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EDITORIAL

2005 – 2015 – the Decade of Roma Inclusion in Europe

Dear readers,

We would like to take the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' as a starting point for putting the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe in the centre of attention of the current issue of the Thematic Series. The Decade is an initiative adopted by twelve European countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain¹) with sizeable Roma minorities. The Decade was initiated at the high-level conference "Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future", hosted by the government of Hungary in June 2003. The conference was organized by the Open Society Institute, the World Bank, and the European Commission, with support from United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Council of Europe Development Bank, and the governments of Finland and Sweden. The Decade is the first joint effort aiming at changing the lives of Roma in Europe. Running from 2005-2015, the Decade serves as an action framework for governments and will monitor progress in accelerating social inclusion and improving the socio-economic status of Roma across Europe. Within the framework of the Decade four priority areas have been defined: education, employment, health and housing and the participating countries had to develop National Action Plans indicating goals to be achieved for the areas mentioned above.

The present issue includes twelve contributions focusing on Roma in Central and Eastern European countries. The issue commences with two articles looking into the situation of Roma in the whole CEE region in the context of the transformations following the collapse of communism (Sławomir Kapralski) and current characteristics of the Roma population in a comparative manner (Anikó Bernát). The following ten contributions provide insights into the problems faced by this most vulnerable minority in Europe, such as discrimination, poverty, unemployment, difficult access to education and other social services, etc. The case-perspective allows for drawing similarities between the countries not only in respect to the precarious living conditions of Roma, but also regarding difficulties in establishing successful policies targeted at combating Roma exclusion and improvement of their life standard. The issue also includes a contribution presenting a comprehensive overview of research into Roma and into Roma related issues undertaken in Serbia (Suzana Ignjatovic).

Editorial team

¹ Slovenia has an observer status in the initiative.

CONTRIBUTION

Sławomir Kaprański¹

Democratization in the Post-communist Europe: a Romani Perspective²

The Roma in the post-communist Eastern Europe

The developments which took place after 1989 in East Central Europe (ECE) have clearly illustrated the fact that the achievement of freedom and liberty by the states of the region does not necessarily correspond with an improvement of the situation of at least some of their citizens. The group which is frequently mentioned as marginalized, victimized and discriminated against in the new ECE, is the Roma population. According to the authors of the Project on Ethnic Relations (PER) Report, "since the beginning of 1990, Roma have suffered more than 45 attacks, resulting in the deaths of twenty Roma and the destruction of over four hundred Roma dwellings". The violence has been especially well documented in the... Czech and Slovak lands and in Romania and Hungary, but it has also taken place in Poland, Bulgaria, and former Yugoslavia" (PER Report, 1992: 7). Using different statistics (as well as a different definition of a violent attack), the authors of an editorial in Prague's English language weekly *Prognosis* estimated that between 1991 and 1993 in the Czech and Slovak lands Romanies were the target of 94 attacks and victims of all 16 of the racially motivated murders reported in that time (*Prognosis*, December 10, 1993: 9).

Of course, the victimization of the Roma is by no means an invention of post-communist Europe. In fact, from its very beginning the history of the Roma among the European people can be described as a continuous history of persecution and violent mistreatment which culminated in the period of the Holocaust and which has contained a very important communist episode: "The Roma have long been the outcasts of Europe and it is sometimes forgotten that they were among the victims of the Holocaust. They were the target of efforts at enforced assimilation by the communist authorities, whose programs all too often destroyed old patterns of culture and social structures without providing coherent alternatives, and left poorly educated, unemployed populations living in deep poverty, segregated, despised by the majority groups, victimized by the darkest prejudices and hatreds, and lacking the group cohesiveness or leadership required to defend themselves against violence, let alone to compete for a place in the sun" (PER Report, 1992: 3).

Violence against the Roma

Different acts of violence directed against the Roma can be divided into three main groups: acts of physical violence aimed at the destruction of the Roma population and individuals; acts and processes resulting in the destruction of the Romani culture; acts of "semantic violence," denying the Roma any distinct identity. In the first category one has to mention destructive mob violence against individual Romanies and their property (resembling very much traditional anti-Jewish pogroms) reported from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and Russia. In addition to these rather spontaneous outbursts of anti-Roma sentiments, there are organized, racially-motivated attacks on the Roma, carried out by right-wing extremists, neo-Nazi groups and/or "skinheads" (especially in the Czech Republic). The latter category is even more important for these racially-motivated attacks have often resulted in the Roma men and women being actually killed, while during "pogroms" it is mostly the property which is being destroyed. Of course, pogroms and lynching occur not only in ECE countries: they are reported from Spain, Germany and, quite recently from Austria. Sometimes they are even supported by irresponsible public statements by official political figures, statements that can hardly be distinguished from genocidal appeals. For instance, in 1990 the "British Conservative Councillor Tookey states in a public address that she wants to see 'the filthy, dirty Gypsies recycled and dumped in the sea', following a similar public statement by the Mayor of Dartford in Kent that Gypsies should be 'pushed over the White Cliffs of Dover'" (Hancock, 1991a: 24).

However, in the established democracies statements like those quoted above are easily to be criticized and counteracted not only by human rights activists but also by government's officials, whereas in ECE countries one can see, as Nicolae Gheorghe rightly observes, a widespread "governmental reluctance in condemning publicly, in a clear and unequivocal way, the overt violence and the expressed hostility

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² This contribution is a shortened version of the article published in *Polish Sociological Review*, 2008, vol. 163, no. 3, pp. 245-262.

conducive to violence against Roma persons and against the Roma population as a whole" (Gheorghe, 1994a: 23) One has to add to this picture an anti-Roma prejudice and hostility expressed in the media throughout the countries of ECE which often denies the Roma the usual ally in the democratic countries: the independent voice of journalists.

Another outrageous example of the physical violence against the Roma population is the program of forcible sterilization of the Romani women in the former Czechoslovakia. "The communist authorities," Aviezer Tucker summarizes, "in a racist policy similar to the eugenics experiments in the American South, attempted to break what they considered a vicious circle of unemployment, welfare dependency, poverty, high demographic growth and crime through the sterilization of Romany women. Some were sterilized without their knowledge while being hospitalized. Others were pressured to agree, or offered considerable financial incentives by social and health workers, to undergo the operation. Post-communist government officials halted the practice of sterilization without explicit and informed consent. Still, there are reports of continued sterilization of Romany women in Slovakia" (Tucker, 1994: 210).

This practice has quite early been documented by human right activists and the International Romani Union has protested against it to the United Nations Organization (Puxon, 1986: 11), without, however, any significant result. Only in 1987, 1111 Czech and Slovak Romani women have been sterilized, with an open support of the medical authorities. For instance, Jiri Biocek, a senior paediatrician, was reported to say: "A gynaecologist has the right to do this [sterilization] without consent. On the one hand there are human rights, but on the other when you see how these Gypsies multiply you can see that it is a population of inferior quality" (Powell, 1994: 111). Opinions like this found backing on the highest governmental level when in 1993 Vladimir Meciar, then the Slovak Prime Minister called the Roma "socially unadaptable and mentally backward" (Powell, 1994: 111).

The culture of the Roma has been gradually destroyed in both spontaneous and planned way. The modernization of the ECE countries during last 50 years put an end to many activities of the Roma, related to the pre-modern type of social life, whereas:

"the Communist regime put an end to the capitalist enterprise of horse-trading, while orchestras and smithing were forbidden as private businesses. With their old trades gone, the Roma were relegated to the ranks of unskilled labour. In one sense, they retained their nomadic life-style, moving from place to place and town to town, but it was not out of choice. Instead, they moved under societal pressures and were kept at the lowest level of social stratification, gradually losing the defining characteristics of an ethnic group and coming to resemble an urban proletariat. In this sense, whole settlements of Roma became 'rootless' (PER Report, 1992: 14)."

Even this forced nomadic life-style ended up with the ban put on Roma travelling, issued in the communist countries at the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s which lead to the compulsory settlement of the Roma, mostly in the very poor housing conditions. The old culture was thus destroyed without offering conditions for developing a new one. The official program of assimilation failed therefore from the very beginning: without offering the proper conditions any attempts towards assimilating the Roma could result only in marginalizing them. On the other hand the very program of assimilation neither did take into account the existence of the genuine Romani culture, nor did it offer any alternative way of integration or co-habitation of the Roma within the society.

Inequality can be seen as the most important consequence of the marginalization of the Roma. Among its most gruesome aspects one can list the inequality in life expectation, in housing, in employment and in education (Powell, 1994: 106–108). Another result of marginalization is the process of criminalization of the Roma: being left on the margins of a society, without a sufficient maintenance, they become very much vulnerable to the activities considered as being against the existing law. On the other hand, the Roma have been stigmatized as criminals, prior to any evidence, and treated by the police as potential suspects even in cases in which they were in fact the victims. That explains why Romanies often do not report attacks against them: "The police take their testimony," says Bela Edginton, "and then charge the Romanies themselves with a crime" (Lyman, 1994: 5).

In this situation, counteracting the marginalization, inequality, and criminalization, together with the defensive measures against physical violence and destruction of the culture are the most important problems the Romani organizations have to cope with. The most important objectives of their struggle for improvement of the situation of the Roma are equal civil rights, minority rights, political representation, community development, and security. However, in the case of these latter issues, the question can be asked, for whom are these basic human rights to be granted? In other words, Romani elites seem to realize that the most important right for which they should strive is the right to have a commonly accepted and externally recognized self-definition as a group which should be granted consequent rights. Here we are touching upon the third group of the anti-Roma actions which I proposed to call "semantic violence."

I would like to define this term by referring to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic violence" which means "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate" (Jenkins, 1992: 104; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: xiii). By "semantic violence" I understand persisting attempts to define Romanies externally, in ways which would deny the Roma an ethnic or cultural identity. In other words, the labelling process becomes here an aspect of a discourse of power in which the authorities conceptualize the Roma people in a way which facilitates and "legitimizes" the acts of oppression and physical violation.

The evolution of external definitions of the Roma can be presented as a conceptual development from a "social caste," through an "inferior race," to a "social problem." As a caste, the Roma were defined in social terms and placed in the framework of relations with other groups as "a separate collectivity that inherited an imposed position of inferiority" (PER Report, 1992: 12). Later on, this caste-like status was redefined in terms of racist theories to justify the actual slavery to which Romanies were subjected in many countries because of their allegedly inferior racial characteristics. However, the racial definition was semantically compounded with the social one: first, because it "legitimized" the Romanies' social status; second, because the racial attributes merged with the social ones in a way which resulted in a social rather than a racist/ethnic external identification. Finally, in the post-war realities of communist Eastern/Central Europe, Romanies were officially defined as a social population, and not as an ethnic group, a definition which corresponded with the assimilationist policies of different governments in the region. In Czechoslovakia for instance, "the Roma were labelled a social group with a dying ethnic identity, [with] no culture of their own and...language bordering on slang; therefore, they had no right to a distinct ethnic existence" (PER Report, 1992: 12). In Poland, the situation differed only slightly: according to Andrzej Mirga, until 1989 "the Roma were recognized as people of Gypsy origin, but the Gypsies were considered an 'ethnographic category' rather than an ethnic group" (PER Report, 1992: 12).

One may list two main groups of forces promoting the "social" definition of Romanies. First, such a definition provided governments with a convenient excuse for not granting the Roma those rights that are usually attributed to ethnic groups and for refusing to assume the responsibilities of "host" societies (PER Report 1992: 13).³ Second, the definition in social terms served as a legitimization of anti-Romani state policies. The Roma were defined as a social group not because governmental experts believed them to have any special kind of "social identity," but because they were targeted as a "social problem", a "pathology" with which state institutions had to deal. Such an approach implied that, in the best scenario, any existing ethnic and cultural differences of a targeted group were merely neglected, and in the worst case, transformed into social deviance which should be eliminated (PER Report, 1992: 13).

The breakdown of communism and its consequences for the Roma

The collapse of communism put an end to programmatic governmental efforts to destroy the traditional cultural patterns of Roma, their social structure, ways of life, and economic infrastructure. There is, however, little consolation in this fact for the assimilationist policy employed by communist governments turned out to be very efficient.

To some extent, the collapse of communism has had a positive outcome in allowing Romanies to organize themselves and to find ways of expressing their interests. It has also increased the possibilities for self-definition: in Poland for instance, according to Andrzej Mirga, the Roma have been recognized after 1989 as an ethnic group (although not as a nationality group), while before that date they were generally perceived as a merely "ethnographic category" (PER Report, 1992: 12).

In general, however, the transition towards democracy has influenced Romanies in a rather negative way. First, the transition period, with all the insecurities and difficulties connected with it, has resulted in a well-known scapegoat effect, with the Roma as an easy target to blame. Consequently, at the beginning of the transition process, Romanies were portrayed as black marketeers, becoming rich in an illegal way, and blamed for shortages of goods. Later on, in a "logic" typical of scapegoating, the Roma have become despised as an extremely poor group, spoiling the rosy picture of booming economies that East European governments have tried to present to the West (Gheorghe, 1991: 836–840).

Secondly, the manifestations, often violent, of popular anti-Roma sentiments can now be expressed freely without being counteracted by the state apparatus. One might call this mechanism a decentralization of violence: "Under the Communist regimes," according to the Project on Ethnic Relations Report, "violence against the Roma was fairly well restrained unless it occurred at state

³ This was, however, by no means an exclusively Communist policy: in 1992 the German government refused to recognize the Roma as an ethnic minority in Germany.

direction. Since the revolutions, however, both open discrimination and violent racism have been on the rise. Before, the state dictated social norms and behaviour, and norms were always defined to enhance the stability of the state. Now, the still weak state leaderships bend before popular opinion and, when popular opinion is racist, the state has done little to counter it" (PER Report, 1992: 14–15).⁴

The racist character of the popular opinion has been proved by numerous surveys. One of them, conducted in 1994 in the Czech Republic by the Men, Education, and New Technologies Foundation together with Gabal Analysis and Consulting and sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, indicates for instance that for the Czechs, "when it comes to making a judgment on how a person is viewed, skin color remains the most decisive factor." According to the report, Romanies, the "people with dark skin," are perceived as "an irresponsible and dishonest population inclined to fraud... [who] don't like to work and abuse social benefits" and seventy-eight percent of the interviewed Czechs would favour "strict legislation...explicitly and ethnically directed at the repression of the Romanies" (Lesenarova and Baimbridge, 1995: 6).⁵ In this situation the following opinion of Andrzej Mirga does not come by surprise: "In the view of ordinary Roma people," Mirga says, "the reality of new democracy gave them nothing but a growing sense of insecurity" (Mirga, 1994: 30).

Still another aspect of the situation of the Roma in the post-communist Europe is connected with the raising nationalism in the region. It is, moreover, a peculiar form of nationalism which draws upon the ancient conception of a nation as a community "of people of the same descent, who are integrated geographically, in the form of settlements or neighbourhoods, and culturally by their common language, customs and traditions" (Habermas, 1992: 3). In consequence, the Eastern/Central European version of nationalism has particularly emphasized the idea of an ethnically homogeneous state and the concept of nationality as based on "objective" criteria: commonly shared culture, language, ethnicity, religion (Mommson, 1990: 213–214).

The Roma do not share most of these "objective" criteria. Thus, they are often perceived as "strangers" who endanger the ethnic homogeneity and "strength of the nation." Moreover, in the ECE countries a division between national identity and citizenship has never been successfully made and the eighteenth century concept of the nation of citizens, the nation which "does not derive its identity from some common ethnic and cultural properties, but rather from the praxis of citizens who actively exercise their civil rights" (Habermas, 1992: 3) has never been deeply rooted in the popular thought.

For the Roma it means that they might be excluded from the ranks of co-nationals, which in the case of post-communist countries often means a kind of second-class citizenship or even no citizenship at all, as in the case of many Roma citizens of the former Czechoslovakia who, after the split of their country into Czech Republic and Slovakia, and because of the new citizenship law ended up practically stateless (Leuprecht, 1994: 9).

Roma defensive strategies

As Peter Leuprecht, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, rightly observed, all the strategies which may be used by Romanies to improve their situation have to solve a problem of how successfully obtain two kinds of rights which apparently are contradicting each other: the right to be different (to preserve the separate cultural identity of the Roma) and the right to be the same (to obtain full and equal participation in society) (Leuprecht, 1994: 9).⁶

The first strategy we may list here does not meet the first criterion: it is simply the strategy of total assimilation that "would imply the abandonment of anything like a strong Roma identity for the sake of being incorporated into the dominant society" (PER Report 1992: 19). Even if possible at all, such an assimilation would perhaps secure "the right to be" but it would definitely not preserve any distinct Roma identity. The tendency not to strive for the right to be different is quite popular among some groups of Roma. The German Sinti, for instance, have been trying to obtain recognition as a German nationality group (deutsche Volksgruppe), which would provide them the status of an inherent part of German society, while in Slovakia, only six percent of Roma students would like to be seen as having a different ethnic background than the dominant population (Gheorghe, 1991: 840; PER Report, 1992: 19).

⁴ A notable exception is the Czech Republic, where the state took an actively anti-Roma policy in its new citizenship law (Zoon, 1994; Beck, 1994). However, contrary to the Communist regime of Czechoslovakia with its attempt at forcible assimilation, the post-Communists government of the Czech Republic aims rather at excluding the Roma population from the legal construction of the new Republic's citizenship.

⁵ The results of a more recent survey, conducted by the IVVM Institute, are slightly more optimistic: according to them the negative opinion about Romanies has been expressed by sixty-nine percent of the Czechs ('Gazeta Wyborcza', December 16-17, 1995, p. 17).

⁶ One also may add here the very basic right to be at all, directed against physical extermination, and the right to have an independent self-definition, directed against semantic violence.

The second strategy, contrary to the first one, denies any merits of the right to be the same. It advocates to its very limits the right to be different. It is the strategy of total separation which “implies complete withdrawal from the main community, including language, schools, even territory” (PER Report, 1992: 19). In its radical form, this strategy may consist of appeal for a territorial autonomy, which can often be found in the history of the Roma nationalism. Even the idea of an independent state has existed in Roma history and continues to be advocated by some radicals although it is not accepted by most of the Roma organizations. One of the first attempts towards obtaining a territorial homeland, “Romanestan,” was made before World War II by Janusz Kwiek, the Romani leader in Poland, when he petitioned Mussolini to offer the Romanies a part of what was then Abyssynia. Recently, the most unobstructed exponent of the independent Roma state is Ronald Lee, his aspirations being influenced, among others, by the Quebec Liberation movement (Acton, 1974: 233–234). The official standpoint of the World Romani Congress, however, is that “we must create Romanestan—in our hearts,” a notion which allows its leaders “to retain the emotional connotations of the idea of ‘Romanestan’... without exposing themselves to the cogent arguments against any attempt to set up a second Israel” (Acton, 1974: 234).

The separation would also mean the total acceptance of the external definition of the Roma, the acceptance of the label given them by the authorities. In fact, there are many different groups of Roma and differences between them are sometimes of crucial importance. One has to agree with Leo Lucassen who in his study has contested “the view held by the most tsiganologists that people are termed ‘gypsies’ because they are gypsies, that is, define themselves as such” (Lucassen, 1991: 89). The strategy of separation would in fact mean the acceptance of the external label of “gypsiness” and building the group identity around its negative social perception: a phenomenon called by Lucassen “minoritization.” “The labelling by authorities of certain categories as different, unwanted or even dangerous, not only influences their position in society in a negative way, the power of definition by authorities can even initiate group formation and minoritization. People who at the outset felt no, or only weak ties with one another can be driven towards each other and in the course of time become a minority or project themselves as one” (Lucassen, 1991: 91).

There is however the third possibility which could prove to be viable in avoiding the problems of the two just described and simultaneously able to combine the two types of rights as advocated by Leuprecht. It is a process of political ethnogenesis of the Roma. Following (and slightly changing) the concept of Nicolae Gheorghe, I could say that political ethnogenesis in case of the Roma means a conscious attempt toward achieving the accepted status of a politically organized, non-territorial (transnational), ethnic-national group (Gheorghe, 1991: 831).

Nicolae Gheorghe, advocating the political rather than cultural character of Roma ethnogenesis, stresses the fact that Roma ethnicity should not be perceived as an independent variable. It is, in his opinion, a consequence of political actions taken to secure the existence of the Roma and to provide them with recognition. Of course, this process does not mean an abandonment of ethnic identity. It is rather conceived as an adherence to a different type of nationalism than the ethnic type dominant in Eastern/Central Europe. This new political nationalism means first of all political organization and participation in political life; it strives to create a common arena in which people of different ethnicity could co-operate in solving their problems, without allowing the differences between them to become the predominant issue which would exclude communication. In such a project, “culture moves to politics” (Gheorghe, 1991: 842) the most secure place for cultural difference seems to be the sphere of interaction between equal political agents in which political homogenization protects ethnic heterogeneity.

In other words, the Roma could turn out to be more advanced in their understanding of identity than the societies in which they live. They could become “politically organized people,” following of what Habermas has described as the modern conception of citizenship where a legal political concept, not ethnic cultural, defines identity in the first place. In this sense, to use Gheorghe’s words, the task of the Romani organizations is to build the identity of the Roma people “as a political people in the Greek sense of this term” (Gheorghe, 1994a: 5). That means, once again referring to Habermas, people who are the members of a polity, who share political membership, and whose identity is defined in a legal, not ethnic, sense. In this sense the Roma self-definition as politically organized people resembles very much of what Habermas thinks to be the crucial element of a liberal definition of citizenship. And, since in the final instance citizenship is for Habermas defined in terms of civil rights, one may say that the same rights which define Roma identity define the notion of citizenship in a democratic society.

For Gheorghe, one of the most influential Romani leaders, this conclusion seems to be self-evident: to be “a political people in the Greek sense of the word” means for him “to contribute to the education of our people as responsible citizens of the country where they are living, and to look at how the

governments of these countries are respecting the rights of our people as citizens of these states" (Gheorghe, 1994a: 5).

However, in another statement, Gheorghe developed even broader understanding of the Roma identity as a legal-political construct, which expands beyond the borders of a nation state. "In the present time of an emerging pan-European Rule of Law," he said, "Roma, an European people without a kin-state of their own, are choosing the Rule of Law and Democracy as our main civic identifications and as our 'motherland' " (Gheorghe, 1994b: 14). This idea, which would definitely earn Habermas' admiration, brings us to the next defining element of the Roma strategy: to transnationality.

In the world in which the importance of the nation-state declines and the importance of transnational actors increases, in the world of the "evolving patterns of interdependence, dependency, and global dominance throughout the world system," ethnicity, too, "may be conceptualized as an evolving transnational force" (Stack, 1981: 28). The Roma ethnicity is somehow predestined to be transnational, taking into account the traditionally nomadic lifestyle of the Romanies. In this respect, the Roma tradition could turn out to be very modern, or even post-modern. As Aviezer Tucker observes, "The Romanies' traditional lifestyle combines the pre-modern with the post-modern. The nomadic, unsettled, uprooted, yet artistic and free way of life is at once pre-modern in its inability to adapt to modern industrial society, and postmodern in its disregard of national borders and modern ideologies and value systems" (Tucker, 1994: 209).⁷

The concept of the Roma as transnational people does not mean, however, only freedom of travelling, although this is a very important practical objective of the actions taken by the Roma organizations. It also means a refusal to accept the world of nation states with their ethnic definitions of identity and citizenship, and, instead adhering to the "motherland of European law." On the other hand, however, one of the basic aims of the Romani elites in the area of human rights is to be recognized precisely as a nation, a fact marked symbolically by the attention being paid to national emblems. The first World Romani Congress, held in 1971 near London, adopted the Romani anthem and the national flag, consisting of two horizontal bars, the lower green, the upper blue, with the red, sixteen-spoked chakra-wheel. The next Congress, held in Geneva, addressed a petition to all UNO member states to admit the Romanies "as a distinct nation and to treat them as a national minority possessing equal rights" (Bartosz, 1993: 15). The petition, presented to the NGO bureau of the United Nations in New York, has so far resulted in consultative status for the Romani Union with the United Nations, received in 1979 (Hancock, 1991b: 146; Puxon, 1987: 3).

Conclusions

The main aim of this essay was to show the democratic transformations in the formerly communist countries from the point of view of Roma: the minority which has permanently been discriminated against and marginalized in Central and Eastern Europe. Since communism added its own peculiar flavour to the persecutions of the Roma, one could expect that since its collapse the situation of the Roma has improved. It is, however, much more complicated. The Roma definitely have obtained the right of self-organization and articulation of their interest. "Market economy" has allowed them to legalize the businesses and trades which were to a large degree illegal under the communism as "private enterprises." On the other hand, the collapse of the "planned economy" made the economic situation of the large part of the Roma worse. This is the case of those who were absorbed by the process of "communist industrialization" and found their chance in moving into cities where they become workers in mines or steel factories, obtained an apartment in a block of flats and other social benefits. This is also the case of those who preserved more independent life style but lived in the symbiosis with the communist economy, providing goods and services which were not offered by the communist industry. The first group, consisting mostly of the low-skilled workers, was first to be fired when the big communist plants collapsed or started a difficult process of reforms. The second group lost its economic niche.

The second aspect of the situation of the Roma is connected with the process of constructing or regaining identities by the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The collapse of communism was followed by the growing nationalist tendencies and development of the extreme nationalist groups which understand national identity rather in ethnic than in civic-political terms. The ideal picture envisioned by those groups is a homogeneous nation-state, a community united by the same ethnic origins. In such a vision there is no place for multiculturalism, for people of clearly different descent who would accept the collective identity as fellow citizens but either would not like or would not be granted

⁷ Tucker's opinion, however, needs to be taken with some reservation, because the Roma tradition has been largely destroyed over the course of the past several decades. One may speak here rather of the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm, 1983) in which the traditional elements are being re-created in an entirely new context of transnational, legal-political concept of identity.

the status of fellow nationals. In many countries the collapse of communism meant for the Roma the loss of state protection and the danger of being exposed to the attacks – sometimes having clearly racist motivation – of extreme nationalists. On the other hand, democratization in the post-communist countries means also the development of the human rights sector, establishing institutions supervising the situation of minorities and an international control of the standards regulating the majority-minority relations. The Roma do not have a single strategy either. Some of them tend to assimilate since they do not see a chance of “being Rom” in a society which does not accept difference, some tend to improve their situation using the concept of human rights, some attempt at achieving the status of national minority and fight for political representation.

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CONTRIBUTION

Anikó Bernát¹

Roma in Eastern Europe

Roma² are the largest ethnic minority in Europe and perhaps the most vulnerable. Roma can be found in most parts of the world, but particularly in Eastern Europe. An estimated 4 million Roma live in the new EU Member States in Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe (CEE and SEE), most of them under conditions of extreme poverty and social exclusion. Moreover, a large number of Roma are living in the old Member States, and the number of Roma is increasing in some of them partly due to immigration from Eastern Europe (particularly in Italy and Spain). In sum, according to Liégeois (2007) approximately 6,6 million Roma live in the EU-27.

