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In Finland Roma artists are popular, and they have a big influence on the Finnish popular music scene. Inevitably perhaps, the power that can be investigated in music as a statement of identity has also led to music becoming an instrument and expression of ethnicity. Out of all the operational structural elements of the Roma’s cultural identity, maybe the most influential in Finland is popular music. It operates across both ethno-communities, links Finnicism and ”gypsyism”, and affects the various identity dimensions of the Finnish Roma. As a proud emblem of achievement, music is increasingly playing a significant role in the creation of the modern, trans-national Roma community.

Music plays a significant part in the way as signs of Roma community all over the Europe. Traditionally there are two kinds of music performed by the Roma. One is musical service for non-Roma audiences, the other is music made within the Roma community. Nowadays the records include genres varying from dance music and pop to folk, music for children and e.g. religious music. In my paper I will concentrate on the first one: How the Finnish dance music performed by the Roma differs from the popular music of other Finns? I address these questions via fieldwork I have been doing among Roma since 1994. During that time about 800 traditional songs were recorded, among them many religious as well as popular songs, and some instrumental performances played on the guitar. I also take advantage of my position as a dance musician in a Roma artist orchestra as an insider.
A new international Romani aesthetic?

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This paper will report on the build-up (especially in England) to the “new Romani art” presented at the Roma Pavilion in the Venice Biennale in 2007, and some subsequent developments. It will seek to compare and contrast the aesthetics and politics of visual art to the much more established discourses around Romani music. It will suggest that, especially in Britain, the young British Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller artists are a diverse group of artists whose careers were originally established without reference to their ethnicity, rather than working within any specific Romani tradition, but that their participation in the cultural politics associated with GRT education programmes almost forces upon them a certain coherence which may begin to constitute a movement.
The Gypsies in Ottoman entertainment culture

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It is known that Gypsies played a large role in Ottoman entertainment culture. This might be evinced from the legends linking the beloved shadow puppet character Karagöz to a Gypsy heritage. Regardless of whether these legends have some historical basis, their popularity alone indicates what sort of contribution Gypsies made to Ottoman entertainment culture.

In many plays, Karagöz himself clearly announces his Gypsy heritage, although it remains uncertain whether shadow puppet characters such as Karagöz and Hacivat were based on real people.

One story has it that during the reign of Orhan Bey (Gazi), at the beginning of the Ottoman Period, two laborers named Karagöz and Hacivat were employed in the construction of a mosque in Bursa. When the Sultan learned that their humorous and comic banter was the reason for the distraction of other workers, and had thus delayed the construction of the mosque, he sentenced the two to death, an action he regretted afterwards.

A little later, an individual named Seyh Küsteri who was saddened by this event, created images of Karagöz and Hacivat out of leather and impersonated the two behind a curtain. From this point on, the shadow play of Karagöz and Hacivat spread far and wide.

Seyh Küsteri is often given credit as the person who invented the Karagöz shadow play. His burial site can be found in Bursa on Hükümet Caddesi (‘Government Street’). According to another legend, during the reign of Yıldırım Bâyezid, the two wise-cracking jokers, immortalized in image by Seyh Küsteri, were named, ‘Haci Ivaz’ and ‘Haci Evlat’, or in the tongue of the people, ‘Hacivat and Karagöz.’

Seyh Küsteri, who was one of the dignitaries of Orhan Gazi, supposedly set up this shadow play in a form that was suitable for Ottoman entertainment culture and since the time of Yıldırım Bâyezid, this shadow play has become widespread.

It is known that between the 17th and 19th centuries, shadow plays were performed for Ottomans of all walks of life: from the palace and the polite society of the elite to coffeehouses of the masses, where apart from such sacred times as the month of Ramadan and the Night of Power, they were evidently performed every night.

However, (according to Ottoman sources), Gypsy culture entailed a strong devotion to entertainment and games where they apparently received the same degree of pleasure from playing music as they did from listening to it. In this way, the irregularity of their normal lives was reflected in their music.

In the Ottoman period, according to Evliya Çelebi, a physical space was given to Gypsy musicians within the ranks of the guild musicians as they passed in front of the Sultan
during ceremonies. One of these Gypsy musicians was known as 'Cingene Donsuz'. The same writer gives information on the musical instruments that Gypsies used, among which is an instrument called a 'çökür.'

It is known that the Gypsies have a great role in the Ottoman entertainment culture. If the rumors are true about that Karagöz is a Gypsy, the degree of their contribution will be better understood. Besides, together with the Coptic women giving dance trainings to female slaves in the Ottoman palace as well as their employment in the Ottoman mansions as danseuse, singer, and musician clarifies their position in the Ottoman entertainment culture.

In the Ottoman entertainment culture, the Gypsies were included in the 'besik alayi' (cradle parade) in the entertainments organized for the new born children as well as the 'Gelin Hamami' (Bride’s Bathing), a ceremonial wedding custom. As further evidence of the Gypsies’ contribution in the Ottoman entertainment culture, it is interesting that, according to a judgment dated August 2, 1572, sent to Bergos judge, the Gypsies dance "hora" together with the Christians in vice in the fairs.
Se min ild [See my fire] is a song that is well known among the Romani People (Taters/Travellers) of Norway. Its melody (minor) invokes a mysterious, romantic atmosphere, and the lyrics describe impossible love between a Romani girl and a non-Romani boy. However, it may be that neither the lyrics nor the melody have a long history among the Norwegian Romanies. The song was part of a popular operetta called Taterblod [Gypsy blood], created by non-Romanies, which premiered in Oslo in 1909. Both the lyrics and the melody are closely related to a Russian "Gypsy" song, Moj koster [My bonfire] that has been attributed to the Russian poet Yakov Petrovich Polonsky (1819–1898).

In Norway, Se min ild has long been attractive to Romanies and non-Romanies alike. The song’s popularity illustrates an aspect of the relationship between Romanies and the majority population, notably the majority’s view of Travellers as "interesting others" who live a romantic free life on the country roads. Se min ild expresses something essential about Tater/Romani life. It is commonly believed to be an old, authentic Norwegian Romani song.

