Ethnic and National Minority Studies Institute –
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN DYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Proceedings of the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society

Sheila Salo and Csaba Prónai, Editors

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Roma Research Group
Ethnic and National Minority Studies Institute
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During the conference the works of art of the Sinti artist, Katarzyna Pollok were also exhibited. See the artist's web gallery: http://www.katarzynapollok.de

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Introduction

The papers in this volume were presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society and Conference on Gypsy Studies held in Budapest, Hungary, on the 6th and 7th of September, 2002. (Three papers are included whose authors were unable to attend.) Co-sponsored by the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the conference drew participants from eleven countries. Reflecting the multidisciplinary approach of Gypsy Studies, the papers represent research in the fields of anthropology and ethnology, ethnomusicology, folklore, history, linguistics, sociology, and political science and social policy. A glance at the table of contents shows the broad geographical range and the variety of groups represented in these studies.

The Gypsy Lore Society, an international organization of scholars interested in Gypsy Studies, was founded in 1888 in Great Britain. In 1989 the society's headquarters moved to the United States. Society goals include promotion of the study of the Gypsy cultures (these include, among others, the cultures of groups referring to themselves as Gitanos, Ludar, Manouche, Rom, Roma, Romnichels, Sinti, and Travellers) and those of analogous itinerant or nomadic groups, as well as establishment of closer contacts among those engaged in Gypsy Studies. The Gypsy Lore Society holds an annual conference, and publishes *Romani Studies* (continuing the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*) and a quarterly Newsletter. The web page of the Gypsy Lore Society is http://www.gypsyloresociety.org.

Sheila Salo
President, The Gypsy Lore Society

Gypsies in France

The Internment of Gypsies in France (1940–1946): A Hidden Memory

Emmanuel Filhol

Frequently, societies run two major risks with regard to how they record the past; either they render it sacred or they repress it. The first method, like the second, bears witness in different ways to a type of pathology of memory. "The collective pathologies of memory," writes François Dosse, "can manifest themselves as easily as in situations of an overabundant memory – the perpetual harping on which both commemoration and the tendency to patriotism in French history can be given as perfect examples, as on the contrary when there is insufficient memory" (Dosse 1998: 15). Obviously the internment of the Gypsies from 1940 to 1946 belongs to the second category; a lack of memory to the point of absence is clearly displayed. Equally, the history of the persecutions committed by European countries at different periods against the Gypsy community in camps in France during the Second World War remains virtually forgotten.

During the Second World War almost 6,000 to 6,500 Gypsies living in France, men, women and children, were interned in camps and abandoned by all except a few dedicated individuals. Camps were created by Germany, which at that time occupied Vichy France. The majority of the camps, 25 in all, were situated in the occupied zone and five others in the unoccupied zone. (1) I would like to speak about the memory, that is to say in reality a hidden memory, of this dramatic history.

A repressed history

The subject of the internment of the Gypsies in France suffers from a lack of proper memory at different levels. It would seem that in the French collective imagination camps are almost always associated with barbed wire, watch towers, and dogs, in other words referring primarily to German concentration camps. In fact, the majority of Gypsy camps in France did not fit this description, which is not to say that they were not internment camps. One can easily guess that being presented in such a way allowed them at one and the same time to be repudiated or their existence downplayed by the Vichy Government, thus preventing the whole of society from opening a debate on its past. In addition, the memories of the internment places did not become permanent in the collective memory because the camps disappeared, leaving no visible concrete trace, or again became what they had previously been (sand quarries, train stations, abandoned castles, etc.) before a complete record of this painful

episode could be made. In addition to the physical disappearance of the camps, society refused to get involved with the past history of victims with whom nobody identified: Jews, Gypsies, prostitutes, common criminals, and black marketeers were considered justifiable victims and as such excluded from memory. Another reason directly linked to the loss of memory concerning the camps lies in the absence of an administrative memory, which is indicative of the desire to minimize the rupture between the Vichy government and the policy of the German French State towards the Gypsies. The Republic has remained silent about the repressive measures which were used against this minority group.

What are the memories to be found in the local communities where these camps were established, 55 years after their liberation? In the main, total ignorance is the dominating factor. Over a lengthy period of time, most local communities have purely and simply repressed the existence of the camps. The repression has been so complete that it has been accompanied by a total denial of the situation. Even today, town councils refuse to admit that a nomad camp existed within their local communities. However, it can be noted that in a few and only a very few cases a different attitude can be found. Some town council members do not express rejection or indifference but the desire to know more.

Similarly, outsiders to the situation (teachers, priests, militant Catholics) have shown an interest in this episode of the Gypsies' history. The overall reactions as shown by communities, town halls and outside witnesses together show that the memory of the Gypsies' internment in France is composed of a memory of contrasts. The outcome is not a monolithic attitude but a variety of reactions. The comments show the appearance of an evolution in memory; changes are noticeable at the center of the memory of the local community. There is a change from ignorance, indifference and rejection, which had been the attitude adopted by the majority of local councils, to a desire for information and knowledge, even to the wish to communicate personal knowledge that had been heard directly from the victims or discovered in the archives, of the drama that the Gypsies experienced during Vichy rule. This movement consisted in drawing a hidden past towards more analysis and explanation, to snatch it from being forgotten, a move undoubtedly inseparable from the human capacity to be able to feel the suffering of the other as a respected fellow human. It must be admitted that this capacity sparks off more individual actions than the local authorities ever do.

It might have been expected that French historians would have preserved the memory of the Gypsies better, since the Gypsies make up a category of internees who by and large were of French nationality. This was not the case. Oblivion installed itself with great success, even to a greater degree than imaginable. Today, French historical records make no mention of the Gypsies' internment. Except for a few works, (2) history books about the Vichy government aimed at experts or at a school audience hide its existence. The article on Vichy in the series entitled *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, directed

by Pierre Nora (1992) eradicated it. None of the most widely used history textbooks in baccalaureate classes dedicates a single line to this subject. The work published in 2000 by Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot, *Le siecle des camps* makes no mention of it. A similar repression prevails at the administrative level. Neither the White Paper Commissions nor legal texts mention the camps of shame.

Traumatic memories at the heart of the Gypsy community

On the other hand, Gypsies have not forgotten. When questioning ex-internees, I realized to what degree the internment drama was engraved into the collective and individual memories of the witnesses. The memories linked to the trauma of the camps had not changed. What struck me was the extraordinary precision with which the witnesses were able to remember and relate the many ordeals they had lived through when their families were arrested, interned, or transferred to other camps. Surprisingly, the Gypsy narrators had not spoken a great deal to those close to them, perhaps since the memory of those lost and the past in general is not part of their culture as it is with other peoples (see Williams 1993). Without taking into account that they were relating this dramatic event for the first time to a non-Gypsy and that the subject dealt with dates, physical descriptions of the places of internment, and the deplorable living conditions in the camps, as well as with interned families or with days organized around obligatory chores or outside work-all of this appeared in a surprisingly clear and precise way. The daily upsets and humiliations of every sort administered by the camp personnel to the internees, the numerous stereotyped judgements concerning "nomads"-these had not been wiped away. Nor had the names of guards guilty of maltreatment.

I remember the names of the guards, there was one called G. So there was this policeman called G., who was very cruel-he hit people, he hit Gypsies. At Poitiers we were guarded by the French, the guards were French policemen, civilians. They were very cruel to us. One was called R., the other J. There were ten or so. Every morning we had to get up at 7 and walk in circles; me, I had to walk with the men until 10.30-11 o'clock. Those who couldn't walk, they put them over there on the side and the others continued walking. I had a cousin who had a paralyzed leg – he couldn't manage, he couldn't walk anymore. So they took him – Jean – he defended himself. They took him to an office. They all attacked him – I don't know how many – because he was rather a big bloke. [Jacques Reinhardt]

The memories of escapes from the camps have also remained intact.

People got together and exchanged information. There were some who tried to say, "Me, I'm going to escape. I'm going to leave". One day a man, Jean Reinhardt, the poor guy, his feet were dreadful – he walked like this. He must have been a bit paralyzed. He escaped with his wife and kids, he suggested that we escape. He was

caught later and then they maltreated him, they hit him. In the camp they had built a little prison where they put the people who had tried to escape for a while – there were lots who escaped and who later returned. [Jacques Reinhardt]

What Jacques Reinhardt remembers most about this subject is that his parents gave up trying to escape because of the children. "We wanted to escape but as we were little, I had brothers younger than me, my father said that with the kids we would be quickly caught – then the kids began to cry so we stayed in the camps, all of us" (Filhol 2000: 164; see also Filhol 2002).

The sharpness of the memory results no doubt from the fact that it has not been interfered with by excessive recitation. Since up to now the Gypsies have spoken very little about the camp, and French society, being indifferent to the sufferings they experienced, has refused to question them, their memories have remained full of life, like the facts, visual images, sensations that have marked them. The phenomenon of the reappearance of memory is also present in non-Gypsy witnesses of that time who never had the opportunity to say what they know and whose stories I was indirectly able to collect. I had been looking for traces of the passage of several Gypsy families who had been transferred from a camp near Poitiers and assigned to reside in various communities of the Vienne. A letter to the secretary of the association "Amis du pays civraisien" led to an investigation, which, thanks to successive testimonies, ended in an invaluable restitution of solid and detailed facts.

> He (the major of Blanzy) could not inform me, but he called me back a few days later to tell me that he had found someone who had memories of these events. This was a Mrs. Rocher who lives in a village called Rondeau in Blanzy. I went and here is what I was able to collect. The lady's father went to the train station of Saint Saviol to fetch some Gypsies with his *giole* (a type of large cart for transporting pigs) and he brought them back to Chaillochere village (Blanzy district), where they were put up in a large house belonging to a Mme Forest who lived at St Hélene sur Isere. As the house was not lived in, it was used to house refugees. Mme B. remembered that in the Gypsies' convoy there was a *bohémien* who often spoke about his son killed in the 1914–1918 war and he showed his medal. [Letter from Amis du pays civraisien, 19 February 1999]

The witness' reconstruction of the past not only involves work on memory itself, but also ensures true historical research. In this case, for example, the recital relates precise anecdotes which enlighten and demonstrate that French Gypsies have proved their attachment to the nation by fighting and dying for their country. An example given is the son of the *bohémien* killed during the Great War, and those who fought during the Second World War and who were amongst the wounded or the war prisoners held in Germany. Despite this evidence of French citizenship, the Gypsies underwent internment during the First World War (3) and in the camps governed by Vichy.

Republican amnesty

If human individual testimonies in relation to things perceived and lived in reality constitute a major part of memory, the collective memory expressed by monuments or plaques seem none the less essential to its objectivity. Because if memory is to be seized, it must occupy two places – material and symbolic – in order to be known. The study of internment camps as places of memories reveals few monuments raised in local communities on the sites of former camps in memory of the Gypsy victims. Here, the lack of memory is clearly underlined. The majority of local communities prefer to forget, leaving the inglorious aspect of local history in darkness. Only a few monuments speak of interned Gypsies. Once again it must be pointed out that plaques of recent date, erected between 1985 and 2000, sometimes contain rather dubious texts. The plaque of Jargeau, originally proposed by the major, but rejected by the town council seems in this respect exemplary:

> "No act of violence has ever added to the greatness of man" – Jean Guehenno. Here 1700 (seventeen hundred) people were denied their liberty between 1939-45, Gypsies, resistance fighters and dissident minorities.

This information, in fact, turns out to be incomplete, the chronology inaccurate, and the choice of the word "resistance" leads to an erroneous interpretation; the use of resistance should not mask the essential. "The Jargeau camp was not intended for political prisoners, who represented less than 1% of the total number of those interned. In addition, the dates 1939–45 are misleading, as they place the history of the camp within the overall context of the Second World War. In fact the Gypsy camp at Jargeau was opened only on March 5, 1941 and, even more importantly, was closed down on December 31,1945 more than eight months after amnesty" (Vion 1995: 110). What is true of the texts of the monuments in regard to the choice of words and phrases is also true in part of the articles which appeared in regional and local newspapers at the dedication of the commemorative plaques. A few days after the dedication of the monument at Jargeau, notwithstanding its poor placement, being only slightly visible, the *Journal de Gien* dedicated the greater part of its article to comments on Jean Guehenno's phrase engraved on the stone, "No act of violence has ever added to the greatness of man." By an outstanding linguistic maneuver, the Gypsies found themselves purely and simply ousted from the dramatic history. It is impossible to discover from that article who was interned in the Jargeau camp. Up to the final paragraph, the word "Gypsy" is not used, and then merely mentioned in passing. "In the first row of the gathering was Jean-Louis Bauer, a Gypsy who was interned at Jargeau" (Journal de Gien 1991).

As to the state, the same amnesia existed. In 1948, Parliament enacted two laws supporting statutes. The first referred to "Those from the Resistance deported and

interned," arrested "for acts qualifying as resistance to the enemy" (Law of August 6, 1948). The second was concerned with "those deported or politically interned," a category that includes all the other interned and deported prisoners, including the Gypsies "incarcerated or interned in a prison or a concentration camp" in contravention of "common rights". Hence the term "deported and politically interned" found itself emptied of all precise meaning while the significant fact – the specificity of the internment and the Jewish and Gypsy deportation – was wiped out, and totally absent from the debates.

The successive Republican governments since the Liberation have not thought fit to explain to the population the treatment dealt to the French Gypsies under Vichy and the Occupation. There is no national memorial rendering homage to them. The State maintains political silence except for a few rare exceptions, as proven by the absence of official commemorations of the persecuted Gypsies. It may be said that the French national memory never includes the memory of minority groups.

> We have lost every thing. I am 68. We have lost our houses, everything we had – my parents have lost every thing – they should at least compensate us, we've come out with nothing. I was 11 in the Jargeau camp in 42, we had lived at Gien for 30 years. When we were convoyed to Jargeau there was an animal truck waiting for us – my mother died in the camp after giving birth – she died in the ambulance on her way to Orléans – I am 11. [Augustine Homberger, interned at Jargeau, interviewed November 1999]

NOTES

(1) Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine), Les Alliers (Charente), Choisel (Loire-Inférieure), Moisdon-la-Riviere (Loire-Inférieure), Mulsanne (Sarthe), Coudrecieux (Sarthe), Linas-Montlhéry (Seine-et-Oise), Grez-en-Bouere (Mayenne), Montsurs (Mayenne), Mérignac (Gironde), La Morellerie (Indre-et-Loire), Monsireigne (Vendée), Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire), Coray (Finistere), Barenton (Manche), Poitiers (Vienne), Jargeau (Loiret), Moloy (Côte-d'Or), Peigney (Haute-Marne), Arc-et-Senans (Doubs), Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes (Yonne), Pontivy (Morbihan), Plénée-Jugon (Côtes-du-Nord), Louviers (Eure), Boussais (Les Deux-Sevres); Argeles-sur-Mer (Pyrénées-Orientales), Le Barcares (Pyrénées-Orientales), Rivesaltes (Pyrénées-Orientales), Saliers (Bouches-du-Rhône), Lannemezan (Hautes-Pyrénées). A few Gypsies were also interned in Gurs (Basses-Pyrénées), Noé (Haute-Garonne), Brens (Tarn), Nexon (Haute-Vienne), Rouillé (Vienne), Fanlac (Dordogne), Barraux (Isere), Monts (Indre-et-Loire), and the women's camp of Rieucros (Lozere).

(2) Among these writtings we must cite the innovative study of Jacques Sigot (1983, revised and enlarged edition, 1994) on Montreuil-Bellay's camp, a book by Denis Peschanski (1994), and the thesis of Marie-Christine Hubert (1997), due to be published in 2003 by Noesis.

(3) From September 1914, Gypsies native to Alsace and Lorraine were evacuated to depots inside the country, situated in the west and south-west of France, before being reassembled, in July 1915, at the "dépôt surveillé" of Crest (Drôme). My book in progress, *Des Tsiganes alsaciens-lorrains internés en France pendant la Premiere Guerre mondiale. Le dépôt de Crest, 1915–1919*, will treat this subject.

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The Here and the Beyond in the Manush Worldview

Jean-Luc Poueyto

One of the characteristics of the ethnology of the Gypsy people is its devotion to definition and to the measurement of distinctions between a single "they" and a single "we," thus placing the anthropologist in the difficult position of being both "judge and judged" of his observation.

Indeed, unlike communities of people who have long been studied by anthropologists, Gypsies are an integral part of the western world and assert a difference so much more surprising because, as we know, it is very difficult to define.

Neither physical characteristics, nor language, nor religion, nor way of life or environment are criteria which permit us to define scientifically what the Gypsies are (Okely 1994; Piasere 1994).

Another difficulty also arises from the fact that perhaps even before non-Gypsies attempted to define what the Gypsies are and became entangled ceaselessly in an infinity of terms (in France, Tsiganes, Bohémiens, Gens du voyage, Roms, Gitans, and so forth), the Gypsies had already defined us in simple and invariant terms, that is, as Gadjé, Gajé, "Gorgios" or Payos.