Roughly 70% of the Roma in the EU (4,5 million people) live in eight new Member States in Central and Eastern Europe, and nearly 1 million more are estimated in the bordering area of the EU, i.e. from Ukraine to Albania (Table 1). The largest Roma community of around 2 million people can be found in Romania and there are also large Roma communities in other new EU Member States, especially in Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia, the estimated number of people being at least half a million in each of these countries. Overall, some 4 million Roma live in the new EU Member States, the vast majority of them, as indicated below, in deep poverty and in an almost hopeless situation.

In addition, in each of the Eastern European countries the proportion of children is considerably high, 3 to 5 out of 10 Roma are under the age 18, which is much higher than in the majority population; consequently, in general the Roma population is growing in contrast to the majority population in these countries.

Table 1. Number³ and proportion of Roma population in Eastern Europe

Country	Total population (official)	Roma population (official)		Roma Population (estimated)		Roma Children under 18	
	millions	number	%	number	%	Number	%
Albania	3.07	1.261	0.04	90,000–100,000	3.1	631-47,500	50
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.83	8.864	0.23	40,000–50,000	1.2	4,077-20,700	46
Bulgaria	7,93	370.908	4.68	500,000–800,000	8.7	146,880-257,400	40
Croatia	4.44	9,463	0.21	30,000–40,000	0.8	4,684-17,325	50
Czech Republic	10.23	11,746	0.11	175,000–200,000	1.8	5,638-96,000	48
Estonia	1.36	unavailable		1,000–1,500	0.1	unavailable	
Hungary	10.1	189,984	1.9	520,000–650,000	5.9	81,123-249,795	43
Kosovo	2.0	34,000	1.7	45,000	2.3	17,049-22,564	50
Latvia	2.38	8,205	0.35	13,000-15,000	0.6	2,831-4,829	35
Lithuania	3.48	2571	0.07	3,000–4,000	0.1	1,169-1591	46
Macedonia	2.02	53,879	2.69	135,000	6.8	20,782-52,260	39
Moldova	3.39	12,900	0.38	20,000–25,000	0.7	unavailable	

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² The official EU term for Roma is “Roma, Gypsies and Travellers”, but we are using the term “Roma” in this paper, because this denomination is usually used by the Roma community, as a self-assignment, while the term “Gypsy” often used by other people but not Roma themselves and is often considered as a pejorative term by Roma. Traveller communities are living in Western Europe in general, but this paper focuses on Central and Eastern European Roma, therefore it is better to refer to this ethnic group as Roma.

³ Survey and expert estimates of Roma numbers tend to be accepted as being more reliable than official data (from censuses in particular), due to the tendency for Censuses to underestimate the size of disadvantaged minority groups as a result of respondents being reluctant to report their actual ethnic origin.

Country	Total population (official)	Roma population (official)		Roma Population (estimated)		Roma Children under 18	
	millions	number	%	number	%	Number	%
Montenegro	0.67	2,601	0.43	14,000	2.0	1,345-6,984	52
Poland	38.2	12,731	0.03	15,000-50,000	0.1	6,577-16,789	52
Romania	21.7	535,140	2.5	1,800,000–2,000,000	8.8	230,854-819,639	43
Serbia	7.5	108,193	1.44	450,000–500,000	6.3	44,347-194,818	41
Slovakia	5.4	89,920	1.67	480,000–520,000	9.3	39,130-217,582	44
Slovenia	1.97	3,246	0.16	8,000–10,000	0.5	1,506-4,176	46
Ukraine	48.5	47,600	0.11	50,000–60,000	0.1	unavailable	

(Source: OSI 2006a and OSI 2006b)

The disadvantages faced by Roma arise from a complex interaction of interdependent factors, in particular, very low levels of education and employment, severe poverty, poor housing conditions and large families. Moreover, their situation is aggravated by the fact that most of them tend to live in depressed regions where the lack of employment opportunities and basic infrastructure adds to their disadvantages. These are further reinforced by widespread discrimination.

The vulnerable situation of Roma is familiar throughout Europe, and well documented by a number of international organisations⁴, nevertheless, only a very limited number of cross-country surveys attempted to research the situation of Roma in details and with a comparable methodology, and the few researches (UNDP 2002 and 2005) is available only for Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Consequently it is very hard to compare the situation and opportunities of Eastern European Roma to those who live in the old Member States. A comparative and detailed research on the situation of Roma in the whole EU would be fundamental and urgent to get an exact knowledge about all the Roma living in the EU and to identify adequately the mechanisms behind their vulnerable situation.

The picture shown by the figures on Eastern European Roma from the most recent empirical research may, however, be even worse than it might seem. The indicators derived from the most reliable comparable empirical research (UNDP 2005) carried out in eleven CEE and SEE countries in the areas in which Roma most live highlight the gap between Roma and their non-Roma neighbours in all of the countries covered. The situation in all of these countries is considered here rather than only the EU Member States to enable a comparison to be made between the more and less developed countries and the findings for the EU countries to be interpreted within a wider context.

Surveys report (UNDP 2002, UNDP 2005) that the Roma population differs from the majority population in terms of the main demographic trends, in particular, birth rates (higher than average), the timing of marriage (earlier than the average), family structure (larger families and households) and age profile (lower rates of Roma among older age groups and higher rates among the younger cohorts), for example:

- In Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic, Roma households have on average 3-4 children, however, the number can be much higher in some cases, for example in poor Roma settlements in Slovakia the average number of children per family is nearly 8.
- The number of children per Roma mother is also higher than that of the majority of women across the region. In Romania, the total fertility rate, i.e. births per woman, for Roma is more than double than for others (2.6 for the Roma and 1.2 for non-Roma). In the Czech Republic, married Roma women have on average 5 children by the end of their reproductive lives (at age 45-49) compared with an average of 2.2 children for other women in the country.
- Large numbers of children and large sizes of family are a corollary of early marriage: In Romania, Hungary and Slovakia at least 4 out of 10 Roma in the 16 to 19 age group are already married and at least 7 out of 10 in the 20 to 24 age group. In Bulgaria, though the proportions are slightly lower, the pattern is similar (33% being married among 16 to 19 year-old and 69% among 20 to 24 year-olds). (UNDP 2002)

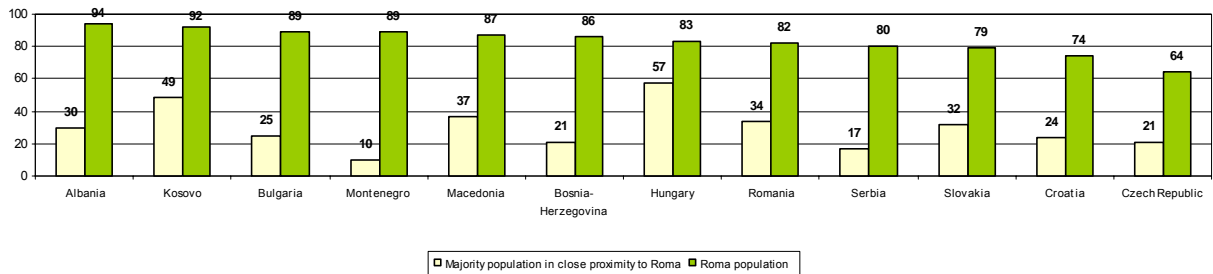
⁴ See, for example: The World Bank: Revenga et al 2002, Ringold et al 2005, European Commission: EU 2004 and 2005, United Nations Development Program: UNDP 2002.

- Parallel to this, there is much evidence that life expectancy, infant mortality and morbidity are significantly worse for Roma than for the majority population in CEE countries (UNDP 2002). For instance infant mortality rates are roughly double the national averages in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, and nearly three times higher in Romania. (Puporka and Zádori 1998, UNDP 2002)

As a result, the shape of the age pyramids for Roma in the Central and Eastern European MSs (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia) is similar to the shapes in developing countries (a large number of children and young people and fewer people in the older age groups). It also means that the Roma population, on average, is very young in the region, with a median age of 19 years, while the corresponding figure is 34 years for the total population (UNDP 2002).

The level of education of the Roma in the region is extremely low compared with the EU25-average in general, with the majority population in the candidate countries or with the majority population living in close proximity to Roma: the share of the low educated (primary school as maximum) among Roma is 2 to 9 times larger than among the majority population (UNDP 2005) (Figure 1). Segregation within schools and the education system is a major issue underlying the very low education level of Roma, which is of key importance for their vulnerability in the region as well as for their chances of social inclusion.

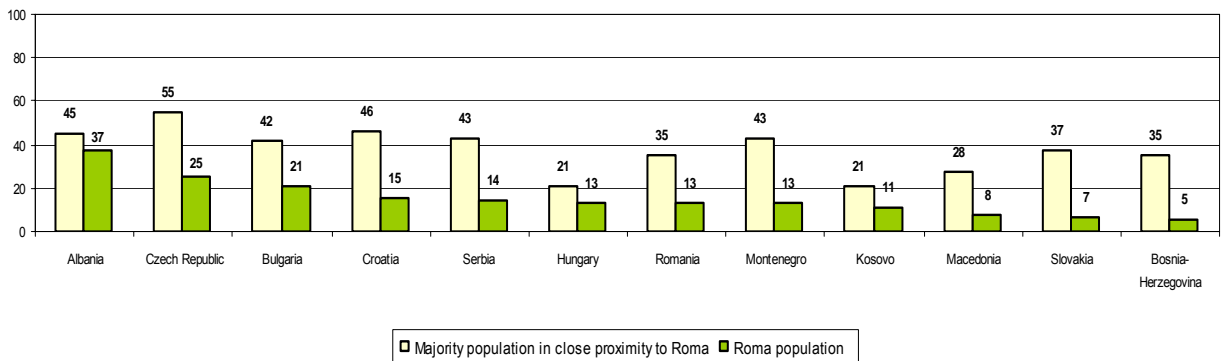
Figure 1. Share of population 15 years old and above with 8 years elementary school as highest attained educational level (% of Roma and majority population in close proximity to Roma)



(Source: UNDP 2005)

The situation in the labour market is similar to that in education. The dataset from the Faces of Poverty survey indicates that activity rates among the Roma population are extremely low in the region: only 1-2 out of 10 Roma aged 15 or over have earnings from economic activity (defining activity to include that in both the formal and informal economy). The situation is better only in the Czech Republic and Albania, where somewhat higher proportions of Roma are in paid employment, though only slightly so (Figure 2) (UNDP 2005).

Figure 2. Share of active earners aged 15 and above among Roma and majority population in close proximity to Roma (%)



(Source: UNDP 2005)

The small share of active earners among Roma leads directly to a lower level of income and poor living standards. Income of under USD 4.30 a day in purchasing power parity terms⁵ can be used as a

⁵ Using USD 4.30/day as an absolute poverty threshold is based on the practice of the UN and UNDP, which suggest this methodology in Millennium Development Goals. For instance see MDG Reports 2004:16. We apply this indicator because cross-country poverty figures for Roma in the countries examined here are available only from UNDP's survey.

measure of absolute poverty. According to the UNDP (2005) survey, the proportion of Roma with income of less than USD 4.30 is the highest in Albania, Kosovo and Romania (at least two-thirds of the Roma in each case), while around half of the Roma have income below this in Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria and the proportion is slightly smaller in Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The smallest proportions are in the economically more developed Central European countries and Croatia (Table 2).

Poverty rate ratio (the share of Roma with poverty-level income relative to non-Roma with this level of income) is the highest in Montenegro and Bulgaria, where eight times more Roma are living under the poverty line than non-Roma, despite the fact they live in the same locality. Wide differences are also evident in the other Balkan countries, while the gap is narrowest in the Central European countries (Table 3). This pattern is similar to that shown by labour market indicators and suggests that disparities in income levels (or labour market conditions) between countries are more important in explaining differences between the situation of Roma and that of the majority population than other factors.

Table 2. Income based poverty among Roma and majority population in close proximity to Roma (percent of the respondents under the USD 4.30 PPP income based poverty line)

	Majority population in close proximity to Roma	Roma population	Poverty rate ratio (poverty rate of Roma/neighbouring majority)
Albania	14	79	5,6
Kosovo	49	72	1,5
Romania	20	67	3,4
Serbia	9	58	6,4
Macedonia	11	52	4,7
Bulgaria	6	49	8,2
Montenegro	4	33	8,3
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3	26	8,7
Croatia	2	11	5,5
Hungary	5	8	1,6
Czech Republic (11 USD)	9	25	2,8

(Source: UNDP 2005)

Various effects results from these basic characteristics, such an increasing number of Roma in these countries and a growing proportion of Roma in the population as a whole, and even more so among the population of working age in the coming decades. However, unless the current level of education of the Roma improves rapidly, much of this additional potential labour force is likely to be unemployable or employable only as unskilled workers with low productivity and low wages.

Almost all studies and researches on the situation of the Roma population highlight the high level of discrimination they face in almost all spheres of everyday life, from education and employment to housing and access to services. The above results in which the situation of Roma is compared to the majority population living close to the Roma also reflect this, as the large gap between the Roma and the majority in all countries and in each question refers indirectly to the presence of discrimination. A recent survey on European minorities shows that Roma are the most discriminated minority group in the EU based on the perceived discrimination by the members of minorities themselves (EU-MIDIS 2009). On average, every second Roma respondent reported that he or she was discriminated against at least once in the previous 12 months, and those who were discriminated against experienced on average 11 incidents of discrimination over a 12-month period. However, 7 to 9 out of 10 Roma, depending on the country surveyed, did not report their most recent experience of discrimination in the last 12 months to any competent organisation or at the place where the discrimination occurred.

From the surveys carried out and the statistical data which have been compiled, the situation of Roma in Eastern European countries is in virtually every aspect of life significantly worse than that of the majority population in the countries concerned, including that of those living in the same neighbourhood or in close proximity to them. At the same time, these differences cannot be attributed to just one or two factors alone, such as discrimination or a generally low level of education among the Roma community.

It is equally the case that regional disparities, economic difficulties of the Eastern European countries and demographic characteristics are also factors underlying the survey findings.

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CONTRIBUTION

Zdeněk Uherek¹

The Roma in the Czech Republic²

In the Czech Republic, the Roma comprise a heterogeneous population with borders that are difficult to define. The majority population and experts in the areas of demography, sociology, ethnology, anthropology and history estimate that there are approximately 250,000 Roma living on the territory of the current Czech Republic, a great majority of whom immigrated to this territory in 1945-1992 from Slovakia, which formed a common state with the Czech Republic until 1992.

The Roma moved to the Czech Republic predominantly from the centre and east of Slovakia, where they lived mainly in the rural milieu with minimal experience with urban life. In the centre and east of Slovakia, they lived in separate settlements or on the margins of rural villages in cottages with the basic hygienic and civilisation standards. Among themselves, they spoke specific dialects of the Romany language and partially mastered Hungarian or Slovakian. They were either entirely illiterate or with minimal education on the level of several forms of elementary or special school.³ They came to the territory of the current Czech Republic either through a voluntary chain migration or were forced into that migration by the closure or removal of the Roma settlements in Slovakia. They were often stimulated to migration by promises of better housing and pay (Uherek, 2004).

In the Czech Republic, the Roma sought job opportunities mainly in large industrial towns where they acquired unskilled jobs and housing in new workers' housing estates or in older buildings of the lower flat categories. On the territory of the Czech Republic, the so-called dispersion policy was implemented on the Roma population. Its aim was to mix the Roma population with the majority population to achieve the fastest possible Roma assimilation. It was assumed that the Roma distributed among the majority population would learn more quickly to communicate in Czech, increase their qualifications and acquire the desired civilisation habits (Haišman, 1999; Víšek, 1999). Under Communism, the study of the Roma culture was conceived especially as a study of the Roma traditional culture and Roma assimilation with a strong paternalistic undertone (Uherek, 2005).

The dispersion and Roma assimilation policy failed. Since the Roma were allotted worse flats and due to conflicts in coexistence with the majority population, they gradually moved together, thus creating quarters with a high concentration of the Roma population which behaves in a specific way from the point of view of the majority population.

Despite the failures of the dispersion policy and the assimilation efforts of the Communist state, a large part of the Roma population currently can read, write and speak Czech, or a Roma ethnolect of Czech. Only a part of them are proficient in the Romany language, but even in this group the knowledge of Romany is often partial and is combined with Czech or Slovak expressions.

The most numerous group of the Roma in the Czech Republic are the so-called Slovak Roma, Rumungri (Hungarian Romani) who used dialects of Slovak Roma in Slovakia. It was a population long sedentarised in Slovakia. This sendentarisation had been taking place already roughly from the sixteenth century. Rumungri currently comprise approximately 80% of the Roma population of the Czech Republic. They are Roma who are losing their original language. At the same time, they very often have a low economic standard. Another part of the Roma population are Olah (Wallachian) Roma who were still nomadic in the second half of the twentieth century and were forcibly sendentarised in Communist Czechoslovakia in 1958. They have retained their language, a specific Olah dialect of Romany to this day, have a strong family coherence and solidarity and an integrated system of laws and obligations based on patriarchal and gerontocratic principles. They form large-family coalitions headed by a 'king'. Thanks to the firm solidarity and family coordination, they do not happen to be in such a serious and critical social situation as some families of the Slovak Roma (Davidová, 1995). Another group living on the territory of the Czech Republic are Sinti, who are the most qualified and

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² This text has been drawn up on the basis of the project "Kulturní identita a kulturní regionalismus v procesu formování etnického obrazu Evropy (2005-2011)" (AV0Z90580513), <http://aplikace.isvav.cvut.cz/researchPlanDetail.do?rowId=AV0Z90580513>

³ For more details see for instance: Davidová 1965 and 1995.

educated of the groups considered to be Roma. They are able to compete in the entrepreneurial sphere and in the labour market and are normally well integrated in the local milieu. Another small group are the so-called Czech Roma who are the offspring of the Roma populations that settled on the territory of the contemporary Czech Republic already before World War II. During the Second World War, this group, just like the Jews, was persecuted and a great part of this population died either in the labour camps in Bohemia and Moravia or in the concentration camps all over Europe, especially on the territory of today's Czech Republic and Poland (Pape, 1997). The Czech Roma who survived the Roma Holocaust are usually mostly assimilated in Czech society or form the Roma elite. Their offspring often marry in mixed marriages with the Rumungri or with members of the majority population.

Whereas an assimilation policy was implemented on the Roma until 1989, a wave of Roma emancipation came after the fall of Communism, which, however, addressed only a part of the Roma population. While Roma social representation, political elite and Roma organisations formed in the Czech Republic, not all Roma claim Roma nationality or ethnicity, and neither do they all claim to belong to Roma political organisations.

Until 1989, when the Communist Party ruled in (then) Czechoslovakia, the laws on compulsory labour service – as all social care of the state for employed persons was – were applied to Roma. The situation gradually began to change after 1989. The Roma did not prove to be able to compete much in the liberal labour market and with the influx of cheap labour force from abroad. As small private businessmen, only a few of them could compete with larger and better established companies, and foreign workers from Ukraine, Moldavia and other countries east of the Czech Republic began to win over them in the labour market as contract-hires (Weinerová, 1994). The result is high unemployment in the Roma population and poverty, illegal work and further pathological phenomena connected with paucity arising from that (World Bank, 2008).

A similarly adverse development can be traced as far as the Roma political emancipation is concerned. In the Communist period, the Roma were not allowed to push their agenda as an independent political subject. They strove for a political form of emancipation after 1989. Whereas in 1990–1992 the Roma political leaders successfully established themselves on the political scene, sat in legislative organs and had corresponding political support, this development changed mainly in the course of 1992 and after the creation of the independent Czech Republic. Roma leaders have lost the support not only of the majority population, but also of Roma and have not been able to compete on the Czech political scene. The result is that the Roma organisations in the Czech Republic are usually not primarily of a political, but rather of a cultural-educational character. In the areas of cultural and educational programmes, the Roma have better chances to raise funds for their organisations and through cultural and educational institutions also enter both local and international social and political networks (Uherek, Pojarová, 2008).

Political attitudes of the Roma communities can be estimated only with difficulty. However, on the basis of limited field probes, we assume that they are often left-wing oriented, have a feeling that the new development after 1989 was unfavourable to them and have given up the opportunity to influence their situation. A large part of the Roma population probably does not participate in elections.

In terms of demographics and health, the Roma communities are considered to have many children and the age of pregnancy with the first child is lower than among the majority population. Age structure is progressive; average age is lower than that of the majority population (Kalibová, 1999: 102-106). According to the results of the research *Determinants of the Health of the Roma Population, 1999–2001* (Determinanty..., 2001) and the research by Sastipen in 2009 (Nesvadbová, Šandera, Haberlová, 2009), the Roma suffer from a higher sickness rate, lower healthy longevity and generally poorer health condition, which is also reflected in the fact that the Roma acquire full- or partial-handicapped pensions almost three times more often than members of the majority population. It is possible, in their case, to record higher incidence of an entire range of illnesses, for instance of tuberculosis, chronic illnesses of the lower parts of the respiratory system, or an increased number of neurotic illnesses. Yet, in the report of the *Determinants of the Health of the Roma Population*, it is claimed that these are diseases affecting the entire population and a disease that would be unequivocally genetically determined or specific in the Czech milieu only for Roma communities has not been found (Determinanty..., 2001).

In terms of the solidarity and coherence of the Roma communities and in terms of their ethnic awareness of the communities, it may be said that the state of the current Roma communities is unstable. In 1991, the Roma could first claim their nationality or ethnic origin in the Population and Housing Census. From the potential 250,000 members of the Roma population in the Czech Republic, about 33,000 people did so (Srb, 1992). In 2001, this number dropped to approximately 11,000 people. The other Roma probably declare themselves mainly as Czechs or Slovaks on the civic principle based

on citizenship or country of origin. They often do not speak of themselves as Roma but label themselves otherwise, e.g. as Czech Slovaks, Gypsies, Italians etc. In specific interactions, especially nuclear or extended family ones, identity is important to them (Langhamrová, Fiala, 2003).

Considering the poor ability of the Roma to compete in the labour market as well as the problems of coexistence with the majority population, the Roma relatively frequently travel to work abroad, or their entire families emigrate primarily to developed countries. Their favourite destinations are for example Great Britain or Belgium. Until 2004, before the accession of the Czech Republic in the European Union, they usually joined migration from the Czech Republic with applications for the granting of asylum (Uherek, 2004). Currently, they act as economic migrants within Europe. However, they have applied for international protection up to now outside of Europe, especially to Canada. However, Canada introduced a visa requirement for them in 2009 because of the high number of applications by citizens of the Czech Republic for asylum.

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CONTRIBUTION

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The Roma People in Romania

The Roma people and Romania form an intertwined pair because of their past and present, in part due to the Romanies' high percentage of the Romanian total population and the duration of their settlement in the territory of present-day Romania. The regions of Wallachia and Transylvania have been considered their European homeland stretching back for many centuries. This fact in conjunction with the linguistic similarity between the terms Romania/Români and R(r)oma/R(r)omi led to mistaking and equating both groups. Since 1990, the country's media and political public have witnessed recurring polemics on the subject², which were seen to be linked with the migration of Romanian citizens to the West; it was then feared that this would be jeopardized by criminal offenses ascribed to the Roma people. This goes along with a delegitimation of the term „Romanies“, which, in the past and present, comprises a very heterogeneous population in Romania amounting to between 535,000 and 1.5 Mio people.³ This heterogeneity finds its expression in socioeconomic, linguistic, cultural and denominational varieties, accompanied by partly diverging societal positions and needs. At the same time, this complexity provides the base for numerous stereotypes stretching as far as the “racial menace”. The following is only an outline of this complex issue. This is followed by a sketch of the differentiation and the history of the Roma people in Romania, including detailed comments on their situation in the times of state socialism. Their current situation is described along the lines of political practice, public perception, social reality and scientific discourse.

Differentiation

Many villages and towns accommodate two or more different communities of Romanies. Every particular group affiliation is connected with sometimes fundamental dissociation efforts by group members. The criteria are multifarious, complementary and overlapping (Mihok, 1999; Burtea, 1994). Historically, it makes sense to differentiate according to the locality and the moment of settlement, supplemented by the criteria of language and denomination. As to the linguistic aspects, the following distinction has to be considered: first, knowledge of the Romani language though the Romani dialects vary significantly, and second, the absorption of a majority language as a mother tongue. Another criterion of assessment involves the occupational group, although this is not a real historical tool since only very few of the Roma people pursue traditional professions. It is equally difficult to differentiate according to the grade of assimilation and social or legal status, even if a socially underprivileged status can be assumed for a majority of the Roma people.

History

It might not be possible to discern when the Roma people first appeared in the territory of present-day Romania. Their presence during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries can be considered as good as verified (Achim, 1998: 22). Romani settlement in numerous places is documented by the second half of the fifteenth century. Universally valid statements about their social and legal status are hardly possible since they differed between as well as within the historical regions. Romanies were enslaved in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia until the second half of the nineteenth century. Their status as slaves depended on the status of their owners and can be classified into three categories: territorial lords, nobles and monasteries. The majority of Romanies in Transylvania held a status comparable with serfdom that differed according to landlords and the surrounding major population. Due to this clear social demarcation, no eliminatory racism on the part of the Romanian people against the Romanies had emerged until the interbellum period, which is when the first Roma advocacy groups date from. The twentieth century, with the establishment of pro-Fascist regimes in Hungary and Romania which both sided with Germany in WWII, had no consistent policy regarding the Roma people. Romanies served and fought in the armies of both countries but were

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² By introducing the double initial sound in „Rromi“ the danger of confusion shall be prevented. The daily „Jurnalul Național“ has initiated a campaign and a bill on coining the term of „Țigani“ (gipsy) for official denotation: Propunere Jurnalul Național: „Țigan“ în loc de „rom“, 17.03.2009, Available: <http://www.jurnalul.ro/stire-tigan-in-loc-de-rom/propunere-jurnalul-national-tigan-in-loc-de-rom-145427.html> [20 May, 2009].

³ While the 2002 census counted the primary number, social scientists calculated thrice as much. Dumitru Sandu, Roma Social Mapping. Targeting by a Community Poverty Survey. Bucharest 2005, p.9.

equally victims of forced labour, raids and deportations. Romani deportation victims, who were sent to Transnistrian camps, numbered in the thousands. The period of state socialism is especially significant for the present situation of the Roma people (Mihok, 1990). A majority of them were confronted with profound changes in their employment profile and social structure, with dislocation and loss of tradition as well as with boosted assimilation. An assessment of policies towards the Romanies sheds an ambiguous light on Romanian Communism. The Romanies as a collective were exempted from persecution, public defamation and private exploitation, while, at the same time, they were subject to disciplinary measures. There are no proper figures available about the extent of the assimilation. However, in view of the fierce reactions by the majority population against the Roma people after 1989/90, one can assume a high degree of assimilation efforts took place. These policies were no longer desirable in moments of scarce economic resources. The course of the transformation revealed that broad sections of the Romanies had only found access to the bottom level of social hierarchy. They were the last in the supply chain of Romanian society with the least powers of decision and control. Due to their restricted access to acquiring material and spiritual resources, they were largely found to be among the losers of the transformation process in Romania.