When and how did the Romanies adopt this song? How do their feelings and thoughts about the song compare to those of other Norwegians? Does the song express a common interest between the two groups, where the majority wants "the others" to remain "exotic", while the Romanies accept and actually feel comfortable with this categorization?
Ritual im/purity as a taboo. The case of the Gypsies from East Slovakia

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In our contribution we will try to analyze the concept of ritual im/purity in a Roma/Gypsy group, drawing on our fieldwork experience from the Slovak Gypsy settlements and Czech suburban localities. We will not deal with the question of the origins of this concept here. It is not interesting for us, in this contribution, where (and when) the concept of the ritual im/purity came from. We will not, either, discuss whether the concept of the ritual im/purity is or is not a Roma/Gypsy particularity, that is, whether this concept is specific and unique to Roma/Gypsy groups. We want to propose an understanding of a specific form of this widely discussed phenomenon, as it is observed in some of the East Slovakian Gypsy settlements, an understanding completely different from the existing ones. We argue that it is possible, in our case, to analytically separate at least two aspects of the ”purity complex” and to analyze these two independently (though they may – and often do – empirically coincide): 1. Ritual im/purity as a means of social organization or as a language of setting up the social boundaries, and 2. Ritual im/purity as a taboo, in a strict sense of the word, that is an ambivalent quality connected with one particular animal species.
The double status of the Ashkali women in a Belgrade slum

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There are several Roma slums on the territory of Belgrade, of different dimensions, inhabited by homogeneous or heterogeneous Roma groups. Some of the inhabitants are native in the slums, others are new-comers who settled there after the forced migrations at the end of the 20th century, or after the re-admission from the Western Europe’s countries.

In the present study I will focus on the situation in a Belgrade slum which is completely unknown to the Serbian public and is inhabited by Bayash (Romanian speaking Orthodox Roma), Ashkali (Albanian speaking Muslim Roma) and Vlach Roma recently settled here from Western Serbia (speaking a Vlach Romani dialect, also Orthodox by confession). My researches encompassed the Ashkali community, which is partly native in this slum, and partly formed by Ashkali refugees from Kosovo. According to the statements of the Ashkali woman whom I talked to, women status in the Ashkali community, as in other Roma traditional communities, depends on their age, as well as on their role in the community and family. Thus, the family manages women’s future in the first period of their life, but women’s status changes in time: later in life, they are the ones who decide on behalf of other family members. Consequently, women have passive and active roles in the family and community. According to this research, which is not finished yet, I will try to present a preliminary analysis of the double status of the woman in the Ashkali community in this Belgrade slum.
The demographic transition of Spanish Gypsies (1925–2007)

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There is a lack of research on the historical demography of Roma groups, and also of how the dramatic demographic changes that constitute a crucial aspect of modernity affect their relationship with neighbors and society at large. In this paper we will survey what is known about the demographic transition of Spanish Gypsies from previous studies and from our own research in Andalusia and Madrid. Particularly we will use the data from our research in 22 contiguous localities of Granada, in Southern Spain. Our data from civil and parish registers concern over 18,500 people born from 1790 to 2007. Infant mortality remains very high until the late 1940s (with Qo levels of 254.6 on average from 1935 to 1940), and starts falling in the 1950s in a form not altogether different from that of their neighbors. Fertility, however would remain much higher until the late 1980s (with ISF averages ranging from 5.7 to 7.1 between 1940 and 1985) and has declined until late 1990s to levels from 2.4 to 2.9, although it has remained much higher than that of the rest of Spaniards. These trends of mortality and fertility have produced a fourfold increase in the local Gypsy population in the second half of twentieth century, even discounting the higher rates of emigration from this area both to the city of Granada and to other Spanish regions.
Morphosyntactic typology of Romani demonstratives

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In European Romani dialects, DPs containing demonstratives are divided into three types (1a–c). The first type shown in (1a) prevails and is found in Finnish Romani, too. The second type in (1b) is found in Paspati (1870) and certain kalderas variants. The last type (1c) is known to occur in kalderas and ursari. (Boretzky 2000: 43; Matras 2002)

(1) a. kadava rom
   this man

b. kadava o rom
   this ART man

c. o rom kadava
   ART man this
   'this man'
   (Examples Boretzky 2000: 43.)

According to a common view within Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995), the demonstratives occurring in SpecDP in (1a and b) are raised from a lower structural position (Giusti 1997, 2002; Brugè 2000, 2002; Brugè & Giusti 1996 jne.). On the other hand in (1c), the demonstrative remains (in situ) in the position, where it was base-generated. Following Brugè (2002), the demonstratives are base-generated in a low position in Determiner Phrase within the extended nominal projection. The functional projection, in which they are generated, is lower than all the functional projections containing classes adjective attributes, but higher than the NP projection. According to Giusti (2002) the demonstrative is located on the right side of the entire definite DP.

The European Romani dialects can be grouped according the obligatoriness vs. optionality of the Demonstrative Raising to SpecDP. The factors behind the parametric variation related to the Demonstrative Raising included different language contacts. The Demonstrative Raising is obligatory in a majority of the Romani dialects. The pattern in (1b) follows the Greek model (aftos o andras 'this ART man'). (1c) may also be attributed to Greek influence (o andras aftos 'ART man this'), but its development in Vlax dialects may have been reinforced by the Romanian influence, since Romanian has a pattern like om-ul acesta 'man-ART this'. (Boretzky 2000: 43.)

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The Social Exclusion of Older Gypsies and Travellers in Britain

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This paper is based upon research undertaken in support of an Equalities and Human Rights Commission study\textsuperscript{1} into the multiple domains of exclusion experienced by British Gypsies and Travellers. One element of the project consisted of undertaking a literature review, supported by a survey of service providers to examine key areas of policy concern pertaining to the experiences of older Gypsies and Travellers. The findings from this study which include evidence in relation to inequality of access to state pensions; (re)training which might assist in entry into diverse employment markets; low take up and availability of appropriate health and social care support and additional gendered dimensions of exclusion, are supported by qualitative data from Gypsy Traveller accommodation and other needs assessments (GTANA) undertaken by the presenter at diverse locations in England.

The findings are framed by a discussion on the ways in which social exclusion and isolation typically experienced by older citizens tend to play out ‘differently’ within Gypsy and Traveller communities, where strong bonding capital and family support networks act as a protective factor for individuals who in policy discourse are at high risk of multiple exclusions. In practice, it will be argued, the failure of state agencies to engage with Gypsies and Travellers is often presented in terms of these community members’ unwillingness to develop bridging capital, reframing the responsibility for service provision within a population deficit model which fails to address practical barriers to take-up of services experienced by older Gypsies and Travellers.