In other words, whatever his culture and his nationality, the non-Gypsy, as Gadjo or Payo, is above all an invention of the Gypsies. Thus, to understand what the Gypsy is, perhaps it is necessary for us to understand what a Gadjo is, and thus to understand what, in ourselves as Gadje, unites us in Gypsy eyes despite our innumerable cultural or national differences.

The term itself "Gajo," "Gadjo," "Gorgio," or "Payo" always means "peasant." To define us as "peasants" is really surprising, because most of the non-Gypsies no longer have any link with the peasantry, agriculture or husbandry. Neither would the opposition be one of nomadic vs. sedentary, since the Gypsies of many regions in Europe are have not been nomads for a long time. Therefore, perhaps the survival of this term in Gypsy dialects to refer to those who are not Gypsy connotes something else.

A "peasant" is indeed someone who lives in a defined and delimited space, that of his property or of the lands which he works. The peasant has a consciousness of a single "here" (at his property) and a single "beyond" (at another's), areas which are very precisely defined and separated by fences, wires, and so on.

As Gadjé, maybe we are then above all people who have a conception of space as being fragmented, divided into territories which are clearly separate. So, we are here in a question of different representations of the world; the Gypsies and the Gadjé would differ due to different representations of space, perhaps of time, or of material.

But any reflection on the question of representation in a society always causes us to wonder about the question of the sign, as it is understood in the field of semiotics. More particularly, it causes us to reflect on the difference between Gypsies and Gadjé with regard to writing. A very great majority of Gypsies are illiterate, while a very great majority of Gadjé refer constantly to writing in their representation of the world.

I would like to clarify that I have been working on this question for several years now, and that my field of observation is that of the Manush community in the Pyrenees (Poueyto 2000). So the following analyses must be understood as restricted to this community, even if, by extension, they can probably be applied to all the Manush of France.

We know that, since the appearance of writing in Mesopotamia and Egypt, if its function was to record products and offerings, it was also a way to preserve the names of the dead. If, at the beginning of writing, it was a question of keeping the names of the great kings recorded on stelae or monuments, nowadays this function has increased considerably, since it is no longer simply a question of commemorating glorious ancestors, but also of preserving the names of and facts about our contemporaries through the voluminous archives established by Western societies. Therefore societies with writing are societies with history.

Here we have a first and fundamental boundary. As Leonardo Piasere and Patrick Williams have shown, Manush do not preserve the names of their dead (Piasere 1985; Williams 1993). This genealogical anonymity can only mitigate against any total appropriation of the writing by the community. Having no need for a historical record, Manush do not choose writing. But that also means a different relationship with the past. History, that is, commenting on the past by means of a recording instrument-writing-can only exist if the past is relegated to the beyond and thus distinct from us (Certeau 1984; Ricoeur 2000). And history is made up of divisions, divisions between historical periods, for example, Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and so on; as well as the division between the past and the present.

If we do not establish a boundary between the past and the present, then we are no longer in history any more, but in memory, which is in the intimacy of people or groups of human beings (Nora 1984). Memory is an evocation of the past which lies in an unceasingly reactualized continuum. I might note how remarks made by Manush on their internment in the concentration camps, even the extermination of their relatives during the Second World War, were not linked to a historical fact, distinct from the present, but remained topical. A certain number of facts, this time historical facts, legitimate this vision of events, since it was French police officers who arrested them, since the first camps were built before the German invasion, and since the last ones were closed more than one year after the end of the war. The current relegation of Manush to campgrounds, which they term "designated places" (that is, designated by Gadje), is recorded in their eyes as an exact continuity of the persecutions they underwent during the war.

This absence of relegation of the past to a beyond also relates to idyllic times, a mythical "Ille Tempore"of the Manush, which is frequently called the "time of the horses," which every "old man" knew as a child. Thus, a young man of 26 said to me recently," Before, in the time of horses, when my grandmother was young, life was marvelous, everything was easy, Manush did not need to work, they ate everyday and were happy!" To supplement these remarks, it should be noted that many drawings by Manush children represent pastoral scenes of this kind, with caravans, horses and campfires, paradisiacal images of a time that they never knew but which is however not so distant from them (Poueyto 2000). This absence of a clear boundary between the past and the present, this cohabitation of the past with the present, is found through the representation of space, as we saw concerning the term "Gadjo," and also through the question of the sign. Writing, before consisting of the alignment in a certain order of symbols representing the word, requires the selection of a support, that is, of a delimited space on which one records these signs. Thus, the thought of writing is first of all a thought of the support. And there is no writing without a thought of the support (Christin 1995).

But the signs which are produced and interpreted by Manush concerning the past, the signs of the dead, the *mule* signs, are not reduced to symbols, that is, to arbitrary and conventional signs, as writing is. Such signs are arbitrary, since they do not have any direct relationship with what they represent, and conventional, since it is necessary that a certain number of individuals recognize these signs as meaning such or such sound, or such or such word. The *mule* signs, on the contrary, are first of all elements of reality which were in direct contact with the deceased, for example, his lighter, a song that he liked, his car, or a photograph. Just as the connection with time is based on a principle of contiguity, it is also easy to understand how the relationship that the Manush maintain with these signs of the dead is also based on the same connection of contiguity, of direct contact. But one also sees, taking the examples already suggested, how the form of these signs can vary and especially how it is not reduced to the inscription of signs on a delimited support, since any element of reality can, if it had a particular contact with the dear departed, function as a sign of the past.

The particular case of the photograph may seem to contradict my remarks, since it is indeed an image in two dimensions, recorded on a support of definite size. As we know, photographs of the deceased are venerated by the Manush. However, unlike a painted or drawn portrait, a photograph is not a representation of the person's features, but really, thanks to a chemical process, a direct impregnation of the image of the dead when he was still alive. And it is the same for a video recording. What counts, what prevails, in a photograph, as in a video and also in a sound recording, such as an audio tape on which one can hear the deceased sing, are the traces of the presence of the dead, traces of his life, of his truth.

In that way, the *mule* signs, and perhaps even the system of representation produced in general by Manush, tends to elude partially the principle of mimesis, of imi-

tation, which has prevailed in Western society since the Greeks. Among the Manush, one does not represent something absent through the development of signs of substitution such as painted images, sculptures, plays, or even writing, in its historiographic function. Among the Manush, one suggests absence through elements of reality which do not have the function of replacing absence, but of evoking a disappeared presence. The principle of analogy such as it prevails in our society, "aliquid pro aliquo" abandoning the principle of contiguity. Consequently, we think of the link, of the contact and thus of the totality, which cannot be satisfied with analogy, and thus with the fragmentation of the world. I say fragmentation, because there is imitation, comparison, representation of an object of reality, only if one can reduce this object to some features chosen as being relevant.

As an example, a few years ago, I had the opportunity, to produce a recording of songs of the Manush of my area. As is usual in a recording studio or for the cinema, it is not sufficient to record only one version of a piece of music but systematically to re-record several times. However, each time I asked the Manush to start a re-recording, the musicians moved on to another song. When, on the following day, they agreed to play the piece of music again, they gave a very different interpretation of it. At first, I concluded they wanted to affirm their freedom, that they were tired of starting a song again. I believe now that above all it comes from the fact that, for them, an element of reality can never be reproduced, because it cannot be isolated as such. A song, whatever the value of its interpretation, is always an event, which is full of the people who were present in this moment, of the feeling of each one, of the sound of the violin on that day which is no longer the same on the following day, of the tone of the singer's voice and of the unique inflections that he will not be able to reproduce, etc. A song cannot be reduced to a succession of chords, to a melody, to words.

It is not an object but a performance. And we know how reluctant so many Manush musicians are to record discs, and thus to reduce a performance to a fixed object. Moreover, the instrumental pieces that the violinist played always oscillated between two motifs. As if once again the principle of contiguity prevailed and that a musical motif could slip from variation to variation towards another motif, until we nearly forget the original motif. And in any case, to produce a music which might evoke, but which could not be defined. And it is the same for any element of reality. How can you account for plenitude? And why should we agree to divide reality with the goal of conservation, reproduction, or analysis?

In conclusion, it really seems to me that the question of representation and of sign is at the heart of what differentiates us from Gypsies. This statement, simple as it may be, constantly disconcerts us, but enriches us at the same time. First of all, because it refers to the specificity of our way of thinking, of categorization of reality, a specificity that is primarily dependent on writing and thus on a certain relationship that we maintain with our own dead. But also because it emphasizes and reminds us as anthropologists of the limits of our capacities to give an account of our observations

(Goody 1977). How is it possible to make a written account through the logic of writing, and also through the restriction of reality which is implied by the written sign, of the complexity of a society which thinks it is in a world of plenitude? Thus, scientific categorization comes up against its limits and must then call upon other modes of representation of the world, such as poetic images, which can prove more evocative. For my part, in a step which could be called "do-it-yourself" *(bricolage)*, I will tend to take, as a model of comprehension of the Gypsy way of thinking, the metaphor of the rhizome, as Gilles Deleuze defines it. For this French philosopher, the rhizome is a vegetable phenomenon which, like the strawberry plant, extends from plant to plant with no visible origin nor hierarchy and thus contrasts with the image of the tree or of the root which fixes a point, an order. The rhizome also answers the principle of multiplicity and variety, and is not justifiable by any structural or generative model (Deleuze and Guatarri 1980). Considered from that point of view, the study of Gypsy existence no longer need be concerned with the question of origin, hierarchy, oneness, and thus of the idea of a unique people. On the contrary, this metaphor, limited as it may be, seems to propose a model of understanding and of conceptualization of Gypsy existence, a model which takes account of dispersion, of diversity and of multiplicity, of contact, of contiguity, or to quote Deleuze once again, of "l'imperceptible rupture, plutôt que la coupure signifiante," 'an imperceptible rupture, rather than a clear break.'

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Ties and Frontiers, Journeys and Neighborhoods, Alliances and Contests

Patrick Williams

My purpose in this paper is to describe relationships between members of different Gypsy communities in the same place at the same time.

The historical period I consider is the present, the past twenty years, during which several events overturned the political order in Europe, events including the end of the socialist governments, the fall of the Berlin wall, and wars in ex-Yugoslavia. These events caused populations to move. Rom families were included in some of these movements. There was especially a movement from East to West. In most of the big cities of western Europe, today we can meet Rom who came from different countries of Eastern Europe less than twenty years ago. A metropolis like Paris and its outskirts, where several Gypsy communities, all with distinct histories, had made their lives long before this period, seems like a true ethnographic laboratory. While Paris is certainly not a unique example, here it is possible to observe how relationships can tie together these different groups, newcomers and old residents, and what kind of relationships there are. All these groups, I repeat, have distinct histories and identity, but all are designated as "Gypsies" or "Rom;" in French, "Gitans," "Tsiganes," "Rom," and so on.

This picture of the present historical situation sheds light on three points, three questions for a so-called "Gypsiologist," one who studies Gypsies. So the way I look at the different situations I want to evoke here is not the perspective of an ordinary individual, but that of someone who has a certain knowledge of Gypsies and who seeks to increase this knowledge. This knowledge makes the researcher look at these situations differently from a layman. (For each situation reported, it would be interesting to analyze my own position and how it affects my understanding of the situation. But I lack space to deal with this aspect.)

The three points, each linked to the other:

1. To show that an anthropological perspective is relevant to discussing the relationships between Gypsy communities and states or "host societies." I do not agree with the distinction made in Gypsy studies between "Gypsy politics," on the one hand, considered the domain of historians and sociologists, and "Romany culture," on the other hand, the domain of anthropologists. I think it is necessary to know what occurs inside in order to understand what occurs outside, or with the outside.

2. To note that contemporary "Gypsy migrations" concern not only relations between Rom and states (or, as some seem to think, between states only), between Rom and Gaze (non-Gypsies), but also, and sometimes primarily, relations among

Rom or Gypsies themselves. This assertion, in a way, is the assertion that something we can call "Gypsiness," "Rom(a)nipe," that is, "Gypsies" as a unit, exists. That brings us to our third point.

3. To shed some light on the definition and the organization – the life – of this unit. And to shed this light not from a construction "a posteriori" but from direct observation.

Situation 1.

We are at the "Marché-aux-Puces de la Porte-de-Montreuil" on a Saturday morning in May 2000. The "Marché-aux-Puces" is an immense display of new or second-hand goods and articles which occurs every week-end: antiques, auto accessories, old books, crockery, new and second-hand clothes – everything. The scene is an encounter between a stallholder and two women customers. The vendor is a Sinto who comes every week on Saturdays and Mondays to sell clothes at this market, each day at the same place just like a shopkeeper, I know him well and I come to greet him. The customers are Romnia Xoraxaja belonging to the groups who came to France recently from Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania. It's possible to recognize them by their clothes and by their general appearance. Also, I hear them speaking to one another and can identify what kind of *romanes* they speak.

The commercial transaction takes place; the two women make their choices and they buy clothes, they pay, and that's all. There was no sign of recognition at all between the partners in the deal, recognition of belonging to the same social or ethnic, or cultural entity, recognition as "Gypsies" or "Rom." For the Sinto, these two women are immigrants from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa, like many people at this market at Porte-de-Montreuil. For these women, the Sinto is just a Frenchman (a French Gažo), a salesman, that's his job.

When I inform the Sinto that these two women are "Romnia," – let's say, "Tsiganes" – like himself, he is not interested. He does not pay attention to exactly what country they come from and what kind of Gypsies they are.

No recognition, no specific relationship here (perhaps dealing in commercial transactions is easier without recognition). Only the observer – the expert – might expect a relationship between "Gypsies." But clearly the frame of reference used by the actors of the scene and the one used by the expert are not the same.

Situation 2.

December 1998, Jean-Verdier hospital in Bondy, a town of the "département de Seine-Saint-Denis," the eastern suburbs of the capital, 10 o'clock in the evening, I arrive with a Rom family. A sixty-year-old man had something like a heart attack. These are the Kalderaš Rom who call themselves "Rom Parižoske" (see Williams 1984). Having arrived in Western Europe in the last years of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th (see Winstedt 1913, 1915), they traveled with tents until the Second World War. They settled in the outskirts of Paris after the war and are now living in houses, scattered in various towns, but making up a very close community. They have relations in various countries of Western Europe and in North and South America.

We are waiting in a large room of the hospital while doctors examine the patient. Then a group of Rom arrive at the emergency room. Women and men, there are almost ten persons; they bring a child wrapped in a blanket who seems to have a raging fever. Immediately the Rom of the two groups recognize one another as Rom and begin to have a conversation, *romanes*. No problem at all in understanding one another. Everybody explains what he is doing here and who he is. The second group is from Rumania, they had just arrived in France. Nobody among them knows how to speak French. So the Rom Parižoske will help them deal with the doctors and with the hospital administration; two women "from Paris" (1) go with the little boy and his mother to see the doctors in order to translate. During that time the others converse seated in the waiting room. Everyone explains who he is and who his companions are: this one is my grand-daughter, not my daughter, this one is my brother-in-law.... Everybody evokes his life here in Paris, there in Romania: "Always there are problems with daughters-in-law, always! ... You give gold pieces? We also give gold pieces ! ... And how are the Gaže with you here?" ("Sagda si divanuri, čingara pala I boria!... Tume den galbi? Vi ame das galbi! ... Aj sar si le Gaže tumensa kače?"). The conversation is going well, they all smile at the same jokes, it is obvious they are culturally very close and a real familiarity was established among them without any difficulty.

But this cultural proximity, which permits solidarity in this emergency situation in a hospital, will not carry this solidarity further than this moment. When the sick Kalderaš Parižosko leaves the doctor's hands with the promise to come back in the future, the talk ends abruptly. The "Parisians" take leave of their "brothers" from Rumania in this simple way, "Well, we have to go. We leave you. God bless you." ("No, ame žas tar. Mukhas tumen. Ašen Devlesa"), "God bless you" ("Žan Devlesa!"), reply the others, as is the custom. When we return to the sick man's home, the talk runs about his illness, no mention of the meeting with the Romanian Rom. And, to my knowledge, no further mention after this day.

In this situation, we see that a feeling of membership exists. Such a feeling, with more cultural proximity, allows effective solidarity. But these feelings and this prox-

imity are not strong enough to be sustained in more than an exceptional circumstance. I have never seen a Kalderaš from Romania in the home of a Kalderaš Parižosko, and we have not heard that the Rom Kalderaš who have been present in France for several generations have demonstrated publicly and collectively a solidarity with the Rumanian Rom Kalderaš who came to France after the end of Ceaucescu's tyranny. History has done its work. Forty years of separation of Europe into two "blocs" were not without effects on the Gypsy community, in this case on the Rom Kalderaš community.

Situation 3.

Like the previous one, this situation brings together Rom Kalderaš Parižoske and Rumanian Rom of the recent migration. Not exactly "together": in this case there is no meeting, the Rumanians are simply recalled; and there is a third element, Rom Lovara.