Public Perception

This social exclusion, however, needs to be legitimized. The public image mingles old and new resentments. On the one side, the Roma people are considered to be the beneficiaries of the transformation and seen to be getting rich at the expense of Romanian society; on the other side, however, it is hinted that they are underdeveloped in terms of culture and civilization. In combination with an alleged demographic threat emanating from the Roma people, this all results in a diffuse potential danger to Romanian society. Most of the media however neglects society's responsibility for the impoverished Roma people of Romania.

Social Reality

The incipient deindustrialization and the dissolution of collective farms and state-owned enterprises affected the Romanies and the majority population equally. Impoverishment in the urban and the rural space was different. In general, the agriculture-oriented areas must be treated as predominantly disadvantaged and underdeveloped regions with a high risk of impoverishment. Nonetheless, specific features became visible which have led to a substantial aggravation of the situation among the Roma people, compared with that of the majority population. The broad masses of Romanies, earning their living as dependent workers, have been excluded from the official labour market for almost two decades. They, when looking for jobs, must rely on the informal sector, but this sector offers only unskilled labour jobs in agriculture, the building industry and the service sector. The consequences are missing employment rights, no social, health or pension insurances, insecure and insufficient remuneration and, in the end, solidification of the exclusion from the official labour market. A country-wide survey conducted in 2005 brought to light that, among the Roma people, 75 percent are poor, with 50 percent extremely poor (Krauß, 2008). 42 percent of them live in illegal houses with constructional defects and poor facilities. Their homes are on average half as big but occupied by twice as many persons. Moreover, the majority of the Romanies live in disadvantaged areas in terms of economy and infrastructure. These facts correlate with those regarding their education and health situation. The problems in the latter two fields – just to mention lacking educational, medical, constructional and technical equipment, plus missing motivation and widespread corruption – cannot be illustrated by figures. The education level among the Romanies compared with that of the majority population is markedly lower and was even on the decline in recent years. The rates of illiterates and school dropouts make up between one-fourth and one-third of all children required to attend school. Poverty-related diseases are wide-spread and famine is not a singular phenomenon. Thus, it seems to be just logical that the Romanies' life expectancy is ten years lower than that of Romanians. Romanies without any ID documents are faced with particular problems.

Political Practice

The Romanian Government has repeatedly been declared responsible for the deportation and murder of Romanies and has honoured survivors. This, however, is a mere symbolic act with no obligations and consequences for today's political practice. It is the same Romanian President, Traian Băsescu, who welcomes survivors but likewise does not hesitate to say "stinking gypsies", uses defamatory expressions against Romani groups or the Roma people as a whole on several occasions, or accuses them of passivity.⁴ He represents a political class that verbally and practically withdraws from its

⁴ Băsescu: Marea problemă a copiilor romi care nu merg la școală – educația și cultura familiilor, Mediafax 23.04.2008, under <http://www.mediafax.ro/politic/basescu-marea-problema-a-copiilor-romi-care-nu-merg-la-scoala-educatia-si-cultura-familiilor.html?1687;2580021> [23. January, 2009].

responsibility for a part of its citizens. They are unanimous that the Roma people shall be treated as a European problem.

Formally, Romania fulfils all international obligations as to human rights and minority protection. An Anti-Discrimination Council (Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării) was set up. The Romanies are recognized as a national minority and as such are entitled to a seat in the Parliament. In 2001, a ten-year governmental strategy for improving the situation of the Roma people (Strategia Guvernului României de îmbunătățire a situației Romilor) was adopted (Krauß, 2007). Various structures were established, including the Inter-ministerial Working Group on Romani Issues (Grupul de lucru pentru politicile publice pentru romi), ministerial commissions (Comisiile ministeriale pentru romi), the National Agency for the Roma People (Agenția națională pentru romi - ANR), the Offices for Romani Issues at district levels (Birourile județene pentru romi), the school and health mediators (Mediatori școlari, Mediatori sanitari) at local levels and the local experts for Romani issues (Experți locali pentru romi). Eight years afterwards, the progress is utterly insufficient in view of the still existing problems. Individual successful work is being hampered by a lacking power of decision, by overlapping responsibilities, by insufficient financial means and personnel, meagre administrative support and short-run projects. Routine and effective monitoring does not exist.

An efficient minority representation would be of immense importance in such a situation. But the two competing major organisations – the Party of the Roma (Partida Romilor Pro Europa) and the Alliance for the Unity of the Roma People (Alianța pentru unitatea romilor) together with the locally acting Christian Romani Centre (Centrul Creștin al Romilor) – give priority to particular interests. Consequently, the Roma people and their interests are completely under-represented in the local and national decision bodies and processes. This situation cannot be fully compensated by civil society organisations. Here the Soros Foundation with its activities in the field of Romani issues plays a positive and counterbalancing role, though with restrictions as well, because its activities are part of the ones carried out by the World Bank, the European Union and other international organisations.

Science

Despite many current publications, no systematic and interdisciplinary research could be established in Romania. Priority is given to statistical surveys which reflect historical preconditions and development insufficiently. Primary source editions on the persecution of the Roma people under the Fascist dictatorship are to be emphasized. A social history of the Roma people in Romania does not exist. Studies on the period of the state socialism are completely absent. Primarily, individual young scientists deal with the subject in the broadest sense, though the junctions with politics and civil society are permeable. It remains to be seen in what way the Institute for the Study of the Problems of National Minorities (Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale), which was founded in Cluj-Napoca on a political initiative, can establish itself as a centre of subject-specific and thematically sophisticated research.

Résumé

The study and conception of local relations are a precondition in order to comprehend the high degree of differentiation among the Roma people and the causes and consequences of their situation. This goes along with most diverse conditions of an (integration) policy aimed at them. Such an (integration) policy is still inadequate at national and international levels. The first half of the 1990s saw a large part of the Roma people developing towards social exclusion. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, when the redistribution of resources and access to them are completed, they find themselves in social circumstances which let them appear as superfluous economically, politically and socially. This process requires justification by the majority population, and in this the virulence of racism against the Roma people is substantiated.

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CONTRIBUTION

Ion Duminica¹

Roma in the Republic of Moldova. An Ethnic Community Limited in Space and Integrated in Time

Roma have been living in Moldova for more than half a millennium. Almost in every community there are representatives of this nation, every citizen of the Republic of Moldova has heard of the existence of Roma, naturally not having such obvious ideas about other ethnic communities. However, it should be noted that this ethnic group is studied insufficiently and is poorly known, the information available to each individual on Roma often being not only false, but mostly a unilateral call and diverted to the vector of injustice.

Several features in the character and lifestyle of the Roma are susceptible to a certain prejudice, rarely someone decides to approach them and to get to know the objective reality they are facing. This is justified by the Gypsy lifestyle itself. In general, Roma have lived for a long time in isolation and this led to a large extent to their natural way of leading a nomadic life. They imperatively got used to being suspiciously treated by the population, especially by the authorities, thus having to handle discrimination from generation to generation.

The consequences of an almost nomadic lifestyle made the Roma people have no aspirations to some sort of sustainable social and community occupations. A conscious policy and support for civil society, however, would contribute to combating prejudice against Roma population. To this end, it is first and foremost necessary to study Roma history and their culture because only in this way it is possible to overcome the ethnic intolerance and to integrate Roma into modern democratic society.

Roma have been a historical constant on Moldovan territory since the 2nd of August 1414 (Cihodaru, Caproșu, and Șimanschi, 1975: doc. 37, p. 52) when they were officially recorded for the first time in „Țara Moldovei” (the Country of Moldova). Thus, since the second half of the fifteenth century, this population of Indian origin has been one of the most significant in the Moldovan ethno-social landscape by its number, social position and cultural specifics. Considering the historical circumstances, until the twentieth century Roma as an ethnic group, have never expressed their opinion on it, so they didn't wake particular interest to their past. So far there has not been written a chapter on the Roma in the history books of the Republic of Moldova. The last decade of Moldovan society, years of major changes and uncertainties, increasingly requires the rethinking of the national policy regarding ethnic groups in Moldova. In the current political and economic context that Moldovan state is now facing, it is more than ever necessary to have a new vision, new paradigm and new modes of behaviour towards the otherness and towards the disadvantaged. However, this is not an easy task: their adoption requires a certain strategy adjusted to reality, cultural horizon, professional effort, ethics and possibilities of evaluation of the steps taken.

The national composition of the population of the Republic of Moldova, as of the last general census of 5-12 October 2004, reveals that the Moldovans, the majority population, constitute 75.8% of the total population (3,383,332 people), marking an increase of 5.9% compared to the year 1989. Besides Moldovans, there are other nationalities that coexist in Moldova, namely Ukrainians, representing 8.4%, Russians with a share of 5.9%, Gagauzi - 4.4%, Romanians - 2.2%, Bulgarians - 1.9% and other nationalities - 1.0% of the total population of Moldova. Roma represent the most numerous group within the category 'other nationalities' (Polish, Hebrew, Armenian, Azeri, Belarusian, Greek, etc.). The number of people who have declared to be Roma ethnics is 12,268 people, equivalent to 0.36%. This figure, however, is called into question by the leaders of Roma communities who in most cases operate with the number of 100,000-200,000 people. Although according to official data such as the census of 2004 the number of Roma increased from 11,571 in 1989 to 12,268, the exact number of Roma remains unknown to the authorities.

Republic of Moldova is a particular example for multilateral harmonization of interethnic relations and for ensuring the necessary legislative framework for human rights and freedoms. The Moldovan Constitution reinforces the obligation to recognize and guarantee the rights of citizens to preserve, develop and highlight the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious specifics. All citizens of Moldova are

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equal before the law and authorities, regardless of race, nationality, ethnic origin, language and religion. During the development of the local democratic process, the Government of the Republic of Moldova developed and implemented complex policies based on a democratic legislative framework meant to increase the socioeconomic integration of Roma, to eliminate discriminatory practices and to preserve their cultural identity.

In order to promote traditional culture of ethnic communities, special institutions responsible for the development and implementation of current legislation from the national policy were created in Moldova: Bureau of Interethnic Relations; Cultural Heritage Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova (Center of Ethnology); Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights and National Minorities.

A special role in defending the rights of national minorities is assigned to public ethno-cultural organizations operating at republican and local level. They contribute to the preservation and development of culture, language, traditions and history of ethnic communities from the Republic of Moldova. Currently, the following associations are accredited at the Bureau of Interethnic Relations:

- Public Association "Juvlia Romani" (1997) – Chairwoman: Ecaterina Drosu.
- Ethno-Socio-Cultural-Educational Association „Bahtalo Rom" (1999) – Chairman: Anatol Radita.
- Public Organization "Bare Rom" (2001) – Chairman: Robert Cerari.
- Scientific and Cultural Association "Elita Romani" (2001) – Chairman: Ion Farima.
- Roma Social Movement from Moldova (2002) – Chairman: Dumitru Danu.
- Union of Young Roma from the Republic of Moldova "Tarna Rom" (2002) – Chairman: Marin Alla.
- Social-Cultural Society "Roma Tradition" (2002) – Chairman: Gheorghe Martin.
- Association of Roma from Moldova "Rubin" (2003) – Chairman: Valentin Cebotari.
- Democratic Union of Roma in the Republic of Moldova (2003) – Chairman: Nicolae Arapu.
- United Alliance of Roma (2004) – Chairman: Constantin Farima.
- Public Association "Romani Grup" (2005) - Chairman: Oleg Ciubotaru.

Since 2004, the culture and history of Roma from the Republic of Moldova has become the study object of contemporary science. The following legal acts provided the framework for the development of this research field:

1. Decree of the President of the Republic of Moldova, no. 51 of 8 October 1993 "On measures to ensure the development of Gypsy culture in Moldova".
2. Decision of Government of the Republic of Moldova no. 131 of 16 February 2001 "On certain measures to support the Roma from Moldova".
3. Law no. 382-XV of 19.07.2001 "On the rights of persons belonging to national minorities and legal status of their organizations" - Article 5 (paragraph 2): "The State shall carry out scientific research on the history, language and cultural fields of the national minorities".
4. Decision of the Government of the Republic of Moldova no. 1453 of 21 December 2006 "On the adoption of the Action Plan for support of Gypsies / Roma in the Republic of Moldova for the period 2007-2010".

Scientific research on the problems of interethnic relations from historical-ethnographic, literary and culturologic point of view is currently carried out at the Center of Cultural Heritage of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova. Carrying out a basic study on the history and culture of Roma from Moldova will facilitate their social and political integration in the democratic society. Unfortunately, the historiographical "thesaurus" on this issue is still modest in the Republic of Moldova. The first and still the only known study devoted to Roma from Tara Moldovei (the Country of Moldova) was "Sketch on the history, customs and language of Gypsies, known in France as Bohemians", written by Mihail Kogalniceanu (Berlin: Library B. Behr, 1837). Subsequently, there appeared a number of other works addressing only specific issues, thematically or territorially limited, including references to linguistics, ethnography, folklore, anthropology, etc. No fundamental monograph on the history and culture of Roma from the Prut-Dniester area been published in the Republic of Moldova so far. Although the presence of outstanding Roma personalities such as composers, instrumentalists, vocalists, dancers and others has enriched the local folk heritage in the contemporary history of the Republic of Moldova, their biographies are not documented. This gap within local romology led to the initiation of scientific investigations.

A defining characteristic of the Roma population is its diversity. Unlike other groups, they have an "external national homeland" and they live in the most of the European and Asian countries. Each ethnographic group of Roma in the Republic of Moldova has its particular socio-professional, linguistic and cultural characteristics. What unites the Roma and gives them their own identity is actually their lifestyle, which is totally different from the one of other ethnic communities. It is a lifestyle of a community that is socially marginalized and mostly economically poor. However, a unique approach to

Roma poverty will not be functional because the factors of penury can also widely vary. The history of Roma from the Republic of Moldova is characterized by the survival of some ethnic, anthropometric, linguistic traits and cultural patterns over the centuries. Lower social condition, marginality, specific symbiosis with the majority of the population, own lifestyles have been perpetuated until today.

In the era of economic globalization and booming of powerful media networks able to transform the world into a "global village", there appears the danger of ideological and cultural uniformity that will give the "coup de grace" to ethnic communities. However, especially in the contemporary period, the need to be distinguished in order to exist persists more than ever among the multitude of ethnic entities. Today, ethnology is facing the articulation of local with global, where the most of the contemporary societies are already totally integrated into social and economic world order. The need for interdisciplinary approach to social problems arises from the impossibility of a science (including romology) to investigate globally the problems of reality. Current problems of romology are particularly complex due to the progress of human knowledge and close interaction between science, technology, education and society, and solving them requires joint efforts to cope with the unprecedented information explosion.

The Roma community from the Republic of Moldova currently embodies the authenticity paradigm, given that ethnicity is acting in favor of recovering a "wild" culture that, until recently, was wrongfully scorned. The true awareness of a culture is the one through which peoples claim their own area in the global culture. The results obtained by the collaborators of the "Roma Ethnology" Group (located at the Center of Ethnology) enrich and popularize the folk, its historical and cultural heritage represented in 9 ethnographic Roma groups in the Republic of Moldova: „lingurari” – spoon makers (Parcani village, Raciula commune, Calarasi district); „curteni” – courtiers (Ciocalteni village, Orhei district); „ursari” – bear-leaders (Ursari village, Buda commune, Calarasi district); „lautari” – fiddlers (Durlesti city, Chisinau municipality); „ciocanarya” – hammerers (Rascani city); „popesteni” – parsons (Sorooca city); „ciurari” – sieve makers (Chetrosu village, Drochia district); „laesi-catunari” – tent campers (Hancesti city); „laesi brazdeni” – furrow-campers (Cania village, Cantemir district). The geographical location, social relations, traditional occupations specific to these communities have been so far practically unknown to the international scientific community, being tangentially addressed by the local media representatives. Situated at the foundations of the ethnological discipline, the big debates on grace and reciprocity, kinship and ritual, cultural and economic exchanges are still important. The Moldovan Roma community is an ethnic group with unlimited cultural dimensions for a monolocated geographical area. Migration specific to this ethnic group continues and produces a range of socio-economic benefits for indigenous people that have coexisted peacefully with Roma over several centuries. These socio-economic exchanges always occur, but the task of contemporary romology is the concern for traditional cultural continuity confronting the social change.

Despite the fact that Roma in Moldova have impressive folk and musical traditions, an original axiological system and a specific psychological behaviour, the state institutions do not pay enough attention to their social conditions and only a few of them deal with solving problems which Roma are facing in their integration process into Moldovan society. In Moldova, up to now, no newspapers, magazines, books and textbooks in Romani language have been edited and there is no joint Moldovan-Gypsy school with partial teaching of the courses in Romani language, whereas in several European, American and Asian countries various publications are published in this language, through which the young Roma generation is somehow educated. The language, culture and history of Roma groups, dispersed almost in all countries of the world, are studied in several cities and scientific romologic centers like Barcelona, Bucharest, Budapest, London, Paris, Prague, Sofia, etc.

In conclusion, for a better knowledge of the Roma should be promoted. A nation is distinguished from another by its traditions that characterize its lifestyle and its way of thinking. This represents its emblem and pride. Even if the evolution of society influences these traditions and changes them, they remain in the collective mentality of the people as a sign of value and identification. Many economically developed nations regret the loss of traditions annihilated by the contemporary globalization and seek their revival. Roma, people without a state or a government to protect them, have survived for centuries by keeping their traditions almost intact. Even now, in the 21st century, the Roma from the Republic of Moldova have their own rules and laws, such as job hunting for a better standard of living, this being a main characteristic that gives them the status of conservative families who want to maintain ancient traditions. The presentation of these special traditions is intended to be a proof of respect and contribution to a better understanding of Roma ethnics. Those who get to know this ethnic group better will also be able to better understand the problems it faces, and perhaps some of them will also find solutions to improve the situation of this nation with rich historical and cultural thesaurus.

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CONTRIBUTION

Alexey Pamporov¹
Roma / Gypsies in Bulgaria

Introduction

Similarly to the other non-written cultures, the past of the Roma people in Bulgaria is full with white spots and blurred facts. There are some Slavic, Byzantine and Ottoman sources but the information given there is rather disputable because of the exonyms that most of the times cover not a given group but a cluster of groups with similar cultural characteristics. There are different myths and assumptions about arriving of the Roma people on the Balkan peninsula (and in Bulgaria in particular) – varying from Alexander the Great to the Ottoman invasion. However, thanks to the Ottoman tax registers, it is clear that in the beginning of 15th century there were several towns with both Muslim and Christian neighbourhoods of settled Roma population in nowadays Northern Bulgaria. As an attempt to escape slavery in Wallachia and Moldova, in 18th and especially 19th century there was a significant wave of immigrant Roma coming from these two principalities.

The different waves of migration, or so to say the different past, play a significant role in shaping different identities among the Roma population in Bulgaria. If one looks for the six markers of the ethnic community then it is visible that there is not a single, coherent community but rather several different communities:

1. They do not have a common proper name. Different endonyms exist not only in Europe (Roma, Manoushes, Calé and Sinti), but also in Bulgaria, for example: Roma, Rudari, Milet, Tsutsumani, Demirdzhii, etc.
2. They do not have a common mythical origin. The local communities narrate different myths about: Hagar & Ishmael; the Pharaoh; St. Basil the Great; Alexander the Great; Asparukh khan of Bulgaria, or Berke khan of the Golden Horde (Pamporov, 2006)
3. They do not have memories of a common past. They have no common heroes or events and their commemoration. For example most of Roma in Bulgaria do not commemorate.
4. Some elements of a common culture are questionable. They do not have common religion. The customs and daily routines are influenced by local folklore practices to a significant degree. There are four Romany “languages” spoken, as well as some subgroups have Bulgarian, Turkish or Romanian as a mother tongue.
5. There is no sense of solidarity between the linguistic and religion based subgroups. The different Roma communities are endogamous and in general they live segregated from each other in the frame of the neighbourhoods (a kind of ghettos in the ghetto) or in a given settlement.
6. There is no attachment to the homeland. Due to the different mythical origin, some activists claim Indian, Egyptian or proto-Bulgarian origin but most of Roma in Bulgaria consider Bulgaria as their homeland and have no attachment to any other country.

Identity and Subgroups

In the Bulgarian language and traditional folklore culture, as it is in many other European states, the word “Tsigani” (Gypsies) signifies this ethnical group. As a matter of fact, the term “Roma” was used for the first time right after World War Two in the name of the Roma theatre and Romano ilo (Romany voice) newspaper, both established by the Fatherland front in 1946. However, the change in the state policy after 1956 and prohibition of the use of minority languages at public places led to “oblivion” of this signifier. After 1989, the new political ethics gradually implemented the word “Roma” in the official documents. However, in the daily speech one concept just mechanically replaced the other. Thus, the exonym “Tsigani” and the endonym “Roma” are often used as synonyms in the media and in the public sphere. Nevertheless, there are groups and subgroups of that population which prefer to identify themselves with other ethnonyms used only by insiders or labelled by the others. Normally, these groups draw a line between Roma and themselves and deny belonging to Roma population, although quite often they are willing to accept the label “Gypsies”. Based on their language, religion and lifestyle one is able to distinguish five main Roma groups in Bulgaria and few subgroups with preferred other identity.

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1. Daskane Roma

Translated to the letter, today Daskane Roma means both Bulgarian as well as Christian Roma. The word “Das” was used during the Ottoman period to denote “slave” and “servant”. During the time it was related to the Turkish word “Gyaur” (infidel, non-Muslim). Under this label there are about 26 subgroups, speaking different patois of the so called Balkan type Romany dialects. Daskane Roma have prevailing share of the Roma population in North-Western and Central Northern Bulgaria.

Specific subgroups with preferred other identity:

- Gray pigeons

In South-Eastern and Central Southern Bulgaria, there is a group called “Bulgarian Gypsies” by the Bulgarians, “Daskane Roma” by the other Roma groups and “Gyaur Chengenesi” by the Turks. The group members call themselves “Asparukh’s Bulgarians” or “Old Bulgarians” but the surrounding local population most often labels them as “Gray pigeons”, Demirdzhii (i.e. Blacksmiths from the Turkish word “demir” – “iron”). This subgroup lives relatively amassed in the valley of Maritza river. The Gray pigeons prefer endogamous marriages within the group and use to avoid mixed marriages with other ethnic groups in the country, except the Bulgarian – as far as this is their preferred identity. Usually the Gray pigeons are Eastern Orthodox Christians but due to the influence of the Pentacostal movement in some rural areas they are changing their denomination. The curious fact about this group is that in some settlements the mother tongue of the group is Romany but in other settlements the mother tongue is Bulgarian. Despite that, they recognize each other as members of the group and the marriage between Romany and Bulgarian speakers is not an exception but the place of postmarital residence defines the language that is used at home.

- Tsutsumani

In North-Western Bulgaria there is a group of people that the Bulgarians label as “Bulgarian Gypsies” or “Converted Gypsies” and Roma call them “Tsutsumani”. The “Tsutsumani” people are Eastern Orthodox Christians, neither accepted by the Bulgarians as “real Bulgarians” nor accepted by Roma as “real Roma”. Their mother tongue is Bulgarian but there are some words of Romany origin in their patois. Usually the Tsutsumani do not live in ethnically segregated neighbourhoods but dispersed among the Bulgarian population. They are much more integrated than other Roma in that region, for example, the household size, the level of education and unemployment rate are the same as for the Bulgarians in that region.

2. Horahane Roma

Horahane Roma means both Turkish as well as Muslim Roma. Under this label there are about 36 subgroups, speaking different patois of the so called Balkan type Romany dialects, partially influenced by the Turkish language. Horahane Roma have prevailing share of the Roma population in North-Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Southern Bulgaria.

Specific subgroups with preferred other identity:

- Millet

On Turkish “millet” literary means “a nation/ people”. In the provinces where predominantly Horahane Roma reside, there are some people who call themselves “millet”. They are called “Turkish Gypsies” by the Bulgarian and “Millet çingenesi” (“people’s Gypsies”) by the Turks in the country. The other Roma groups have ambiguous attitude towards the Millet people. Some accept them as Roma but others consider them Turks. The mother tongue of the Millet is Turkish. However, in some settlements the elders use Romany as “a secret language” and in other settlements the local Millet patois consists of a small set of Romany words.

- Agoupti

This people live in the Rhodopes mountain range. They call themselves, and are also called by the others Agoupti, which is a dialect form of Egyptians (the same as the English word “Gypsies”). In the mid 20th century they were classified by the Bulgarian ethnography as Gypsies due to a folklore song which defines a female Agoupti character as “a black Gypsy woman”. The Agoupti are good example of a group change of language and ethnic identity. In the mid 20th century they had Egyptian identity and local Bulgarian dialect as a mother tongue. In the late 20th century they already speak Turkish and pretend being Turks during the population census in 2001. Most probably, similarly to the case of the Millet people, a determinant factor in this case is their belonging to the Islam confession. The elders of Agoupti use Romany as a secret language.

3. Calderashya

The name of this group comes from the Romanian word “caldera” (a cauldron) and it relates to their traditional male occupation in the near past – coppersmith. Because of their craft and regardless of the state regulations, they travelled across the country until 1975-76. Unlike the most of the other Roma

groups, Calderash people do not live in segregated neighbourhoods, but dispersed among the Bulgarians. In the period after 1989 in the districts of the three biggest cities of Bulgaria (Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna) some micro-quarters of kindred Calderash families appeared which number up to 10-12 houses. There are about 16 subgroups of Calderash people sharing some clan features and structure. The Calderash speak a patois of the so called Northern (or "New") Wallachian type Romany dialects that are under strong influence of the Romanian language. Although most of the Calderashya around the world are Roman-Catholics, in Bulgaria they are Eastern Orthodox. The Calderash Roma are the most endogamous group in Bulgaria and there are strict rules of prestige marriage between the subgroups (clans) based on the bride price.

4. Kalaydzhes

In different classification of the Romany groups living in Bulgaria, the Kalaydzhes subgroup is placed as a part of Daskane, Horahane or Kalderashya. It is due to the fact that Kalaydzhes living in North-Eastern and South-Western Bulgaria are Muslim, but the Kalaydzhes living in South-Eastern and Central Southern Bulgaria are Orthodox Christians. The Kalaydzhes living in North-Western Bulgaria have a record of a Muslim past (such as Muslim names of their ancestors), but they do not follow the Islam rites and customs. On one hand the common feature among the different Kalaydzhes groups is the traditional male occupation – tinsmith (hence the name of the group from the Turkish "kalay" – "tin"). On the other hand, all Kalaydzhes speak a patois that belongs to the so-called Southern (or "Old") Wallachian type Romany dialects. Despite these two similarities, there are no marriages between the different Kalaydzhes subgroups. Moreover, the Kalaydzhes from the South-Eastern and Central Southern Bulgaria are also extremely endogamous. They practice bride price and have developed a bride market system on annual basis.