\textsuperscript{1}Cemlyn, S; Greenfields, M; Burdett, S; Matthews, Z & Whitwell, C (2009) Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller communities: a review Manchester, EHRC
Romani – an endangered language?

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The recently published online version of the "UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger" – www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas – lists Romani as "definitely endangered". This complies with stage two on UNESCO’s five-stage endangerment scale ranging from "unsafe", which corresponds to stage 1, to "extinct", which corresponds to stage five. The UNESCO Atlas lists "Sinti, Vlax, Calò" as alternative names for Romani, defines as "location(s): many European countries, most densely in East-Central and Eastern Europe and in the Balkans", and numbers its speakers as "3,500,000 (Matras 2002 estimate)" although Matras (2002 Romani: a linguistic introduction, Cambridge University Press) wrote that "There are upwards of 3.5 million speakers...".

The inaccuracy with respect to alternative names, number of speakers, etc. of Romani is to some extent caused by a lack of statistical data but also by wrong citations as well as by copying of falsities, speculations and vacuities from unreliable sources. The latter does not account for the UNESCO Atlas and it is not the intention of the paper to go into further details with respect to this, but to question resp. discuss the valuation of Romani as an endangered language. Undoubtedly this label holds true for single varieties or dialects – i.a. Finnish Romani and Burgenland Romani – but maybe not for Romani as language in general.

The scientific paradigm of antigypsism is a new approach in the research of Roma. The importance of religion in the private and social life of Roma has not been recognized adequately in previous studies.

The goal is to find out in an empiric study if and how antigypsism shapes the social and religious life of Roma in the researched Romanian village, if and how antigypsism shapes the relationship between Roma and religion, especially with the Roman Catholic Church, and which consequences should be drawn from these empirical findings for a theological reformulation of the pastoral care of Roma.

Methods, that have been used in this study: participant observation, not standardized biographic receptive interviews for the empiric study in Romania, hermeneutic analysis and interpretation of texts for the documents on Roma pastoral care.

Resources have been the transcriptions of the interviews, information from local institutions for the empiric study, documents of the Roman Curia and other relevant national pastoral concepts for the analysis of the pastoral care on Roma, secondary literature was read and used in Romanian, English, Italian and German, some recent studies in French and a lot of studies from international organizations on behalf of Roma.

Results in some short assumptions:

• The empiric study has proven the fundamental structures of antigypsistic exclusion of Roma from the social systems.

• The social antigypsism in the village under research is reproduced by the local and diocesan representatives within the Roman Catholic Church.

• The Roman Catholic Church has adopted the negative social attitude towards the Roma and has participated in the persecution of the Roma or has kept quiet about it.

• The documents of the Roman Curia on pastoral care for Roma are marked by the straight conception of an ethnic determined ”nomadism”, as in respect of the biblical foundation as in respect of the pastoral aims.
A theology of Roma-liberation must start from the biblical foundation looking at the behavior of Jesus towards the marginalized of his period. It must take into account the relational origin of ethnic, cultural and religious identity and it has to aim at the inclusion of Roma into society and church as a symbol of the eschatological unity of the people of God.
Social norms, identities and the school: differences in cultural representations between two Gypsy communities in Hungary

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This paper proposes a cultural anthropological study on the influence of the social norms and identity construction practices within two Gypsy communities upon attitudes towards formal education. The focus is on exploring the various social mechanisms shaping the prestige of the school in these communities. In the everyday identity practices the Gypsy traditional social norms not only coordinate the interactions with others, but also assign the border between the own community and the major society. The construction of the general attitude towards the institutions of the major society is similar to the construction of Gypsy identities in various life situations based on the cultural similarities and differences with respect to the major society. What does the institute of school represent for these people in terms of individual and communal emergence and welfare? There are presented two Gypsy minority communities with considerably different attitudes towards formal education. In one of them school is characterized as a low-prestige institute within a ”school counter-culture” context. In the other one it owns an adoptive cultural representation. The above mentioned attitude differences are interpreted in the framework of the distinct social norms.
Construction of the History of Roma in the ’Great Land’
(Russia)

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Publications on the history of Roma such as translation of works by Grellman (1781) and the latest recent research of M.Smirnova-Seslavinskaya, N.Bessonov, V.Kalinin and others all agree that the Roma originate from one particular macro-ethnic geographical group ”domba” who left India during VII–VIII centuries. In the Russian Empire it was assumed that the origin of Gypsies (Roma) was Indian. The 1850’s saw a consensus that the Roma had arrived from India to Russia avoiding Greece, due to fewer Greek borrowings found in other Romani dialects.

The first census (1926) of Roma in USSR counted 61,299 Gypsies and GCE (vol 60, Mosc, 1934) stated that ”Roma could have left India in the tenth century and they moved westward by two ways: first, along the Persian bay, and through inner Persia”.

I’m inclined to agree with the opinion of Roma from Belarus and Baltic states that there might be information about Roma in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Armenia and Iraq or in the Arab states. However, due to political reasons it is impossible to gain access to archives.

We should also mention the findings by V. Kandyba who stated that ancestors of Roma used to live between the Black and Caspian seas in the ancient state of Trossia (Rus-Trojan) who immigrated to the Punjab in the XVII BC. I agree with the hypothesis by T.Narbutt of 1851 that the Roma could have descended from one particular tribe that could have become dissipated among other peoples.
The social exclusion of the ROMA in Greece constitutes an existing and acute issue of social inequality, which involves a large and socially weak population, with the main element being social isolation as a cause for and at the same time result of the lack of an established home, consequently leading to spatial isolation and homelessness, inadequate citizenship procedures, absolute poverty, total exclusion from the labour market, lack of access to health and social protection systems, high functional illiteracy levels and educational exclusion, as well as separation from local communities.

The objective of the study is to present the new uniform social integration policy for the ROMA population in Greece, which aims to eliminate the conditions of universal social exclusion.