These Lovara live in trailers. They like big trailers and among the Gypsies they are famous for their trains, cars, and caravans of the "Mercedes – Tabert" makes. They travel mostly in France and Belgium, but sometimes in Germany, in Italy, and elsewhere. They usually stop in the Paris suburbs and they have close relationships with the Kalderaš Parižoske families.

It is February 1999. I come to a Kalderaš house to participate in a vigil. A man had died, an old and well-known Rom. Numerous Rom are present: Kalderaš from Paris, from other towns in France, from Spain (they are relatives of the deceased and had come especially for the event), Čurara from the outskirts of Paris, and Lovara.

At one point during the night, the conversation turns to the Rom more and more of whom have been arriving from Eastern Europe, these "Rumanians" and "Kosovo," as they are all called by French Rom. It is evident that the Kalderaš do not know these Rom. The same clichés as one finds in the newspapers pour out: They thieve and beg on the streets! They give a bad image to all the Rom!... A man tells that two or three days ago, he was in the metro in Paris and one of these "Rumanians" – an adult Rom, not a boy! – came to him to beg for money. "I said, don't you see I'm a Rom?" and this guy, "Oh! t aves baxtalo!" "But in spite of this, he still asked for money! How shameful!" (Phendem: či dikhes ke Rom sim? Aj vo: "Oh ! T aves baxtalo! Aj sa vo maj mangelas mandar love! Če lasav!"). Then a Lovari spoke: They are not all like that. He explains: Sometimes on the places where the Lovara have to camp with their caravans, there are some of these Rom from Rumania. They don't choose to stay with them, but it's the only possibility allowed by the Gaže. "Well, some of them, of these "Rumanians," are full of resources" ("No, maškar lende, si uni kaj žanen te debrujin pe"). And he recalls the figure of a Rom from Rumania, a man who buys and sells gold. Sometimes the Lovara (members of the speaker's family) do some business with

him. It seems the Lovari and his companions who had came to the vigil know this man pretty well; they call him by his name, "Drago."

In contrast to situation 2, cultural proximity (here, proximity between Lovara and probably – the Lovari at the vigil did not give specifics – Rumanian Kalderaš) not only permits a commercial transaction (probably an illicit transaction, and this kind is perhaps easier when there is cultural proximity, even though it is not necessary), but also results in the other's interest and in a certain recognition. The Lovari's speech about the Rumanian Rom was not full of prejudices and clichés, as was that of the Kalderaš Parižoske.

Situation 4.

Dusano is a Rom whose parents came from Serbia to France at the beginning of the 1970s. He has grown up in France but during this period his family went back several times to Yugoslavia. Now Dusano's father and one of his brothers live in Germany, an other brother lives in Italy, others in France. Dusano is married, has five children and he has already married off two of his daughters. In 1997 he bought a house in the street where I live in Bondy, a large and beautiful villa with a garden, "the most beautiful house in the street!" says Dusano. And it's true! As neighbors, Dusano and I have a warm relationship. We meet every day and each time have a little talk, *romanes;* he invites me when there is a feast at his home, I do the same.

At Dusano's feasts, attendance is almost always the same. Of course, from time to time some faces disappear or appear but the groups represented are the same. And this attendance is varied.

First, most numerous, are members of the community to which Dusano himself belongs, "Rom Serbiake." They present themselves also as "Kalderaš" or "Kalderaria." Most of them live in the eastern suburbs of Paris. I recognize them from one feast to another and sometimes I come across them in a café or a store. Nearly every time, there are also kinfolk who have come from Germany or Italy. As they all speak the same *romanes* is not easy to identify them at first glance. All these Rom from Serbia began to migrate into Western Europe at the end of the 1960s, i.e, before the war in Yugoslavia. At this period, their strategy was a classical one for immigrants: they tried to get as much money as possible and as quickly as possible before returning to Serbia. They performed both legal and illegal activities. The war made them change. The families-at any rate those now living in the Parisian region-no longer plan to go back to Serbia to stay. From now on, they intend to make their life in France. That's why they buy houses. That's why, too, they send their children, both girls and boys, to school; that is what happens in Dusano's family. That's why they gave up such activities as thievery and begging .

At Dusano's feast table they are also Gaže, not just any Gaže, but Serbian emmi-

grants. There are many of them in this part of the outskirts of Paris. Those whom Dusano invites usually live in the same town as Dusano (in or near Bondy) but sometimes they bring relatives or friends with them; all are welcome. When Dusano introduces these Serbian Gaže to the Rom, he says, "Amare Gaže, anda Yugoslavia! Romane Gaže!" ("Our Gaže, from Yugoslavia, Gypsy Gaže"). In fact, there is a great familiarity between all these Serbian people, Rom and Gaže. It's not necessary to have a knowledge of Serbia and Serbian habits to understand why Dusano and they are close. The drinks are Serbian (various fruit liqueurs, but there is also beer, whiskey, wine, and Coca-Cola), the music is Serbian (original cassettes brought by the Rom or the Gaže). And when they converse they use the Serbo-Croatian language. The Kalderaš Parižoske don't like that and they comment with a certain pique, "Look at them, they speak two Gypsy tongues, one for the Gaže and one for us!" ("Dikh kadala, duj šiba romaja si le: jekh le Gaženge a jekh amenge!").

The third group is just those Rom Kalderaš from Russia we have seen in the preceding episodes. I count myself in this group. I married a Kalderaš girl and most often when I go to Dusano's table my brothers-in-law come with me. The Parižoske Kalderaš who take part in Dusano's celebrations are all from his neighborhood. Every day Dusano and they have occasion to meet. They are not community members but live nearby. And they too invite Dusano and some other "Yugoslavs" of the quarter when "there is something" (something for the Rom) at their home. I know that the same occurs in other places where Rusiake Rom and Serbiake Rom live near one another. The Parižoske never say that Dusano and those of his community are "Kalderaš," they just say "Yugoslav." Are their relations limited to the feasts? Certainly not, they exchange some domestic services, sometimes they borrow or lend some money to one another, but it's extremely rare for them to associate for business and Parižoske Kalderaš are never called to arbitrate conflicts between Serbiake, nor Serbiake to say a word in Parižoske matters.

Here we can just admire the skill of Dusano and of the others of his community to suit their abilities to their hosts. Not only the language – Serbo-Croatian with the Gaže, Romanes with the Parižoske Rom (2) – but their entire attitude. For instance they don't pray in the same way when they give a toast to a Parižosko Rom and to a Serbiako Rom. We should note also that for Rom sometimes Gaže (not all the Gaže, but a special kind of Gaže – the Gaže too are a very diversified people) are as close or more close than other Rom, to say nothing of other "Gypsies." Probably the situation of being immigrants – being strangers – reinforces the ties between these Gaže and these Rom.

Earlier, these Yugoslav Rom might have felt they were just passing through. Now, they know they will stay. So, having been "in Paris" for more than thirty years, and now already settled, they have learned how to play with cultural proximity and geographical proximity in order to open for themselves a space of various social relations which is their own particular one.

Situation 5.

Here we have a story full of events and very complicated, and I cannot be sure I know all the ins and the outs of the issue. The successive episodes involve Kalderaš Parižoske conversations during the autumn and the winter of 1999. I report what I learned in participating in these conversations. So my point of view is partly one of the Parižoske and partly one of an observer.

Several groups of Rom or even Gypsies are involved in these events:

– Rom from Norway. Kalderaš Parižoske refer to them sometimes as Lovara, sometimes as Čurara. If we ask them to specify, they say, "Exactly, they are Rom Militearea" ("Te kames te žanes vorta: kadala si Militearea"). The "Norwegians" have ties to some Rom who live in Belgium. It's there that the Parižoske meet them; they do business with them.

– Rom from Belgium. To refer to them, the Parižoske say simply, "Belžikanuri" or "Belginara." They know one another very well.

– "Yugoslavs," i. e., Serbiake Rom, those of the community-Dusano's community-now settled in the Paris suburbs and having relatives in other western countries as Italy and Germany as well as Serbia.

– Kalderaš from Paris, "Kalderaš Parižoske." Most are just witnesses and commentators, but one family is directly involved. This family has relations by marriage with a family of French "Voyageurs" (Travelers). This is an exception, the only occurrence in this Rom community. Two Rom brothers, today both about 40 years old, married two sisters of the "Voyageurs," and a first cousin of the Rom married the son of a sister of a third "Voyageur."

– So there are also "Voyageurs" (Travelers) in this story. Usually, the Rom call them, *romanes*, "Cinturi" or "Cintuja" and, in French, "Manushes." But these "Voyageurs" don't like to be called "Manushes." They prefer "Voyageurs" or, better, to be known only by their French family name. "We are the x" ("On est les x"). And it is true that this family is famous enough among the "Gypsies" in France that he who says, "I am an x" would be known as a member of a particular group.

There is an illegal aspect to this story. So I don't wish to give all the details (and, as I mentioned, I'm not sure I am aware of all the details!). But I have to mention it because the illegal aspect is the cause of the involvement of all these different groups in the same story. Let's just say that one of the Militeara had done a lot of business with some "Yugoslavs." The deal occurred in Belgium and a large amount of money was at stake. An argument arose. The "Yugoslavs" think they have been misled and want to find the Militari or his relatives to use violence. The Belginara then offer to mediate in the conflict, since the incident had occurred in their country. The "Yugoslavs" don't agree, they still want to settle the case by using violence. A Kalderaš from Paris, who is usually also in business with both the "Belginara" and with the "Yugoslavs," offers his arbitration at this time. He asserts he is supported by all the

"Rom Parižoske." That is not enough for the "Yugoslavs," they continue in their determination to use violence. Events have been running on for several weeks and now the location of the case has changed from Brussels to Paris. The Kalderaš of Paris try to do with the "Yugoslavs" as they do among themselves when this kind of thing occurs, to send those who have familar contacts with the "Serbiake" to speak with them, to ask them to explain to their relatives who are directly involved in the case that violence is never a good way for the Rom. As Rom, they have to find other means to settle the matter. But the "Yugoslavs" concerned don't agree to anything. On the contrary, they express a certain irritation. This business is not the business of the "Parižoske," they have nothing to do here! Then the Kalderaš who had offered his mediation, who knows well all those who are involved here, doesn't accept this statement. He calls on his brothers-in-law, the "Voyageurs." The "Voyageurs" are never present at Rom debates ("romane krisa" or "romane divanuja"). First the "Voyageurs" let everyone know they don't wish to mix in the conflict, they don't even want to know anything about these matters. But they also let it be known that they support, and will support in any case, their brothers-in-law; they will not tolerate any violence under them and furthermore, any violence here "in Paris," where they have their homes and where their families live. And they remind everyone that, as they say, "We are strong" ("Nous sommes forts").

At first, the "Yugoslavs" hesitate. "Who are these guys?" They don't know these people at all, these French "Voyageurs." They ask information of some Rom-Kalderaš, Lovara-of some partners in their business. And they acquiesce. They accept the proposition of the Kalderaš.

With this story, we confirm some propositions made by authors who have dealt with the question of conflicts and their settlement among the Rom:

– the more serious the dispute, the larger the circle of persons and groups involved;

– while a close relationship can exist between two groups or families, it remains circumstantial until a marriage unites two of their members.

Only marital links assure solidarity. Among the various groups playing a role in this story, the "Voyageurs" are culturally more distant than all the others are from one another. But if nobody doubts they will intervene to support the Kalderaš Parižoske, this is only because three marriages exist at the moment of these events, between a Kalderaš family and the x. Circumstantial (financial, but not only financial) interests, cultural proximity, and structural ties are mixed in, but it appears that this last factor is decisive.

Why is it relevant to evoke this dispute in a presentation whose purpose is to examine relationships among different Gypsy communities in connection with the movements of population in Europe produced by the political disruptions of the end of the 20th century?

The "Yugoslavs" are the tie among all the groups involved, these "Yugoslavs" who are today, after the wars in ex-Yugoslavia, scattered in all West European countries. Earlier, before the wars, they might have felt they were just passing through these

countries, for instance just passing through "Paris." Today they know they will stay. Would they have accepted the ultimatum of the "Voyageur" (of these French "Voyageurs" who are not speakers of *romanes*, and whose influence does not extend beyond "Paris") when they still planned to return in Serbia? It is the global political context which dictates their attitude.

Situation 6.

In this last situation, the "Gypsies" involved are not in touch directly but through the medium of a radio program. In fact, there are two mediums, a radio program and an ethnologist.

In October 2000, I am invited to give a conference in Fresnes, a town in the southern suburbs of Paris. During the six months from May to November, Fresnes hosted an "animation culturelle" about "Gypsies" with an exhibition, "Insaisissables Voyageurs," several concerts ("Fanfare tsigane de Macédoine," "Musique Rom," "Dix poemes tsiganes," "Fusion gitano-orientale," "Jazz manouche"), films (Latcho Drom, Gadjo Dilo, Maldone), presentation of books and several conferences ("L'accueil des tsiganes et la loi Besson," "Les camps d'internement pour nomades en France," "L'identité tsigane"). I am pleasantly surprised to meet in the crowd Raphaël, a Sinto ("Sinto Piémontais," he specifies every time) who is a good friend of mine. It is a surprise because I am accustomed to meeting him not in Paris but in the countryside; his wife's family is native to a village where I have family as well. Raphaël lives in a trailer and he is staying at that moment with some relatives who own land near Fresnes. At the end of the conference, we have a talk. He tells me he is very interested in "all these things about the Voyageurs." He uses "Voyageurs" as a general designation, as he usually uses this term to present himself to the Gaže, "Vers nous, on est des Voyageurs, des vrais Voyageurs" ("Among us, we are Travellers ('Voyageurs'), true Travellers"). He says that the conference and the exhibition have made him discover things he did not know, things about "foreign countries" and things about "the Rom" – he uses these words. He asks me if I know of other occasions of this kind where there is talk about "Voyageurs."

Among other things, I tell him about a radio program. Every Monday afternoon, some Rom have a program on a Parisian station, Radio-Libertaire. These Rom are from ex-Yugoslavia, Bosnia it seems to me, and they act for cultural and political recognition of the Rom.

I see Raphaël again some weeks later for All Saints' Day in the village where we both have family. He had listened to the Rom's radio program and he was very disappointed, "J'ai rien compris! Męme quand ils causaient en français! C'est pas des Voyageurs ce monde la! Je sais pas ce que c'est!" ("I didn't understand anything! These guys are not Travellers! I don't know who these guys are!").

We see here that inside what we call the "Gypsy world," the cultural gap can be too large, and communication or even recognition is not possible, even when one of the partners has the will to recognize and to communicate (that is the difference with our situation 1).

It seems as though it would be possible for Raphaël to have adopted the ethnologist's frame of reference. But it wasn't. Raphaël was confused by the different general terms used here and there (in the program of the events organized in Fresnes, we find "Voyageurs," "Tsiganes," "Rom," "Gitans," "Manushes," and "Nomades") and by the different uses of one and the same term (especially as used by the ethnologist):

– "Rom." The radio program's authors, Rom themselves, use it as a general name; the ethnologist uses it as a specific term, but sometimes also (for instance in this conference) as a general one;

– "Tsiganes." The organization of this special "manifestation culturelle", the posters for the conference, the ethnologist use it as a general name.

– "Voyageurs." Raphaël uses it sometimes as a general term, sometimes as a specific one, referring to his own group, his own family. The ethnologist uses it as a specific term; but when he is speaking with Raphaël, he can use it, as Raphaël does, as a general one. The exhibition's authors chose it ("Insaisissables Voyageurs") as a general term, probably because it was the most common in use among the "Gypsies" ("Tsiganes") they have met in Fresnes.

Conclusion

I said in my introduction that these six situations would shed light on three questions. I would now like to return to these subjects.

1. Gypsies as an unit

Of course relationships among Gypsy communities, that is, among members of different Gypsy communities, are extremely varied, and sometimes unexpected. They are not organized in a permanent and unique way in reference to unchanging criteria. Such an assertion is obvious, but it seems to me not unnecessary to repeat it. It is not a common feeling of belonging to the same social entity (a "people," an "ethnic group," a "culture") which dictates everyone's attitudes. Nevertheless, we cannot affirm that such a feeling does not exist. With the exception of situation 1, it is because they feel they belong, let us say, to the same "world," a world apart from society or apart into society, a world with its own special values and rules, that, at a certain moment, in a certain place, the "Gypsies" we have observed engage themselves in the same scenario. Sometimes it happens that this feeling leads them to mistakes or to erroneous attitudes, but they are prompted by it.

2. "Gypsy politics" versus "Romany culture"

To read these stories (these "Affairs of Egypt"), to understand these situations, what

happens among the characters, why they act in such or such a way, we need to call upon various types of knowledge, ethnographical, sociological, and historical (at the same time the story of the families and the story of the countries where these persons live or pass through, that is, the entire story of Europe in the 20th century).