5. Ludari (Rudari)

In the rural areas of Central and Eastern Bulgaria there are groups of people labelled by the others as Romanian Gypsies. According to the local patois, the members of the group call themselves Ludari or Rudari. Because of their traditional occupations, they are known among the surrounding population also as Kopanari (whittlers) or Mechkari (bear-trainers), which corresponds to the self-labels Lingurari (spoon makers) and Ursari. During the 2001 census, the Ludari used to identify themselves as Romanians, Wallachians or Bulgarians, however, never as Roma. Usually the elders are ready to accept that they are Romanian Gypsies because the words "tsigan" and "tsiganka" mean "husband" and "wife" (this is the meaning of the "rom" and "romi" in the Romany language). The mother tongue of the Ludari group is the Romanian language. Although the Ludari people live in segregated neighbourhoods, they do not differ from the local Bulgarian population as far as the level of education, employment rate and household size are concerned.

Language

There is a common language network of Romany dialects and patois with similar grammar and morphology, which gives opportunity to Roma people around the world to communicate with each other about basic things as food and family life. At the same time, the main dialects significantly differ in their phonetics and vocabulary due to the impact of the surrounding populations and often some Roma groups, even in a small country such as Bulgaria, use Bulgarian or Turkish as a lingua franca. In Bulgaria, there is no standardization of the main dialects or of the written system. Therefore, the attempts for implementation of the Romany language in the Bulgarian school system are rather unsuccessful. Moreover, significant part of the people who are labelled by the others as Gypsies do not in fact have Romany, but Bulgarian, Turkish or Romanian as a mother tongue. The data about the mother tongue (defined as language most spoken at home) shown in the table 1 illustrates how complicated is the question about the language use of Roma people in Bulgarian considering the identity issue. In the given table the first column shows the language used, the second shows the data coming from the census 2001. The third and the fourth columns show data from the survey (N=1800) carried out in 2007, representative about the segregated Roma neighbourhoods in Bulgaria which are unofficially stigmatised as "Gypsy ghettos". The column "self identity" indicates proportion of language use at home for those people who claimed Roma identity during the survey. The column "outside label" indicates proportion of language use for all the people living in the segregated "Roma" neighbourhoods, regardless of their self identity declared.

Table 1. Proportion of Roma by language most spoken at home

Mother tongue	Census 2001	self identity, 2007	outside label, 2007
Romany	86.2 %	60.7 %	38.7 %
Bulgarian	7.0 %	25.3 %	28.8 %
Turkish	6.5 %	5.4 %	24.0 %
Romanian	0.1 %	0.0 %	0.4 %
Not indicated	0.1 %	8.5 %	8.1 %

(Sources: National Statistical Institute, 2001; Open Society Institute, 2007)

Religion

Unlike Bulgarians or Turks with clearly defined religious affiliation, the Roma population is divided between three religions: Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam and Protestantism (mainly Pentecostal and Adventist denominations). The data on religious affiliation (table 2), in the same way as the language use, shows that the religion is also a complicated issue concerning the identity.

Table 2. Proportion of Roma by religion

Religion	Census 2001	self identity, 2007	outside label, 2007
Eastern Orthodox	48.6 %	45.2 %	41.1 %
Roman Catholics	0.3 %	1.5 %	0.9 %
Protestant	6.6 %	10.0 %	6.6 %
Muslim	27.9 %	15.2 %	29.9 %
Other	0.5 %	1.4 %	1.0 %
Non religion	16.1 %	26.8 %	20.4 %

(Sources: National Statistical Institute, 2001; Open Society Institute, 2007)

Population size

According to the census data (table 3), the size of the Gypsy population (as it is officially labelled during the censuses) grew in parallel with the size of the entire Bulgarian population until the middle of the 20th century. Therefore, the proportion of the Gypsies in the total population stayed stable, amounting to around 2.5% (table 1). Unfortunately, the data about the ethnical identity of the population after 1956 was biased due to the political context of the totalitarian regime and until 1992, and it is not reliable.

Table 3. Population size and proportion of Gypsies in the total Bulgarian population according to the official censuses, 1900-2001

Census year	Gypsy population size	Proportion of Gypsies in the total population
1900	89,549	2.4 %
1905	99,004	2.5 %
1910	122,296	2.8 %
1920	98,451	2.0 %
1926	134,844	2.5 %
1934	149,385	2.5 %
1946	170,011	2.4 %
1956	197,865	2.6 %
1965	148,874	1.8 %
1975	18,323	0.2 %
1992	313,396	3.7 %
2001	370,908	4.7 %

(Source: National Statistical Institute, 2004, pp. 126-127)

In parallel with the censuses, for the sake of the state management, the local communist party committees and the Ministry of the Internal Affairs (MIA) were gathering ethnic identity information, classified as “confidential” or “secret” reports. There is some data already non-classified and available today which is presented in the table 4.

Table 4. Population size and proportion of Gypsies in the total Bulgarian population according to MIA, 1959-1989

Year	Gypsy population size	Proportion of Gypsies in the total population
1959	214,167	2.74 %
1976	373,200	4.26 %
1980	523,519	5.96 %
1989	576,927	6.45 %

(Source: Pamporov, 2006a)

On the basis on this data, when the population census in 1992 registered 313,396 persons with Gypsy/Roma identity, some experts and scientist started to argue that the census underestimated the population size and a whole sequence of expert assessments was done. The first publication defined the number of Gypsies to be 800,000, however, in fact the researchers had no clear methodology and used only “observations and considerations” (Marushiakova and Popov, 1993: 94). In 1994, the French researcher Jean-Pierre Liégeois published data about the Gypsy population in some European countries where the population size for Bulgaria was given as between 700,000 and 800,000 of people (Liégeois, 1994). Unfortunately, he also neither explained his methodology, nor indicated his source, but probably he obtained the data from his Bulgarian collaborators. In the following year, Ilona Tomova (Tomova, 1995) made an estimation, which indicated much lower population size between 577,000 and 600,000 people, which is closer to the MIA’s data. The last expert estimation before the next census in 2001 was given by Donald Kendrick. He suggested 750,000, which is, in fact, the mean of the Liégeois’ estimation (Kendrick, 1998). When the census 2001 registered only 370,908 persons, the experts reacted in different ways to the data. Some of them increased the number of the Roma population to 900,000 (Denton, 2003), neglecting the statistical evidence and following their own logic. Other authors merged the previous estimations, increasing the gap between the lower and higher assessments, and put the number of Roma population between 500,000 and 800,000 (McDonald, 2006), which is rather confusing because the gap is more than a half of the lower estimate. The third group of the authors used the number 580,000 (Bogdanov and Angelov, 2006), i.e. simply rounding Tomova’s lower esteem, without explaining why after 11 years of population development the estimated size of population did not change.

Even if we assume that the use of MIA data base is relevant and acceptable, the number of 800,000 Roma in 1993 based on it is still preposterous. It means that the natural increase of the Roma population should be about 9.5-9.7% per year, which is a serious overestimation of the fertile contingent and intensity of births. If we use the number 576,927 as a base of the estimation, there are three possible criteria for building up a correct estimation of the Roma population (Pamporov, 2006). Even if the census is not an exhaustive survey, it is at least a representative one as far as the persons with strong Roma identity are concerned. Therefore, one can build the increase indicators on it. The first possible rate is the increase of the number of people with Roma identity declared about the period 1992-2001: 18.4% in 10 years. The second possibility is the growth of the people with Romany as a mother tongue declared for the same period: 5.6% in 10 years. The third possibility is the annual increase of the people with Roma identity in the period 2001-2003: 19.4%. According to those calculations, the number 800,000 could be reached not earlier then 2007. Table 5 shows the estimation about year 2010 based on the same indicators. The last column is a population forecast based on the 2001 census date and the annual increase of Roma population 2001-2003.

Table 5. Estimation of the size of Roma population in Bulgaria about 2010

year	Based on MIA data 1989			Census 2001 based
	Increase by Roma identity	Increase by Romany	Annual increase	Annual increase
2010	846,072	674,041	861,152	440,928

(Source: additional calculation based on: Pamporov, 2006b)

Integration of Roma

The Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015) started five years ago by a declaration, signed in Sofia on February 2, 2005. There are twelve countries currently taking part in: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain. All of these countries have significant Roma minorities, and the Roma minority has been rather disadvantaged, both economically and socially. The Decade focuses on the priority areas of education, employment, health, and housing, and commits governments to take into account the other core issues of poverty, discrimination, and gender mainstreaming. Unfortunately, the action plans aimed at integration of Roma in their national societies and often disregard the extremely important internal disintegration of the Roma subgroups.

In the case of Bulgaria, the state government and the local municipalities have to build at least five different strategies of integration as far as the main culture specifics – such as the language and the religion – are concerned. However, if one looks at the aims of the Decade – education, employment, health, and housing – then one has to stop considering only “Roma” but rather all the populations living in the segregated neighbourhoods giving them an opportunity to self-identify in different ways. Otherwise we are in paranoid situation in which the Roma activist movement denies the right of the “others” to label someone as a Gypsy, but in the same way they constantly use those estimations in order to increase the importance of their non-inclusion issue.

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CONTRIBUTION

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Research on Roma in Serbia: Studying Roma and Studying "Roma issues"

The change of policy context introduced "Roma issues" to the agenda. After year 2000 (the October 5th Revolution), reforms in public policy followed the political overhaul in Serbia. New concept enabled getting on the agenda many unrecognized issues, participatory approach and cooperation of stakeholders in policy development. It was driven partly by external financial aid, expertise, imported international agendas, and supported by the internal reforms of the public sector and rise of civil society. Scientific and policy research production on Roma population has been expanding since 2001. We outline *main lines in academic research on Roma in Serbia and influence of public policy on academic agenda*.

Trends in academic research on Roma

Research production on Roma in Serbia can be classified by many criteria. According to *research subject/topic*, there are several clusters of studies. Many research items deal with relations between "external" factors and Roma population. More specifically, these surveys explore attitudes of general (majority) population towards Roma, acts of discrimination in formal institutions and accessibility of public sector services to Roma. Second cluster of questions covers characteristics of Roma population: socio-demographics, education, culture, human rights, economic status, health and psychological issues. The third group of subjects are methodological and epistemological issues. They are discussed in demographic research, but also in romology studies. It should be noted that multidimensional or comprehensive research projects usually deal with many aspects of Roma lives (usually including the aspects of socio-demographics, education, culture, and health), however, there are also one-subject studies. The first type of research is commonly published in collections or special issues of journals. As for data sources, the researchers usually use empirical evidence provided by the official statistics (census, vital statistics, household surveys), quantitative surveys and qualitative research carried out by the researchers themselves for the purpose of that particular survey.

According to the above criteria, we discuss below in more detail the research on Roma. As briefly noted before, one direction of research focuses on social and institutional "external" factors influencing Roma, e.g. discrimination by public institutions and attitudes of general population. The other type of research projects are those dealing with characteristics of Roma population: 1. socio-demographics, 2. culture and identity, 3. education, 4. economic status and employment, 5. health and psychological issues, and 6. legal status and human rights. We discuss briefly all the mentioned research topics, along with key results and issues.

There are not many research projects focusing exclusively on Roma population. There are no projects dealing with Roma population on the list of research projects financed by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development (program 2006-2010). Papers on Roma have been published as part of various research projects (most of them in demographic projects). The only project aiming to explore Roma population and Roma issues is the Commission on Research of Life and Customs of Roma at the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts – SANU. This Commission was established in 1989 and key activities of the Commission include conferences, lectures, and publishing papers on various aspects of Roma population. For the last ten years, two collections of papers were published, the first one in 2000 and the second in 2007. The collection from 2000 has a title corresponding to pre-2000 political correctness standards: *Cigani/Roma in the Past and Today*. The 2007 collection is named *Social sciences on Roma in Serbia*. Both collections are based on the series of conferences organized by the Commission. The research topics of the 2000 collection include social status of Roma, language, education, housing and settlements, and culture and tradition. The other collection from 2007 focuses on similar research subjects: e.g. social status of Roma population, education, media and demographic and ethnic characteristics.

Attitudes of majority population toward Roma have been tackled in studies of ethnic/social distance, stereotypes and political orientation. The focus has been somewhat changed recently and these topics are usually incorporated in projects dealing with health, discrimination at public institutions, legal status, employment etc. There are few surveys of social distance and stereotypes as major

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research themes. A study of social distance and stereotypes of Roma children was carried out by Francesko, Mihic, and Kajon. It was conducted in a setting of a primary school among schoolchildren (Francesko, Mihic, Kajon: 2006). The findings indicate higher level of social distance towards Roma than to other groups. The researchers did not find significant differences between children who attended school with Roma and those who did not (Francesko, Mihic, Kajon, 2006). Similar subject is explored by Jelena Micevic who carried out a study of similarities in teachers and children's discrimination attitudes towards marginal groups (Micevic, 2006). No significance was found in attitudes of teachers and schoolchildren regarding Roma students (the findings are different for other marginal groups). These two studies are only applied to specific school population, and large public opinion research representative for general population should be also taken into account² (studies of ethnic distance by B. Kuzmanović).

Socio-demographic characteristics of Roma population have been presented in papers of Nada Raduški. The author deals with methodological issues in research on ethnicity and demographic change in Roma population (Raduški, 2003; Raduški, 2007). Raduški analyzes some relevant demographic characteristics of Roma population in Serbia. According to Census from 2002, Roma account for 1.44% of population in Serbia. This means that they are one of the largest ethnic minorities, along with Hungarians (3.9%) and Bosniaks (2.1%). Nada Raduški discusses the issue of underestimating the size of Roma population in previous censuses, and increase of population from 1991 to 2002 (Raduški, 2003; Raduški, 2007). This issue of ethnic self-identification of Roma and its manifestation as “ethnic mimicry” also is recognized in other countries with large Roma population (Ringold, 2000). Another demographic characteristic of Roma population is delayed demographic transition. Roma population has high birth rate (10.3), compared to 10.3 for general population; low mortality rate (7.3) compared to general population (13.6), but high specific mortality rates per cohorts. Roma population has high natural increase of population (16.2) and very young population, the average age being 27.5 (Raduški, 2003).

Culture and identity are common research subjects in *ethno-anthropological studies* of Roma. Jelena Čvorović explores the process of tradition development (Čvorović, 2006), and Todorović and Đorđević explore the sepulchral aspects of Roma culture (Todorović and Đorđević, 2001). Majority of studies of culture are small-scale studies of specific characteristics of Roma in some regions of Serbia. A unique collection of papers *Kultura Roma* from 2002 (Culture of Roma, special issue of the review *Kultura*) presents several case studies of local Roma settlements in Serbian cities, religion of Roma, cultural policy, cultural identity, literature, etc. Some aspects of culture and identity have been incorporated in studies of demographic and economic dimensions of Roma population. One of these issues is *language* of Roma. According to the 2002 census, approximately 78% of Roma identified Romani language as their mother tongue, which does not correspond to their national identification (Raduški, 2003). Raduški points out that difference between ethnic and linguistic identification is due to partial ethno-cultural integration, similar to that of religious identification, namely Roma assimilate with local dominant characteristics of majority population. Hence their language identification and religious affiliation are changing. Roma from Central Serbia are dominantly Orthodox (48.7%) and Muslim (19.7%), and large majority of Roma from Kosovo are Muslims (Raduški, 2003; Raduški, 2004). There is another topic that has been recently introduced to the research agenda – *romology studies*. Đorđević and other researchers of the “Niš (town) school of romology” argue for epistemological foundation of romology studies, as well as the institutionalization of romology in higher education curricula (Đorđević, 2005; Đorđević, 2009). Romology is defined as “study of Roma”, and it should be an interdisciplinary discipline, based on primarily on ethnological approach and incorporating historical, linguistic and other aspects. Besides the very well established and recognized “Niš school of romology”, there are also other endeavours to institutionalize romology in Serbia, such as, for example, a pilot-program of romology at the University of Novi Sad.

Education has become an increasingly important research subject for researchers of Roma population. There is research of *aspirations and attitudes* of Roma parents and their children towards education (Tovilović et al., 2009). Aleksandar Baucal explored *mathematical and language literacy* among Roma schoolchildren (Baucal, 2006). Another cluster of research deals with *education theory and policy*, introducing new concept of individualized approach to education of Roma children (Arsenović-Pavlović, M. 2006). Education issues are addressed in a study of Raduški from a *demographic perspective* (Raduški, 2009). Raduški presented key indicators on education, based on

² Research studies of social and ethnic distance from the nineties: Kuzmanović, B. (1994). Socijalna distanca prema pojedinim nacijama. In M. Lazić (ed.) Razaranje društva: Jugoslovensko društvo u krizi 90-tih. Beograd, Filip Višnjić; Golubović, Z., Kuzmanović B., & Vasović M. (1995). Društveni karakter i društvene promene u svetlu nacionalnih sukoba. Beograd, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju i Filip Višnjić; Kandido-Jakšić, M. (1999). Ethnically mixed marriages and social distance towards members of some ex-Yugoslav nations. Sociologija, 41, 103-124.

the Census (2002). Roma have the highest illiteracy rate among all minority groups in Serbia. Illiteracy rate is 19.7% in Roma population and 3.4% in general population of Serbia. Education attainment level of Roma is lower compared to general population. Almost two thirds of Roma have not finished primary school, and less than 10% finished secondary education or higher levels of education. As expected, indicators show even lower education attainment if gender is taken into account. Around 71% of women have not finished primary education.

Economic dimension is approached from a macro-level and micro-level perspective. In *macro framework*, the official statistical data are used in analyses of economic status of Roma. Raduški draws on the 2002 Census data, and argues that Roma population has lower rate of economic activity (32.8%) compared to general population (Raduški, 2003). From the perspective of the *micro level* research, Cvetković analyzed economic culture of Roma discriminating between two clusters of dimensions: 1. local characteristics of Roma groups in three towns of Southern Serbia (business ethics, education level), 2. opportunities and obstacles arising from contextual factors, such as local economy and industry (Cvetković, 2003). Đorđević et al. carried out a case study of Roma on the "flee market", analyzing both economic and culture dimension (Đorđević, Živković and Todorović, 2002).

Health issues are addressed in several surveys. Boganović et al. compared mortality in Roma and non-Roma population (Bogdanović, 2007). The study confirmed that mortality is higher among Roma population compared to general population, and also morbidity structure is significantly different. There is a recent study of mental problems of Roma who are internally displaced persons (Kron, 2006). Health issues of Roma population are also addressed in general studies of social marginalization and health. Researchers deal with health deterioration of groups at risk, for example, groups with mental and health issues – HIV, mental disorders, prisoners, Roma etc. (Šagrić, 2007)

Legal status and human rights of Roma population have been recognized as an important research topic after 2000. Two issues are urgent today: citizenship rights of Roma who are either internally displaced persons from Kosovo and integration of returnees from the EU (due to the process of repatriation). Jakšić explored these issues focusing on obstacles in getting the legal documents and discrimination by formal institutions and regulations (Jakšić, 2005). This topic of research is very often connected to policy oriented studies. We will discuss this issue in the concluding part of the contribution.

Academic research on Roma and policy context

Addressing relevant issues for Roma population in Serbia brought about policy development in many areas: education, health, employment, political empowerment, and improvement of legal status. In the case of education, a number of programs based on affirmative action were implemented. As far as health insurance policy is concerned, Roma are entitled to health care services in public health system. Crucial change occurred in 2002 when citizens of Roma nationality acquired the status of national minority. In 2005, Serbia joined the Decade for Roma Inclusion. In the following years the action plans were developed in the fields of education, employment, health care, and housing. The National Council of Roma Community was established according to the Law on National Councils (adopted in 2009). In April 2009, the Government of the Republic of Serbia adopted the comprehensive Strategy for Improvement of the Status of Roma in the Republic of Serbia. Political participation and transparency of Roma non-governmental sector are addressed in current agendas. There are some improvements in political empowerment and participation. This also includes formation of political parties of Roma, activities of NGOs and media established by Roma (OSCE, 2008). The above improvements should be evaluated in positive manner, although there are difficulties on the implementation side. We are not going to discuss further these policies. We turn to another issue: how public policy influences academia in this particular case of research of Roma and Roma issues?

In theories of public policy development, relations between scientific/academic agendas of sociology and policy/political agendas have two directions: the science influences government agenda, but this process is reciprocal and flows in other direction, too (Weiss, 1993). This applies to sociology, but it is true for any social science dealing with subjects relevant for political intervention. One process is *getting issues of academic research on the policy agenda*, and the other means *incorporating policy agendas in academic research*. In the line of our discussion, we focus on two points of academia-policy relations related to research on Roma population and Roma issues.

Roma issues in Serbia have been addressed in many policy studies conducted as parts of projects run by international organizations (WHO, UNDP, OSCE) or developed on the national level (e.g. Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper). Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between policy oriented and academic research on Roma. Besides these two sorts of research, there is a sort of "mixed" type of research. This is not a surprise, since many academics are involved in policy research on Roma

issues. In this case, research evidence provided for practical or policy purpose is also used in academic papers. Data from policy research are used as secondary data for more detailed analysis.

Regarding the *empirical evidence in academic research*, there are not many research studies designed exclusively for the purpose of academic agenda. Academic papers are relying on the official statistics, and researchers usually draw on research evidence from policy fieldwork. Providing the amount of research production in various policy domains of Roma issues, policy development is, or it could be, much more evidence-based compared to academic work.

There seems to be convergence in defining the research subject. The question arises whether it is possible to distinguish between research on Roma and Roma issues. This tendency is common in dealing with any other research subject when it becomes recognized as a policy issue and gets on political agendas. Here we can only identify several policy issues that influenced academic research. For example, attitudes of non-Roma population towards Roma have been studied for decades in social science. Recently, discrimination of Roma by formal institutions (public administration offices, health centres, schools) has been introduced as new research direction. Finally, the issues of legal status of Roma IDPs and returnees, and violations of human rights, have been driven directly by current policy agenda.

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CONTRIBUTION

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Situation of the Roma in Slovenia: Politics for a Regulation of the Roma Ethnic Community Protection

Roma communities in Slovenia are diverse and heterogeneous in terms of gender, age, socio-economic situation, the accommodations, civic status and origin. According to the data from the Office of Nationalities and from some institutions such as Centre for Social Work, local municipalities and NGOs, 10.000 -12.000 Roma and Sinti live in Slovenia. Most Roma live in Prekmurje (NE part of the country), in Dolenjska, Bela Krajina and Posavje (J and JE part of Slovenia). Some of them live also in bigger cities such as Maribor, Velenje and Ljubljana. Some families of Sinti live in Gorenjska, mainly in Jesenice and Radovljica.

Constitutional and Legal status of Roma in Slovenia

After Slovenia's independence in 1991, the indication relating to special rights of the 'Roma community' found place in Article 65 of the Slovenian Constitution, which determines the status and special rights granted to the Roma people living in Slovenia through the provision of a special law.² Already prior to this, the amendment to Constitution LXVIII from 1989 laid down that the 'legal status of the Roma must be regulated by a law.' In 1991, the Slovenian Parliament held discussions on the Roma community and issued a decision on the formulation of 'measures to find a most effective solution to the Roma issue'.³

At the beginning of its independence, Slovenia adopted only a protective legislation in respect to the 'autochthonous' Roma or Roma who are 'traditionally and permanently historically settled in Slovenia'. Paradoxically, however, some Roma were given particular rights, yet not the legal status of a 'minority' they are considered as "ethnic community". These rights were guaranteed only to the Roma who were perceived and defined as 'autochthonous'. The Roma who were 'merely migrants' coming from the former SFRJ were not the subjects of the minority protection law. This division is still highly problematic. These, so-called 'autochthonous' Roma were 'spatially incarcerated' (Appadurai, 1988, quoted in Malkki, 1997: 58) to particular territories, while the immigrants remain their "stigmatised cousins", i.e. the 'non-traditionally settled' Roma or ordinary immigrants who have the same rights as other immigrants from the former SFRY⁴ and no special rights as members of the 'Roma community'.

The vague vocabulary of the Constitution failed to offer an unequivocal definition of the individuals that were entitled to special rights. Thus, the lax definition evoked the impression that Slovenia was a newly born democracy with the rule of law that aspired to set to right the living conditions for all the Roma – the minority that was recognized in the EU as one of the least privileged groups of population – by new minority legislation.

In 1995, the government modified its promise: instead of a unified Roma law, it passed a Programme of Aid for the Roma Community that covered the areas of local authority, education, social and health security, employment and housing. The legal basis for the realization of the programme of help is divided into disparate laws and the jurisdiction over its components among several ministries. This, of course, led to difficulties in terms of coordinated activities and consequently, to inefficiency in respect to the actual realization of the programme of help. However, there were no stringent criteria for the evaluation of efficiency, and the officials, as yet, failed to face the problems inherent in the implementation process of such a programme.

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² It was declared: "The status and special rights granted to the members of the Roma community living in Slovenia shall be regulated by law" (http://www.dz-rs.si/si/aktualno/spremljanje_zakonodaje/ustava/ustava.html, accessed: 12 February, 2005)

³ Point 3 in the Catalogue of Proposals reiterated the following requirement: "The Constitution should lay down that the rights for the Roma must be regulated by a law. This law should serve as the basis for legal protection of the members of the Roma community, allowing them to use their mother tongue, foster their own culture and other ethnic specificities as well as make it the responsibility of the Republic of Slovenia to improve the living status of the Roma." (Polzer/Srienz, 1999: 63)

⁴ Obreza (2003: 48) lists special rights of others regulated by the 61., 62., and 63. articles and some rights from the second chapter of the Constitution dealing with human rights and liberties.

In 1995 the Slovenian government realized its generous promise of a common law by defining special rights of the Roma in sectoral laws. There were 11 sectoral laws at the beginning and they were regulating local authority, local elections, electoral record, the organisation and funding of education, crèches, primary schools, media, libraries, and public interest in culture. Sectoral laws also introduced the distinction between the rights that were to be granted to the so-called 'autochthonous' and 'non-autochthonous' Roma (i.e. immigrants). The aid programme for the Roma community was designed exclusively for Roma who have traditionally lived in Slovenia and who were territorialized to particular local communities in particular regions (cf. Obreza, 2003: 48, 56)⁵.

The Law on the Roma community in Slovenia (ZRomS-1) has been accepted after 16 years by the National Assembly on March 3, 2007⁶ and it went into effect in April 28, 2007. ZRomS-1 regulates the situation of "the Roma community" in Slovenia, and in particular concerns the state bodies and local self-governing communities as far as the implementation of special rights of "the Roma community" is concerned. ZRomS-1 governs the organization of the Roma community at the national and local level and its funding. The Act specifies that the Republic of Slovenia creates conditions and devotes special attention to the integration of Roma into the education system, raising their level of education and relevant scholarship policy, integration of Roma into the labour market and employment, maintenance and development of Romani language and culture providing information and publishing activities of the Roma community, regulation of the spatial problem of Roma settlements (i.e. urbanisation of the illegal settlements) and improving the living conditions of persons belonging to Roma communities.