The social exclusion of the Roma involves homelessness and spatial isolation, as well as their exclusion from basic social goods, which is also part of the individual dimensions of the problem, and particularly the lack of access to fundamental social rights:

- In the Urban and Municipal environment
- In Education and Vocational Training
- In Health, Social Protection and Social Welfare
- In Employment and Social Security

The new social ROMA integration strategy of Greece, the national plan, aims at developing a uniform and coherent multi-sectoral policy for the simultaneous management of the factors leading to the social exclusion of the Roma people at the spatial level and specifically:

- the development of sustainable social housing policies
- the development of long-term social support measures
Based on this approach, the individual dimensions constitute aspects of the same problem. The social ROMA integration strategy of Greece aims at taking simultaneous action to eliminate the causes that block access.

The different dimensions require different policies defined by synergy and internal cohesion, for which specific strategic goals should be set, and the structural sum of these goals shall serve the general strategic goal which is to "eliminate the circumstances of social exclusion and create the conditions for social integration".
How (and what) do Roma remember?

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More traditional Romani studies operated with a concept of Roma as a “people without history and memory,” who are interested neither in the past nor in the future. Such an approach can be attributed to the “differential deprivation of history” (Bauman), “erasures of interconnection” (Wolf), or to various procedures of “othering” Roma by placing them in an “allochronic discourse” (Bhabha, Fabian). Recently a new perspective has been developed, one that assumes that even if Roma do not consciously reflect upon their past, the past is “remembered” for them due to the fact that it is in a way “stored” or “embedded” in the nature of the relations between Roma and non-Roma. Such an “implicit memory” approach (Stewart) means a step forward since it has assumed a more sophisticated concept of social memory. Nevertheless, it shares with the older approach the essentialized concept of Roma identity. Moreover, it homogenizes the diversity of Romani life, presents a monolithic picture of the non-Roma world, and sees a firm borderline between the two while we should rather speak here of a liminal frontier zone. Theoretical criticism will be accompanied by the illustrations of various acts of active and reflective remembrance among Roma, partly drawn from the interviews I have conducted with several mid-rank Romani activists in a number of East/Central European countries.
A Boyash Wedding in Hungary, 2008

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The Boyashes living in Hungary, in the Transdanubian area could move from the forests to the territories of Hungarian villages in the 1960s and ’70s. Earlier they were not able to celebrate big weddings because of their reduced circumstances. Nowadays the wealthy families want to organize big weddings for their children showing their material wellbeing for the Boyash community and the surrounding population as well.

The wedding I participated in 2008 November was organized by the president of the Romani self-government of a small village for his daughter. The main aim of it was the representation of his family and their effort for integration. In my paper I will examine the moments and the music of the wedding that contained old and new Boyash, Vlach Romani, Hungarian, folk, folkish and popular elements.
The Romany minority in Poland is very diverse. These differences concern, among other things, the between-groups (between-clans) division, which, in turn, determine the shape of between-generations and between-sexes relationships in certain Romany groups. Above mentioned differences reflect on attitude of Romany organizations representatives towards the Romany tradition and its significance in building the group identity. It is particularly interesting to show the significance of the group tradition in Romany women leaders’ identity formation in Poland. The clans group and the age is the subject to different formation of the Romany women leaders’ identity. Living on the border of their clans group and the dominating society they modify the group traditions, creating conditions to constitute the contacts between the Romany and Polish dominating society, but different leaders see different the Romany group traditions.

In this paper I am going to present the results of sociological research. I am going to show, among other things, the point of view of educated Romany women on the traditional model of Romany family, the relationships with the dominating society, and the relationships between the age groups among Polish Romany. All these factors influence the dynamics of formation the Romany women leaders’ identity. As a result of the research, the two ideal types of the Romany women leaders’ identity were marked out. The first type concerns the women leaders who re-discover the group traditions, treating them as the resource and the vital factor of forming, in their opinion, the identity of Polish Romany. The second type of the identity concerns these women leaders, for whom the group traditions are only the sui generis additional burden, which means the factor deepening the exclusion and society marginalization processes. Between these two ideal types of the Romany women leaders’ identity are others, dynamically formed types of identity.
Arthur Thesleff, a polyhistorian.

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Arthur Thesleff, the President of the Gypsy Lore Society 1911–13, was one of the first scholars who studied Gypsy language and culture by participating in their daily activities and traveling with them. He met his first Gypsy acquaintances near his home manor in East Finland, and later he joined in other Gypsy groups in numerous European countries and in Russia.

Thesleff belonged to the Finnish nobility, and his prosperous background enabled his "eccentric" lifestyle which included not only travels with Gypsies, but living in Stockholm among Swedish criminals to study also their language, studying some questions in zoology, botanics, folklore, and establishing a Finnish colony in Argentina. In spite of his large list of articles, published in scholarly journals, and his two dictionaries, the first dictionary of Finnish Gypsy language, and the dictionary of Stockholm’s underworld, he never graduated from the University of Helsinki where he had studied.
Conceptions of Romas at the turn of the 20th century. An investigation of Arthur Thesleff’s collection at the Swedish National/Royal Library

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Research project by Pia Laskar, Stockholm University, pia.laskar at kvinfo.su.se Arthur Thesleff, president of The Gypsy Lore Society in London from 1911 to 1913, left his collection of artefacts at the National/Royal Library in Stockholm. The collection contains a large amount of turn of the century popular culture and scientific representations of Roma. I have investigated the collection and chosen some representative texts (from turn of the 20th Century) for more close readings.

I examine how contemporary science explained Roma and their genealogy and placed them as the Others against the majority population. An initial evaluation shows that the view on Roma can be tied to the contemporary obsession to measure and grade differences between people. Preliminary results show that the Roma were constructed as a deviant racialised category and an unwanted ethnic group in the Swedish nationalistic project and in the dawning welfare society.

The Roma were not only segregated from the majority population but also conceptualised as gender different within the group. My investigation demonstrates how Roma women are applied with heavy sexual markers. In many of the turn of the 20th century sources in Thesleff's archive, Roma women are conceptualised, or Otherfied, as seductive (sexually uncontrolled) threats to respectability. This image can be deconstructed as the opposition of expected femininity among the middle class of the majority population. Thus racist concepts were gendered and sexualised, and gender and sexuality were racified when hierarchical differentiations considering race, gender and class, were structured between majority resp. minority populations, as well as within the groups.
Modern didactics is needed in teaching Romany language

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Roma have inhabited Finland since the sixteenth century. According to the latest estimates, there are at least 12,000 Roma in Finland and in addition, approx. 3,000 Finnish Roma live in Sweden.