3. Gypsy communities and states

At the same time that they meet a new society (new Gaže) with its customs, its laws, its people, its police, Gypsies who move today from one state to another meet new Gypsies, that is, new Gypsies for them. Interaction is mutual; relationships among Gypsy communities are influenced here and now by relationships between a specific community and a specific state, and, vice-versa, relationships between a Gypsy community, for instance newcomers in one country, and a state, can be influenced by relations the state has with the community which has been settled in this place for a long time.

So appears the error which consists of instituting the same policies for all who are called "Gypsies," "Tsiganes," "Gens du Voyage," or "Rom" among other terms, the error of a state's belief that, because the same name is used for them, these men and women form an homogeneous human unit.

NOTES

(1) "Paris" here means the entire Paris region, not merely the city of Paris.

(2) The young generation brings an additional skill, the French language (they were pupils of "l'Ecole de la République"), which they sometimes use in speaking with me, depending on what we are talking about, French for films or cars, *romanes* for Rom matters or Gaže customs.

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Gypsies in Spain and Italy

Marriage Patterns of Gitanos or Calé, the Spanish Gypsies

Juan F. Gamella

Introduction

The Gitanos of Spain are one of the most distinct cultural minorities of the country. They are largely sedentary, speak the same languages as their *Payo* (non-Gypsy) neighbors, and, until recently, have followed the dominant Catholic faith and have not developed a sense of distinct history or homeland. Moreover, although racial stereotypes about Gitanos and Gitanas (*la raza Calé*, "the Cale race") abound in popular discourse, most Gypsies are physically indistinguishable from other Spaniards. It is thus difficult to point to the traits that support Gitano difference and separate identity. We propose to look at the social organization of domestic and reproductive processes, and to the forms in which they are conceptualized, performed, and experienced in daily life.

In this sense, we argue that the marriage regime of Spanish Gypsies or Gitanos is a crucial factor in their permanence as a distinct group, and in the maintenance of their shared identity. This "regime" is produced and reproduced by a set of recurrent dispositions and practices concerning why, when, how and with whom to wed. Hence, they are based on the meanings, expectations and adjustments that "subtly influenced the proportion marrying and the age at marriage" (Macfarlane 1986: 276), and mate choice. Gypsies have tended to make marriage a necessary transition to adulthood, and have pursued strategies universalizing marriage and resulting in low levels of celibacy. They have also stressed the value of virgin brides, and proof of virginity in public ceremonies that are today the source of ethnic markers and of gendered moralities. In addition, Gitanos have preferred to marry young and have followed a preference for endogamous and homogamous matches, which have resulted in a high incidence of consanguineous unions. They have also stressed the importance of having many children, often as many as possible. Many of these patterns are being maintained (and transmuted and reinvented) today, amidst the manifold transformations of Gitano life and society.

In many ways there has been a clash between the minority's definitions of marriage and those of the dominant society from the beginning of the presence of Gitanos in Spain. The particular form of Gypsy unions has been a main motive for accusations in the numerous anti-Gitano decrees of the *ancien régime*. "They do not keep matrimony," we read in a document of 1594; "They do not follow the Law of the (Catholic) Church," says another in the year 1610; "Couples do not marry nor ask for *Dispensation*" even when marrying relatives, insists a denunciation of 1619 (see Sánchez

Ortega 1977, 1988; Leblon 1985). On the other hand, the "normalization" of their marriages has been a crucial factor in Gypsies' access to a legitimate identity. For instance, owning a marriage certificate *in facie Ecclesiae* was sufficient proof for a family to be freed after the *Causa General* of 1749. This was a genocidal attempt in which thousands of Gitano men, women and children were arrested, separated by gender and sent to prisons around Spain (Gómez Alfaro 1993, 1998, 1999, Sánchez Ortega 1986).

Ethnic differences in marriage practices and norms derive from different conceptions of person, kin and body which result in specific gender norms and roles (see Wang 1990, Gay y Blasco 1999, Gamella 2000). This system, in turn, has decisive consequences for the demographic configuration of the minority and their resistance to assimilation in the face of rejection, discrimination, and accelerated social change. Marriage is also a key institution to understanding the condition of Gypsy women, as the gender system which prevails among Gypsies is crucially determined by matrimonial practices and the roles, beliefs and values which sustain them. Contrary to expectations, some of the differences in marriage practices have grown greater since the 1970s. Somehow, the majority and the minority appear to have adapted differently to urbanization, industrialization, and modernization processes and the many associated changes, at least in some familial strategies. Today, several traits of marital practice and discourse result in oppositions, whereas four decades ago they may have been perceived as gradations in a continuum, at least in relation to the poorer sector of the Spanish population.

It is thus intriguing that marriage patterns have been neglected in the best studies of Gitanos and in Gypsy studies in general. This may be due, among other things, to the application of anthropological models which stressed descent, and especially descent through males, as the key element of the social organization of Gitanos. Perhaps, the reliance on male informants, the absence of ethnohistorical approaches, and the lack of genealogical and demographic data have helped to obscure marriage and the cultural organization of reproduction as a subject of research, as well, except in respect to its symbolic, ceremonial aspects (for three relative exceptions, see Cohn 1973; Okely 1983; Williams 1984).

Objectives

In this paper we will use data from ongoing ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and demographic research on Gypsies in the Granada province of southern Spain to briefly delineate some of the main traits of this marriage system. Although our results are preliminary, they show the importance of an interdisciplinary approach with a local or community base in the study of Roma populations. In this paper, we will briefly explore some of the crucial patterns of Gypsy marriage, such as 1) A different

form of establishing marriage, one based on cohabitation and/or the exigency of the virginity of the bride, which ideally has to be proved in a public ceremony; 2) The generalization of marriage and the very low levels of celibacy; 3) The early age of marriage for both males and females; 4) The preference for endogamous and homogamous marriages that often results in a high rate of consanguineous unions repeated through generations. We will provide some new data, especially concerning consanguineous marriages, from our research in the region of Andalusia in southern Spain, where Gitanos have been the main ethnic minority at least since the middle of the eighteenth century. We have been working in an area in the province of Granada which is home today to over 40,000 Gitanos and the birthplace of many of the Gypsies now living in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands (Gamella 1996).

Results

Establishing and celebrating marriage: the Casamiento Gitano

Gypsy marriage is a process, not an event, although some events – such as when the bride spends a night or part of night away from home – may precipitate personal decisions and commitments. Gitanos have an elaborate way of establishing and celebrating matrimony *(casamiento),* which often includes a public ritual in which the bride's virginity is proven. This ceremony, in which hundreds of relatives may participate, constitutes the center of the *boda gitana* or Gypsy Wedding, one of the great moments of exaltation of Gypsy culture and Gypsy "law." There are, however, other ways of establishing a valid marriage for Gitanos. Elopement, followed by acceptance by both families, and cohabitation, has been the most frequent form of bringing about a socially sanctioned marriage for Spanish Gypsies in the period considered. In most cases, according to Gypsy common law, cohabitation implies marriage, and the birth of children confirms the union of individuals and families involved. These children are considered legitimate by the Gypsy community. The commitment thus established implies a set of rights and duties that could be strictly enforced by relatives on both sides. Therefore, weddings may be elaborated in complex procedures and ceremonies, including *pedimiento* or *dichos* (betrothal) with or without *registro* (certification of the bride's virginity before the *boda gitana* or Gypsy wedding), and even with previous *depósito* of the bride, and including both a Catholic and a Gypsy ritual. Alternatively, they may be simple and straightforward, involving elopement and cohabitation (Gamella 2000; Pasqualino 1998; San Roman 1976).

For the dominant majority and the State, however, only religious (Catholic) or Civil unions produce a legitimate marriage. Hence, we find in the Civil Register many records of Gypsy children who are born of a couple whose marriage does not exist for official purposes. Often, there is no trace of the marriage contract in public docu-

ments until decades later, after the couple has had several children. Therefore, there is a methodological problem in obtaining data about the date of marriage for Gypsies, as often their definition of marriage does not coincide with that of the State and the dominant majority.

Table 1. Percentage of Gypsy couples legalizing their marital status, by birth cohort of the wife. Gypsy population. Granada, Spain (N: 6397)

Year of Birth	% Legalized marriages	% Legalized marriages legalized before birth of first child
1900–09	44.9	9.1
1910–19	39.7	13
1920–29	56.7	9.1
1930–39	74.3	21
1940–49	88.1	55.1
1950–59	88.6	76.2
1960–69	80.6	94.6

In table 1, we present the data concerning the percentage of couples that legalized their marriages according to Spanish law at any time during their lifetimes and of the proportion of those who did so before the birth of their first child. Often that marriage was formalized days before the death of a member of the couple. As we see, in Francoist Spain there was an increasing proportion of Gypsy couples who abided by the State (and Church) definition of marriage. This is proof of an increasingly regimented population that was subjected to more exhaustive forms of social control by the increasingly bureaucratic State and the Church. Remember that the Catholic Church maintained considerable power in family matters, and that during most of the 20th century Spanish family laws have followed Catholic canonic law. The national Catholic ideology of the dictatorship favored the maintenance of Church leverage on marriage matters until 1975. In democratic Spain, however, other pressures for Gitanos to conform to dominant definitions of marriage encoded in Civil Law have become more visible, namely, to enjoy the social and economic benefits granted to married couples. That is why a larger share (95%) of the couples who now officialize their unions (95%) do so before their first child is born.

Early marriage

Ideally, Gypsy women should marry soon after menarche, and their bridegrooms should be a few years older (*mozas,* "maidens," should marry *mozos,* "young bachelors"). For Gypsies adolescence is the ideal age of marriage for women, who tend to marry in their teens. (For further information about this topic, see Martín and Gamella 2004).

Consanguineous marriages

Consanguineous marriages are more frequent and show a different structure than that observed for the Spanish population at large and for most of its regions and provinces (see Bestard 1991; Calderón et al. 1998, 1993; Fuster et al. 1996; Gómez 1989; Valls 1982; Pinto-Cisternas, Zei and Moroni 1979).

Two individuals are said to be consanguineous when they share one or more close ancestors. The progeny of consanguineous parents is inbred (Cavalli-Sforza and Bodmer 1971: 341). The rate and patterns of consanguineous unions are dependent, among other factors, on demographic variables such as density of population, mortality and birth rates, age at marriage, and so forth. On the other hand, inbreeding has been found to influence age at marriage and age at first live birth, fertility rates, as well as infant morbidity and mortality, etc. (see Bittles 1994; Bittles et al. 1991).

We have limited our research to the 1,267 marriages for which we know the identity of the parents of both spouses, and thus we are able to establish a genealogical depth of three to seven generations in both patrilateral and matrilateral lines. All these unions occurred from 1903 to 1999, although most of them (83.3 per cent) happened after 1950, a period when inbreeding decreased rapidly all over Spain. Of these 1,267 marriages, 366 were consanguineous. Consanguineous marriages are still common among Gypsies. A fourth of all inbred unions in our sample took place after 1990.

Table 2. Distribution of consanguineous marriages by main type of kinship relation in 1,267 Gitano marriages (1903–1999)

Marriage type of kinship	F	N	% of Mc	% of Mt	McM	%McM of Mc
Uncle-Niece	0.125	1	0.3	0.1	0	0.0
First Cousins	0.0625	87	23.8	6.9	19	21.8
First cousins once removed	0.0312	45	12.3	3.6	13	28.9
Half-First Cousins	0.0312	10	2.7	0.8	6	60.0
Second cousins	0.0156	89	24.3	7.0	20	22.5
Half First cousins once removed	0.0156	6	1.6	0.5	3	50.0
Second Cousins once removed	0.0078	44	12.0	3.5	7	15.9
Half Second Cousins	0.0078	4	1.1	0.3	2	50.0
Third cousins	0.0039	25	6.8	2.0	10	40.0
Other (less than third cousins)	<0.0039	55	15.0	4.3	14	25.5
Total		366	100.0	28.9	94	25.7

F: coefficient of inbreeding
Mc: Consanguineous marriages
Mt: Total number of marriages
McM: Multiple consanguineous marriages

In table 2, we present the frequency of every type of consanguineous marriage, considering the main kinship link between the spouses. We also indicate the corresponding coefficient of inbreeding (F), (1) as well as the number of multiple consanguineous unions for each type of marriage. It seems that uncle-niece marriages are rare among Gitanos; we found only one union of this type in the 1,267 marriages considered. The two most common types of consanguineous unions are those between second cousins (F = 0.0125), of which we found 89 cases (7 percent of all marriages), and between first cousins (F = 0.0625), 87 cases or 6.9% of all marriages considered. Matches among first cousins once removed and third cousins are also relatively frequent (2 per cent of all marriages). These 366 consanguineous marriages were characterized by an average inbreeding coefficient of F = 0.0276. For the 1,267 marriages the rate of total consanguinity is 28.9%, and the resulting mean coefficient of consanguinity is 0.00797. If these results could be extrapolated to the whole Calé population, the rates of consanguinity would be very high by Spanish and European standards.

In a population like this, where uncle-niece marriages are rare, the correlation between the consanguinity rates and inbreeding values will depend greatly on the ratio between the closer unions, first cousins/second cousins (Calderón et al. 1993: 757), but also on the presence of multiple consanguinity (Calderón et al. 1998). In our sample, first cousin marriages (F = 0.625) account for 55.6 per cent of the total rate of inbreeding. Unions of first cousins once removed and half-first cousins (F = 0.0312) account for 17.3 percent. In total, these three types of unions account for almost a quarter of the whole value of F (72.9 percent).

Table 3. Types of first cousin in 1,267 Gypsy marriages, of which 366 were consanguineous and 87 between first cousins. Granada, Spain (1903-2000).

Types of first cousins: Relationship of wife to husband	N	%
FBD and MZD	3	3.4
FBD	23	26.4
MZD	21	24.1
FZD	15	17.2
MBD	25	28.7
Total	87	100

FBD: The wife is the daughter of the brother of the father of husband. Spouses are patrilateral parallel cousins.
MZD: The wife is the daughter of the sister of the mother of the husband. Spouses are matrilateral parallel cousins.
FZD: The wife is the daughter of the sister of the father of the husband. Spouses are cross cousins.
MBD: The wife is the daughter of the brother of the mother of husband. Spouses are cross cousins.

First cousin marriages

We analyzed the 87 marriages between first cousins in our sample. In table 3 we see that there is not a significant difference in the frequency of parallel or cross cousin marriages (54 and 46 percent of the total of first-cousin marriages, respectively), nor between patrilateral or matrilateral types. These data coincide with the life stories we collected from Gitanos and Gitanas of different generations (see Gamella 2000). There does not seem to be a favored marriage arrangement concerning different sorts of first cousins. No type of cousin is forbidden or frowned upon as spouse; no type is preferred, either. In fact, the Gitanos do not distinguish among types of first cousins as different categories of kin. There is no terminological difference among first cousins: all are denoted with the same term, *primos hermanos or primos/as carnales.*

These findings are difficult to reconcile with the models of unilineal descent groups, such as the patrilineages or "patrigroups," and their corporative identities and interests that have been described as forming the core of Gitano social organization in some of the most influential monographs on this minority (see San Román 1976, 1997, Ardévol 1986).

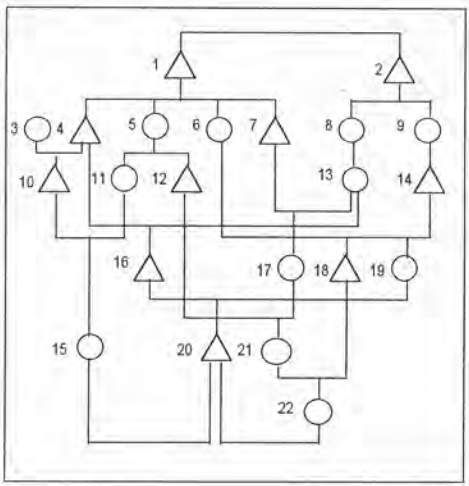
Multiple consanguinity

A crucial trait of Gitano nuptiality is the frequency of multiple consanguineous marriages, in which members of the couple share various degrees of kinship, and are linked by various lines to several common ancestors. In a computer-assisted analysis of the 366 consanguineous unions of our sample, we identified 99 as multiple. Three were unions between double first cousins ($F = 0.125$); in one of them the spouses were also second cousins ($F = 0.14$). (2) There were also six double second cousins ($F = 0.0312$), and three cases in which the couple were first cousins once removed and second cousins (0.047). In 23 cases we have found three or more independent consanguineous relationships between the spouses. The level of inbreeding does not seem to correlate with the size of the local Gypsy population. There were 17 different types of main kinship relationships in these 366 unions, and in 25.7 percent of them we were able to trace pedigrees that showed other links of multiple consanguinity of great complexity and variety. Our analysis is still partial, so that results of table 3 may underestimate the importance of multiple consanguinity in this population and its contribution to its genetic structure.

This is a crucial aspect of Gitano consanguinity. In fact, it is difficult to show the complexity of relationships using standard indexes. To illustrate the intricacy and complexity of these forms of inbreeding, I present one example of Gitano consanguineous marriages in our sample that has been studied by my colleague Elisa Martín (2001). Martín has graphed the connections between spouses and their closest ances-

tors in a simplified form (see figure 1). Every person in the graph has a different number. Males are represented by triangles, women by circles. Horizontal lines connect siblings and spouses.