For the coordinated implementation of special rights of Roma, which were declared by the ZRomS-1, the Government of Slovenia will adopt a national program of action in cooperation with local self-government communities and with the Council of the Roma Community. A programme of measures will also cover other important areas such as social and health protection of Roma. According to the information from the Office of Nationalities, in Slovenia the programme of measures is still in preparation.

Since 2004, Government has increased the funds that the state devotes to the Roma community by more than five-fold. Within the framework of projects of the Ministry of Education and Sport, the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, the Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of Culture, the Government Nationalities Office and the Governmental Service for Local Government and Regional Policy, the state thus devoted 132.4 million SIT (552,000 EUR) to the Roma community in 2004. In the year 2006, the Government of Slovenia planned some 776.8 million SIT (3,241,000 EUR) for the Roma community.

In order to monitor the situation of the Roma community in Slovenia, each time the government set up a commission. Current Commission of the Republic of Slovenia for the Protection of the Roma Community was established on March 5, 2009 (Government Decision no. 09501-2/2009/3). The composition and functioning of the Commission is significantly affected by the provisions of the umbrella Roma law.

The Commission consists of 8 representatives of the state bodies, 4 members of self-governed local communities, and 4 members of the Council of the Roma Communities of the Republic of Slovenia, and is responsible for monitoring the legislation and development of initiatives. The Commission thus monitors the implementation of the programme referred to in paragraph 6 Article of the Roma community in Slovenia and monitors the implementation of constitutional and legal obligation to set the Republic of Slovenia, based on a Roma community. It is in charge of development of proposals and initiatives concerning the protection of the Roma community to be given to Government and individual ministries towards the acquisition of their official positions. The Commission is also responsible for exchange of views between representatives of the Roma community, self-governing local communities and authorities on all issues affecting the situation of the Roma community.

Organization of Roma in Slovenia

Roma are politically organised at the local and at the state level. At the level of municipalities Roma are elected as representatives for a municipality council in several local communities. The Law on Local

⁵ Until the implementation of the ZRomS-1 for a regulation of the situation of the Roma communities in Slovenia, there were fourteen different laws in use: Law on Local Self-Government, Local Elections Act, Act on Voting Rights Register, the Law on Organization and Financing of Education Act, Kindergarten, Elementary School Act, the Media Act, Librarianship Act, Act on Enforcing Public Interest Culture, Law on the promotion of balanced regional development, the Law on Radio and Television of Slovenia, the Law on Financing of Municipalities, the Law on Cultural Heritage Protection and the Criminal Code of the Republic of Slovenia.

⁶ The Law was published in the Official Journal of RS, no. 33/07, http://zakonodaja.gov.si/rpsi/r05/predpis_ZAKO4405.html

Self-Government declares the obligation to have a Romani representative within the municipality council where Roma live as autochthonous settlers.⁷

At the national level the Council of the Roma Community of the Republic of Slovenia was established in 2007. It represents the interests of the Roma community in Slovenia to government bodies and performs other important tasks relating to interests, status and rights of the Roma community. Among other things, the National Assembly, National Council of the Republic, the Government of the Republic, other state bodies, and holders of public powers as well as the authorities of local self-governing community can make proposals, suggestions and opinions in matters within its jurisdiction. While adopting or issuing regulations and other enactments relating to the Roma community, the said authorities shall obtain prior opinion of the Council of the Roma Community.

Roma are also organised as members of cultural associations. At the state level Roma are organised in the Association of Roma of Slovenia, which is under the umbrella of the Council of Roma of Slovenia. Association of Roma of Slovenia unifies 21 Romani cultural associations. Within last years there was a tendency to organise cultural associations within the Association of Romani communities Bela Krajina – Dolenjska.

Since the year 1995 Roma Summer Schools are held in Murska Sobota. An information centre Romic was also set up for providing information of Roma. Roma in the Dolenjska and Prekmurje publish literary works and have a rich folklore activity. Financial support for cultural activities is given in particular by the Ministry of Culture. For some Roma these activities constitute an economic niche and they adapt flexibly to the requirements of the programme led by the Ministry of Culture. In practice, this strategy is reflected in the way that there are more or less one and the same persons who act in the role of ethnic politicians and who are also poets, playwrights, linguists, etc.

Reflections on the Situation of Roma policy in Slovenia

After the independence of the Republic of Slovenia in 1991, for the first time in this country a definition of the political status of the Roma in Slovenia's legal order occurred. Roma were defined not as a 'national community', as ethnic Hungarians and Italians are, but as an 'ethnic community'. This political decision was based on 'sedentarist metaphysics' (Malkki, 1997) that connects people with a territorial entity, and since Roma do not have a 'kin-nation' among Slovenia's neighbouring states, they needed to be designated as an 'ethnic community'.⁸

Within the political discourse of various agents we often find a consolidation of the unique ability of the Slovenian government to regulate the legal and political status of the Roma: *'Slovenia is now one of the few countries that considers the Roma to be an autochthonous ethnic community and regulates it within its Constitution and local legislation.'* [...] *'Slovenia approaches the issues of the Romany community in Slovenia committedly, seriously, and systematically, while at the same time upholding international conventions, and integrating examples of good practice, considering their specificity, into its legal order.'* (Obreza, 2003: 52, 47).

On the other hand, NGOs and critical researchers pointed out the lack of effective action by the government policy. They stressed that the division between the "autochthonous" and "non-autochthonous" Roma should be eliminated and that the programme for the implementation of measures to improve the situation of Roma should be implemented in all places where Roma live. They also suggest appropriate institutional support for the management of several projects, for computer literacy, and for solving out several administrative problems. Critical researchers and scholars proposed that status of Romani assistant should be institutionally regulated and professionalized in the system of education.⁹

Thus, the so-called Roma minority protection legislation failed to serve the same intention in respect of the immigrant Roma. Nevertheless, in some cases the immigrant Roma with Slovenian citizenship were also included in the aid programmes, and the handling of their residence-related issues was mostly the result of the benevolence shown by some state officials. However, thusly expressed

⁷ Roma need to have their representatives in Beltinci, Cankova, Črenšovci, Črnomelj, Dobrovnik, Kočevje, Krško, Kuzma, Lendava, Metlika, Murska Sobota, Novo mesto, Puconci, Rogašovci, Semič, Šentjernej, Tišina, Trebnje in Turnišče. The local community of Grosuplje ignores the obligation.

⁸ In Slovenian legal discourse the concept of 'national community' marks only Italian and Hungarian minorities which are both properly territorialized. Such a decision shows the rationalisation of the fact that the national state is crucial for a definition of national of ethnic minorities.

⁹ One of the measures in the field of education of Roma was the involvement of the Romani assistants in schools. Romani assistant helps pupils and teachers to overcome the language barrier during the class and mediates between Romani parents and school in the cases of communicative or practical problems.

goodwill mostly rested in the hands of the local authorities and is also attributable to the fact that the Roma in these communities were numerically stronger than in certain other local communities with the so-called 'autochthonous' Roma.

The 'autochthonous' Roma thus test democracy in Slovenia as well. In spite of formal rights the government has not yet done enough to guarantee their actualisation (realisation), and in cases when the local population reacted with racism and discrimination, the state does not pursue sanctions at the local level (Spreizer, forthcoming; Spreizer, 2008: 131-151). Formally, the Roma had the right to be represented in local communities, yet the local authority of Grosuplje denied this right to the Roma. In the discourses of provincial political notables it has been reiterated on several occasions that the Roma were numerically not strong enough to be entitled to have their own representative; that the Roma illegally occupy several areas, since they have built their settlements without any location and building permits, etc.

The novelty in the Roma ethnic legislation may be interpreted within the context of the EU-accession process. Among many multilateral agreements, the representatives of Slovene political elites also signed the Framework convention for the Protection of National minorities. It signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in June 1997 and September 2000. In the process of joining the European Union and within the international context, Slovene politics did not want to present an image of an authoritarian regime that abuses civil rights of its inhabitants. Nevertheless, this 'democratic' semblance does not mean that the state has not violated the rights of certain people (Spreizer, forthcoming). The rationale behind Slovenia's adoption of the Roma legislation might also have been to guarantee itself a better starting point as a candidate in the EU accession process.

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CONTRIBUTION

Trajko Petrovski¹
Roma in Macedonia

The Situation of Roma in Central Europe and the Balkans after 1990

The collapse of the Soviet communist experiment at the end of the 1980s set in motion system changes in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Real socialism was undermined by its own weaknesses and contradictions in economic, social and political sphere and did not succeed to meet the demands for adequate modernization. The states, depending on their political culture and historic legacy from pre-communist past, responded differently to the challenges of modernization of societies. There where strong roots of despotism existed and where feelings of exclusive ethnic belonging were revived, changes caused problems relating to establishing democracy, market economy as well as realization and protection of human rights. Constitutional establishment of the revolution-reform implied not only the introduction of the principle of the rule of law, legal state, civil and pluralistic society in legalization, but also the creation and development of conditions for giving institutional form to their content and opening space for free participation of all members of the society.

In multiethnic societies and regions, differences in mentality, language, opinions and needs can represent a truly spiritual wealth, but also a burden for the society as a whole. Anthropological, linguistic and confessional differences should not be a priori reasons for conflicts and divisions, while similarities should not necessarily be conditions for identification and consensus on basic social values. National exclusiveness can provoke long lasting intolerance towards all those who remain outside of boundaries of homogenous ethnic group, while every limitrophe contact is followed by the stigma of corruption of pure blood.

The Roma nationality numbering several million members in Central and South-Eastern Europe has been a victim of an age-long prejudice and segregation attaining the level of unconceivable hatred, xenophobia and genocide. Although they give a specific colour to the cultural map of the Central and South-Eastern Europe, Roma are most often undesirable neighbours. Prejudices and stereotypes formed by members of the majority nations about Roma are in sharp contrast with notions of romantics about them in the art. In reality, they are stigmatized as marginal, undesirable ethnic group prone to small offences, vagrancy and begging.

In European post-communist realities, social and economic position of Roma is in fact more unfavourable compared to previous conditions. Economic recession pushed Roma even further to the margin. Transformation of ownership and economic system reduced chances for getting jobs in social sector, while the market economy established such competitive conditions in which largely uneducated and unqualified Romani population capable of work remained without possibilities to feed numerous members of their families. In the future, the economic wellbeing of every individual and every social group will largely depend on the level of knowledge with which they enter the competition in the market. It seems that Roma without the assistance of the majority population are not capable to overcome problems of acquiring adequate education and qualification skills. Roma accept the institution of school with a lot of reserve. Besides the fact that they perceive schools in a dysfunctional way from the point of view of their group identity, there are also problems of the ethnic distance Romani children are facing during their schooling.

It is not only that the school neglects needs and habits of Roma, but they are also exposed to humiliation by other children and to the scorn of teachers who consider them less capable than children of the majority population. As the consequence of such discrimination only a small percentage of Romani children finish the elementary school and only minimum percentage acquire medium or high education. Their chances for adequate socialization and communication with their peers are considerably diminished because of value and language barriers as well as due to racist prejudices that resulted in the increase of ethnic tension between Roma and other ethnic groups.

Standard sociological indicators do not necessarily measure ethnic distance towards Roma. One can learn about the relation of the majority population towards Roma from the reports of international and

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national organizations dealing with records of violent abuse of elementary individual human rights. Analyses of expert group² show that during the period 1992-1995 there were about fifty cases of violent assaults on lives and property of Romani families. This number is certainly larger if we take into account cases which are not notified or registered as well as cases of violations of human rights in the area of Second Yugoslavia involved in war sufferings. The position and rights of Roma raise issues which should be solved by coordinated activity. As a non-territorial European minority Roma deserve special activities of international organizations, institutions and national states that regulate the rights and obligations of their citizens by internal legal norms and finally of regional and local governmental bodies that can contribute to improvement of conditions of Romani population by strict respecting and realization of constitutional provisions.

The Macedonian Case

Roma people appeared in the medieval Byzantium countries in the middle of the 11th century and it can be with certainty stated that they were present in Macedonia since the 12th century. Also, a great number of Roma people arrived on this territory during the reign of the Serbian king Stefan Decanski, whereas even greater number of Roma people arrived in the Southern Slavic countries during the reign of the Turks. This could be found in the censuses' data conducted by the Ottoman authorities about the Roma people who lived within the Turkish fortresses. From records stemming from these censuses, it can be seen that Roma people lived in the following Macedonian towns: Tetovo, Skopje, Stip, Prilep, Bitola, Veles, Kratovo, Kriva palanka, Kicevo, Debar and Ohrid. In that period the greatest part of them worked as blacksmiths, artists, fortune tellers, animal trainers, rope-makers, players, tinsmiths, tamers etc. In Macedonia, during the period of 1888-1895 when the first census of the population was conducted there were 22,001 Roma people. The highest Roma population concentration was in the region of Bitola, Skopje, Prilep, Tetovo and Strumica. Half of them lived in the towns. According to the records of the researchers and scientists (ethnologists, historians, sociologists and geographers) who studied the Roma people, they were assimilated by the Turks, Albanians and etc. in period of XII-XXth century. They retained certain anthropological characteristics; however, they largely lost all the ethnic features. Later on, great part of the Roma people moved from these regions to Canada, USA and Australia.

As early as 1948 the Roma of Macedonia began to organize themselves politically and culturally. They obtained seats in the Skopje town council and formed their own association, "Phralipe" (Brotherhood). During the socialist era, Roma social and cultural organizations, such as soccer teams, boxing clubs, drama clubs and music ensemble, also called Phralipe, travelled throughout Europe to receive rave reviews. Since the formation of the independent Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 1991, Roma have been mobilized into two Roma political parties, and have achieved the status of "nationality".

In the 1991 Census, 52,103 Roma self-identified themselves as Roma, although Romani leaders believed that their number might have been closer to 220,000. Both in the Constitution and in the overall Macedonian legalization, the Roma were identified as a separate ethnic group and received equal status that guaranteed freedom from discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity and equal chances for preserving and development of their own culture. The lack of an open discriminatory approach, violent behaviour or attempts for forced assimilation is characteristic for Macedonia. There have been no cases of violence caused by ethnic motivations or which would have elements of organized intolerance towards the Roma as a distinct ethnic group. The behaviour towards the members of the Roma population can be characterized as prolonged ignoring, both from the aspect of their socio-economic situation, as well as from the aspect of the general and specific cultural and educational needs. This resulted in a factual lack of integration of the members of the Roma population in the society from the aspect of their equal representation in all the societal structures, their participation in the different levels of decision-making, participation in the government, in the cultural life and in the economy.

Today, after more than 55 years, Roma still live in suburbs, they are actively included in the structures of government, they are recognizable by their low life-standard, low educational level, the lack of basic health standards and instead of their integration in the wider community one could rather speak of wider community's tolerance of their presence. It is certain that prejudices exist; the members of the Roma minority perceive their specific situation very realistically and – even if passively – react to it.

² Experts in Romani/Roma ethnology, language, culture: Dr. Trajko Petrovski, Dr. Gjurgjica Petrovic, Dr. Rajko Gjiric, Trifun Dimic, Mr. Dragoljub Ackovic etc.

The basic problem of Roma in Macedonia is their socio-economic position, level of education, status placement and issues connected to the traditional cultural aspects of the Romani community.

A special problem triggered by the Kosovo crisis is the migration of a significant number of Roma from these areas to the Republic of Macedonia. According to incomplete data, this number is between 2000 and 3000 today. Most of these persons are situated in refugee camps and in Roma families. These persons are registered as temporarily humanitarian assisted persons.

Employed Roma represent 1,5% of the total number of employed persons; they usually find occupation in such jobs for which little or no qualification is required. From the total number of employed Roma, only 3% are qualified. More specific example shows that from the total number of Roma employed in education, science and culture 74,5% have primary education. In the transitional period, the government of the Republic of Macedonia reduced its affirmative approach to the social issues and limited the expenses for social help, which especially affected the members of Roma population as the most numerous applicants for this type of help. The second problematic area is education: from the total number of Roma above the age of 15, 24% are illiterate, 30% have not finished primary school, while 33% have primary education, and only 9,2% have secondary education.

CONTRIBUTION

Tadas Leončikas¹

Developments of Roma community in the Baltics

This paper aims to provide a concise regional overview of main issues regarding Roma situation in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Scattered through these three countries, Roma population is not addressed by any single and coherent monitoring system or a policy framework, and Roma themselves belong to various factions that do not necessarily have any links in between.

Population background and ethnic differentiation

Census data identified 2,571 persons who declared their ethnicity as Gypsy or Roma in Lithuania (2001), 8,204 in Latvia (2000), and 542 in Estonia (2000) (Statistics Lithuania, 2002; Statistics Latvia, 2002; Statistics Estonia). Post-census estimations about 3000 Roma in Lithuania (e.g. in HRMI 2005) are based on assumptions that census may not have reached a substantial part of Roma in problematic neighbourhoods and may have underreported the number due to the fact that a part of Roma were working abroad. In Latvia, an estimation of a 13,000-15,000 Roma is claimed by the Roma NGOs, and an estimation of 1,000-1,500 Roma in Estonia is provided by international observers (Petrova, 2004). Roma were part of large emigration waves from the Baltic countries throughout 1990s and since the 2000, and their population may have somewhat decreased by now even if the aforementioned estimations were correct.

Most Roma in the Baltics are sedentary², however, there seems to be some current forms of migration, particular to the Baltic Roma. Before 2004, when Baltic countries joined the European Union, some Roma were involved in asylum migration to EU countries – this information was collected in a 2008 Roma survey in Lithuania (N=231), which revealed that on average a Roma respondent had lived 6 years abroad (Centre of Ethnic Studies 2008). Many Roma, usually with families, have moved to Great Britain since 2000, which is one of the most important labour migration destinations for Latvian and Lithuanian population in general. The Roma returnees report their positive labour experiences (emphasizing that their ethnic background was of little importance to their employers or colleagues in Britain), which contrasts sharply with massive unemployment of Roma in their countries of origin. This experience presents a good counterargument to those who believe that there are certain elements in “Roma culture” that discourage Roma from employment. In 2008, more than half of surveyed Lithuanian Roma (52%) had a member of family or someone from their close social environment, living abroad at the time of the survey.

The Roma and expert community have been less aware of another form of Roma migration – a poverty migration within the country. Data, collected in the aforementioned 2008 survey in Lithuania, showed that a number of Roma families from Kaunas and Panevezys (central Lithuania) have changed their residence a few times moving from a city to a small town and then to a village in search of cheaper housing. Contrary to the mainstream migration to urban centres, many Roma are forced to move to rural areas. This tendency can be an indicator of a deepening Roma marginalisation during the neoliberal period of Baltic economies.

A third type of Roma migration is a regional one when Roma change their residence using existing ties within certain segments of Roma population: it seems that the “Roma territories” reflect clan ties that are different from recent political boundaries. Therefore, considerations of the Baltic Roma populations should take into account networks that extend to Kaliningrad and Belarus, as well as Russia, Moldova (if Soviet and post-Soviet period is considered) and Poland (if pre-World War II and earlier periods are considered). Subethnic affiliations within Roma community may have influenced emigration routes in the 1990s, when some Roma emigrated to Russia or other territories of the former Soviet Union (e.g.

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² Many research papers contain a repeated reference to the 1956 decree of the Supreme Council of the USSR that required the nomadic Roma to register and get employed; however, there are also spoken testimonies about local seasonal migrations that may have continued in the Baltics until the 1970s (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 15). Simoniukstyte (2007), who has collected Roma oral history stories, suggests that even in the 1920s-1930s, Roma in current territories of Lithuania were rather sedentary or their migrations were in defined local territories. According to Latvian research, “In interviews it was found that Roma people today often live in the same place where their parents or even grandparents lived before them” (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 17).

see: Latvian Centre..., 2003: 17), or have travelled to live or work in Moscow, contrary to the main emigration flow to Western Europe. During the Centre of Ethnic Studies 2008 survey it was found out that in recent years, there have been Roma that immigrated to Lithuania from Kaliningrad and Belarus, while Latvian Roma often talk about Tallinn as the “place where they do business” (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 17). During personal conversations with the author, some Roma in Lithuania noted that in early 1990s a part of drug trade incentives to Lithuanian Roma came from Latvian Roma.

Existing family and clan ties function as channels of information about the economical opportunities, including shadow economy or migration possibilities as well as mutual support channels. Contrary to other types of migration, the regional network migration can only be described on the basis of anecdotal evidence, which, nonetheless, does not contrast with ethnological accounts of sub-ethnic divisions of Roma that Roma identify as ‘nations’ (natsia) and ‘families’ (familija - family in the Polish language), which is close to concept of clan or large group of relatives). In Lithuania, self-definitions of Roma include three main groups (‘nations’): Lithuanian Roma (Litovska Roma or, similarly, Polska Roma in the Vilnius region that was under Polish rule during the interwar period) and Latvian Roma (Lotfitka, or Lotwitka, Roma) who are Catholics, and Kotliars who are Orthodox (Simoniukstyte 2007). Furthermore, there are Lovari and Fliuki.³ In Latvia, Roma speak four dialects, but basically Roma are seen as divided to Latvian Roma and Russian Roma, with almost no connections in between.⁴ This division refers to the social and geographical space of Roma networks – Latvian Roma maintain most of their contacts within mainland Latvia, while Russian Roma have their networks within Daugavpils region in south-east Latvia and Russia. Most likely, this division reflect a deep split of Latvian society, where the two Roma groups are part of two different social subsystems. Among Estonian Roma, some surnames sound more like Estonian names, others – like Russian, yet little is known about networks within this community. Usually Roma in the Baltic countries speak some variation of Romanes as their native language.

How marginalisation functions: a case of educational dimension

Although detailed demographic studies of Roma are lacking, the last census data reveal a prevalence of young people among the Roma: 46% of Roma population in Lithuania are under 20 years, 35.5% – under 15 years of age; in Latvia, there were 27% of those under 15.⁵ However, the proportions may not be entirely representative due to inaccuracies during the census, as Roma children could have been registered easier than some mobile adults. Therefore this data could be seen as sufficient for planning the educational assistance, but it should not be used to reinforce simplistic stereotypes about Roma reproduction patterns. In fact, survey data reveal that Roma family size in the Baltic countries is not so unusual, even if it differs from the ageing mainstream population: an average Roma family size in Latvia in 2000 was 4,2 persons (in comparison to Latvian average 2,8); an average number of children in Roma families in Lithuania was 2,4.⁶ These figures, nonetheless, mean that a largest population subgroup, that is affected by a massive exclusion from labour market and from public education system,⁷ is of a relatively young age. Therefore, one can predict that this ethnic group is likely to be confined in reproduction of poverty if no structural changes will occur.

A detailed analysis of 2001 Lithuanian census data has revealed that younger Roma generation knows Lithuanian language at lower rate than the elder age groups. Within the main socially active age group of 20 to 39 years old, over thirty percent of Roma stated that they do not know Lithuanian (38% was an overall rate, the highest percentage was among the youngest). In comparison to other ethnic groups, Roma have one of the highest rates of those having no knowledge of state language, moreover, there is a ‘regressive tendency’ in respect to age. According to Lithuanian census data, young generations of ethnic minorities speak the state language at higher rate than the elderly. The contrary trend, i.e. regressive knowledge of the state language, among the Roma shows that their isolation and exclusion increased: this is a likely indicator of the fact that the young generation has less out-group contact

³ In the fieldwork, I would encounter some confusion among the Roma about how numerous Lovari representatives are in Lithuania. Simoniukstyte (2007) reports existence of Fliuki network yet she notes that it may be just a clan name of the Roma that may have originated from Prussia and are currently living in Lithuania’s area bordering Kaliningrad.

⁴ Lack of elementary knowledge of ‘Latvian Roma’ about ‘Russian Roma’ is evidenced in research report by the Latvian Centre... (2003: 16); also, “none of the interviewed Latvian Roma indicated having relatives in Daugavpils.”

⁵ Calculated on the basis of data provided in Leoncikas (2006) and Statistics Latvia (2002) *Latvijas 2000 gada tautas skaitīšanas rezultāti* [Results of the 2000 National Census in Latvia]. Riga: Centrālā statistikas pārvalde.

⁶ Data come from: Latvian Centre... (2003: 17) and from a 2007 survey of Lithuanian Roma (N=119), reported in Centre of Ethnic Studies 2007. In the latter case, the average number of children was calculated only on the basis of those respondents that do have children.

⁷ With regard to continuing deprivation of Roma population in these policy areas, see the periodic reports on the Baltic countries by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI).

within the surrounding social environment and, likely, within an educational system, than it used to be in the Soviet past.

In Latvia, where social divide corresponds to linguistic division (mainly between Latvian and Russian speakers), Roma are viewed as relatively well-integrated because 92% Roma have Latvian citizenship and 66% are fluent in Latvian. However, the remaining 33% that cannot speak Latvian fluently constitute a substantial part of population, similar to the 38% of Roma that do not know the state language in Lithuania. In Lithuania and Latvia, Roma enrolment both in schools with instruction in the state language and in schools with minority (Russian) language has been increasing since 2000 (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 20-21; Centre of Ethnic Studies, 2008).⁸ Needless to say that the language barrier may additionally aggravate the educational development of the Roma community as well as their opportunities to acquire a diploma, participate in training courses or find a job (HRMI, 2005: 13). On the other hand, the peculiar sensitivity to language issues in the public discourse in the Baltic countries tends to hide the fact that many undereducated Roma could potentially work in those labour market sectors where linguistic competencies are not essential (sectors of unqualified work),⁹ and that they are excluded on the basis of their ethnicity and not on the basis of their knowledge of languages.

Regardless of whether the second language of Roma is a state or minority language, the school attendance is low, drop-out rates are high, and late start of school education (e.g. arrival to the first grade only at the age of ten) is common.¹⁰ In contrast to warnings about a risk of segregation from the international observers such as ECRI or European Roma Rights Centre, the experiences of Roma-only pre-school preparatory classes have been a rather positive experience since the children were more ready to successfully join the first grade thereafter.¹¹ However, due to a relatively small number of Romany pupils (e.g. there were merely 36 students with a declared Roma language background in Estonia (Poleshchuk, 2009: 84)), it is difficult to make the Roma educational measures a policy priority.¹² Moreover, 'most officials and schoolteachers did not think that schools, local governments or the state should shoulder the responsibility for this situation. They expressed the view that the Roma themselves must deal with it' (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 23). There is a strong conviction in all Baltic states that school attendance is merely an interest of an individual (or individual family), and a widespread insensibility to deficiencies of educational system, absence of means for active inclusion, and incompetence of policy-makers and educational bureaucrats with regard to measures of development of motivation (in our case, of encouragement to Roma pupils). This may be an outcome of a predominance of neoliberal approach to policy that has prevailed since the 1990s and which ignores a need to combine educational policies with social integration measures. The introduction of competitive mechanism between schools when a school's funding depends on the number of pupils it attracts¹³ has had ambiguous effects for the Roma: some schools enrol Roma into official lists to increase general funding and then keep silent in case Roma children fail to attend school properly; in the case of schools where pupils from a higher social profile attend, schools discourage Roma enrolment and attendance in order not to scare the mainstream parents off. Education is the only single social institute that approaches the largest share of Roma population at a time, but the aforementioned issues have received surprisingly little critical analysis so far.