As Finnish citizens, Roma are entitled to the same education as the majority population. However, in practice, the position of the Roma as regards education is more difficult than that of the majority. The problem for Roma children continues to be failure to complete the comprehensive school, which makes it difficult for them to enter further education. On the other hand, it must be recalled that the Roma’s educational tradition is still relatively young. Various reports show that the education received by old people is inadequate and that they even are illiterate. It is also a fact that the Finnish language used by Roma differs from the main-stream Finnish language. The vocabulary is different and in some contexts limited (mostly lacking the socio-economic vocabulary) and the Roma use the language differently. In Finland, the legislation (on the Constitutional rights and on the comprehensive school) guarantees certain prerequisites for maintaining and developing Romani language and culture.

The aforesaid school legislation has made it possible for instruction in the Romani language and culture to be given in comprehensive and senior high schools, in vocational training and in vocational adult education. But in practise only 250 children are receiving instruction on Romani language. There is a great need for restoring and developing the skills of Romani language, both in written and spoken forms.

There are a number of reasons for the scarcity of instruction in Romani. One major obstacle is the lack of qualified teachers of Romani. Another obstacle is the lack of adequate teaching materials, and the last but not least is the lack of modern didactics and methods of teaching language.
I have studied the life of Roma women and Roma families with respect to ethnicity, identity and the customs connected to them, taking also factors such as age, generation, and gender into consideration. Ethnography is based on field work, interviews, observation, video documents and photographs. The Roma discuss about individuals and families who follow the customs right and those who do not know how to follow them. In the following or not following the customs right is either praised or criticised. The ideal is that the customs would be learned naturally in everyday life. Natural behaviour is valued. The predominant population has created a stereotype, according to which the Roma are children of nature. However the life of Romanies with its numerous rules connected with purity and dirt, honour and shame, is disciplined. For the Roma age and growing old in fact create and intensify their ethnic identity. The experiences of a certain age or generation can be very different with respect to being Gypsy/Romany. Older romany generations have personally experienced nomadic lifestyle due to their means of livelihood.

In my work I take into consideration the whole Roma family, how they are fostering their children, what kind of values are important for them. What kind a person is a good Roma person?

I’ll show a video document of a Roma woman’s household ”Roma purity”, in a film my roma friend Sonja Nyman is telling about her household rules. They are based on purity/impurity, shame/honour. Sonja Nyman’s story and situation are concrete, but they finely reveal deeper meanings that are hidden in the traditions of purity and impurity of the Roma culture. In the story, she often refers to the cleanliness of the face, concretely meaning that the face cloth has to be washed completely separate from other laundry and it has to be kept in a clean place, not in a bathroom. One must also keep one’s face clean symbolically, if a Roma hears or sees something impropriate; they must turn their head, cover their eyes or leave. These customs are a part of the core of Roma culture and vary in different clans and even families.

Sources

Literature

Other sources
Kenttänausoitukset ja kenttäpäiväkirjat (Airi Markkanen) Roma material at the Finnish Literature Society 1967-1977

Visual works
Roma Purity, 1999
Roma men in Prison, 2004
Forgotten, not assimilated; a sociohistorical perspective of the Turkish Romanlar in the Black Sea region of Rumania

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Rumania would appear, at first glance to have a highly organized and effective Roma civil society that comprehensively seeks to represent Roma groups in the country at national and international levels. Yet on closer examination one group are almost entirely unrepresented and essentially ignored by the wider Roma political emancipation movement – the Turkish Romanlar. Turkish-speaking and linked to the history of the Ottoman past when Romani groups from Turkey were brought to the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities by their Phanariote masters, the Gypsies are not brought into the discourse of Roma as a trans-national European minority or even recognized amongst the Vlach and other Roma communities in modern Rumania, existing in the liminal spaces between Gypsy and Turk but wanted by neither. This paper will explore these issues of identity, liminality and the social construction of ethnicity.
Educating Roma in Sweden and Turkey; an intercultural and comparative perspective

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The promotion of access to quality education for Romani children has, in recent years under-pinned the drive to achieve social inclusion for Roma, Gypsy, Sinti and Traveller communities across Europe. The OSI has suggested that ”Without access to quality education, Roma communities remain trapped in poverty and isolated at society’s margins” (OSI, 2009, ’10 Goals for Improving Access to Quality Education for Roma’, p.2). International NGO’s are focussing upon this issue as the prime means of addressing social exclusion, poverty reduction, Roma child-trafficking and economic marginalization. Yet the aspirations and expectations being placed upon national education systems, to address the long-term problems of the Roma in Europe may well be unrealistic and in some cases, misplaced. Can the education provision of modern, European nation-states really offer a series of solutions to address these problems? Dr Olgaç will present her assessment of the potential of Swedish schools to deliver, whilst Dr Marsh will examine the Turkish case of minority groups and education, particularly for the Rom, Dom and Lom. The results may be surprising.
Gypsy Tombstones in Eastern Europe

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Among several Gypsy groups living in Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe the commemorating of the deceased has acquired some impressive pompous forms. They could be quite varied – chapels, tombs, rich decorated memorials, statues and so on – which are different according to the particular Gypsy group and cultural-historical regions.

We will present the diverse ways through which the memory of deceased is commemorated and immortalized among the different Gypsy groups living in different countries. There will be included the chapels of the ”Gypsy kings” in Poland, tombs in Romania, Republic of Moldova and Bulgaria, decorated with portrait drawings and photographs in marble memorials and statues in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Slovakia and Bulgaria. Summarized materials on the ”representative” honoring of dead will be presented in cartographic form with outlining of the specifics among separate Gypsy groups living in various countries in the region of Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe. Based on these materials, and also using results of archeological excavations of nomadic Gypsies in Bulgaria, dated 18th–19th century, the reasons will be analyzed for the appearance of this relatively new tradition among different Gypsy groups and its development during the years. Special attention will be paid to the topic of difference in comparison to burial traditions of other Gypsy groups, described as ”tabooing of the dead”, which are characteristic of some Gypsy groups in Western Europe.