Figure 1. Two Gypsy consanguineous marriages. Granada, Spain, 1987 and 1993.



The marriages of Esteban, Remedios and Malena

In 1987, Esteban, a 20 year old Gypsy male living in a town north of Granada, married one of his cousins, Remedios, who was 15 at the time and lived in a neighboring village. Soon they had three children (born in 1988, 1989, and 1990). In 1993 Esteban left his wife and moved in with another girl, Malena, then 16 years of age, who was also his cousin and lived nearby. Of this union Malena also bore three children in 1994, 1996, and 1997.

Between Esteban (number 20 in figure 1) and Remedios (number 15) we found four different consanguineous links. They are half first cousins, having a grandparent in common (person number 4), and are also three times second cousins ($F = 0.0781$). The parents of Remedios (persons 10 and 11 in the figure) are also first cousins.

Esteban and Malena (person number 22 in the figure) are linked in many ways to their common ancestors. In total, we have been able to trace 11 independent consanguineous links between them. They are cross first cousins (Malena is a daughter of the brother of the mother of Esteban). They are also second cousins, and four times second cousins once removed, and double third cousins, and double third cousins once removed, and third cousins twice removed. (3) The inbreeding coeffi-

cient of their children is at least F = 0.0114, close to that of the children of double first cousins or uncle-niece marriages (F = 0.0125).

Both wives of Esteban, Remedios (number 15) and Malena (number 22), are also first cousins once removed, second cousins once removed, and so on. Note as well that the parents and grandparents of these young Gypsies come from inbred unions. Thus we are describing kindreds in which consanguineous matches have been common for generations. It would be difficult to find such a level of sustained inbreeding in other European populations.

Discussion

Gitanos seem to have marriage patterns that differ greatly from those hypothesized for Western European populations (Hajnal 1965). Both high levels of celibacy and late age at marriage appear to have been common in Europe at least since the 18th century. Spain was no different in this respect from other Western European countries, notwithstanding local and regional variations (see Reher 1996, 1991, Livi-Bacci 1968a, 1968b). On the other hand, some of the Gypsy marital strategies and their aggregate results are relatively common in Africa and Asia (see, for instance, Bittles 1994; Goody 1990, 1984, 1976). Gitanos, however, are a European population, thus, we have to explain why they have maintained such differential strategies in the context where they lived. In any case, we are considering here a form of ethnic difference with profound social, demographic and, perhaps, genetic consequences. The patterns of nuptiality described in this paper are interconnected. This has been shown in other areas of the world. For instance, consanguinity has been associated with greater gross fertility, in part due to younger maternal age at marriage and at first birth (Bittles et al 1991, Bittles 1994).

The level of inbreeding in this Gypsy population seems to be very high by European standards (Bittles 1994, Bittles et al. 1991). Our results are coherent with those of the only available study that has provided valid data on Gypsy inbreeding in Spain. A national study of birth defects (4) found about 30 percent of consanguineous unions among parents of newborn Gypsy children, compared to about 1 percent for non-Gypsies (Martínez-Frías 1993; Martínez-Frías and Bermejo 1992). Our results are also broadly consistent with the increasing data on population and genetic structure of European Gypsies, mostly collected in relation to issues of public health (Assal et al. 1991; Thomas et al. 1987) or of the incidence of genetic diseases (see for recent reviews Kalaydjieva et al. 2001; Gresham et al. 2001).

In Spain in the first half of the 20th Century, consanguineous marriages were more prevalent than in other European countries (see Pinto-Cisternas, Zei and Moroni 1979). However, levels of inbreeding decreased since 1930, and more rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, to rates comparable to those of other Western European countries

(see Calderón et al. 1998; Fuster et al. 1996; Calderón et al. 1993; Gómez 1989). In recent decades the rates of inbreeding may have declined even further. In contrast, among Gitanos consanguinity has remained high in the face of urbanization, migration, and industrialization. In fact, the decrease in infant mortality derived from better living standards and health care may have increased the number of those who could find a close relative to marry.

Gypsy preferences for marrying within the extended family is not a remnant from the past maintained by the blind pursuit of binding traditions. It is more often the response to ethnic segregation and discrimination, and a cultural choice with social and economic advantages. For instance, consanguineous unions may be seen as reducing the risks and "hidden uncertainties regarding health or other unfavorable family characteristics" (Bittles 1994: 567).

Among Gitanos, however, marriage transactions such as dowry or bridewealth rarely matter much, and the maintenance of family property is not usually a major consideration. Marrying kin reserves the girls of the family (and their work and reproductive capacity) for the men of the family; it also increases compatibility between spouses, and among them and their in-laws. Thus, in the case of patrilocal residence, consanguineous marriages may benefit the status and relative autonomy of the bride (Khlat et al. 1996). While motives for these marriage patterns are a crucial subject of our research, they are beyond the objectives of this paper.

The high rates of consanguinity among Spanish Gypsies may have important social and biological consequences. On the one hand, they increase the solidarity of Gypsies along family lines, but they also tend to isolate kindreds one from another and from society at large. And these patterns may also have important consequences for genetic and congenital defects.

In the epidemiological and clinical studies available, Gitanos appear to have up to seven times more autosomal recessive syndromes than other Spaniards (see Martínez Frías 1993). We have found very important instances of congenital defects in the population studied, for instance, over 70 cases of oculocutaneous albinism in some of the reconstructed genealogies. This is an important result to consider in future preventive efforts, and in education and genetic counseling programs. Any such project should be tailored to the specific needs and understandings of this population, avoiding any form of stigmatization. Moreover, we should "keep the levels of expressed genetic defect in perspective" and address the diverse forms in which consanguinity and other marriage patterns act "as a covariable with other sociodemographic parameters," such as maternal education, poverty, exclusion and discrimination in reducing life expectancy and health (Bittles 1994: 578). This is a controversial area for intervention that should ideally be led by Gypsies themselves, and that requires the responsible cooperation of governments and non-governmental organizations. It shows, however, the importance of marriage patterns and institutions for the present and the future of Gypsies.

NOTES

(1) The coefficient of relatedness or inbreeding, F, is "the probability that an individual receives at a given locus two genes that are identical by descent" (Cavalli-Sforza and Bodmer 1971: 343). Although usually measured from marriages rather than from their offspring, its average values indicate the mean level of inbreeding in populations (Bittles 1994: 579).

(2) In these cases, two brothers married two sisters, a type of match also found among Gypsies in other countries (see Okely 1983).

(3) Indirectly this marriage displays another relevant factor in Gitano marriage patterns, namely the fusion of generations due to the long reproductive life of Gypsy women, who continue to bear children when their daughters are also parenting.

(4) They analyzed data from the Spanish System on Congenital Malformations (ECEMC), a case-control study in 84 maternity hospitals throughout the country, which surveyed nearly 906,000 births from 1976 to 1991. In 1.6 percent of the cases the mothers identified themselves as Gypsies. The study focused on the birth prevalence of multiple congenital anomalies and autosomal recessive syndromes. The latter were "approximately seven times more frequent in Gypsies than in non-Gypsies" a situation that reflected the higher rate of consanguinity among this minority (Martínez-Frias and Bermejo 1992: 634).

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A Note on The Demographic Structure of Spanish Gypsies

Elisa I. Martín

In this paper, I will present some preliminary results of an ongoing study of the structure of the Gypsy population in 20 Andalusian towns and villages based on a genealogical reconstruction using microdemographic and ethnohistoric methods, and which concerns about 9000 Gypsies (see Martin 1999; Martin and Gamella 2003).

The Gitanos or Spanish Gypsies are an ethnic group related to other "Roma" populations who live as minorities in most countries of Europe. In Spain the Calé or Gitanos come from the first migratory waves into Western Europe which ended in the second half of the 16th century. Their customs and ways of life are thus product of a secular and complex coexistence with local populations, often marked by conflict, segregation and discrimination (see Gómez Alfaro 1999, 1998; Leblon 1985; San Román 1997, 1986).

Today, however, most Gitanos consider themselves autochthonous Spaniards although they are proud of their ethnic identity. They have lost the language of their ancestors; they speak the languages and dialects of the regions where they live. Gitanos have also lost most of their old trades and occupations, but have found other differences to construct and to vindicate their shared identity (see Gamella 2000; Gay y Blasco 1999). On the other hand, they have helped to transform the local and regional societies in which they live. Perhaps in no other part of Europe has such a cultural fusion taken place as in parts of Spain, especially in Andalusia, where many of the symbols that identify the region have a major Gitano component (Pasqualino 1998).

The great majority of Spanish Gypsies are sedentary. They have been living in the same towns, villages, or counties for generations, and often have a strong attachment to their places of birth and residence, defining themselves as Andalusians, Catalans, or even "Sevillanos." In the last century, notwithstanding the peculiar use of family displacement to adapt to resource fluctuation, as well as to avoid the escalation of violent conflicts, Spanish Gypsies have tended to follow similar migration patterns to those of their non-Gypsy neighbors. Thus we find many Gitanos from Extremadura and Western Andalusia in Madrid, from Old Castile in the Basque Country, and from Eastern Andalusia in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. In our fieldwork, we have also found many Gypsy families that migrated in the 1960s as industrial workers to Germany, Switzerland and France, returning later to the towns and cities of their ancestors.

Estimates of the size of the Spanish Gypsy population vary notably. Those most informed place it in the range of 600,000 to 750,000, that is, around 1.5 percent of

the total Spanish population (see Fresno 1994). Today, gypsies live in all regions of Spain. Around 40 percent of all Spanish Gypsies live in Andalusia. Madrid, Catalonia and the regions of Levant (Valencia and Murcia) are also home to large sectors of the Calé population. There is also a large proportion of Calé families concentrated in the peripheries of cities and major towns, especially in Andalusia (Sevilla, Granada, Málaga, and so forth), Madrid, and Barcelona. But there are important groups of Calé in rural areas and in localities of different sizes and structures, from the industrial towns of the Basque Country to the tourist resorts of the Mediterranean, and in rural areas of Andalusia, Extremadura, or Murcia.

This varied geographic distribution is often linked to a varied sociocultural and economic integration. The Spanish Gypsies have often been discriminated against and segregated, and even persecuted. But there are also many cases in which their insertion into local life has been fluid and they have been accepted and even appreciated by their neighbors. There are examples of this centuries-old integration of Gypsy families in local society, mostly in Andalusia (see Gómez Alfaro 1999). The Gypsy minority, however, should not be perceived as a uniform and static group, or a group closed to fusion and exchange with its neighbors. Today the life and the traditions (old and reinvented) of the Gitanos are being transformed (Gamella 1996). Changes, however, are not taking place at the same speed, nor depth in all groups. Hence, the Gypsy population is increasingly heterogeneous. This internal differentiation may take the form of polarization.

Methods and sources

At least since 1783, the ethnic affiliation of Gypsies does not appear in Spanish official records or in the census. Spanish Gypsies are thus indistinguishable from any other citizens in civil or parochial registers, as in official documents in general. Thus, official data does not allow the direct demographic study of this minority or its comparison with other groups of the Spanish population. This is a different situation from that found in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe. There, Gypsies have been recognized as a nationality or ethnic minority and their ascription recorded in official records, which has permitted very interesting studies on the demographic structure of Gypsies (see Mészáros and Fóti 1996; Daróczi 1994; Gheorghe 1994; Kalibova 1989, 1994; Srb 1988; Hoóz 1987).

Moreover, it is generally assumed, even by some of the most important experts in the field, that Gitanos have never been interested in registering the births of their children, the deaths of their loved ones, or their marriages. This would make any demographic archival research beyond the 18th century impossible or worthless (see, for instance, San Román 1997). This assumption coincided with a characterization of Gypsies as "nomads" or at least as a group with very low and inconstant territorial or

local links. Our research contradicts both assumptions, at least for Andalusia. In the villages and towns where we have worked, we have found that Gypsy families have been inscribing the births and deaths of their kin since the beginning of the Civil Registration record ("Registro Civil") in the early 1870s. Many of the relatives of the Gypsies living in one village were able to be traced in the registers of neighboring towns and villages ("pueblos").

The area and population of study

This research was carried out in the province of Granada in Southern Spain. The area in which we worked includes 23 localities, ranging from 1,200 to 22,000 people in size. The sample of localities includes a relative variety of settlements, ranging from rural to urban in character, and from more isolated ones to those close to the major cities in the area.

Our data concerns the total Gypsy population of the localities considered. We have considered as Gypsies those persons who identified themselves as such, and who were identified as Gypsies by their families and neighbors. Self-ascription is therefore the key factor used for the identification of Gypsies in our project. In all cases it coincided with descent from other persons also identified as Gypsies, although interethnic marriages are not unknown in this region, as in the rest of Spain. The relative ratio of the Gypsy population was uniformly high in the region studied, amounting from 3 to 30 percent of the total population in the different "pueblos."

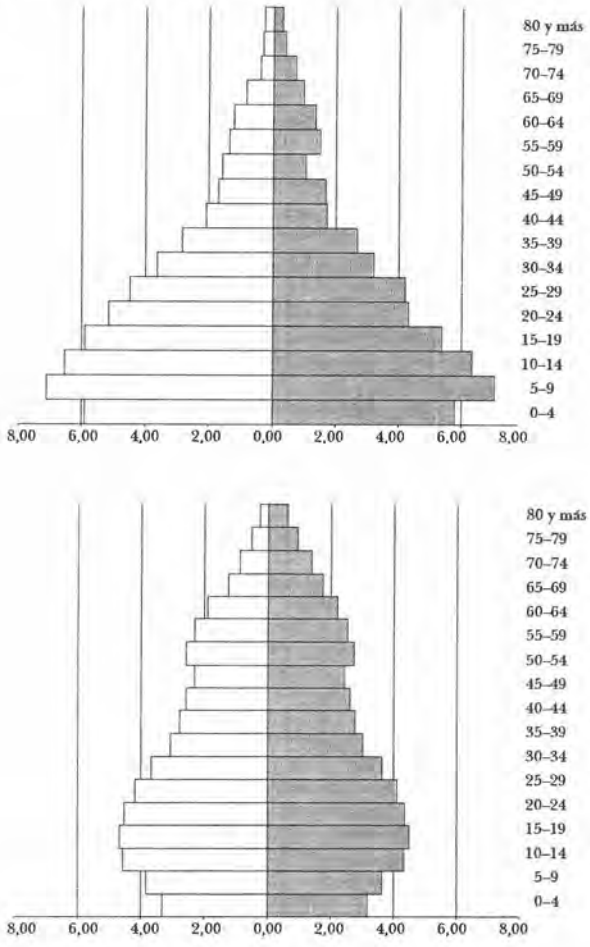
Methodological strategy

Our demographic research was based on a previous ethnographic study in which we established rapport, confidence, and knowledge of Gypsy residents and of the living conditions of the Gypsy minority in the area.

With local help, first, we carefully reviewed the main local census (the "Padrón Municipal de Habitantes") and established a roster of the local Gypsy population in every village and town where we worked. Then, we created a large database from which we did a preliminary study of the basic structure of the Gypsy population of the area (Martín 1999). We collected data on the place and date of birth, sex, marital status, family unit, number of children and birth data of the latter. This was the first step in a painstaking reconstruction of the Gypsy population that has allowed a more profound study of the Gypsies over the past century. (1) This has been a lengthy and laborious task. In the collection of data from archives we have been helped by some of our students and colleagues. The triangulation of data case by case, and the establishment of kin networks has been carried out by the authors of the paper.

Results

Figure 1. Population Pyramids, 1991. Gypsy (Granada) and Andalusian Populations



The demographic structure of the Gypsy population differs significantly from that of the majority of the Spanish population. The Gypsies are generally younger; in the Gypsy groups there are more children and young people, and also fewer old men and women. These differences from the non-Gypsy population can be seen clearly in the contrasts between the pyramid of the Gypsy population studied and the pyramid of the Andalusian population as a whole (see figure 1). Both pyramids reflect common experiences due to historical circumstances, for example, the gap representing the deficit of births due to the Spanish Civil War in 1936–39. But they also illustrate the divergences of two populations having a different age-sex structure. The large pro-

portion of children is of special significance, but still more important is the lack of elderly persons, especially those over 65. The triangular shape of the pyramid with a very broad base and a concave side, suggests high mortality and fertility rates, although the narrowing of the first step over the second points to a decreasing fertility.

Age distribution

Table 1. Age group distribution. Gypsy and Andalusian population (1991).

Age group	Gypsy population	Andalusian population
0-14 years	37.5	22.9
15-64 years	57.8	65.3
over 65 years	4.7	11.8
Total	100	100

As we see in table 1, on the average, Gitanos are younger than their non-Gypsy neighbors. The children under 15 years of age amount to 38 percent of all Gypsies, but only to 23 percent of Andalusians. In turn, we found that only 5 percent of Gitanos are 65 years of age or older, while in the Andalusian population (in which Gypsies are included) people of that age amount to 12 percent.