Ghettoisation

A particular case of social exclusion is Kirtimai settlement near Vilnius airport, in an industrial area in the outskirts of the Lithuanian capital city. This is the largest single Roma concentration unit in the Baltic states, and probably the one where the social border between the inhabitants and the surrounding society is the biggest. Popularly labelled *tabor*,¹⁴ it has ca. 500 inhabitants and nearly a

⁸ Educational expert V. Toleikis has suggested that Roma, who have a generally low knowledge in mainstream (state) language, encounter a *double barrier of integration* when they have to adapt to a minority social milieu first, and still overcome a state language barrier afterwards.

⁹ An example of a popular manipulation by the employers are reported by Roma women in Lithuania, who often are advised by the Labour Exchange to try out free places of dish washing staff, but are refused by the employers who ask them to prove that they can speak Lithuanian (supposedly, that they could read the information written on dish-washing liquid bottles).

¹⁰ For factual descriptions, see the 2005 report of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia "Roma and Travellers in Public Education" (Vienna), and the corresponding country reports on which it is based.

¹¹ Examples include classes in Ventspils (Latvia) or Kirtimai Roma Community Centre (Vilnius, Lithuania), where specially trained and/or assisted teachers work (see: Latvian Centre... 2003: 23; Leoncikas 2006: 112).

¹² The attempts to involve Roma mediators or teacher assistants in Latvia and Lithuania were project-based. Even if supported through governmental funds (such as Roma integration programme in Lithuania), they have not resulted into a systemic assistance to Roma. With regard to this type of measure, see more in Rus (2006).

¹³ The so-called principle of pupil's basket.

¹⁴ *Tabor(as)* can be most closely translated as encampment, and also having nomadic connotations.

hundred wooden buildings. Substandard living conditions prevail in entire settlement as the basic amenities such as water, electricity or waste collection are only supervised since 2001. Most buildings in the Roma settlement in Kirtimai have been built decades ago, yet all of them are registered under one address. Because of the unresolved issue of land ownership, residents have no possibility to register and legitimise their homes since they do not own the land on which they have built their households. City authorities kept refusing any compromise regarding a possible legitimisation of the settlement, and demolished six buildings in 2004, at the peak of municipal campaign to curtail drug trade in the settlement. Municipal slogans to introduce law and order happened to be short-living, as the drug trade in the settlement remains pervasive, while the demolition was declared as unlawful by court and no alternative housing policy has been introduced.

Kirtimai case is important not only as an extreme case of segregation in entire Baltic context, but also because in a popular discourse, it has become a symbol of the unwillingness of Roma to strive for any kind of different style of life. Images from Kirtimai is a typical piece of news if Roma-related topics appear in mass media, a likely factor behind the fact that Roma remain the most disliked ethnic group in Lithuania even if the intensity of negative attitude changes.¹⁵ In fact, the Roma tend to be associated with and evaluated as a problematic social group rather than an ethnic or cultural group: in social consciousness, Roma fall into one cluster with such categories as ex-prisoners, drug addicts, and alcoholics, and not with other ethnic groups.¹⁶ The link between Roma and the drug trade in public perception has become so strong that anti-drug coalition of conservative NGOs chose to organise public protest against the drug-trade in the Roma settlement¹⁷ (somehow failing to see the drug trade inside the city, including near the schools, and address police inactivity or call for preventive policies). As it has been typical in many countries where large segments of Roma are marginalised, the Roma as a category become trapped in a cycle of prejudice, when scapegoating is reinforced by the selected fragments of reality that 'confirm' the negative beliefs (Allport 1994; Young-Bruehl 1998).

Drug trade apparently exists among the segments of Roma population in all three Baltic countries, as well as in neighbouring regions of Russia (e.g. Kaliningrad or St.Petersburg). Both an outcome of as well as a factor that deepens marginalization, it now becomes visible at community level: the use of intravenous drugs became widespread; many families in Kirtimai settlement have members who died prematurely as drug-addicts; at least 2% of Roma in Latvia are HIV-positive.¹⁸ Given the image of Roma as a scapegoat that is guilty for availability of drugs in society, there has been no analysis of a possible police corruption (a geographically segregated Roma village could be controlled quite easily) or of a possible fact that Roma in the settlement are the last piece in a dealing chain and therefore their share of profit may also be marginal. The undocumented issues around the drug trade include occasional internal conflicts among the involved Roma (e.g., the common form of aggression in Kirtimai settlement being arson attack). The internal disputes between the drug traders and the related incidents in the Roma settlement stand in sharp contrast to the image in the eyes of the outsiders of Roma as a single unit and labor as an organised entity.

The imagery of juxtaposition between Roma and society has once even reached the point that the need for stronger surveillance in Lithuania was legitimised by labelling an incident in the Roma settlement as an act of terror, and attempts of policing the Roma settlement were publicly justified as a fight against terrorism (this element of the dominant discourse was used in 2004, at a peak of global anti-terrorism campaigns, see Kavaliauskaite 2008).¹⁹

A better documentation and research into the negative effects of the drug-trade on the community itself could provide an argument for the public debate helping to understand that the drug trade occurs not by choice. In fact, the rise of drug trade among Roma since the 1990s is a typical case of ethnic niche economy, when minority can be easily manipulated into risk activities due to its tendency to rely on

¹⁵ Those who say that they would not like to have Roma as their neighbours, range between 77% in 2005 (after the demolition scandal in Kirtimai) to 57% in 2009. See 2005-2009 representative public attitude surveys by the Centre of Ethnic Studies, www.ces.lt

¹⁶ This statement is based on factor analysis of 'Whom you would not like to have as your neighbours' question from the 1999 European Values Survey data from Lithuania (Leonikas 2007).

¹⁷ 17 November 2009.

¹⁸ For more detailed data concerning drug and health situation, see the reports that are available online: Latvian Centre... (2003: 7); HRMI (2005: 19-20). Although I do not have it documented, I can recall popular considerations in the mid-1990s about the tendency of Roma to only sell drugs, but protect their own children from trying them. It is more than obvious that drug availability in the Roma environment could not leave the community intact.

¹⁹ An incident occurred in October 2004, when at the request of Vilnius city municipality, the police established surveillance cameras and a police booth in Roma settlement: the police booth was soon burned down.

internal networks, bad relationship with state agencies and therefore unprotected status. As a side effect, other drug trading groupings become less visible for public eyes.

The combination of poor living conditions, social isolation and ethnic niche economy with the lack of channels to leave the community makes the Kirtimai settlement a de facto ghetto Wacquant (see 2008).²⁰ When the policy discourse lacked concepts to understand the issue of segregation, a documentary captured that no one in Roma encampment is really happy about having to stay there, at the same time demonstrating how the attempts to escape (leave) this settlement fail due to discrimination and lack of knowledge and resources (e.g., lack of financial means to maintain a social housing even in a rare case when it is available).²¹ The ghettoisation, involvement in drug-trade, and massive unemployment - all this strengthens the image of Roma as undeserving poor²² and complicates the development of positive policies.

Roma as a policy object

Although it has been somewhat difficult for the state administrations to accept Roma as a policy target group in the Baltic countries due to hesitations around whether or not an ethnicity can be the legitimate criterion for public policy targeting, now Lithuania and Latvia have governmental programmes of Roma integration (in Estonia, the Roma integration is addressed on ministerial level by the commissions at the Ministry of Education and Research). In Lithuania, there have already been two programmes – one for the period 2000-2004, another for 2008-2012. In Latvia, the programme has been adopted for 2007-2009.

Latvian programme focuses on three major aspects: education, employment, and equal opportunities. Lithuanian programme has initially focused on educational and training activities, and support to NGOs; in the second programme, some more acknowledgements have been given to social problems of the Roma. In all Baltic states, housing and community development that are so important for Roma situation are neglected - these policy areas are generally underdeveloped.

Given that Baltic states are not parties to the Roma Inclusion Decade which encompasses most Central European countries, they somewhat lack the inputs from the international initiatives in shaping Roma integration. For the same reason, the governmental programmes become important documents of political acknowledgement of the Roma and their problems within a country. However, the focus on policy impact and on allocation of necessary resources for the implementation of the adopted programmes has not been that easy. Roma policies, if coordinated, are actually in the hands of small, specialised agencies²³ that lack political significance to coordinate inter-ministerial programmes effectively. Shortcomings of institutional coordination constitute the key administrative problem resulting in inconsistency: integration efforts in separate fields (such as education and employment) do not complement each other and synergy effect is not being reached. Another serious administrative shortcoming is that there are no known independent evaluations or impact assessments of the aforementioned policy programmes: this makes the progress in policy development difficult, and policy measures remain ad hoc. Last but not least, Roma integration policies would benefit if the priorities in the list of policy measures would be established²⁴ (HRMI 2005: 24-25).

Roma as a subject: community representation

Certain social features of the Roma population segments (e.g. their particular niche in social structure of the larger society or family size variations among the Roma in the Baltic states) may have to do with the social status (or) and the way of life, that both may be connected to the extent that urbanization has touched the Roma. It seems that in Latvia, where overall number of Roma is the highest, there is a noticeable part of Roma population whose lives have been transformed by urban and industrial developments in Soviet and also pre-war period. Although no precise data is available, this tendency is

²⁰ On the basis of comparative studies of ghettoised communities, L. Wacquant generalises that 'it is the state that is the major determinant of the intensity and forms assumed by urban marginality' (Wacquant L. (2009) 'The Body, the Ghetto and the Penal State'. In: *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 32, no.1, p.109) – which also suggests that little change can be expected in the background of Vilnius municipal policies of staying away from addressing complicated issues of housing, territorial planning and community development.

²¹ The exotic difference and a social abyss between the Kirtimai settlement and the surrounding society has regularly attracted photo artists interested in visual qualities, but a 2009 documentary film by Audrius Lekaitis used a controversial title "Vilnius ghetto 2009" and focused on social problems.

²² See the analysis of how social policy can reinforce exclusion in Dral (2008).

²³ Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania; Secretariat of the Special Assignments to the Minister for Social Integration of the Republic of Latvia.

²⁴ Priorities are especially acute in the background of current economic crisis, when it becomes apparent that not all the declared policy objectives will be allocated necessary financial resources.

evidenced by a noticeable part of Roma who were involved in factories, fish processing plants and agricultural collective farms in Latvia (this was less noticeable in Lithuania and Estonia). A touch of modernization is also reflected in Roma self-perception, when so called Latvian Roma see the so called Russian Roma living in Latvia as more restrained by traditions such as early marriage or male domination (Latvian Centre..., 2003: 17).

This may have been a factor that NGOs of Roma in Latvia are somewhat more successful than in other two countries in terms of self-organisation and representation: there are instances when Roma representatives have appointments in municipal authority bodies or are active members of the political parties, some even included in the party lists as the candidates in parliamentary elections. Normunds Rudevičs, the president of the Latvian National Romany Cultural Association, is the only Roma elected to parliament in the Baltic countries (in Latvian Saeima in 1998-2002). Later, N. Rudevičs continued his career in international Romany politics, becoming a vice-president of International Romany Union.

In Lithuania and Estonia, there are no signs of improving the organisational capacity of the Roma. The peak of proliferation of Roma NGOs was in the 1990s, however, not many of them remain active. For instance, about 20 Roma organisations were founded in Lithuania since the 1990, but only four NGOs actively functioned as of 2005.²⁵ There are 16 known Roma NGOs in Latvia (2003).²⁶ In Estonia, there are 7 Roma organisations across geographical districts, however, they often lack active leadership to be represented in public. There had been agreements among Roma leaders about the coordinated cooperation of the Roma NGOs from the Baltic countries. Although not much of cooperation appears on regular basis, but the general consensus has been reached on cooperation within this (i.e. three Baltic states) framework.²⁷

Participation in contemporary political discourse could be an indicator of a degree to which local Roma communities have become a self-conscious subject, in other words, of the extent to which the group is changing from a 'group in itself' to a 'group for itself'. I would distinguish the usage of Roma ethnonym and the actualisation of Holocaust memory (Kapralski, 1997) as two exemplary issues that impacted Roma identity in many Central and East European countries over the last two decades. It is still quite typical that in public discussions of Roma issues in the Baltic states, some semi-informal commentaries appear that attempt to ridicule the supposedly unheard and artificial name that is being used instead of a traditional 'Gypsy' (Kavaliauskaite, 2008: 164). The Roma representatives themselves most often use Roma name in national languages, but both 'Roma' and 'Gypsy' are being used both among general public, and among the Roma when speaking in prevailing languages of the Baltic countries. In 2008 survey in Lithuania, Roma respondents were asked the following question: "Today, different names are being use to name the Roma ethnicity: sometimes they say 'Roma', sometimes – 'Gypsy'. Sometimes ethnicity is being inscribed in documents such a birth certificate. Which name you would prefer?" 16% opted for 'Gypsy', 49 – for Roma, 14 preferred having no indication of their ethnicity, and 19 said the label did not matter.²⁸ Both names function in the Roma discourse: one of the most publicly visible Roma NGOs is called Roma community 'Gypsy Bonfire'. The president of this organisation, once confronted by the journalists regarding his preference for the 'Roma' or 'Gypsy', answered that what really matters is how the society behaves, not which word is used. The breakdown of the Roma-preference by demographic characteristics reveals though that younger generation (18-30 years old) is more in favour of the 'Roma' (61%). More women (17) than men (9%), and more youngsters (26% of those 18 and younger) said that they would prefer not to have their ethnicity inscribed in the documents: it is likely that these segments of Roma more than others encounter real life situations, where ethnicity has to be disclosed, and might not be comfortable with the reaction they meet.

The issue of the Holocaust came up to public discourse in the Baltic Roma communities when International Organisation for Migration administered the compensations to the victims of Nazi persecution (in 2004-2005): 75 survivors received payments in Lithuania, 694 in Latvia, none in

²⁵ I. e. registered their organisations in a programme that enables tax payers to donate two percent of their income tax to the non-profit sector (HRMI 2005).

²⁶ Ten of which are regional affiliates of a larger organisation (Latvian Centre... 2003: 57).

²⁷ However, the emailing list for Roma related news under the 'Baltic Roma' is functional.

²⁸ The remaining percentage did not answer or provided some other answers. The question was asked in response to the inquiry of the Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson in Lithuania, who had received a complaint that a Roma woman's request to inscribe an ethnicity of her child as Roma was refused. Both in 2007 (N=119) and 2008 (N=231) when the Roma surveys were carried out by the Centre of Ethnic Studies, a similar rate said that they opt for 'Gypsy' (14 and 16%) correspondingly. There were only 20% who opted for Roma and 57% who did not care about the name in 2007, but in 2008, it changed into 49% who opted for Roma and 19 - who were indifferent. However, these survey samples were not identical and therefore this comparison is not precise and is provided only as a background information. The 2007 survey had smaller geographical coverage and focused on relatively more isolated Roma in Vilnius county and a few more districts; the 2008 survey included Roma from all major locations in Lithuania. See: Centre of Ethnic Studies 2008; 2007.

Estonia, where nearly all Roma population was exterminated.²⁹ The Roma organisations then collected the lists of survivors; some interviews have been made for research. The Roma holocaust remembrance received some more publicity during discussion about the monument for the exterminated in Estonia; or through adopting the Roma holocaust remembrance day from international organisations in Lithuania and Latvia.³⁰ This so far may have some influence in shaping a public image of the Roma as a group with particular historical past, but it is unclear how significant it is for the collective self-identity of most regular Roma.

Clichés and challenges for analysis of Roma social development

The identity of Roma in the Baltic states is still in a shadow zone where experience of social isolation and poverty, traditional musical representation, new discourses of equal opportunities and attempts to enter public life are sometimes clashing with societal intolerance, scapegoating, and unwilling recognition of Roma as a public policy target.

The belief that one has to deserve the social support rather than be rescued with the social safety net without checking his/her moral qualities has been pervasive not only in the Baltic states, but in neoliberalised economies of Eastern Europe in general (e.g. see Dral, 2008). Affected by the conviction that social assistance (not necessarily as payment benefits, but as a set of social services) is not so much an leverage to alleviate one's poor condition but must be earned and received as a reward for efforts, the societies and policy makers fail to see that most Roma lack the resources to meet the social norms of educated, hard-working and obedient citizen. In this closed circle, the Roma and non-Roma remain in conflict, where the dominant society is not willing to change the ethnic hierarchy (Horowitz, 1985) by refusing to admit that it is the dominant society, and not the minority, who has the power and resources to do so.

While it is a popular belief that Roma alone are responsible for their way of life, and the refusal to accept social cohesion as a public interest is common, the marginalisation of Roma seems to be increasing. In these circumstances, I see a problem in a popular usage of a term 'community'. The 'Roma community' functions both in public debate and in policy commentaries, it sounds politically correct and respectful. Policy commentators expect that 'Roma community' has obligations and must demonstrate motivation and a will to change; those who are critical about increasing support to Roma point to the levels of crime or other social problems, that supposedly make the Roma undeserving social support. The 'community' term strengthens the image of Roma as a single entity and in this way tacitly reinforces what in fact is a major problem of this population group: stereotypisation and group-dependence. In this way, the term 'community' is a discursive practice that keeps individual Roma persons still connected and responsible for what occurs in the group of the co-ethnics - this is nothing else but contemporary discursive practice of collective responsibility. In my view, alleviation of poverty and protection of people from a criminalized environment must be a part of social policy regardless of the fact whether there is any community or not.

The term community also tacitly presupposes the existence of communal structures. It is on these grounds that, for instance, Vilnius municipality time and again points out that 'Roma community' has not reached agreement, or that informal Roma leaders do not have a common point of view – referring to this as a fact that community is not ready for implementation of policy reforms. Such a view raises a problem of democratic legitimacy: how a municipality can grant the rights to informal leaders or require self-organisation if it does not do so with regard to most city inhabitants? Also the presumption about the communal structures may also be leading away from a focus on community disintegration. Due to isolation, remnants of traditional customs, well preserved Romany language the Baltic Roma may seem to be an interesting case for those interested in Roma life. The outsiders sometimes think that Roma could find the resources for surviving within their unique culture, within their community. This reasoning, in fact, is a kind of exotisation of otherness, and may be taking our attention away from the fact that communal resources may already have depleted, that drug-usage, spreading of divorces (in contrast to belief about strong marital customs among Roma), semi-criminal competition between

²⁹ Regarding the IOM activities, see *Humanitarian and Social Programmes. Final Report on Assistance to Needey, Elderly Survivors of Nazi Persecution*. According to Latvian Centre... (2003: 60), in Latvia, Ventspils alone, there is a reported number of 200 persons, who received compensation payments, that diminished to 80 remaining alive survivors by 2003. Toleikis (2001) estimates that ca 500 Roma persons were killed by Nazis in Lithuania. The survivors report to had been taken to labour and concentration camps in territories of Poland, Germany, France. For the World War II memories, see Simoniukstyte (2006). According to *Estonica*, an online encyclopaedia of the Estonian Institute, almost entire pre-war Estonian Roma population was exterminated during the World War II [http://www.estonica.org/est/lugu.html?kateg=8&menyy_id=50&alam=12&leht=3].

³⁰ The commemoration day of August 2 was popularised in 2009 throughout many European countries. See a message for a Lithuanian audience at: [http://www.roma.lt/lt/news/nauijenos/news_item/122]

Roma can be signs of diminishing traditional structures. The social capital may only be available to a small section of the Roma who happen to have well-off family networks, but not for those who are sliding into anomie of the impoverished groupings. Closer examination of these issues in the future could extend our understanding about development of Roma population, and could reveal how social exclusion functions and becomes self-reproducing. It is also a challenge for sociology to become more committed to a public cause, as well as ideological challenge to assess the outcomes of the neoliberal period of the Baltic states for the marginalised social groups.

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CONTRIBUTION

Sigita Zankovska-Odina¹
The Situation of Roma in Latvia

Overview

Roma have been living in Latvia for more than 500 years. According to official statistics, there were 8,582 Roma (0.38% of the total population) in Latvia on 01.07.2009 (Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs, 2009). Unofficial information provided by Romani NGOs indicates that the total number of Roma in Latvia may reach 13,000 or 15,000. According to Romani leaders, many Roma are afraid of discrimination and therefore often choose to indicate another ethnicity when asked, such as Latvian, Russian or other (Latvian Centre for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies, 2003: 15, 16). Therefore, statistical data on Roma tend to underestimate the number of Roma. Another factor affecting numbers is that according to leaders of Latvia's Roma minority, about 10,000 Roma have emigrated during the last 12 years.

Roma is the only ethnic group in Latvia with a positive balance of birth rate (births exceed the mortality rate: in the period 2000-2008, natural population growth was 763) (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, Births, Deaths and Natural Increase by Ethnicity). However, the birth rate is steadily decreasing among Latvian Roma as well. The majority of Roma (93.5%) are citizens of Latvia and speak Latvian fluently (66%). Most Roma in Latvia speak Romany and additionally either Latvian or Russian (or both), but there are also cultural differences between the Russian-speaking Roma who live in Latgale (region close to the Russian border), and the Latvian-speaking Roma (those whose language of communication and sometimes also mother tongue is Latvian) living in Kurzeme (in the western part of Latvia) (Apine, 2007: 286). The larger of the two groups is the Latvian-speaking one.

All Latvian Roma are sedentary. Nomadic traditions changed during the First Republic (1918-1940). Later during the Soviet period, general registration of all residents, including persons belonging to the Roma minority, led to their sedentary life style and strategies. During the 1970s most Latvian Roma moved into towns and cities of Latvia and now they can be viewed as a mainly urbanized community living in the capital Riga and other cities. There are no localities or settlements inhabited either exclusively or predominantly by Roma in Latvia. There are a few so-called "Roma houses" – blocks of flats where Roma tend to live in a kind of community. However, these accommodations are rather exceptional and houses and flats occupied by Roma do not form geographically separate communities (localities, settlements) from the rest of the population (Latvian RAXEN National Focal Point, 2009: 32, 33).

Citizenship and proficiency in the state language have been the two main concerns in the field of minority integration in Latvia since independence. Although Roma represent a well-integrated minority in Latvia according to these two dimensions, it is clear that in socio-economic terms they experience the greatest problems, and negative stereotyping of Roma is widespread in society at large. The most topical problems among Latvia's Roma are: low educational level and early school drop-out; low competitiveness in the labour market and high level of unemployment, as well as high level of intolerance against Roma, which leads to discrimination against Roma in employment and other areas of life. Very few Roma are well educated, Roma graduates from higher education institutions are exceptionally rare, and many older-generation Roma are illiterate. Thus, only small percentage of those who are able to work find permanent employment and most of Roma belong to the very poorest stratum of the population with little possibility of improving their situation. The attempt by a state institution to develop targeted inclusion measures for Roma – the National Programme "Roma in Latvia" 2007-2009 – met with very limited success, due to insufficient funding and implementation.

Discrimination and Intolerance

Roma is one of the groups where discrimination is most clearly evidenced. Roma experience discrimination in employment, education, housing and other areas of social life. In comparison to other minorities, finding employment is more complicated for ethnic Roma. Roma experience similar problems in accessing social services and bank loans. There is also information on a number of cases

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when ethnic Roma residents were faced with discrimination by landlords. However, there have been very few official complaints of Roma discrimination to the Ombudsman's Office, which is the designated equality body in Latvia² (until 2007 the National Human Rights Office – NHRO) or to human rights NGOs. In almost all cases reviewed by the Ombudsman's Office no facts of discrimination could be established.

In 2006, the first-ever and, thus far, the only ethnic discrimination case in Latvia was reviewed by the Jelgava Court: the NHRO filed a complaint with the court on behalf of a Romani woman who claimed that she was refused employment because of her ethnicity. The court decided that indirect discrimination on ethnic grounds had taken place and thus a violation of Latvian legal norms, including provisions of the Labour Law which had transposed the Racial Equality and Employment Framework Directives. The court awarded the victim LVL 1,000 (EUR ~1,422) to be paid by the respondent party as damages (Jelgavas tiesas, 2006). However, the victim has, to date, not received any payment and the responsible private company has filed for bankruptcy.

The majority of Latvia's residents do not have direct and extensive communication with representatives of Roma community. This lack of everyday positive communication experience contributes to the development of negative stereotypes towards this community. According to survey data, 71% of respondents consider that the Roma community is a closed one (Latvian Centre for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies, 2003) and more than 50% "definitely do not want to live next to" Roma (Analītisko pētījumu un stratēģiju laboratorija, 2007-2008). Also, comments published on the Internet by private persons are in many instances attesting to the widespread stereotypes, prejudices and hatred towards Roma, which can even spill over into physical violence.

The first officially registered case of racist attack against Roma took place in 2007. Four skinhead youngsters attacked two underage Roma girls, inflicting bodily harm. The attackers were detained on 25 February 2008, following their attack on an Armenian couple on 9 February the same year. The four skinheads were charged with incitement to national, ethnic or racial hate involving violence (Article 78 Part 2 of the Criminal Law). On 17 February 2009, the Riga Regional Court sentenced the four men for incitement to racial hatred to five years of suspended imprisonment and three years of probation period. The convicted persons will also have to pay compensation to the two Roma girls in amount of LVL 12,000 (EUR 17,000) and LVL 8,000 (EUR 11,382) (Cīrulis, 18.02.2009). In spring 2008, the Security Police acknowledged that crimes against Roma increased - "youths with skinhead leanings were specifically targeting Roma and were justifying their attacks because of alleged Roma involvement in drug sale" (Antonenko, 04.03.2008).

Education

Although specific data on educational achievement of pupils of different ethnic affiliation is not collected in Latvia, available information suggests that Roma's education opportunities in Latvia are still limited. Very few Roma children attend kindergartens, and many Roma parents are unaware of the fact that since 2003 the pre-school training of 5 to 6-year-old children has been made mandatory. Thus, even at the very start of the education process the Roma children are in an unequal situation.

According to statistical data, some Roma have not ever attended school and there is a high drop-out rate after graduation of only a few classes, while there are also high rates of absenteeism among many of those officially registered at schools (Krastiņa, Bērziņa, Lūciņa, Zaķe, 2005). Results of the 2000 Population and Housing Census in Latvia showed that only 7.9% of Roma have secondary education and only 0.4% (26 representatives of Roma ethnicity) had university education. Among 5,985 Roma above the age of 15, one quarter (24.3%) had less than four years of school education, while 18.2% had four years of school education (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, 2002: 202). It is known that illiteracy is a serious problem among the Roma, but precise data are impossible to obtain.