The presentation will be illustrated with rich photographic materials from the authors’ field research in different countries of the Central, South Eastern and Eastern European region (Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Russian Federation).
A spectre is haunting Romani studies: The spectre of so-called 'revisionist history'. Its authors pretend to bring us a new version of history that is clean of prejudice, and they are cheered by spectators who accept the new wave as a timely application of current theorising to Romani studies. If Romani nationalism of the early 1970s was inspired by post-colonialism, then the new wave of pseudo-historiography claims an affinity to a post-modernist, de-constructionist agenda whose method is critical text analysis. In fact, this trend is largely concerned with diminishing confidence in mainstream scholarship and in occupying the centre stage 'expert' role in semi-academic policy consultations regarding Roma. My talk will examine the 'revisionist' work of a number of authors activists, some of it targeting popular audiences and other targeting academic audiences, the arguments shaped by individuals such as Kochanowski, Hancock, Marsh and Cortiade, and the echo they receive among some academics. My primary focus is the employment of a range of notions about language in the construction of an argument. The talk is thus a sequel to earlier work on this topic, taking into account the developments of the past decade.
Who Speaks for Roma? Representation of a Transnational Minority in the European Union

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This paper examines the importance of voice and political representation for the Romani community in the European Union (EU). It is argued that the EU acts as a site and ally for Romani mobilisation in which actors articulate the interests of this minority community. The international political context has proved a vital space for Roma to gain leverage over domestic opposition, articulate their interests, and improve their socio-economic and political situation. Roma representatives in the transnational political context have emphasised a collective identity in order to ensure that the voice of Roma is heard in the EU. However the ability to construct common interests is impeded by the heterogeneity of the Romani community. The institutions of the EU have gradually turned their attention to addressing the dire socio-economic situation of Roma across Europe but thus far pragmatic outputs have not materialised. This paper begins by tracing the development of Roma policy in the European Union, paying particular attention to recent developments, and the role of actors within the Commission and Parliament are evaluated in turn. An analysis of Romani activism and mobilisation in Brussels follows in which the role of organising structures of representation which give a voice to Roma are assessed. Finally, this paper considers the impact of transnational activism for Roma which raises issues of voice, representation and participation.
The participation of the Finnish Roma women to paid labor: struggling for membership

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In my Master’s thesis I am looking at the Finnish Roma women’s paths towards working life as narrated by the women participating in paid labor. The path includes historical and cultural resources as well as education, work application and working life. I interpret the process from the perspective of cultural citizenship; of becoming a full member of a society by meeting the obligation of work. However, full membership is conditional. Those perceived as different face the threat of exclusion. Self esteem is also required. Therefore membership needs to be struggled for. In these struggles both ends of the membership spectrum; belonging and exclusion can be traced.

The women’s narratives and membership are constructed against the negative stereotypes the majority holds about the Roma. These stereotypes are negotiated in the interview setting and struggled against in the everyday experiences of exclusion taking place on different stages of the path. The women face exclusion during the work application processes and also at the work place. Therefore membership must be struggled for. The resources for these struggles are determined by the historical conditions of the Roma minority and the Roma culture the most relevant aspect of which is the cultural role of women. Although some level of membership is often achieved, much needs to be done. Often the true sense of membership is achieved only within one’s own ethnic community. In the interviews appreciation for individuality and cultural difference is demanded and the right to express different cultural belonging in the public sphere is underlined.
Fieldwork as partly knowing without notes

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Participant observation brings non-cerebral knowledge. My fieldwork depended more on participant observation than information elicited by direct questions. Writing up could never be a mechanistic exercise since I drew on more than what had first been written down. Knowledge came through lived events. Coherence emerged from remembered and re-configured experience. Gender, before the new feminist anthropology, was not an advance focus. Participation brought unexpected awareness. As inhabitant of the surrounding non-Gypsy culture(s), this experience became an additional unexpected resource. Fieldwork continued in unpredicted places. The anthropologist moved from 'facts' to representations and imaginative knowledge alongside lived practice. The Gypsies perceptions of the 'other' became crucial interconnecting material. The analysis of pollution and animal classification pivoted also on the disjunction between the Gypsies' beliefs and their perceptions of non-Gypsies' beliefs. The focus on some topics could sometimes be traced to personal biography and the positionality of the fieldworker. A negative experience of the anthropologist’s own culture and class raised appreciative and empathetic questions elsewhere. The analysis and interrogation of a range of material, not necessarily written down, came to full fruition months and sometimes years after the initial fieldwork.
Professional Roma Folk Musicians in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina (1879–1918)

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My paper analyses the roles and position of professional Roma folk musicians – indigenous, Austro-Hungarian (i.e., Slavonian and Hungarian) and Serbian – in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their professional status depended on the Provincial Government which granted all approved performers a licence.

Some Roma musicians were admired due to their superb musical skills and were consequently paid well. On the other hand, reports by authorities from 1907 reveal that Slavonian Roma and especially Serbian Roma musicians and their music were considered responsible for the alleged increased alcohol consumption and degeneracy of youth. After the confidential circular of 5 May 1908 it became more difficult for new Roma bands, especially those from Serbia, to obtain music licences. From then on, all musicians and other performers – local or foreign – were almost always obliged to produce testimonials on their moral and political reliability. In the background of the policies lie the increased tension between Austria-Hungary and Serbia during the so-called Pig War between Austria-Hungary and Serbia (1905–1907), the Annexation of Bosnia in October 1908 and the two Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Finally, the Great War almost brought a halt to professional music performances in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The sources used consist of the archive documents on Roma musicians produced by the Austro-Hungarian administration and Roma musicians’ complaints addressed to the authorities. The documents are being preserved in the Archive of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.
The paper discusses three moral and political dilemmas that inevitably arise in the context of the emerging European Roma policy, and on which all concerned parties, including grassroots Romani organizations, shall be able to express their views.

The first concerns whether individual-rights based anti-discrimination measures are sufficient to promote the social inclusion of Roma or group-rights are required to assure the exercise of their fundamental human rights. Even though there appears to be a consensus on the insufficiency of the former approach, it is unclear exactly what sorts of group-rights should be promoted – which leads us to the second dilemma of generic versus targeted minority rights.

Although populations labelled 'Roma' may confront similar forms of discrimination, for instance in education, housing or health care, affirmative desegregation measures may counter; these groups also differ in many respects that do not only concern "specific issues of cultural identity" but are directly relevant for issues of social exclusion.