The proportion of children 0 to 4 years of age among Gypsies is double that among the majority of the population. Moreover, this age group may be even larger among Gitanos, as often they delay the official registration of new births, and this may result in undercounting of this cohort (Shyrock and Siegel 1976: 275). Nevertheless, the reduction of the gap between the minority and the whole population in this group is an indication of a decrease of the natality rate among the Spanish Gypsies.

The detailed comparison of the other age groups also points to important differences between the majority and the minority. For instance, in the group 45 to 64 years of age, Gitanos and Gitanas are underrepresented; people in this age range amount to 12 percent of the Gypsy population as against 20 percent of the total Andalusian population. They belong to the cohort born during the Civil War and in the Post-War years, a very difficult time for many Spaniards, especially for the poorest and underprivileged, such as most Gypsies, who suffered frequent periods of hunger and higher infant mortality (see Martín 1999).

Sex distribution

Table 2. Sex ratio (number of men/100 women) by age group. Gypsy and Andalusian population 1991.

Age group	Andalusian	Gypsies
0-39 years	105	107
40-64 years	95	107
65 years and more	70	71

We found more males than females in the Gypsy population under study. This is especially visible in the middle-aged group, 40 to 64 years of age, where there were 107 males for every 100 females. This contrasts starkly with the structure of the population at large (see table 2). This male overrepresentation may be a consequence of female out-migration, but it may be also an indication of the harsher life of Gypsy women during the reproductive years that resulted in higher mortality rates and shorter life expectancy. This is only a hypothesis based on limited evidence and requires further investigation. But similar ratios were also apparent in other groups of Spanish Gypsies (Martin 1999; Gamella 1996), and studies of other European Gypsy populations have also shown similar results. In 1980 in former Czechoslovakia, Kalibova found that women were 49.2 percent of the whole population of Gypsies, and the sex ratio was 103.4 (1989).

Some aspects of fertility

Table 3. Percent distribution of women by marital status, in birth cohort. Gypsy population.

	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69
	n=74	n=87	n=136	n=166	n=217	n=541	n=389
Married	77.03	68.97	70.59	67.46	61.75	61.83	64.78
Single	1.35	0.00	0.73	0.00	0.00	0.77	0.00
Died before 20th birthday	14.86	18.39	13.24	13.25	17.05	12.20	2.83
No data	6.76	12.64	15.44	19.29	21.20	25.20	32.39
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4. Percent distribution of mothers by age at first child, in groups of birth cohort. Gypsy population. Granada, Spain

Age of mother at first child	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-69
<15	8.51	6.90	4.26	1.92	1.80	2.23	2.16
15-19	42.64	44.83	37.23	43.27	58.56	59.92	54.04
20-24	29.79	32.76	37.23	39.42	30.11	30.11	30.81
25-29	10.64	8.62	13.83	9.62	6.69	6.69	11.35
30-34	6.38	3.45	4.26	3.85	0.90	0.74	1.62
>35	2.04	3.45	3.19	1.92	0.90	0.30	0.00

Although our data are still preliminary, we have found through the whole period that most Gypsy women had a pattern of high fertility with long genesic periods. They had their first child in their teens and kept having children for over 30 years, usually until menopause (see Martin and Gamella 2003). Although this pattern is in the process of change by reducing the number of the children, Gypsy women still tend to have the first child at a very young age. Table 4 shows the 15-19 age group as the one in which more women had their first child and how this remained unchanged for the whole period 1900–1970.

Our data concerning mortality rates is still insufficient and patchy. As a secondary result in our analysis of the marital status of Gypsy women (see table 3) we found that Gypsy woman in the area under study have suffered from high levels of infant mortality at least until the late 1940s and perhaps into the 1950s, that is, over 20 years after child mortality fell in the larger population of the area (Martin and Gamella 2003).

In the past four decades Gypsy fertility may have remained high, and improvement in nourishment, health and living conditions has reduced infant mortality with the concomitant result of an important growth of the Gitano population. There are signs, however, that the fertility rates of Gitanas decreased in the 1990s. This is already visible in the pyramid presented in this paper, and in the more recent data from records and fieldwork that we are now processing. The ideal number of children seems to have decreased. Gypsy women increasingly are using contraceptive methods, although the timing of their contraception efforts differ from those of non-Gypsy women in general.

Discussion

Our preliminary results show that there are considerable demographic differences between the Gitano and the non-Gypsy *(Gaché)* populations, in this case, the Andalusian population. In general, Gypsies are younger, with a higher ratio of chil-

dren and adolescents in their groups, and a smaller proportion of old people. They marry at a younger age, and have maintained higher fertility rates at least within the last decades. On the other hand, the Andalusian population, like other industrial populations, is aging quickly. The priorities, needs and demands of both majority and minority may diverge in the near future. Gypsies will need primary and secondary schools, training centers, entry jobs, pediatricians, and so on. The rest of Spaniards and Andalusians, to a larger degree, may need retirement homes, old-age pensions and geriatric specialists. Ethnic prejudice and conflict might thus be accentuated by age conflict. But there could also be many opportunities for young Gitanos and Gitanas in the service economy of the future. In many of the villages and towns we studied, today, Gypsies are the main source of "demographic vitality" and thus of renewal of the population. As with other growing minorities in different regions of Spain and Europe, the challenge is to turn the strength of their youth and increasing numbers into an asset for their neighbors and themselves.

The "lack of women" found in the Gypsy population, may be related to an increased mortality due to a very intense reproductive cycle with many pregnancies and births, and the lack of medical care and undernourishment. Until the 1960s, most Gypsy women gave birth at home, and they rarely had regular access to prenatal or postnatal care. In the past three decades Spanish Gypsies are improving their life standards, and have gained access to public health and public schools, subsidies, and housing programs.

Higher female mortality rates have been reported in populations of the developing world (Naciones Unidas, 1995: 2). In India, for instance, in 1991 a national study found that there were 927 females for every 1000 males in the total population (Kumar et al. 1997). The same phenomenon applied in other South Asian and Middle East countries (Weeks 1988). The changing situation of Gitanas could offer important evidence for comparison with other Gypsy populations, and with other underprivileged groups throughout the world.

NOTES

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(1) For a description of this methodology, see Martin and Gamella 2003.

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The Romani Communities in Italy: The Case of Tuscany Region with Special Attention to the City of Florence*

Zoran Lapov

Introduction

While there do not exist precise demographic figures on the Romani population in Italy, it seems to be approximately 110,000 people, fairly low in comparison with some other European country. The Romani communities in Italy are quite varied. From a historical-linguistic viewpoint, the Italian Romani population can be generally subdivided in two principal communities, Roma and Sinti. However, it must be stressed that they do not perceive their ethnic identities within these historical-linguistic categories, but consider themselves principally as members of rather smaller ethnic identities.

The present article deals with the Romani communities present in Italy, their territorial distribution, demographic situation, condition of their language, and so forth, with a special look at the Roma groups who arrived from the former Yugoslavian territories and at those living currently in the Tuscany region, in particular in the city of Florence. But before introducing the Romani communities residing in Florence, it would be useful to present a historical picture, though concise and quite generic, of Roma and Sinti groups in Italy and Tuscany.

The Romani Communities in Italy: a historical-geographic, demographic and linguistic overview

THE ROMA AND SINTI IMMIGRATIONS TO THE APENNINE PENINSULA

Since the first reliable hint (1422) of their appearance in the country, the forefathers of the present-day Italian Roma and Sinti traversed the Apennine Peninsula; some of them just passed through it, while others settled there.

The historical Roma communities currently inhabit the Italian South. They arrived more or less six centuries ago as a part of the more general migratory flows coming from the Balkans, which were formed, for example, of Croats, Greeks, and Albanians.

* Paper not presented at the conference.

Their dialects do not contain loanwords from the central and western European languages, but only those adopted from certain Balkan languages, primarily from Greek. Consequently, there exists a well-founded hypothesis that they reached the Peninsula from the southern Balkans, or directly from Greece across the Adriatic Sea, during the 15th century. These groups settled for the most part in Abruzzi and fewer in Molise, whence they later scattered to other southern regions. For this reason, the Southern Italian Roma are still often designated by the common name of *Rom abruzzesi.*

Sinti arrived in Italy from the north, also some time in the 15th century. They evidently came from the German-speaking territories, as their dialects still abound in German linguistic borrowings. Thus, we can suppose that Sinti sojourned in the German language area for at least a hundred years before some of them set off towards Italy. Very roughly, Sinti divide themselves into Italian Sinti, with a series of subgroups subdivided mainly on a territorial basis; and Germanic Sinti, who remained on the northern borders of the country. In the dialects of the Germanic Sinti, that is of German Sinti (*Sinti Gačkane* or *Taich*) and Austrian Sinti *(Sinti Estrexarja, Estrajxarja or Estrekarja),* German linguistic features are particularly notable. These groups reached Italy later, some in the second half of the 19th century; the Austrian groups arrived mostly in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Further migrations of Roma people began to arrive in Italy only in the 20th century, in a few stages during the 1920s and 1930s, and then from the late 1960s to the present. They all belong to various Balkan Romani groups coming primarily from the former Yugoslavia and to a lesser degree from Romania, as well as some small communities from Poland and recently from Albania. The nomadic and semi-nomadic *Vlax* Roma groups, like *Kalderásha, Lovár(j)a, Čurár(j)a* and kindred groups arrived between the two world wars, mainly during the 1920s. Communities native to Croatia, Istria and Slovenia also arrived mostly between and during the world wars, in the 1920s and 1930s and up to the 1940s. Various Yugoslavian Roma groups, mainly *Xoraxané Romá/Rromá,* Muslim Roma, and to a lesser extent *Dasikané Romá/Rromá,* Christian Roma from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia, and Macedonia arrived from the late 1960s onwards. Somewhat later, some Romanian groups (*Roma Rudari, Rumuni,* etc.) arrived, as well as a small community of Polish Roma, who settled in Novara, and some Roma from Albania.

More recently, a small number of *Roma Kaulja or Kaulia* also arrived; they reached Italy through northern Africa, Spain and France (Mattioli 1989: 75). As data on this community are nearly non-existent, in autumn 2001, I asked the national president of the *Opera Nomadi* institution, Massimo Converso, to give me some more information about them. According to him, *Opera Nomadi* met the first *Kaulja* in Italy during the 1980s. "Presently, they are dispersed, very little known... (Where did they come from?) They were Iraqis... (But I found other information that they came from Algeria, too.) Yes, Algerians and Iraqis... They disappeared from Rome, they literaly disappeared and we do not have information that they are present in any part of Italy."

Both the East-European Roma and the *Kaulja* left their native countries primarily due to grave economic and political situations and in search of better life conditions in a new economic context. The war in the former Yugoslavia further stimulated these waves of migration and created new ones.

Finally, there is a semi-nomadic group of so-called *Cam(m)inanti* (lit.'walkers'), often called *Cam(m)inanti Siciliani*, since they chiefly reside in some Sicilian provinces, though some communities are present in Calabria and in central Italy as well. Their origins are unknown; some scholars connect them to Roma and some others do not think that they have the same roots.

It is possible to observe that the territorial distribution of the Roma and Sinti population in Italy is quite regular. Roughly speaking, the communities of the historical Roma settled in the southern part of the Peninsula, whilst the Sinti stayed in its northern regions. The communities of Slovene-Croatian Roma live mainly in north-eastern and central Italy; the Balkan Roma groups, who arrived in the course of the 20th century, are dispersed all over the country; and the *Cam(m)inanti Siciliani* live principally in some Sicilian provinces, fewer in Calabria and central Italy.

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTION OF THE ROMANI POPULATION IN ITALY

Population figures of Roma in Italy are disputed and, as in many other countries, only estimates exist.

"There are no accurate figures on the current number of Roma in Italy. One official count puts the number at 130,000, but the methodology used to determine this figure is not known to the ERRC" (ERRC 2000: 15). "One representative of the Italian delegation to the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, ...told the Committee that Italy 'had 130,000 registered Roma, 80,000 of them Italian citizens' ...Another representative of the same delegation, however, stated that determining the precise number of Roma in Italy was difficult because 'There was, in fact, no precise definition of the term 'Roma' since it covered more than 100 different minorities with various origins and languages" (1) (ERRC 2000: 22). "In 1995, the London-based non-governmental organisation Minority Rights Group put the figure at 90,000-110,000 (2). Local non-governmental organisations estimate that there are presently 60,000-90,000 Italian Romani citizens and 45,000-70,000 Roma born outside Italy or born in Italy to immigrant parents, mainly from Eastern Europe, especially the former Yugoslavia" (ERRC 2000: 15-16).

According to data provided by Caritas in Rome and by Opera Nomadi, the Romani population in Italy consists of approximately 110,000 people, "0.17% of the entire population" (Caritas 1999: 170), which represents "the lowest percentage in whole Europe" (Dragutinovic, 2000: 8). Estimating very roughly, it is possible to affirm that about 70,000 people belong to the historical Roma and Sinti communities, being,

thence, Italian citizens (Caritas 1999: 170; Dragutinovic 2000: 8), while the remaining 40,000 are Roma who arrived in recent decades (from the 1960s to the present), particularly from the former Yugoslavia (Caritas 1999: 170; Dragutinovic 2000: 10), therefore still considered immigrants.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE ROMANI LANGUAGE IN ITALY

The Romani language *(Romanė)* finds itself in a very difficult position in Italy, although the situation differs from one region to another.

Generally speaking, support for the Romani language in the Italian school system is almost nonexistent, except in sporadic cases and at the very local level; there are no other efforts to encourage the Romani language and its promotion in school or other programs. From the formal viewpoint, it must be pointed out that Roma and Sinti people were not considered in Law 482 on the protection of historical linguistic minorities (1999) (3), meaning that they were not recognized as a linguistic minority by this law on the grounds that they lack a compact territorial unity in the country. Consequently, their language is daily exposed to new loans from Italian, both through everyday communication and public education, and the non-recognition of their linguistic diversity certainly does not encourage its maintenance. Romani is included in the UNESCO Red Book on endangered languages.

The practical result of such a situation is the extremely limited usage of Romani. It is almost exclusively relegated to the family or community sphere and in some communities, for example, in many Italian Roma and Sinti groups it is about to be abandoned. The groups in which its usage is still very vital are those who arrived from the former Yugoslavia, and some from Romania and Albania.

Let us see briefly the present condition of the Romani language in different Roma and Sinti communities in Italy.

As regards the historic southern communities, the Abruzzi and Molise Roma seem to best preserve the use of their native language. In other southern Roma groups Romani finds itself in a phase of strong influence from the Italian language, mingling with it or already vanishing. In fact, many families speak various South Italian dialects fluently, in accordance with their place of residence.

The Sinti dialects are historically permeated by German borrowings, especially the varieties spoken by the German *(Sinti Gačkane or Taich)* and Austrian Sinti *(Sinti Estrexarja, Estrajxarja or Estrekarja)*, who reached Italy later. The Sinti are territorially subdivided and very often speak the local Italian dialects, which gradually supplant the use of the Romani, or better, the Sinti language. Thus, many Sinti are practically on the point of no longer transmitting their mother tongue to their children, replacing it more and more with the Italian language as their native language.

As to the *Cam(m)inanti*, it seems that they did not ever speak *Romanė*, but the local

Sicilian dialects. As to *Roma Kaulja* or *Kaulia* of Iraqi and Algerian origin, "They did not speak the Romani language [either], but French and Arabic" (M. Converso, interview). In some communities of the Romanian Roma (e.g. *Roma Rudari*, who arrived in Italy from Serbia, but are native originally to Romania, and so-called *Rumuni*), the Romani language was abandoned even before their arrival in Italy. Currently, they usually use variants of Romanian dialects.

The groups of the *Vlax* Roma, native to the Carpathian-Danube regions, such as *Kalderásha, Lovár(j)a, Čurár(j)a,* still make use of Romané, as do the Roma native to Croatia, Istria and Slovenia.

In sum, the Romani language seems to be best preserved among the Romani communities who reached the country from the former Yugoslavian territories (particularly from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia and Macedonia) in the past 20 to 30 years, and in some Romanian and Albanian groups. They represent both *Vlax* and non-*Vlax* (e.g. *Arlíje,* see below) Romani dialects. Nonetheless, considering their social (and other) conditions (the absence of school support, the non-recognition of the Romani language as a non-territorial minority tongue, etc.), these Romani-speaking communities are also defenseless before influences coming from the Italian language, which penetrates their everyday life, including the linguistic sphere.

The Romani population in Tuscany

Before beginning to describe the Romani population in Tuscany, it is important to point out that historical groups are absent in the region. There is no continuity of the Roma and Sinti settlements of the past with the present population. Occasionally, some Sinti groups (4) used to stay in the region; however, these Sinti should not be considered as historic to the region given their transience in Tuscany and the fact that they are no longer present there.

