma, to understand better the particular challenges they face as prisoners, and to come into working contact with Roma who are not prisoners may help them not only to interact better with this part of their prison population but possibly also more generally to lessen their negative perception of Roma. By contrast, having a programme that includes Roma prisoners but is not exclusive to them may help to reduce some of the tensions among prisoners.

In all the prison work, having the support of the prison authorities is crucial and can be fostered by helping prison staff to see in what ways the programmes also benefit them in their work and are not an added burden or seen as a form of favouritism to one group. The importance of “promoting meaningful participation of Roma in activities that affect them” has been recognised by the EU Fundamental Rights Agency<sup>25</sup> but also in work with prisoners, and in particular children of prisoners. Equally, the value of COPE member/affiliate organisations and Roma working together to address the specific situation and needs of both female and male Roma prisoners and their children is clear, and fits in with the recommendation from the European Commission to the European Parliament and

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<sup>25</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: *Working with Roma: Participation and empowerment of local communities* (2018).

the Council that "synergies and cooperation between Roma and mainstream NGOs needs to be supported".<sup>26</sup>

As highlighted in the recommendations from the three organisations, other key messages for policy-makers underscore the necessity to continue to improve prison conditions and education/training for both prisoners and staff, identifying and mainstreaming good practice not only within an individual prison but across the prison system, recognising and supporting the valuable role of NGOs within the prison, in promoting links with children and other family members outside, and in working with and supporting people after they leave prison in order to make integration more likely than further exclusion and marginalisation.

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<sup>26</sup> Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Report on the evaluation of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, COM (2018) 785 final, Brussels, 4.12.2018, p.9.

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