The third dilemma is whether to recognize Roma as national minority or non-territorial nation. The paper argues that the notion of non-territorial nation can be debated on anthropological, political and moral grounds. Anthropologists pointed out that communities labelled 'Roma' are often neither aware of the vision of non-territorial nation or do not identify with it. Others consider the claim politically harmful or counter-productive. Finally, the moral standing of such a post-national vision may also be contested.
Vanishing Gypsy Neighborhoods of Istanbul: Vanishing Dreams, Tales of Gypsy Children...

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My paper intends to explain the increasing discrimination process against Turkish Gypsies in housing and its social economic impact on Gypsy children.

Researches I conducted indicate that Gypsy community faces serious infringements of the right to adequate housing ranging from forced evictions and demolition of entire communities to exposure to extremely substandard living conditions and lack of security of tenure. The demolition of Gypsy neighborhoods has been a constant factor in the rapid urbanisation of Turkish cities since at least the 1950’s. Commercial redevelopment and urban renewal were primarily the reasons for the displacement of these neighbourhoods. Such measures affected all poorer communities in Turkey, and were not consistently targeted at one group. The Gypsy community, however, has been more vulnerable than others as it frequently inhabited older areas in the heart of towns and cities that could be profitably sold to agencies and corporate interests. In addition to disruption of personal life and security, the demolition of Gypsy neighborhoods and the forced removal of their inhabitants retained the traditions and customs of the past from younger generations. The resultant breakdown in many cases has led to poverty and marginalisation. Currently, there are a number of urban renewal projects that threaten demolition or have actually succeeded in the destruction of Gypsy neighborhoods of Sulukule, Kagithane, Dolapdere, Kustepe, Gaziosmanpasa and Ayvansaray in Istanbul. Amid a building boom in Istanbul, the Gypsies of Sulukule are pushed out of their shantytowns.

They lived for almost 1,000 years around the remains of Istanbul’s Byzantine walls...
A Cherokee Mother of 21: Gypsies as Indians, c. 1870–1991

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Members of several Gypsy groups in the United States from time to time adopted professional or convenience identities as American Indians. This paper will draw on primary documentary sources to examine how such identities were used. The career of a family of Machwaya Rom, c. 1908-1918, which elaborated the Indian theme, will be looked at in detail.
Nawar from Upper Egypt

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My contribution would be to present my research on the language of the Nawar, a Gypsy community settled in Upper Egypt.

For more than 15 years, I have carried out surveys in the region of Luxor, collecting words spoken by these Egyptian Nawar, a blending of Persian and Arabic.

I am now working out an exhaustive description of their language, which is very interesting from an ethno-linguistic point of view. Nawari is actually a quite clear combination of Indo-Iranian words used in a Semitic system, inspired in Luxor by Sa’idi (Upper Egyptian Arabic), rather than classical Arabic or Cairene Arabic. Nowadays, this Gypsy community is not any more nomadic or peripatetic, but well settled in town, despite the fact that Nawar are quite disliked by the Coptic or Muslim inhabitants.

Traditionally, the Nawar used to travel around, they were musicians, their women were dancers, and sometimes prostitutes, which explains why they still are frowned upon in the region and in Egypt in general. Some families were also camel traders. They were most of the time linked to other Gypsy communities like Bahlawanis, Halab and Ghagar, although they never married them.

Today, it has become quite complicated to make contact with true members of this community, because they don’t perform anymore at festivals. In addition, their language is getting lost: their children go regularly to school, and speak mostly Arabic, both outside and inside the family context.

To confirm what I had discovered through my fieldwork, and in order to develop an historical, geographical and sociological approach to the subject, I have read a wide collection of texts written by archaeologists, pilgrims, or simple travellers in the 19th and 20th centuries, touring up and down the Nile, but also crossing the Middle East. With the agreement of the Gypsy Lore Society, I could present a paper on the topic, providing examples of that peculiar language: vocabulary, grammar and some of the dialogs I have recorded.
Fieldwork Impressions from Bulgaria (the case of Gypsy Evangelists, Rudari and Turkish Gypsies)

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The discussions concerning the role, the perception and the impact of the researcher among the Gypsy community(ies) investigated at the position of an outsider in his/her own country, are as old as the Romani Studies.

This paper will pay attention to the methods of fieldwork among various Gypsy groups and will present the most important problems, which the ethnographer encounters during his/her fieldwork. The challenges of conducting fieldwork among Gypsies, the ethics of research and how the interlocutors perceive the researcher will be discussed as well. This paper shall deal also with the issues related to carrying out successful research and how the final results depend both on the approach of the ethnographer and the mentality of the community in question. Besides, a set of variables according to which the researcher is 'evaluated' by the participants and the researcher as a key part of the process influences the volume, type and quality of the obtained data will be included. This paper is based on the experience of the author while carrying out participant observation among three different communities – Gypsy Evangelists, Romanian-speaking Rudari and Xoraxane Roma (or Turkish Gypsies). The aim is to show how their group’s identity reflects directly on the relationship between the researcher and the community.

The aim of the paper is also to stress the fact that there is a need for a flexible approach among different Gypsy groups or the methods should be as diverse as the communities themselves with their particular ethno-cultural features. The core peculiarities of the above-mentioned three groups will be presented on the base of the experience of fieldwork conducted in Bulgaria.
Housed Gypsy Travellers, Social Segregation and the Reconstruction of Communities

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Based on ongoing qualitative and ethnographic research the paper explores the 'accommodation careers' and social adaptations made by formerly nomadic Gypsies and Travellers living in 'bricks and mortar' accommodation. Promoting greater integration and cohesion between different ethnic groups has been a major concern of the government’s 'community cohesion' agenda and the paper discusses the implications of increased (and often involuntary) settlement in terms of current policy concerns over social segregation and the existence of 'parallel communities'. The paper discusses the 'constrained choices' regarding accommodation that many Gypsies and Travellers face before considering the structure of social relations in their localities. The strategies by which cultural identities are sustained in housing are discussed and how the presence of kin and other Gypsies and Travellers help to offset some of the adaptation difficulties experienced. However following the seminal work on social networks by American sociologist Mark Granovetter, the argument is made that while frequent social interaction and the maintenance of a distinct cultural identity provides a crucial source of support, there is also a danger that social relations become restricted to close 'boding' networks thus intensifying the social isolation of Gypsy/Traveller communities, fragmenting neighbourhoods along ethnic lines and negating policy interventions to build integrated and cohesive communities.
Stereotyping Gypsies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art

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The paper addresses the question of which Gypsy stereotypes are picked up, shaped and, at the same time, aesthetically transformed in the art of the 15th–17th centuries, the central focus being on the relationship between pictorial languages, on the one hand, and social realities (or rather the constructions thereof), on the other.