Thus, Roma actually begin to appear in Tuscany after the Second World War and, following the national fate, the majority of them arrived from the 1960s onwards. It seems that the first to have arrived, although also during the post-war period, were some communities of Slovene-Croatian Roma.

In recent decades, on the other hand, the region has become one of the favorite destinations of the migratory flows coming to Italy, and the participation of Roma in this process was no exception. During the 1960s and particularly the 1970s, the various waves of Roma from the former Yugoslavia began to head for cities in Tuscany. Initially, they came from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Croatia. Afterwards, these groups were gradually joined by others from Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia, and finally by the Romanian and Albanian Roma, all the types present in the region up to now.

Meanwhile, Tuscany has become the destination of journeys undertaken by some

Sinti communities, as well as some South Italian Roma. There is almost no official information about the latter and, according to the meager data I have, it is a question of a few Abruzzi Roma families settled either permanently or temporarily, chiefly in the capital of the region, Florence.

The territorial distribution of the Roma and Sinti groups in Tuscany is not at all regular and does not follow any apparent logic. We find them scattered in different parts of the region. In some localities certain Romani groups are more represented, in some, others. In some areas we can meet Sinti, while in some others they are completely missing. We can conclude only that all Roma and Sinti have, however, preferred the urban centers, such as Florence, Pisa, Livorno, Prato, Pistoia, Arezzo, Massa-Carrara, Lucca, Grosseto, Cecina, etc., in the northern and to a lesser extent in the western parts of the region. These are areas which, after all, have attracted the major part of the migratory flows which arrived in Tuscany in recent decades.

The Romani communities present in the city of Florence

Today, in the Tuscan capital, Florence, as in the region itself, we witness a variegated presence of Roma and Sinti groups. Apart from sporadic appearances and the passages which occurred between the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1980s, they started to arrive in the city in larger numbers and more consistently from the mid-1980s on. In fact, the first "camps for nomads" were opened in just that period, the Olmatello camp in autumn of 1987, and the Poderaccio the following year. In time, an unauthorized camp called Masini rose close to the Poderaccio camp, but beyond this and some other smaller camps, there never appeared "too many" irregular camps in the city. Along with these primary settlements, some smaller camps of the Sinti merry-go-round keepers with their amusement parks are present in the city and its closest environs. However, they do not seem to be the descendants of the Sinti group which used to stay in Tuscany in the past; they came later from Northern Italy.

Both in the camps and outside, that is, in houses and apartments, Florence counts some thousand Roma and Sinti of very disparate origins. The first who settled down in a stable manner were the Kosovo Roma for whom the Olmatello camp was created. As regards the Poderaccio camp, its Roma dwellers are generally subdivided into two communities, one native to Macedonia and another to Kosovo. Up to the present day, these two communities represent an absolute demographic majority in comparison to all other Roma and Sinti communities in the city. Other Roma or Sinti are usually present in small groups limited to some extended family and consequently do not exceed more than some fifty members. In the case of the Kosovo and Macedonian communities, instead, we are talking about a few hundred people.

As regards the Roma coming from other republics of former Yugoslavia, some families of Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, and Serbian Roma are present in the city.

They belong to various Christian and Muslim Roma communities, speaking, depending on the group, either *Romané,* Romanian, or Serbian. They live scattered in camps or outside of them, and do not form their own settlements, except for one group of *Khanjára* (Serbian Orthodox Roma) placed in Sesto Fiorentino, a town next to Florence.

Small groups, or better, conjugal couples with or without children, or mothers with one or two children nearby, belonging to the community of Abruzzi Roma, can be met from time to time in the center of Florence. In addition, a group of Albanian Roma is present in the city. Finally, in the past two years, more or less, it is possible to notice another group native to Romania; I was told by the members of this group that they come from Constanţa in eastern Romania as well as from Bucharest.

THE KOSOVO AND MACEDONIAN ROMA COMMUNITIES LIVING IN FLORENCE

Not all Kosovo and Macedonian Roma dwell in the camps. Several Romani families obtained council flats and some of them moved into apartments independently on their own. Nevertheless, many Roma are still living in the "camps for nomads."

The inhabitants of the Olmatello camp belong to the Roma ethnic group and the great majority of them are native to Kosovo, in particular to the cities of Priština *(Prištináće [Romá])* and Kosovska Mitrovica *(Mitricáće [Romá])*, and fewer come from Peć and Rogovo. In Florence there are also persons who arrived from other Kosovo cities such as Vučitrn, Obilić, Kosovo Polje, Đakovica, and so on. A few families of *Aškalíja* (see below) live in the camp as well. There are also persons native to Macedonia or southern Serbia, but these are individual cases of women belonging to the same Roma ethnic group married into this community. The Kosovo Roma form nearly 98% of the camp's population. Besides them, there is one family of the Bosnian Muslim Roma and another, an extended Orthodox Christian Roma family native to Serbia.

In the Poderaccio camp, Roma are from two former Yugoslavian republics, Macedonia and Kosovo. The Roma native to Kosovo are also from the above-mentioned cities, and those from Macedonia are almost all from the city of Skopje, namely from the Romani quarter of Šuto Orizari, popularly called Šutka. Roma from other Macedonian cities (Tetovo, Kumanovo) are present to a much smaller degree. Muslim Kosovo Roma and *Aškalíja* families are settled in the Masini camp, next to the Poderaccio. A few Albanian Roma families who speak *Romané* live next to them.

In both the Kosovo and Macedonian Romani groups, the *Arlíja* Romani community is represented. Though not too numerous in general, there are more Macedonian *Arlíje* than those who came from Kosovo.

Thus, the Roma communities living in the Florentine camps are chiefly natives of Kosovo and Macedonia; they are almost all Muslims of the dervish order. They call

themselves *Romá* (less often *Romá*), and some of them, from time to time and in certain situations, specify that they are *Xoraxané Rromá* (Muslim Roma). Not all of them use this ethno-religious denomination. For example, the Kosovo Roma do, but usually only when talking about their religious adherence or even more when wishing to stress their distinct religious identity in contrast to the Christian Roma groups, designated consequently as *Dasikané Romá* (Christian Roma), or *Gadžikané Romá* (Christian Roma) by the Macedonian *Džambázora*. It must be stated that the Kosovo *Xoraxané Romá* do not avoid the (self-)definition *Gurbétora*, sometimes used for them both by other Roma groups and by themselves. This ethnonym actually indicates "(semi)nomadic Roma," and even if they are not nomads and came from a sedentary situation in Kosovo, they do not reject this name.

The Macedonian Roma, speaking the *Gurbet* linguistic variety very similar to that of the Kosovo *Xoraxané Romá*, usually recognize themselves as *Džambázora*, or *Džambáza*, *Džambása* (lit. 'horse-dealers, horse-sellers'). They employ this ethnonym regularly, underlining that they are speaking *Džambáski*, that is, their own Romani language.

Finally, *Arlíje* also call themselves *Romá* or *Arlíje*, and when talking about their more precise religious and ethnic identity, they define themselves as *Korané Romá*, which means both "Muslim" and "Turkish Roma," as well as being the definition of *Xoraxané Romá*. They, like the Macedonian *Džambázora*, do recognize themselves by their own ethnonym of *Arlíje*, speaking, consequently, *Arlíski*. An interesting usage of the term *Arlíje* among the Kosovo *Xoraxané Romá* has to be pointed out here; actually, they employ this ethnonym along with the term of *Aškalíje*, in order to indicate the last ethnic group, *Aškalíje*.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KOSOVO AND MACEDONIAN ROMA LIVING IN FLORENCE

Almost all these Romani communities actively use the Romani language. They represent both *Vlax* and non-*Vlax* Romani dialects, including in the first variety the *Gurbet* dialect of the Kosovo *(Xoraxané) Romá*, Bosnian *(Xoraxané) Rromá* or *Xomá*, and Macedonian *Džambázora*, and in the second, the *Arlíja* dialects. The communities in which the Romani language is not spoken are Albanian-speaking *Aškalíje*, who do not consider themselves Roma but just *Aškalíje*, and the Serbian or Romanian-speaking Orthodox Roma, who stress their Serbian or Romanian origins. Both *Aškalíje* and the Orthodox Roma usually understand *Romané*, especially the former who are often (at least in the case of those present in Florence) married into the Kosovo *Romá* families. Finally, these two communities are numerically very small in comparison with the fairly prevalent Kosovo and Macedonian Roma people.

The lexical elements derived from ancient Persian, Armenian, and Greek, and present in all European Romani languages, are grafted onto the Indian foundation of these Romani dialects as well. A second phase, concerning the *Gurbet* dialects and

connecting them to the *Vlax* Romani family, is marked by loanwords from Romanian or from its Balkan, that is Wallachian dialectal varieties. In sum, the Kosovo *Xoraxané Romá* and *Arlíje* have met and adopted new linguistic forms, above all lexical ones from Serbian, Balkan Turkish and, certainly, from Albanian. Analogously, the Macedonian *Džambázora* and *Arlíje* picked up borrowings from Macedonian, Serbian, Balkan Turkish, and also Albanian.

The situation of the Kosovo Romani dialects is particularly interesting. The adults and the most recent arrivals still know and recognize Albanian as a second language (Macedonian, in the case of the Macedonian Roma); this feature is quite prevalent among the Kosovo Roma, who – besides the Albanian language – can make use of Serbian (I am still talking about the adults and the latest arrivals). As to the Turkish language, only few of them remember something of it; this is habitually the case of *Arlíje*, indeed known as Turkish Roma in the Balkans. The others generally can produce no more than certain phrases, but affirm that once in Kosovo they were able to converse in Turkish too.

The Albanian language brought to this Romani linguistic variety a set of words which commonly do not originate from an Indian language background in other Romani dialects either, and a particular pronunciation recognizable, first of all, by the usage of an [l] often softer than in other dialects; one can say, for example, *lése, l'ése* or *ljése* (to him). As to the lexicon, Albanian introduced words like *škurí/v, ~saráv* ([l] write), *l(j)úfta* (war; battle, fight, struggle), *(h)as* (not even, neither), *kíša* (church), *kur* (never), *rípa* (belt), *miskója* (mosquito), etc. Many times, on the question, "How is it in Romani... ?" should they not remember the answer, they find it in Albanian, and then in Serbian. The younger ones, especially those who were born and grew up in Italy, resort to Italian more every day.

By means of Albanian, Serbian, and/or Macedonian, the Kosovo and Macedonian Roma have also adopted numerous Balkan words of Turkish-Persian-Arabic origin or from modern Greek. In this way, these Roma, residing currently in Florence, reproduce a number of words of such origin, diffused in a vast Balkan area.

Staying in Italy in the last 20 years (more or less), the Kosovo and Macedonian Roma obviously came in contact with the Italian language, too. Even if daily exposed to strong influences of Italian, which enters the Romani language above all through the schooling process, that is, through the language of school-age children, the original linguistic fund is still very alive and rich. And, although we all know that it is absurd to speak about the purity of Romani or any other language, it is possible to furnish the following scale with regard to its usage in these communities:

1. The "purity" of the *Romaní čhib (Roméndi čhib or Romané)* is maintained and preserved to a great degree by the old, by women, the last-arrived, and children before entering school; they are still able to report a very rich Romani lexical and grammatical material in the form of fairytales, songs, everyday expressions and, finally, in spontaneous conversation amongst them.

2. The men, who on the average finish more years of school, find themselves between the first preservative group and the school-age children; at times, they mix some Italian words or expressions with *Romané*, e.g.: *"Naští moví ma"* (I cannot move [myself]).

3. The most vulnerable group and that most affected by Italian linguistic influences is formed by school-age children; almost all the children in the camps attend school, at least primary school and much less secondary school. But once compulsory education is completed many of them return to the life and language of the family sphere (often that of the camp). Considering their low participation and inclusion in the local social and working environments, their knowledge of Italian weakens, and *Romané* re-enters, though with recognizable traces of the Italian language.

To conclude, here is one practical example. Children at times resort to Italian words, frequent phrases or expressions, and if I asked them, out of context, how to say e.g. 'to fly', I was hastily answered by one nine-year-old child, *volív* ([I] fly, It. *volare*), 'to swim' – *notív* ([I] swim, It. *nuotare*), and for 'flower' he replied, "The same, *fiore* [It. flower]." With a little more effort, we obtained even two words indicating flower: *luludín* and *luledín* (5). Another boy of thirteen continuously corrected the younger one, reproaching his bad knowledge of the mother tongue.

The boy of the example above comes from a mixed family. His father, even though he knows *Romané,* much more often employs Albanian, considering his mixed origins – half *Aškalija,* half Rom. The mother, who is *Romní* and normally speaks *Romané,* also makes use of Albanian when talking with her husband, while the children do not, even if they understand it. In view of such a situation, it might be deduced that they employ the Albanianism *notív* to express the verb 'to swim', since in Albanian itself it is *notoj,* which is likely an Italianism or an old Latinism. But, just this last etymological remark induces us to look for the answer (although never the definitive one) on the other side, in the Italian language. In fact, the most convincing solution is that the verb *notív* is derived from Italian, or better that it was a momentary linguistic deviation of the child, since the verb *notív* is not used in the present dialect. To put it in another way, I was told this only once, by the child of whom I asked how to say 'to swim'. Moreover, the Serbism *plivi* (from Serbian: *plivati* – to swim) is used inside the community and, as already ascertained above, the Albanian verb *notoj* may be equally derived either from Italian or Latin.

NOTES

(1) The ERRC report refers to the following source on the matter: United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Summary Record of the 6th Meeting: Italy*, E/C.12/2000/SR.6. 3 May 2000.

(2) Cf. Liégeois and Gheorghe (1995).

(3) Legge n. 482, *Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*, 15 dicembre 1999 (Law n. 482, *Regulations on the subject of protection of historical linguistic minorities*, December 15, 1999).

(4) With regard to these Sinti groups, see Piasere (1996).

(5) The word, common to many European Romani dialects, derived from the middle-modern popular Greek.

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Gypsies in Hungary

The Present State of Cultural Anthropological Gypsy Studies in Hungary

Csaba Prónai

As I have indicated in my earlier papers (1995a: 12; 1997: 729; 2000a: 14; 2000b: 53; 2000c: 176) and stated in several lectures, the appearance of the cultural anthropological approach brought about a revolutionary change in the history of Gypsy studies (comp. Lockwood and Salo 1994: 7). I have also pointed out several times (1995a: 97; 1995b: 116; 1997: 738;1998: 47; 2000b: 66) that the starting point of this process in Hungary was the research carried out in Heves county by Michael Stewart, who spent 14 months in a Vlach Gypsy community in 1984-85 and whose papers, published in 1987 and 1989, were the first to discuss the life of a Gypsy community using an anthropological approach. The other factor that was a decisive influence on the further development of cultural anthropological Gypsy studies in Hungary was the institutionalization of cultural anthropological studies in Hungary in the early 1990s. Prior to that, during the socialist period, such studies were not possible in any of the socialist countries, since this academic field was considered imperialistic by the political system. After the political changes in the whole eastern bloc, it was in Hungary that the first department of cultural anthropology was established within the Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences, Budapest, under the spiritual leadership of Lajos Boglár. It should be mentioned that this was possible only with a four-year sponsorship of the Soros Foundation, which supported the setting up of several new departments within the framework of a so-called Humanities Reform; this is how the department of American Studies was created, among others. This sponsorship gave us the opportunity to invite numerous visiting lecturers. This was when Lajos Boglár invited, for example, Ernő Kunt, who was at that time trying to establish an anthropology department in Miskolc. I can vividly recall how we set out to negotiate with the Ministry of Education.

In this lecture, however, it is not the history of cultural anthropology in Hungary that I wish to talk about. All that has been said was intended to introduce the statement that the establishment of the Department of Cultural Anthropology in Budapest and later the establishment of the Department of Visual and Cultural Anthropology in Miskolc also must have had a significant influence on cultural anthropological Gypsy studies in Hungary. This influence will be more and more apparent over time, but it can already be traced one decade after these events.

We can trace this process in the works of the youngest generation of anthropologists involved in Gypsy studies in Hungary. I would like to speak here only about the Budapest school, which I know.

First of all we can think of the papers published by László Endre Hajnal (1998, 1999, 2000, 2000, 2002) and those by Kata Horváth (2002a, 2002b; Horváth and Prónai 2000). I will describe these in greater detail below, but before that let me insert four longish parenthetic remarks.

It can not be overemphasized that it is always a process, so there are other research projects going on and there are unpublished manuscripts. What does this mean in the case of the Budapest school? Dávid Hargitai has defended his MA thesis on the visual anthropology of a group of "Romungro" Gypsies he had taught how to take photographs. Cecília Kovai, one of our students, who spent three months in a Romungro settlement in the north east of Hungary together with Kata Horváth, has a very remarkable manuscript, especially the sections on malediction; her work has since been published (Kovai 2002). The youngest of our students, Balázs Puskás, has described the beliefs of a mixed Romungro and Vlach Gypsy settlement in his manuscript, which was also the entrance exam paper he submitted to our department. Péter Nagy, another student, did participant observation, and gave oral lectures about his work, although he has not written any papers to date.