At the beginning of the 2008/2009 academic year 1,311 ethnic Roma children were registered in general education schools, the majority of whom (951 or 72.5%) enrolled at schools with Latvian language of instruction (there are also bilingual schools which include Russian-language instruction). The number of Roma school children has a tendency to decrease over the years, but it is impossible to determine whether there are overall changes in Roma education, because there are no official or non-official data collection mechanisms, which could provide regular and reliable data on educational attainment, attendance and drop out rates of school children according to their ethnicity.

² In 2007 the Ombudsman's Office received 3 complaints about possible discrimination of Roma in education (1) and health care (2). In 2008 the Office received 3 complaints – 1 about an allegedly racially motivated violence against Roma, 1 about possible discrimination of Roma in employment and 1 in housing and social care. In the first nine months of 2009 no complaints on possible discrimination of Roma were received by the Ombudsman's Office.

Although separate education for Roma has never been officially recognised as a part of state education policy, so far this practice has been implemented in all towns with significant share of Roma population (Latvian Centre for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies, 2003). Most of social or pedagogical correction classes have been opened in 2000; since 2003 such classes operated in nine schools. From 2002 until 2005 a "Roma class" has been operating in Riga State Technical College (professional secondary education), although it was closed due to the lack of students. Among the schools with significant Roma share of the pupil population in 2008/2009 academic year, "Roma classes" remained only in three. Although the official aim of the separate classes is to support students so that they can be integrated into the mainstream classes, so far no research has been conducted to evaluate the effect of the "Roma classes". Precise reasons for the closure of "Roma classes" are not known, although according to some schools' representatives the closures are due to the lack of pupils: some children are emigrating together with their parents, while some other children attend general education classes.

Employment

Unemployment is one of the most serious problems for the Roma in Latvia. The official unemployment rates underestimated the problem, as there is a huge proportion of Roma who report the absence of official job relations of any kind and there are high rates of officially unreported unemployment. Employment levels among the Roma are extremely low, especially in terms of official and lasting job relations.

While around 70% of Roma are of working age, the majority are not involved in the labour market, or are employed irregularly, thus their income is, in most instances, irregular as well. Research data from a few years ago shows that no more than 5-10% of Roma are employed officially and very few Roma are employed even unofficially (Latvian Centre for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies, 2003: 30-32). According to the data of 2000 Population and Housing Census only 6% of Roma indicated that their main source of income is economic activity. Although their Latvian language proficiency is rather good, low educational attainment and existing public stereotypes in many instances prevent them from getting even unskilled jobs. According to research data, identification with this ethnic group in many instances becomes a reason for refusal of employment (Latvijas Lauksaimniecības universitāte et al., 2007: 97).

In July 2009, out of 132,519 officially registered unemployed in Latvia, 664 (0.5%) were Roma, including 414 women and 250 men. On 31 December 2008, 465 Roma were officially registered unemployed. Most of the officially unemployed Roma have less than basic education. Low educational level prevents their enrolment in various professional training courses for unemployed because usually such training requires at least basic education. Also, relatively few Roma are employed in paid temporary work or involved in other employment measures. The number of unregistered unemployed Roma is unknown. However, taking into consideration the fact that very few Roma have official and long-term labour relations, it is safe to say that Roma unemployment in Latvia by far exceeds the officially registered figures.

According to leaders of Latvia's Roma minority, about 10,000 Roma have emigrated during the last 12 years: people were compelled to leave due to long-term unemployment and the situation has reportedly gotten worse with the current economic crisis, which has led to a further deterioration of the social economic situation of this minority and may lead to increased xenophobia and discrimination (Vīksne, 09.07.2009).

Participation of the Roma in political and civic activities

Normunds Rudevičs, the president of the Latvian National Roma Cultural Association, is the only Roma who has ever been elected to the Latvian parliament since the restoration of the country's independence in 1990. He was elected in the 7th Saeima election in 1998 when he ran on the list of the Latvia's Way political party. Although representatives of Roma community ran in subsequent parliamentary elections, none got elected in 8th or in 9th Saeima.

In the 2005 and 2009 local government elections, there were three Roma candidates in the country. None of these candidates was elected. However, there are Roma people who are involved in the work of local governments. Some Roma participate in city integration commissions as NGO representatives, while some Roma are non-elected members of city councils' social affairs or housing commissions. According to some Roma NGO leaders, this participation helps to challenge prejudices against Roma when adopting decisions. Several representatives of Roma organisations are involved in work of various consultative councils (both at local and national level).

15 Roma NGOs are registered in Latvia; their main aim is to preserve Roma ethnic identity and develop Roma culture. Besides cultural activities, some Roma organisations are also implementing

activities aimed at facilitating Roma education and employment. "Nevo Drom" is one of the most active Roma organisations, with nine sections in various towns throughout Latvia. However, many Roma organisations have suspended their activities recently due to the fact that the state support to national minority organisations has been reduced significantly during the last year, and some Roma NGO leaders have left the country.

State programme „Roma in Latvia” 2007-2009

On 18 October 2006, the Cabinet of Ministers approved the state programme „Roma in Latvia” 2007-2009 (Valsts programma „Čigāni (romi) Latvijā”, 2007-2009). The programme names three main areas for improvement: combating discrimination of Roma in education, combating discrimination and securing equal opportunities for Roma on the labour market, and involvement of Latvian society into anti-discrimination activities and promotion of tolerance towards Roma. Discrimination in housing and health and social care is not included in the programme. The programme is the first state policy paper and action plan aimed explicitly at improving the situation of Roma in Latvia.

According to the State Programme, implementation of its activities required 81,007 LVL in 2007, 137,139 LVL in 2008, and 125,274 LVL in 2009. However, 53,755 LVL (66% of the envisaged amount) were allotted from the state budget in 2007, 49,280 LVL (36%) in 2008, while only 21,172.52 LVL (17%) were allotted in 2009, including 5,000 LVL envisaged for grants to support Roma NGO projects and 16,172.52 LVL for financing the work of six teacher assistants - ethnic Roma.

Implementation of the Programme in 2007, 2008 and 2009 was mainly related to improvement of Roma education opportunities, such as training of 20 teacher assistants – Roma for work at pre-school education establishments, conducting a number of seminars about the work of teacher in a class with Roma children, etc. During the three years of the Programme implementation 65 grants in total amount of 40,106.16 LVL were granted to Roma and interethnic NGOs in order to facilitate the development of culture of Roma community and preservation of its ethnic identity. During the whole period of implementation of the Programme not a single activity in the field of employment envisaged by the Programme activity schedule was actually implemented. Insufficient state funding and lack of cooperation between responsible state bodies and social partners were the main reasons which hampered implementation of the Programme activities.

The State Programme envisaged that within the framework of the Discrimination Prevention Department of the Ombudsman's Office a position of Roma officer was to be established in 2007. The Roma officer was to be entrusted with investigating the cases of discrimination against Roma and representing interests of Roma in court proceedings. However, because of insufficient funding and lack of cooperation between institutions, the position of Roma officer has not been ever established.

It has been planned that after the end of the State Programme implementation, the issue of Roma integration will be included into comprehensive policy planning document "Main Principles of Society Integration 2010-2016". Nevertheless, based on the experience to date, it can be foreseen that targeted policies to support Roma equal opportunities will not be among the priorities of the authorities, and the effect of severe budgetary constraints at a time of recession will no doubt mean that even fewer resources will be made available for this purpose.

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CONTRIBUTION

Volodymyr Yevtukh¹

Roma in Ukraine: Ethnodemographical and Sociocultural Contexts

General remarks

Before starting to discuss the situation of Roma in Ukrainian ethnodemographical and sociocultural contexts I would like to propose to clarify, in my opinion, two very important positions which strongly influence the approaches concerning analysis of the situation, perception and treatment of Roma in Ukraine.

First, Ukraine is a country with a poly-ethnic composition of its population: the representatives of about 130 ethnoses inhabit Ukraine. They have their different histories on the territory of Ukraine, they are different in numbers, their role and status differ. My experience in researching ethnic issues both in Ukraine and abroad (over 200 publications), knowledge of theoretical concepts of American, Canadian and European colleagues gives me the opportunity to interpret the ethno-national structure of Ukrainian society as consisting of four components:

- “Ethno-Nation”: ethnic Ukrainians
- “National (Ethnic) Minorities”: Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Estonians, Georgians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Jews, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Poles, Roma (Gipsies), Romanians, Russians, Slovaks, Tatars
- “Ethnic Groups with not Identified Status”: Crimean Tatars, Gagausians, Karaims, Krymchaks
- “Representatives of individual Ethnoses”: in numbers from 5,500 (Kazakhs) to 6 (Aleuts) (State Statistics Committee 2001).

The criteria of such a typology are analysed in my previous works (Yevtukh, 2004, 2009).

Second remark concerns the terms “Gipsy” and “Roma”. The first one is widespread in Ukrainian public opinion and in mind of the population; the latter is a very new one and is not understandable for the majority of citizens in Ukraine. That is why in Ukrainian practices (everyday life, research) these two terms are used; now more often “Gipsy”, however, without a negative context. And one more, to my mind, remarkable moment: Searching the answer to the question “What do Roma, themselves, think about these two ethnonyms?” we found the answers in the sociological survey conducted by the Ukrainian Institute of Social Research and the International Renaissance Foundation in 2003: 29% prefer “Roma”; 21% - “Gipsy”; for 48% it does not matter, the main thing is good treatment (Yaremenko, Levzun, 2003: 158). By the way, in order not to lose outside interest to their artistic activities associated by broader Ukrainian audience with the words “Gipsy – Gipsian”, many dance-music-drama groups are using them in their names, for example “Gipsy Musical and Drama Theatre “Romance”.

Short historical backgrounds

The history of Roma in Ukraine begins in the XVIth century: a) The first written mention dates back to 1501 – in the Safe Conduct of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander presented to Gipsy leader Vasyľ. b) In numbers, they appeared on the left bank of the Dnipro-River, Bessarabia (the South of the country) and on the territory of the Crimea (before 1956 a part of Russia) and for a long time they were a visible component of social developments in these parts of Ukraine. Roma (in the terminology of the XVIIIth century – Gipsy) were to be seen among Zaporizhya Cossacks, sometimes even as Otomans (leaders of Cossack divisions). Traditionally, Gipsies were busy with handcrafts (blacksmiths, joiners, horse breeding, and travel trade); they earned their living by making music, singing, dancing and fortune-telling. As to religion, the Ukrainian Gipsies were divided between Orthodoxes (Dnipro regions) and Greek-Catholics (Galicia and Transcarpathia).

Dynamics of Roma Population in Ukraine (Soviet time)

To collect data on Roma not only in Ukraine, but all around the world is a difficult job. It is due to the nomadic mode of life and as to Ukraine, Russia and later the Soviet Union, more than anywhere else, due to the ideology which ignored the problematic issues in ethno-national developments. To estimate the dynamics of Romani population in Ukraine we have to come back to the censuses although one

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has to bear in mind that these under the Soviet regime were imperfect and the census data were interpreted in the manner to please the two main ideological postulates about: 1) “the friendship of Soviet people» and 2) “non-problematic development of interethnic (in Soviet terminology – international, between nationalities) relations”. However, we use the data to look at the tendencies in this dynamics.

Thus, the census of 1926 identified 19,300 people of Romani nationality within the contemporary territory of Ukraine (at that time different; its parts belonged to different states – Russia, Romania, and Czechoslovakia). Strictly speaking, 13,000 Roma lived on the territory of Ukraine (at that time the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic). The next census (1959): 22,500; 1970 – 30,100; 1989 – 47,900 (Naukovi Zapysky, 2008: 297).

Two tragic episodes influenced the number of Roma under the Soviet time: 1) 30,000 were killed; the exact number of Ukrainian Roma is impossible to indicate. 2) Almost all Roma who lived in the Crimea were deported from the peninsula together with Crimean Tatars being accused of treachery as regards the Soviet Union.

In the post-war period (1959-1989), Romani population increased more than twice. Specific gravity of them among urban population was 53.4% (1959) and 72.8% (1970) (Naukovi Zapysky, 2008: 112). It is a remarkable trait of Roma dynamics: increase of urban inhabitants between 1959 -1989 is triple. Gender statistics for Roma is the following (women): 1959 – 51.7%, 1989 – 50.6%; in urban areas accordingly 51.8% and 50.8% (Naukovi Zapysky, 2008: 142).

Contemporary Situation

Number

The last census and the first one in Independent Ukraine (2001) was conducted on the basis of a new methodology and it provides the users with more adequate general data and other useful information, for example, concerning language, social status, religion. New comprehensive data appeared for Roma, too. Now, 47,600 Roma are indicated in the census. That means a decrease of 330 persons. Roma amount to 0.10% of the population of Ukraine (during 1989 census – 0.09%) (Sklyar, 2009: 422). An increase is caused by reduction of the total number of Ukraine’s population from 51,452,034 to 48,240,902 (Tabachnyk, 2007: 12).

These are official data based on the census; however, the researchers suppose that not all Roma can be calculated because of their specific mode of life. The estimations surpass the census numbers four times (200 thousand). Such statements refer to the results of different ethnographic field research and calculation of children in the families.

Territorial Distribution

Speaking about distribution of Roma on the territory of Ukraine, three characteristic features are to be mentioned: 1) generally, they live dispersed – they are presented (in different quantity) in all regions of the country, 2) they have their traditional areas of settlement: Western (Transcarpathia) – more than 14,000; Eastern (Donezk, Lugansk, Sumy) – over 7,760; Southern (Odessa, Mykolayiv, Kherson) – over 7,200; Central (Dnipropetrovs’k, Zaporizhya, Cherkassy) – about 7,000 (Yaremenko, Levzun, 2003: 20), 3) the majority of Ukrainian Roma is concentrated in cities – 33,400 are urban and 14,200 are rural (Naukovi Zapysky, 2008: 112).

Economic Situation and Employment

We would like to mention markers which allow estimating the level of social being of Roma in Ukraine: situation concerning their employment (1); level of education (2); migration (3); self-estimation of the well-being (4).

1) The sociological survey we mentioned above provides us with following information: 1) Employment: 18-24 years – 17% (Ukrainian average is 30%), 25-28 years – 27 (73), 29-39 years – 43 (78), 40-49 years – 27 (78), 50-70 years – 11 (45). Attention should be drawn to the fact that the unemployment among women is twice higher than among men: accordingly, 35% and 16%. We cite the mentioned survey to show a correlation between gender and age concerning employment of Roma: 18-24 years – 28% for men, 9% for women; 25-28 – 43% / 17%; 29-39 – 50% / 36%; 40-49 – 38% / 16%; over 50 years – 18% / 3%. The occupational structure of Roma who constantly have their work: 28% are employed in agriculture, 25% in services, 13% in trade, and 11% in constructing industries. (Yaremenko, Levzun, 2003: 74, 75). A great part of physically able Romani population works in black labour market. Roma are practically excluded from such occupational spheres as medicine and education.

2) The education in general is one of the most actual problems for Ukrainian Roma – only 2% of them graduated from universities (bachelor, master), another 6% finished secondary level schools, 49% attended primary schools and more than one third did not visit the school at all. This fact determines to a great degree not satisfied situation with employment of Roma, especially in cities, where more qualified labour is needed. Coming back to correlation between education and occupation, we can see that more than a half of constantly employed Roma is busy with works which do not need high level of qualification; instead only 11% occupy places where high qualified labour is required (Yaremenko, Levezun, 2003: 75). As to villages, the level of employment is higher because there is a lot of unqualified work (both seasonal and temporal).

3) Migration with the aim to earn is one of the indexes which characterize the social situation among Roma: from 10% to 50% of them migrate outside regions where they constantly live. In the structure of Romani migrants males dominate – 42%; the majority of migrants are young people: 47% at the age of 18-28 years and 24% at the age of 29-39 years. A very considerable part of Ukrainian Roma (41%) would like to take an opportunity to emigrate out of the country (Yaremenko, Levezun, 2003: 82, 83).

4) The well-being of Ukrainian Roma can be evaluated using their answers to the question about their material status: 59% lack money for the most necessary things, only 3% live under good conditions – it means that they have everything they need in everyday life, but cannot afford to buy, for example, a car or an apartment (Yaremenko, Levezun, 2003: 30).

Linguistic and Cultural Characteristics

We can state that Roma of Ukraine preserve to a great degree their native language and their ethnic cultural traditions. Three languages are mainly used now among Roma: Native (21,266; 44.69%), Ukrainian (10,039; 21.1%) and Russian (6,378; 13.40%); other languages – 9,880 (21%). In comparison with the census of 1989, Roma are losing their positions in Native language (-13.90%), adding in Ukrainian (+8.76%) and in Russian (+3.12%) (Sklyar, 2009: 419). The reasons of such changes can be explained by the following factors: 1) During the Independence time Ukrainian turned into the state language and it opens the ways to education and jobs. 2) Russian is a widespread language in Ukraine and it is often the language of an everyday communication. 3) There is no state school with Roma Native language; only several Sunday-schools are active in Transcarpathia region – the area with the highest concentration of Roma population.

The results of sociological survey well reflect the real picture of circulation of languages in Roma environment: 50% communicate in families in Roma language; 16% do it both in Roma language and the second one (Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, Moldavian); 22% communicate only in Ukrainian, 3% - Russian, 2% in Hungarian, 1% in Moldavian. It is to be mentioned that outside of Romani environment the frequency of the use of Roma language is different of that in family: only 32% are using Roma, 14% communicate solely in Roma, 18% (dependently on a situation) are using together with Roma other languages, too (Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, Moldavian) (Yaremenko, Levezun, 2003: 88,90).

In Ukraine, Roma are one of the minorities which preserve and cultivate their ethnic traditions and native culture as an element of their mode of life. There are a number of artistic groups, theatres, annual festival of Gipsy music and dance “Amala” in which other nationalities also take part, festival of children’s art activities “Ame Roma” (Kharkiv), Roma “Pap-Jazz-Fest” (Uzhgorod). Media, especially in Gipsy language (there are 4 newspapers), inform the population about cultural events in Roma environment. Museums are good ground for preservation and cultivation of cultural traditions and ethnic heritage of Roma: there are several collections devoted to history and culture of this minority in museums of the Crimea, Transcarpathia and other regions.

Organizational Activities

One of the characteristic features of the ethno-national development of independent Ukraine are the civic activities of minorities. Ethnic and national minorities have established their organizations on ethnic basis. Today, there are over 1,300 of them at national, regional and local level. Roma are not an exception here: 88 Roma units are registered in Ukraine (data of the State Committee on Nationalities and Religion), three of them with all-Ukrainian status: “Congress of Roma of Ukraine”, “Centre for Unity and Protection of Roma Rights”, “All-Ukrainian Legal Roma Association “Chapiche””. There are two organizations which are working at international level – international civic organization of Roma “KETANE”, international charity organization “Roma Women Foundation “Chirikli””. The majority of Roma organizations are active in Transcarpathia, in the places of their compact settlements.

The activities of Roma organizations focus mainly on revival and development of native language, culture, traditions and habits. There is a number of organizations conducting also legal activities targeted at the protection of rights of Roma.

Roma in Interethnic Communication

Speaking about the situation concerning the position of Roma in interethnic relations in Ukrainian society, we have to keep in mind two very important things: 1) self-estimation as an ethnic minority and as an actor of these relations; 2) attitudes of surrounding people towards Roma and their stereotypes. We can get the information for our conclusions from censuses, surveys, monitoring, media and fiction. One has to take into consideration the spaces where interethnic communication with the participation of Roma occurs. These for direct communication are strictly limited by the areas of their compact settlement, mainly in regions mentioned above. The indirect communication does not have so many opportunities to be realized – Roma are not often, especially today, a subject of fiction or films. From time to time, they appear in media in two facets: as criminals and as a very merry people (“carnival minority”).

Attitudes of Ukrainian Population towards Roma

To draw a conclusion concerning measuring the level of tolerance-intolerance in interethnic communication, Ukrainian sociology uses the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, including seven questions. The scale asks people about the extent to which they would be accepting of each group (a score of 1.00 for a group is taken to indicate no social distance; cumulative Guttman scale):

- 1) as close relatives by marriage (score 1.00)
- 2) as my close personal friends (2.00)
- 3) as neighbours on the same street (3.00)
- 4) as co-workers in the same occupation (4.00)
- 5) as citizens in my country (5.00)
- 6) only visitors in my country (6.00)
- 7) would exclude from my country (7.00)

Table 1 shows the data of the monitoring “Ukrainian Society”, which has been conducted at the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (1992-2008):

Table 1: Social Distance of Ukrainian population towards Roma

Questions (see above)	1992	1994	1996	1998	1999	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2008
1	2.4	5.0	5.8	4.6	3.4	2.8	0.6	0.6	1.4	1.0	0.5
2	4.3	5.1	5.3	4.3	3.8	3.3	2.0	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.3
3	6.3	6.6	4.6	4.9	4.7	4.8	2.0	3.1	2.7	1.8	3.0
4	3.2	2.9	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.3	1.6	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.7
5	21.2	24.6	29.4	28.2	29.3	28.6	19.2	21.2	22.9	20.0	21.1
6	24.9	20.0	20.2	19.6	23.8	22.5	28.6	25.7	28.5	30.3	29.9
7	33.0	19.5	28.2	32.3	30.2	34.1	42.9	46.0	42.1	45.3	42.6

In the period 1992-2008, the average index of social (sometimes we call it national) distance concerning Ukrainian Roma was from 5.1 to 6.0; for Ukrainians, for example, 1.4 – 2.4; for Russians 1.9 – 3.3; for Byelorussians 2.4 – 4.2; for Poles 3.8 – 5.0; for Germans 4.3 – 5.3; for Turks 4.9 – 5.9; for Arabs 5.1 – 6.0; for Negros 5.9 – 6.0; for Afghans 6.1 – 6.2 (Vorona, Shulga, 2008: 542, 544). It means that Roma are at the bottom of the hierarchy (tolerance-intolerance) of interethnic relations.

Now, we can compare these data with the survey data: 20% have estimated the attitudes to Roma as benevolent; 63% as “normal” - not worse as towards representatives of other nationalities; 15% mean that Roma are treated worse than other minorities. On this basis we can conclude that the monitoring data and survey data correlate, however, we have to mention two more things: 34% of respondents reported that they know about numerous cases when Roma were victims of violence because of their nationality. Among the reasons why Roma children do not attend school is bad treatment by teachers (7%) (Yaremenko, Levzun, 2003: 114, 106).

The analysis of “Roman information” in Ukrainian media leads to the following statement: they built up a rather negative than positive image, giving such information: exclusively negative – 3%; rather negative than positive – 23%; in the same proportions – 51%; rather positive than negative – 6%; exclusively positive – 1% (Yaremenko, Levzun, 2003: 117). From time to time, the media reports about cases of discrimination of Roma in social and political spheres and the media also present hostile

(towards Roma) information and “the language of hostility” is being formed (Skhidno-Yevropejskyj Instytut Rozvytku, 2008).

Prospects for Roma

It is beyond doubt that the situation of Ukrainian Roma must be improved first of all in social and political spheres as well as in respect to their representation in authority bodies. Prospects for development of Roma depend to a great degree on the attitudes, positions of Ukrainian officials and authorities towards this minority which can be declared first of all in the State Policy and can be realized in politics at national, regional and local level. We can state that in the period of existence of Independent Ukraine several measures were undertaken with the aim to support this disadvantaged ethnic community and to open new opportunities for taking more active part in social, cultural, civic-political developments of Ukrainian society.

Following initiatives have been undertaken: 1) The Government adopted a “National Actions Plan of Ukraine” in the Frame of the “Decade of Roma Integration 2005-2015”. 2) The State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Migration (now and Religion) – the central body in executive power of Ukraine responsible for ethnic and migration issues – has developed a special branch “Programme of Social Spiritual Revival of Roma of Ukraine (2003-2006)” with the purpose to create conceptual approaches and ways of integration of Roma into Ukrainian society. 3) In 2004, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Parliament) adopted “The Resolution concerning the International Day of Holocaust of Roma”. 4) In 2005, the Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine organized Special Hearings with the title “Contemporary situation of Roma in Ukraine”. 5) The opened hearings “Roma of Transcarpathia: Status, Experience, Solving of problems” (April 2005) took place in Uzhgorod to discuss Roma issues in the region. 6) In 2007, Roma public hearings on effectiveness of implementation of the Programme 2003-2006 took place.

We can find several steps for support of Roma in other official documents and declarations of Ukrainian authorities concerning ethnic minorities in general – “Complex Measures on Realization of State Politics in the Sphere of International Relations and Development of Cultures of Ukraine’s National Minorities in the Period until 2010”; project “Protecting of Roma’s Rights and Providing their Access to Justice” has been carrying out.

Concrete activities and some positive results of them are more evident on the regional level, especially in Transcarpathia region where the majority of Roma population is concentrated and where they live in compact settlements. In this region, Roma are even represented in electoral bodies - 1 at the level of the city Uzhgorod (the capital of the region) and 2 in rural districts of the region. It amounts to 0.3% of all deputies in the region, which, in my opinion, does not correspond to their percentage in the population (1.1%) (Sagan, 2008: 236).

We have to pay attention to the fact that social assistance to Roma families in this region is quite high in comparison to average in Ukraine (10.1%); however, in any case, it is not enough to cover their needs.

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RESEARCH REPORT

Marta Kahancová¹

Roma in Central and South-Eastern Europe: Frontier research fostered at Central European Labour Studies Institute (CELSI)

The social and economic integration of ethnic minorities in Europe is a tremendous scientific and policy challenge. While the integration situation of Roma in Central and South-Eastern Europe exhibits considerable variation and data of sufficient quality are very scarce, the vulnerable position of a very large share of Roma population is a matter of fact. This burning societal issue has been further aggravated by the long-standing lack of rigorous research about this topic. The few commendable studies on the topic have been able to generate only little spillovers to the policy making. Another consequence of the paucity of research in this area is the lack of informed discourse on this topic. The recently accomplished project coordinated by Martin Kahanec entitled "The Decade of Roma Inclusion: A Unifying Framework of Progress Measurement" signifies one of the most active research areas at CELSI, "Ethnicity and Migration", which aims at contributing to this scientific and policy debate.

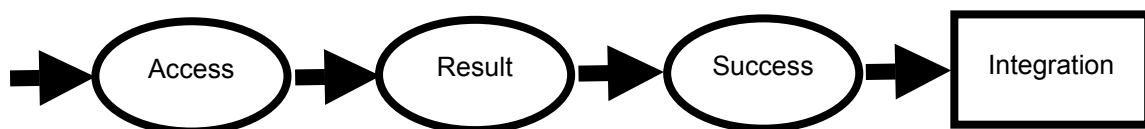
Indeed, the process of globalization and EU enlargement, interacting with the current economic, social and demographic challenges, puts the questions of social and economic integration of immigrant and ethnic minorities into the spotlight of scientific and policy discourse. In 2005 governments of Central and Southeastern Europe committed themselves to an unprecedented political movement – Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 – to improve the socio-economic status and social inclusion of Roma.