The paper takes as its starting point the supposedly first Gypsy representation in Stefan Lochner’s Apostelmartyrien (The Martyrdoms of the Apostles, about 1435); the endpoint is marked by Callot’s cycle Les Bohémiens (The Gypsies, about 1621), which compiles older pictorial stereotypes in a novel form and evokes the impression of an authentic, almost proto-ethnographic description.

In many cases, the representation of Gypsies appears to combine the semantics of the stranger with that of the poor. It largely remains within the scope of a few pictorial formulas defined by content, including the fortune-telling (and the pocket-picking that goes along with it), the Gypsy train and the Gypsy camp. On the basis of Italian, French, Dutch and German examples, these formulas will be analysed for their iconographic and compositional modes of inclusion and exclusion. Which topographic, social and symbolic spaces are the Gypsies assigned? What can be said about the relationship between the visual labelling of figures and the contemporary ‘knowledge’ about Gypsies as set out in writing?

The paper will also ask for similarities and differences regarding the representation of Gypsies north and south of the Alps as well as for the significance of confessional and social boundaries with respect to their perception. Moreover, particular interest is paid to gender aspects pertaining to Gypsy representations: In contrast to the portrayal of almost all other groups of contemporary strangers, women figure prominently, and noticeably dominate the Gypsy image. Their frequent presence as well as the attribution of children to them promote not least the intensive artistic exploration of familial patterns, forms of socialization as well as age- and body-related aspects.
Discrimination against Roma is a compelling issue on the Italian agenda. Despite a national law recognising 12 minorities, legislative decrees against discrimination and international obligations, when it comes to the Roma community little has been achieved yet. Racism and xenophobia have recently reached shocking proportions. Politicians play a central role in this, with statements fuelling anti-Romani sentiment; abuses have increased since approximately April 2008, with the election of the new government. Authorities have failed to condemn acts of aggression, and took yet more discriminatory measures, i.e. by declaring a state of emergency singling out the Roma as the cause of social alarm. This paper will review instruments having an effect on the enjoyment of rights by the Roma and analyse existing jurisprudence to show how Italy is failing its international obligations. It will also recollect recent violent incidents against the Roma. The ultimate aim is to identify a comprehensive policy to end violations of the rights of the Roma and ensure their full integration, by suggesting, among others, the implementation of existing instruments and the repeal of national legislation negatively targeting the Roma.
Dealing with the Finnish Roma and the Swedish 'travellers' (resande, tattare), the paper compares how these groups’ relationship with the mainstream peasant society changed during a period of nation-building and economic modernization. While the Swedish travellers are sometimes presented as social outcasts, emerging at least partly from the majority population, the Finnish Roma have conventionally been considered as an absolutely ‘foreign’ group. Historically, both have been largely itinerant, outside agricultural production and beyond state control. As such they have been on the margins of the Nordic estate societies, labelled as vagrants, idlers and criminals.

Yet on micro-level, Roma and the travellers seem to have had stronger ties to the sedentary society than often assumed. Based on court records, government surveys and ethnographical records, it is argued that instead of being isolated, the Roma and travellers were tied into – and dependent of – constant interaction with the peasantry. It is also argued that their mobile livelihood strategies were local and historical adaptations rather than ‘ethnic’ or ‘traditional’.

However, Roma and travellers were in a vulnerable position: their economic strategies, based into low-capital exchange, could particularly in times of economic crises easily turn into a source of resentment by the peasants. Moreover, it seems that ethnic boundary-drawing intensified during the research period, disrupting fragile exchange networks. I argue that this was partly connected to nation-building processes, in which the Roma and the travellers became ‘ethnicized’ in a new way.
Perpetuating a Stereotype through Popular Media: The Portrayal of Traveller Culture in American Television and Film

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The Travellers, a historically peripatetic group, live predominantly in Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Much maligned politically and socially for centuries, they recently have been awarded some legal protections for their way of life and culture. Stereotypes of Travellers, however, abound in current television and film produced in the United States. Few other minority groups have continuously been so maligned in recent media with no outcry from the public. Furthermore, many of these negative portrayals of Travellers have met with success, despite their obviously racist depictions.

Through an examination of several Traveller characters in popular television series and Hollywood films over the past ten years, this paper will show the continued vilifying of Traveller identity and culture flourishing in U.S. popular culture and examine possible reasons for why this has been allowed to happen.
Musical Performance as a Way to Study Distinctness amongst the Hungarian Romungro and Vlach Roma and Its Wider Significance for Understanding Roma Groups at Large

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Scholars in Roma studies, such as Acton, Hancock, Okely, Liegois, Piasere, Williams, Lemon, Marsh, the Salos, Mariushkova, Popov have for a long time emphasised the extreme diversity of this particular social group that comprises various ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural sub-groups living on five different continents and who thereby resist any simple generalisation. Despite of a general agreement with the above even the most ardent believers in extreme particularism do not shy away from drawing explicit or implicit parallels between various Roma groups by quoting, sometimes it seems rather randomly, from the work of their colleagues who have worked in very different spatial and cultural environment from their own. It is also typical to find one specific group or a single study is taken as a representative for all the Roma of a specific area. For example, the excellent anthropological study by Michael Stewart on a north Hungarian Vlach Roma community, Time of the Gypsies, which has a very important chapter on Vlach Roma songs, seems to be the only example quoted in a number of anthropological writings when talking about Hungarian Roma. Yet it is also widely known that Hungarian Roma play and perform vocally different types of music which however seldom leads to an imaginative speculations that it might be due to varied and subtle differentiation between various larger and smaller sub-categories. It suggests to me that music and its importance in performing and creating social life still remain either a mostly ignored or feared aspect in the study of habitus by social sciences. In this paper I argue that the study of musical performance of the two Hungarian Roma groups, the Romungro and the Vlach Roma can not only show their distinct social values and their unique relationship to Hungarian society performed but in a wider context can also be a useful theoretical and methodological framework for social reality in which all the Roma groups can be studied showing their similarities without banishing their differences and thereby bridging the either/or aspects of verbal expression due to music's multilevel and polysemic nature.