The objective of CELSI's project was to propose a mechanism which would enable the Decade countries to track and report on the results of the Roma inclusion policies in 2015 using a unified methodology across countries and time.

The results of the project are summarized in a report published under the same title that (i) identifies suitable indicators for tracking the integration of Roma in the Decade countries in the four focus areas: education, employment, health and housing; (ii) discusses adequate first and second best mechanisms of the collection of data on Roma integration; and (iii) sets concrete proposals for strengthening the results framework for the Decade, including guidelines for how the suggested indicators should be applied with regards to the available data.

The report broadly defines integration as a process that leads to a positive social or economic outcome for a minority individual comparable to his or her majority counterpart. This process consists of a number of sequential stages that all condition individual outcome and thus the degree of integration success (See Figure 1). To begin with, the individual may or may not have the opportunity to access a particular institution and the opportunities and services it provides. If there is access, the individual may or may not be able to realize a positive result (e.g. some employment or some health care). If a positive result is accomplished, the chances of achieving success, i.e. making use of the high-quality opportunities and obtain a service of good quality, may differ.

Figure 1: *Three-stage Integration*



The report suggests adopting one or two core indicators within each area considered by the Decade (employment, health, education and housing), such as wage-employment within the employment area, which are relevant for the greatest share of considered populations. Further, secondary indicators can be reported whenever available or practical. Table 1 summarizes the methodology suggesting a number of usable indicators.

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Table 1: Three-stage Integration Indicators (Core indicators bold)

	Employment	Health	Education	Housing
1. Access	Labour force participation rate	Possession of health insurance (rate)	Enrolment rate in primary education , Enrolment rate in pre-primary education	Legal housing in a segregated neighbourhood (as opposed to illegal housing) (rate)
2. Result	1 - unemployment rate (including self-employment) , 1 - unemployment rate (excluding self-employment)	Registration with a general practitioner (rate) , Registration with a gynaecologist (rate), Vaccination rate	Integration at classroom level in primary education (index) , 1- Special school incidence	Legal housing in a non-segregated neighbourhood (rate)
3. Success	Average hourly wage , Occupational status (ISCO-88)	Life expectancy at birth , Infant mortality rate	Share with (upper) secondary or tertiary education (ISCED 3+) , Share with tertiary education (ISCED 5+), Mean educational achievement in standardized screenings and tests, Mean length of stay in pre-preprimary education	Mean net floor area (in m²) per inhabitant (in legal housing in a non-segregated neighbourhood) , Mean number of rooms per inhabitant (in legal housing in a non-segregated neighbourhood)

The first-best approach suggested by the report is to calculate the relative expected outcomes of Roma and non-Roma. The expected outcome of a certain social group is the product of the group success probabilities in each of the stages up to the final stage multiplied by the average outcome achieved by the group in the final stage. Alternatively, relative chances of success can be considered, in which case the group members' probability to achieve a certain threshold outcome is the relevant measure in the final stage.

The primary factor limiting integration monitoring is the severe paucity of data of adequate quality. A key contribution of the report is that it offers a workable second-best alternative that is based on two premises. First, that there is a representative dataset, be it a census, survey, or administrative dataset that only very poorly or not at all measures ethnicity (a prevailing situation in the studied context), but contains the variables necessary to calculate integration indicators of interest, as well as an auxiliary variable correlated with ethnicity (e.g. residence in case of residential segregation along ethnic lines). The second premise is that the relationship between this auxiliary variable and ethnicity is known from external data or specialized survey statistics.

In effect, the methodology proposed by CELSI's report can be used to measure integration progress even when only imperfect data are available. The second-best feasible solution measures integration progress using a rigorously derived calculation formula and, if optimally applied, reaches the preciseness of the first-best measurement methodology.

<p align="center">STATE UNIVERSITIES/SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION</p>

CZECH REPUBLIC

**University of Pardubice, Faculty of
Philosophy, Department of Social Sciences**

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Internet: <http://www.upce.cz/en/ff/ksv.html>
Management: Šavelková, Livia, PhDr., head



**Masaryk University Brno, Faculty of Social
Studies, Department of Social Policy and
Social Work**

Joštova 10, 60200 Brno
E-mail: zalesakova@fss.muni.cz
Internet: <http://katedra-spsp.internetovestranky.com/W2007.aspx?siteid=1002>
Management: Musil, Libor, Doc.PhDr.CSc., head, musil@fss.muni.cz



**University of South Bohemia, Faculty of
Health and Social Studies**

Jirovcova 24, 37004 České Budějovice
E-mail: zsf@zsf.jcu.cz
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Management: Velemínský, Miloš, Prof. MUDr. CSc., dean, velem@zsf.jcu.cz



**Masaryk University Brno, Faculty of
Education, Department of Multicultural
Education**

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E-mail: gulova@ped.muni.cz
Internet: <http://www.ped.muni.cz/wsocedu/kmv/>
Management: Gulová, Lenka, Mgr. Ph.D.,



**University of West Bohemia; Faculty of
Philosophy and Arts; Department of
Anthropology and Historical Sciences
(Centre of Applied Anthropology and Field
Research)**

Sedláčkova 15, 306 14 Plzeň
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LITHUANIA

**Vilnius University, Center for Stateless
Cultures**

Universiteto 7, Vilnius 2734
E-mail: statelesscultures@if.vu.lt
Internet:
<http://www.statelesscultures.lt/eng/main.php>
Management: Chekmonas, Valerijus, Prof. academic director

HUNGARY

**University of Maribor, European Center for
Ethnic, Regional and Sociological Studies**

Krekova 2, 2000 Maribor
E-mail: ecers@uni-mb.si
Internet: <http://www.isppi.ukim.edu.mk/centri.html>
Management: Devetak, Silvio, Prof., (President); Devetak@uni-mb.si; Dovecar, Mateja, director

MACEDONIA

**University 'St. Cyril and Methodius',
Institute for Sociological, Political and
Juridical Research; Centre for Ethnic
Relations**

Bul. Partizanski Odredi, 91000 Skopje
Management: Simoska, Emilija, Dr., head

POLAND

**Szczecin University, Faculty of Humanities,
Institute of Political Science, Chair of
Contemporary Political History and Ethnic
Studies**

ul. Mickiewicza 18, 70383 Szczecin
Internet:
http://www.us.szc.pl/uk1?xml=load_page&st=4482&ar=1&id=1393&gs=&pid=5135



**University Warsaw, Faculty of History,
Instytut of Ethnology and Cultural
Anthropology**

ul. Żurawia 4, 00-503 Warsaw
E-mail: etnologia@uw.edu.pl
Internet:
<http://www.etnologia.uw.edu.pl/etno/english/homepage>
Management: Mróz, Lech Prof., director

ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE

BULGARIA**Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Sociology, Dept. of Sociology of Values, Religion and Everyday Life**

ul. Moskovska 13 A, 1000 Sofia

E-mail: info@sociology-bg.orgInternet: <http://www.sociology-bg.org/display.php?page=section&type=29>Management: Koev, Kolyo, head,
k_koev@sociology.bas.bg**CZECH REPUBLIC****Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Institute of Ethnology**

Na Florenci 3, 11000 Prague 01

E-mail: eu@cas.czInternet: <http://www.eu.cas.cz>Management: Uherek, Zdeněk, PhDr. CSc.,
director, uherek@eu.cas.cz**HUNGARY****Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minority**

Országház utca 30, 1014 Budapest

E-mail: titkarsag@mtaki.huInternet: <http://www.mtaki.hu/english/index.html>Management: Szarka László (Director);
szarka@mtaki.hu**Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Central and North Hungarian Research Institute, North Hungarian Department**

Széchenyi u. 107, 3535 Miskolc

PB 389, 3501 Miskolc

E-mail: mecseine@rkk.huInternet: <http://w3.rkk.hu/kei/emoen.html>Management: Dr. Éva G. Fekete, (Head),
gfekete@rkk.hu**ROMANIA****Romanian Academy of Sciences, European Centre for Ethnic Studies**

Calea 13 Septembrie nr. 13, 71102 Bukarest

E-mail: office@cespe.roInternet: http://www.cespe.ro/index2.1_En.htmlManagement: Seuleanu, Carmen Dumitriu, Dr.,
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Bd. Aviatorilor 1, 011851 Bucharest

E-mail: viorelachim@hotmail.comInternet: <http://www.iini-minorities.ro/en/index.php>

Management: Achim, Viorel, Dr., coordinator

SLOVAKIA**Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnology**

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Management: Kilianova, Gabriela, Dr., director

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

LITHUANIA**Institute for Social Research, Centre of Ethnic Studies**

Saltoniskiu g. 58, 08105 Vilnius, Lithuania

E-mail: etc@ktl.mii.ltInternet: <http://www.ces.lt>

Management: Leoncikas, Tadas, Dr., head

POLAND**Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research**

ul. Twarda 51/55, 00-818 Warsaw

E-mail: cefmr@cefmr.pan.plInternet: <http://www.cefmr.pan.pl/>

Management: Kupiszewski, Marek, Dr., director

ROMANIA**Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities**

Str. Gavril Muzicescu Nr. 5, 400697 Cluj-Napoca,

E-mail: office@ispmn.gov.roInternet: <http://www.ispmn.gov.ro>

Management: Horváth, István, president

SLOVAKIA**Demographic Research Centre**

Dubravska 3, 84221 Bratislava

E-mail: vano@infostat.skInternet: <http://www.infostat.sk/vdc/en/>

Management: Vano, Boris, director

NON-GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

BULGARIA**International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations**

55 Antim I St., 1303 Sofia
 E-mail: marko@imir-bg.org
 Internet: <http://www.imir-bg.org>
 Management: Zhelyazkova, Antonina, Dr., chairperson

LITHUANIA**Institute for Social Research, Centre of Ethnic Studies**

Saltoniskiu 58, 08105 Vilnius
 E-mail: etc@ktl.mii.lt
 Internet: <http://www.ces.lt/en/index.php?strid=0&>
 Management: Leončikas, Tadas, head,
leoncikask@ktl.mii.lt

CROATIA**Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies**

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 E-mail: imin@imin.hr
 Management: Babic, Dragutin, Dr., (Director)
 Internet: <http://www.imin.hr/en/home/>

HUNGARY**OSI-Budapest**

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 E-mail: info@osi.h
 Internet: <http://www.soros.org/about/offices#budapest>

**European Roma Rights Center**

PO Box 906/93, 1386 Budapest 62, Hungary
 E-mail: office@errc.org
 Internet: http://www.errc.org/English_index.php
 Management: Kushen, Robert A., managing director

ROMANIA**Research Center on Inter-Ethnic Relations**

B-dul 21 Decembrie 1989 No.128, 400 604 Cluj-Napoca
 E-mail: office@ccrit.ro; cristina_rat@yahoo.com
 Internet: http://www.ccrit.ro/index_eng.htm
 Management: Horvath, Istvan, (Director)

**Intercultural Institute of Timisoara**

Str. Miron Costin nr. 2, 1900 Timisoara
 E-mail: iit@intercultural.ro
 Internet: <http://www.intercultural.ro/en/index.html>

Management: Rus, Calin, director

SERBIA**Ethnicity Research Center**

Petra Jovovica 8, 11080 Belgrade
 E-mail: bgderc@eunet.yu
 Internet: <http://www.ercbgd.org.rs/index.php?lang=english>
 Management: Basic, Goran, Dr., president

SLOVAKIA**Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture**

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 Internet: <http://www.cvek.sk/main.php?p=uvod&lang=en>
 Management: Vasecka, Michal Dr., director

**Roma Institute**

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 E-mail: info@romainstitute.sk
 Internet: <http://www.romainstitute.sk/index.php?ID=70>
 Management: Mazini, J., director

SLOVENIA**Institute for Ethnic Studies**

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RESEARCH PROJECTS

Life quality, mean and healthy length of life from the aspect of health determinants in Romany population in the Czech Republic

Focus: The basic subject of the project is the research of health and social situation of Romany population in selected regions of the Czech Republic, being the target group the family differentiated by individual groups. The result of the research is evaluation of the health and social situation, life quality, mean and

healthy length of life in relation to health determinants in Romanies depending on their subethnic, local and life differentiation.

The obtained results of the research will be compared to concrete results of researches in Czech majority population and Slovak Romany population.

Duration: 2007-2009

Leading organizational unit:

Faculty of Health and Social Studies, University of South Bohemia

Head Investigator: PhDr. Eva Davidová, CSc.



Homosexuality in Slovakian Romani Settlement

Focus: The aim of this research project is to reflect homosexuality in Romani settlements in rural Slovakia.

Duration: 2009-2011

Leading organizational unit: Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, University of West Bohemia

Head Investigator: PhDr. Mgr. Tomáš Kobes, Ph.D.



In the arms of the State: social care, re-education and the production of citizens in the case of Romani children's homes inmates, 1970-2010

Description: Economic practices gain significance particularly in the established/outsider figuration due to the legitimizing nature of complex ethical norms that were issued in the realm of economic action but at the same time transcend into more general ideas about humanity and social worth. This logic is particularly visible when in public discourse ideas of cultural difference in relation to reciprocity, loyalty, personhood and citizenship are imposed in the confrontation with amplified unemployment of Roma. For their ethical nature, the assigned qualities act as a confirmation of the perennial lack of disposition on the part of Roma. But if dispositions are conceived in terms of collective and practical adaptations to similar experiences, the necessity to study the long-term genesis of economic practices and the historical preconditions of contemporary ethnicized social inequalities arises.

Duration: 2009-2011

Recipient: Institute of Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Head Investigator: Yasar Abu Ghosh, PhD



Roma and Special Education in Slovakia

Institution: Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture (CVEK), Bratislava, Slovakia
Research project

Co-operation: Roma Education Fund, Budapest

Duration: June 2008 - August 2009

Focus: The research is carried out in co-operation with the Roma Education Fund. The purpose of this study is to analyze the overrepresentation of Roma in special education in Slovakia. It is an international research project carried out on a representative sample of 100 schools. Following a common structure and methodology developed by the Roma Education Fund in consultation with ERRC and EUMAP to produce comparable data from a set of three country studies (i.e., Czech Republic, Serbia, and Slovakia), this study will consist of two main parts. The first part of the study will address five research objectives common to all three country studies: 1. Estimating the number of Romani pupils enrolled in special education; 2. Mapping the educational options of Romani pupils from compact, segregated Romani settlements; 3. Comparing the standard and reduced curricula used in mainstream and special education, respectively; 4. Juxtaposing the opportunities for further education and employment accessible to graduates of special education with those available to graduates of mainstream education; and 5. Conducting a cost-effectiveness analysis comparing special and mainstream education from the standpoint of state expenditures. Topics to be addressed in the second part of the study include: 1. The structure of enrollment incentives offered to special schools and Romani parents; 2. The complex of institutions with a role in maintaining the status quo in relation to special education; and 3. The mechanisms used for assessment and reassessment of scholastic competence; as well as 4. Recommendations directed at reversing the overrepresentation of Roma in special education in Slovakia.

Internet:

<http://www.cvek.sk/main.php?p=projekty&lang=en#anch80>

RESEARCH REPORT

Social Inclusion and Exclusion of the Roma in the Romanian Society Today

Focus: The document studies the mechanism of social inclusion for the Roma in order to substantiate the public policies intended for their inclusion, with reference to differences and similarities between the Roma and the non-Roma, beyond stereotypes, as well as their potential trends. The report also provides a series of solutions to overcome this encumbrance. Most sociological research studies on Roma issues highlight in particular the social exclusion indicators and processes. Data show that there is a major variation factor

with regard to the Roma's economic and social features. There are Roma people working in all sectors, living in all types of housing, with access to social services to a different extent – from very low to very high.

This report does not point out a uniform marginal condition, but a diversity of experiences and ways of living. Nevertheless, previous research and this report agree that personal and community development opportunities for Roma, and in fact for all persons defined as gipsy, are seriously diminished by the exclusion processes.

The report indicates, among other things, that statistics related to the ratio of the population treated de facto as ethnic Roma by the local administrations, by the education, healthcare and public order authorities is four, up to ten times higher than presented in the census data (or the people's declarations).

At the same time, it looks like the Romani language is not just a language kept by the poor and isolated Roma, but the mother tongue of the middle class, or that two thirds of the Roma would like their children to learn about the Romani history and culture.

It is surprising that 34% of the households included in the survey (and the survey focused on the Roma living in areas with a high density of ethnic Roma) have in their family members of Roma origin. "Then where is the closed character of this ethnic group?", wonders in this context Michael Stewart, PhD, from the University College London and Central European University, one of the lecturers in this survey.

Financing: National Agency for the Roma in Romania (The project, with a value of EUR 4.5 million, was developed over an 18,5-month period and included several areas of intervention, the largest part of resources being earmarked to the development of the Roma communities from Romania. This project also included an awareness and information campaign both for the majority Romanian population and for the ethnic Romani population, within the S.P.E.R. platform – "Stop the Prejudices about the Ethnic Roma!". (DIVERS – www.divers.ro).

Duration: until April 2009

Data: Some data show the poverty level of most Roma. Thus, the Roma respondents state, in a very large percentage, of 60%, that over the past month, somebody from their household went to bed hungry (compared to 12% in the non-Roma sample). Only 53% of the Roma children have winter clothes (compared to 87% of the non-Roma). On the other hand, 9% of the Roma went to high-school and 2% have a university degree (mainly thanks to the project granting the Roma reserved seats at universities). Moreover, small towns indicate

that enlisting in kindergartens reaches only 33%, the percentage in this respect in villages goes up to 55%. "Most likely, the biggest long-term challenge shall come from those governments and political forces that, thinking the so-called gipsy issue is never going to be truly solved or that it will take a few generations, want to just get rid of this problem and leave it in the hands of Europe. This is obvious today, in entities like the Council of Europe, where huge efforts are made in the attempt to define a "European" policy for the Roma and to create a European management structure for the Roma. The danger of such an approach is quite obvious. This is the obvious path towards political passiveness of the governments, actually having the resources and means to get involved at the same level as the politics. And this is the sure way to a disastrous ethnic approach of several social and economic issues that are only poorly understood, being labelled "the gipsy issue", is one of the conclusions of this report, summarized by Michael Stewart, PhD.

The report is based on a research conducted among 2,000 households (1,000 Roma households and 1,000 non-Roma households), on a questionnaire sent to the local authorities throughout the country and on an inquiry conducted in the 36 communities.

The sociological research was conducted within the PHARE project "Strengthening the Institutional Capacity and Development of Partnerships to Improve the Perception and Conditions of the Roma", implemented by the General Secretariat of the Government (GSG) and the National Agency for the Roma (ANR).

Internet:

http://www.divers.ro/focus_en?wid=37645&func=viewSubmission&sid=8598

SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS/NETWORKS

International Roma Research Network

Focus: This website aims to provide a forum for these dispersed scholars to keep in touch with each other and to advertise their work to a wider audience, policy makers in particular.

As a result of a series of training events funded by the European Union Marie Curie's Series of Conferences and Events Programme a small network of mostly younger scholars has informally come into being across eastern Europe. At the same time a large Hungarian network has also organised a number of seminars and other training events. In Cluj, Romania, the formation of an Institute for Research on Minorities

(http://ispmn.gov.ro/eng/membri_eng.html),

offers the hope that a similar network may emerge there. This website will build, in the first instance, on the resources that these networks have mobilised.

Contact: Michael Stewart (m.stewart@ucl.ac.uk)
Internet: <http://www.ceu.hu/rm>



European Roma Education Network

Organizer: The Intercultural Institute of Timisoara (Romania) and Asociacion Nacional Presencia Gitana (Spain)

E-mail: calin.rus@intercultural.ro

Internet: <http://www.intercultural.ro/eurrenet/>

Focus: The European Roma Education Network is an initiative of Jean-Pierre Liégeois, former Director of the Roma Research Centre at Paris V University, and is the result of over 25 years of experience in this field. It aims at bringing together specialists, practitioners, institutions and organisations committed to the promotion of quality education for Roma children across Europe.

SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

Migration and Ethnic Themes

Migracijske i etnicke teme

Place of publication: Zagreb, Croatia

Publication dates: since 1985 (until 2000 under the name *Migracijske teme*)

Published by: Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies

E-mail: met@public.srce.hr

Internet: <http://www.imin.hr/en/met/>

Editor-in-chief: Čačić-Kumpes, Jadranka, Dr
Subject area: Migration, ethnicity and identity problems in the social sciences and humanities (sociology, anthropology, history, demography, social geography, psychology, political science, economics, legal sciences, linguistics, etc.) as well as in an interdisciplinary framework.



Treatises and Documents. Journal of Ethnic Studies

Razprave in Gradivo. Revija za narodnostna vprasanja

Place of publication: Ljubljana, Slovenia

Publication dates: since 1960

Published by: Institute of Ethnic Studies

E-mail: boris.jesih@guest.arnes.si

Internet:

<http://www2.arnes.si/~ljin16/inv/riga.htm>

Editor-in-chief: Jesih, Boris, Dr.

Subject area: Ethnic groups and ethnic problems, minorities, international mobility, migration.

Roma Rights Journal

Place of publication: Budapest, Hungary

Publication dates: since 1996

Published by: European Roma Rights Center

E-mail: larry.olomoofe@errc.org,
office@errc.org.

Internet:

http://www.errc.org/Romarights_index.php

Subject area: The ERRC journal Roma Rights aims to provide stimulate debate on developments pertaining to Roma Rights around Europe, as well as discussions on particular themes and information about ERRC activities.



Romani Studies

Place of publication: Manchester, UK

Publication dates: since 1990, twice a year (ISSN 1528-0748, Online ISSN 1757-2274)

Published by: Gipsy Lore Society

E-mail: yaron.matras@manchester.ac.uk

Internet:

<http://www.romanistudies.lupjournals.org>

Editor-in-chief: Matras, Yaron

Subject area: Articles in all scholarly disciplines dealing with any aspect of the cultures of groups traditionally known as Roma/Gypsies as well as those of traveller or peripatetic groups. Fields covered include anthropology, art, folklore, history, linguistics, literature, political science, sociology, and their various branches.



Minorities Studies and Reviews

Kisebbségkutatás - Szemle a hazai és külföldi irodalomból

Place of publication: Budapest, Hungary

Publication dates: since 1999 (three issue per year)

Published by: Lucidus Kiadó

E-mail: cholnoky@tti.hu

Internet: [http://www.hhrf.org/kisebbsegkutas/](http://www.hhrf.org/kisebbsegkutas/p?comunicat=22)

Editor-in-chief: Cholnoky Győző

Subject area: Minorities research.

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http://www.ecmi.de/download/monograph_5_en.pdf
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http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/ROMA-Housing-Comparative-Report_en.pdf
 (Country reports *Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*:
http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/research/background_cr/cr_raxen_roma_housing_en.htm - These studies have been commissioned as background material for the comparative report on housing conditions of Roma and Travellers in EU Member States by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.)
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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATABASE

European Romani Collection

Link: <http://romi.nb.rs/about.php>

Geographic coverage: Europe

Subjects: all disciplines

Description: The Next Page Foundation (NP) and National Library of Serbia (NLS) discussed in 2006 the possibility to digitize part of the treasures of Romani literature heritage. The idea of the cooperation in creating digital Romani collection resulted from the current activities of both partners. The NLS has already created more than 70 digital collections of valuable library materials. These results were marked excellent among experts and public and NLS joined The European Library as a full member in 2005, making valuable contribution to the development of The European Library digital collections.

Language: English

Access: free

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Roma people in present-day Central and Eastern Europe

Sociologie Romaneasca will devote its issue 1/2011 to Roma issues in present day Central and Eastern Europe. Twenty years after the fall of communism, have the lives of Roma people changed, and in what directions? What do it mean to be Roma / Gypsy today?

Theoretical or empirical papers which explore Roma life trajectories and identities as well as inter-ethnic relations, from a sociological or empirical perspective are welcome. Articles with a comparative approach or with theoretical relevance for understanding processes of ethnic differentiation will be the main focus of this issue.

Deadline: April 30, 2010.

Contact: Editors: Cosima Rughinis

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Internet:

http://www.sociologieromaneasca.ro/index.pl/despre_en

CONFERENCES

Romani mobilities in Europe: Multidisciplinary perspectives

Date: January 14-15, 2010

Organiser: University of Oxford, Department of International Development

Conference site: Oxford, UK

E-mail: nando.sigona@geh.ox.ac.uk

Internet:

http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/index.html?conf_conferences_140110

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Roma, Ashkali and Balkan-Egyptians in former Yugoslavia

Date: January 22, 2010

Organiser: Giessen University, Institute of History

Conference site: Gießen, Germany

E-mail: Claudia.Lichnofsky@geschichte.uni-giessen.de

Internet: http://www.uni-giessen.de/cms/fbz/fb04/institute/geschichte/osteuropa/termin_oeffentlich/conference-roma-ashkali-and-balkan-egyptians-in-former-yugoslavia

INTERNET LINKS

- "Roma of Ukraine" Program
<http://www.irf.kiev.ua/en/programs/cs/roma>
- Czech Radio: Roma in the Czech Republic
<http://romove.radio.cz/en/>
- Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015
<http://www.romadecade.org/home>
- EU Roma
<http://www.euromanet.eu/facts/index.html>
- European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI)
<http://www.ecmi.de/index.php>
- European Roma Information Office (ERIO)
<http://erionet.org>
- European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC)
http://www.errc.org/English_index.php
- Gypsy Lore Society
<http://www.gypsyloresociety.org>
- Inter-ministerial Commission for Roma Community Affairs of the of the Government of the Czech Republic
<http://www.vlada.cz/en/ppov/zalezitosti-romske-komuniti/the-council-for-roma-community-affairs--50634/>
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<http://www.humanrights.org.lv/html>
- Overview of Romani People by country
<http://www.romarights.net/content/romani-people-country>
- Racism and Xenophobia European Information Network (RAXEN) of the European Union Agency for Fundamental

Rights (FRA)

http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/home/home_en.htm

- Regional Association of Romani Settlements in Slovakia
<http://www.roma.sk/kcpro/aro.htm>
- Roma Attacks Database
<http://www.romarights.net/content/roma-attacks-database>
- Roma Education Fund
<http://romaeducationfund.hu/>
- Roma Health Organizations Database
<http://www.romadecade.org/files/events/ROMADBASEMEHO.pdf>

- Roma Initiatives
<http://www.soros.org/initiatives/roma/about>
- Roma Links
<http://www.roma.ro/links.htm>
- Roma Rights network
<http://www.romarights.net/>
- Roma Women Association Romania (RWAR)
http://www.romawomen.ro/index.htmName_English
- Romapage
<http://www.romapage.hu/>