It is one of our important aspirations to start a journal of cultural anthroplogy in Hungarian, edited by Lajos Boglár, György Csepeli, Tamás Hofer, Richárd Papp, and myself. This would have a thematic issue on Gypsies, including the edited versions of the above mentioned manuscripts.

We also know that Lívia Jároka and Fran Deans are writing their PhD theses in anthropology based on fieldwork carried out in Romungro communities. They both study at the University College, London and their work is supervised by Michael Stewart.

Lívia Jároka intends to explore the nature of the new Gypsy self-expressions and she would like to describe its forms in their musical representation, i.e. the Gypsy rap uniquely developing in and building on the life-experiences gained in Józsefváros, a part of the eighth district of Budapest.

Fran Deans lived for 12 months in the Gypsy settlement of a large village near Debrecen. The population were Romungro and she spent her time with them. She went working with the men and women hamstering (catching hamsters and processing the pelts for the fur trade), doing cane work, hoeing, and so forth.

Recently, there was a comparative international survey coordinated by János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi (see the papers of Dávid Simon and János Ladányi in this volume). As a part of this project, Gábor Fleck and Judit Durst (Durst 2001a, 2001b, 2002) carried out participant observation in two Gypsy communitites in Hungary. While in my view these can not be considered classical anthropological works, we need to consider two things. First of all, Gábor Fleck took some anthropology courses while writing his MA thesis in sociology. This had taken place years before the Szelényi-Ladányi research project was conceived as such, and Gábor Fleck used the method of participant observation and published several papers on his research

among the Boyash (Fleck and Virág 1998, 1999; Fleck, Orsós, and Virág 1999). Secondly, at the outset of the Ladányi-Szelényi research project, Michael Stewart acted as consultant, although later an argument broke out between the parties (Ladányi and Szelényi 2001; Stewart 2001, 2002). The argument can also be seen as emblematic of the difference between the approaches of sociology and anthropology.

We also have to keep in mind the research projects that were conducted within one of the three main trends of research in Hungary, sociology, linguistics and ethnomusicology, but which reflect certain aspects of anthropology as well. By this I am referring to Mária Neményi, Zita Réger, Andrea Szalai, Katalin Kovalcsik, Irén Kertész Wilkinson and Barbara Rose Lange, whose work was the topic of one of my earlier lectures (Prónai 2001).

László Endre Hajnal is primarily a photographer, but he also earned a degree in cultural anthropology. He participated in the daily economic activities of a wealthy Vlach Gypsy community in Budapest. He was accepted by the group as "their" photographer and worked at their weddings, and other gatherings. The pictures were on display at the exhibition called Urban Gypsies organised by Péter Szuhay at the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum. Hajnal's first publications (1998, 1999, 2000) are the revised versions of the texts that accompanied these photos. The texts both explicitly and implicitly reveal the influence of "The Invisibility of the Kalderash in Paris" by Patrick Williams, published in 1982, as well as that of Williams' comparative study "Paris-New York," of 1985.

Hajnal later participated in a research project sponsored by the International Organisation for Migration. His role was to migrate to Canada together with the group of Gypsies he had come to know, to study both ends of the migration chain. The fact that he chose this standard approach, first promoted by the book "Between Two Cultures," edited by L. Watson in 1977, to analyze migration showed a profound anthropological influence. So did the fact that he tried to interpret "migration not as a phenomenon standing by itself, but within the context of the other cultural traits of the given community, as a subunit equal to others [...], having in mind the standpoints of all those taking part in the process as well as all the elements depending on them" (Hajnal 2002: 41). Hajnal's approach is really "a microscopic analysis focusing on the members of an actual community" that attempts to interpret the migration process in the interrelatedness of the cultural traits of the community and the external factors. Here again, Hajnal relies on Patrick Williams' comparative study of 1985, where Williams claims that when we study Gypsy culture, we should consider both the internal structure of the community and its contacts with the outside world.

(It can be shown that Hajnal knows this study by Williams. Although he doesn't mention it here, he does cite it in one of his earlier papers, although not the part I have been talking about.)

As I have mentioned above, Kata Horváth carried out participant observation among village Romungro, together with Cecília Kovai. The case study compiled as a

result was more than 80 pages long and was published by the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in its first yearbook of 2002 (Horváth 2002).

The research project of Kata Horváth and Cecília Kovai is a pioneer enterprise, as they were the very first to describe a "Hungarian-speaking" Gypsy group living in Hungary using an anthropological approach. Here, I would like to focus on three issues.

Earlier I described this community as "Romungro." However, this is not the label they use for themselves. And I use the word "Hungarian" in quotation marks because it is "only" relevant in a traditional linguistic taxonomy. One of the things the paper Horváth has written sets out to prove is how speech is used in order to strengthen the sense of difference from other Gypsy groups as well as the difference from the Gadje, despite the fact that linguistically speaking it should be termed Hungarian (2002a: 241-244).

(This is where the influence of Patrick Williams's "Langue tsigane" of 1988 can clearly be detected, where identity is also expressed by the etymology of the way of speaking, the discourse, rather than that of the spoken language.)

In the history of cultural anthropological Gypsy research there has evolved a powerful mainstream concerning purity concepts. The works of Rena Cotten (1951), later Gropper (1975), Carol Miller (1968, 1975), Anne Sutherland (1975) and Carol Silverman (1981) based on participant observation among Gypsies living in the United States demonstrated that a concept of purity exists in Gypsy cultures. Judith Okely (1983) contributed further examples from England, Teresa San Román and and Carmen Garriga (1983) from Spain, Matt and Sheila Salo (1977) from Canada, Martti Grönfors (1977, 1985) and Anna Maria Viljanen (1978) from Finland, Ignacy-Marek Kaminski (1982: 14-17; 1987), Andrzej Mirga (1987) and Lynette Nyman (1997) from Poland, Marie-Paul Dollé (1972), Aparna Rao (1975) and Alain Reyniers (1988) from France and Belgium, Jane Dick Zatta (1989) from Italy and Katrin Goldstein-Kyaga (1990) from Sweden. As for Hungary, until recently we could "only" read about the existence of a purity concept in the case of Vlach Gypsy communities (Stewart 1994: 207-240; Kertész-Wilkinson 1997: 23-29). So Kata Horváth was the very first to point out the existence of a purity concept in the case of a "Hungarian speaking" Gypsy community. This part (2002a: 279-285) of her case study was published in an extended format in *Café Babel* in 2000 (see as Horváth and Prónai 2000).

The analysis of the economic activity of the group studied by Kata Horváth and Cecília Kovai yielded two important lessons for the anthropological interpretation of Gypsy cultures.

Firstly, it has been demonstrated once again that "the non-Gypsies have at least as significant role to play in sustaining Gypsy culture and bringing about changes within it as the Gypsies themselves" (Horváth 2002: 290). As Horváth herself admits, this chapter is based on the chapter dealing with "gazhikano capital" in Leonardo Piasere's *Mare Roma* (1985).

Secondly, Horváth's analysis of economic activity reveals that the contrast of wage labor and Gypsy labor proposed, for instance, by Judith Okely (1983: 49-56), Bernard Formoso (1986: 92-102), or Michael Stewart (1994: 23) (see Horváth 2002a: 302) needs to be modified. "It seems that for the Gypsies the primary concern is not to keep out of the world of wage labor altogether, but to have certain expectations fulfilled whatever kind of activity they do." Horváth makes this statement in her study to be published individually (see as 2002c), where she also firmly claims that in the case of the group she was studying "wage labor is not necessarily in contrast with their ideas about their Gypsy identity."

Finally, allow me make two more remarks in parentheses.

It is not with the aim of placing an advertisement in my text that I mention the Soros Foundation again, adding the Open Society Institute, another George Soros creation. Very simply, it can be detected philologically that the Budapest school of cultural anthropological Gypsy research was influenced by the papers of Patrick Williams, Leonardo Piasere and Bernard Formoso. The fact that these works were published in Hungarian, with the financial support of the Soros Foundation and OSI, must have been helpful in broadening the horizons of the young researchers. In addition, the fieldwork of Kata Horváth and Cecília Kovai was also sponsored by OSI.

My second remark is connected to this latter fact and again it might sound like an advertisement, which I don't particularly mind. It is a fact of academic history that the research project of Kata Horváth and Cecília Kovai was first supported and sponsored by the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Also, as I have mentioned, the Institute included Horváth's long case study in its yearbook. Besides, it provided funding for László Endre Hajnal's research and his photos are on display along the corridor of the institute to this very day. The institute also employed András Kováts, the editor of the book on migration that included Hajnal's study on Canadian migration.

All this is significant in the light of what I have said at the beginning of my lecture concerning the institutionalization process of cultural anthropology in Hungary. Having established two departments is far from enough. The fact that anthropology is taught at the university doesn't create the opportunity of doing fieldwork. László Szarka realized the need for a cultural anthropological research institute and for this kind of research when the foundations of the Minority Research Institute were being laid. In discourse as well as actions he decided to support the cultural anthropological research being done in Hungary and in the neighboring countries. Moreover, he declared it as one of the major profiles of the Institute. In the case of the two examples of the work being done in the Budapest school of cultural anthropological Gypsy research, this fact acted as a catalyst.

NOTES

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Social Status and the Problem of Double Identity of Gypsies in Hungary

Dávid Simon

Problem and theoretical background

In my paper I would like to explore the problem of the existence of Gypsy-Hungarian double identity in correlation with another set of identity elements, that is, one's status in the social structure. The most important question I will try to answer is whether or not there is such a thing as Gypsy-Hungarian double identity. As there is no detailed research on this particular issue, I can only work with hypotheses. The existence of double identity can be demonstrated or discarded in an indirect way, by examining the consequences of such a double identity construct.

Identity is a very widely used concept whose meaning has infinitely widened, so I need to give a definition of what I mean by identity in the present paper. I will mainly rely on the theory of a Hungarian author, Ferenc Pataki, who is a significant figure in Hungarian social psychology, although I will try to complement it with references to more recent theories. For analytical purposes, Pataki divides identity into two parts: personal and social identity (Pataki 1987: 29-39). Personal identity is the psychic projection of the individual existence and continuity of the person. Social identity is the means of differentiation of the individual within society, the expression of social quality and position within the social structure. Personal identity can be described with evaluative, attributive categories, while social identity can be described with definitive categories.

Pataki divides social identity into several sets of identity elements: anthropological elements (such as elements of ethnic identity, gender, age and some stigmas); elements of role or group identity (such as class, stratum, professional and traditional social roles); identity elements created through social evaluation and speech acts (such as health care or the legal system), ideological identity elements (political, moral or religious belief systems), emblematic identity elements (name, certain physical features, subcultural traits, etc.). The order of the items on the list also indicates the order of solidity of the elements, where solidity means both stability and the virtual distance from the center of the self. Ethnic identity is easy to place in this system; it is one of the most constant and most influential elements.

This definitional framework describes only the structural outlines of identity, so we need to fill them up with content. Literature offers two different approaches, that of symbolic interactionism, best characterized by the notion of role identity, and that of

cognitive psychology, which can be described as group identity. However, neither approach can explain all the phenomena related to identity, since some elements of identity are more associated with roles while others are more associated with groups (Fenton 1999).

On the basis of all this we can come up with a definition of ethnic identity, or rather the ethnic element of identity. It is directly determined by society, it has a central place in the structure of the self, it is of great stability, it is based on shared membership in a group whose purpose is to decrease the inherent anxiety of the individual, and it influences the actions of the individual through a definite system of roles. Its ethnic character is due to the fact that the values passed down by the group go back to a shared past (which can be real or constructed) and presuppose real or virtual common ancestry. It is this common ancestry that makes the ethnic element of identity so central, solid and influential.

The ethnic element of identity is connected to the other elements; their coincidence is not accidental, but rather they mutually determine one another's meaning and functioning. By way of illustration, for a person who has a Hungarian ethnic identity being Hungarian dramatically narrows the repertoire of female roles one can assume. The connection between the elements of identity is complex. The elements of identity are not completely constant, even though they seem constant for the individual through a modified perception. Moreover, changing one of the elements may bring about the change of another as well.

On the other hand, the realization of the elements of identity is situative. Some elements can be concealed, others can be pretended, which makes it possible to draw false conclusions based on superficial observations (concerning the post-modern concept of identity, see Hoffmann-Axthelm 1992: 196-216).

Ethnic identity itself is more like the "langue" notion in structural linguistics, while its realization in a certain situation is like the "parole." My hypothesis concerns the former.

The Hungarian and the Gypsy element of identity are in a special correlation. Hungary is the only country where Gypsies are the largest ethnic minority, while Gypsies, being a minority, have to face the majority population on a daily basis and thus define their identity also in contrast with Hungarians. As a result, both elements of identity are created in opposition to one another, mutually defining one another. In this situation it must be explained why certain people say they are Hungarians as well as Gypsies. Obviously, self-labeling is highly situational; it can be part of the role set of being Gypsy to be able to act Hungarian, or vice versa, sometimes people who would not otherwise identify with the Gypsy label might be forced in certain situations to call themselves Gypsy. Also, I have to mention that in Hungary there are many subgroups of Gypsies, but at this stage I will present my hypothesis as if this group was uniform. This view is simplifying but it can remind us of how Liégeois illustrates participation in different groups using concentric circles ranging from the closest fami-

ly group to the most inclusive Rom or Gypsy group, non-Gypsies being outside the circles (Liégeois 1994: 40). It is the final circle in this illustration that I will speak about.

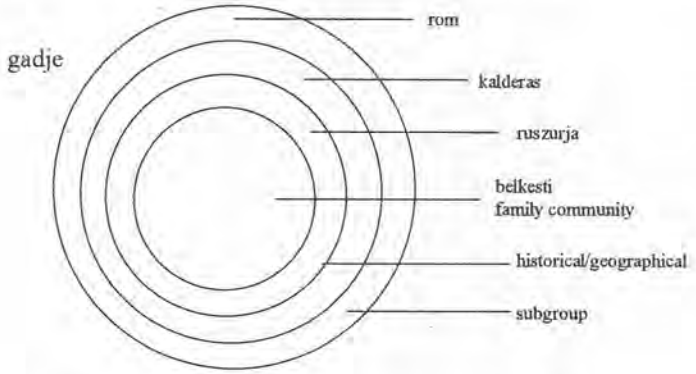

Figure 1. Participation in different types of Gypsy communities (Liégeois 1994: 40).

Hypothesis

My hypothesis concerns the acceptance of the double label in certain situations and the relationship of the individual elements of identity.

My first assumption is that those labeling themselves both Hungarian and Gypsy do not make up a separate group but belong either to those who call themselves Gypsy or to those who call themselves Hungarian. Consequently, there are two subhypotheses to be formulated. In the first case, the double self-labeling is done by someone who otherwise identifies only with the Hungarian label but who is regularly miscategorized by others (that is, labeled Gypsy). This constant miscategorization makes these persons apply the label to themselves, but this application is incidental and is always accompanied by the application of the Hungarian label as well. This case is basically a special example of identification with the aggressor. The other possible case is when people who otherwise consider themselves Roma anecdotally or with the aim of making some kind of profit also use the Hungarian label for themselves as a wider category. This means that they do have a Hungarian element in their identity structure, which is, however, different from that of majority Hungarians and they identify with it to a lesser degree. It can also mean that these persons have the set of roles that go with the Hungarian label and they will use it to achieve their goals without in fact identifying with those roles.

The second set of assumptions suggests that applying both labels for oneself is the result of a separate kind of identity construct. I will describe two types of this construct: a harmonic and a disharmonic type of double identity. Harmonic double iden-

tity is a sustainable state that gives the individual a sense of coherent identity. Disharmonic double identity is the result of trying to accommodate two conflicting sets of identity elements and brings about a passing state of crisis.

I term the four hypothetical types as follows:

I. False double identity:

1. Denying the Gypsy identity element while being forced to apply the Gypsy label (denying false double identity)

2. Hungarian identity element with less significance (accepting false double identity)

II. Real double identity:

1. Disharmonic double identity

2. Harmonic double identity

The reasons behind applying a double label can vary from one person to the next, so here I can only try to define which of the explanatory models is the dominant one. The factors that can be observed will also vary in accordance with the explanatory hypotheses for the acceptance of the double label.

In the case of the denying type of double identity, we expect that the functioning of the identity system will be the same as that of those not labeling themselves Gypsy but regularly miscategorized as Gypsy by others.

With the group accepting false double identity, we expect the functioning of the identity system to be similar to that of the group that accepts the Gypsy identity.

In the case of disharmonic double identity, we expect to encounter disorders in the functioning of the personality, disorders that can make their appearance in the form of failures to live up to the standards of either value system. We might retrace events in the past that brought about a conflict between the two identities, weakening this or that one. The disharmonic state can involve the idealization of the past and an acute sense of loss, or even learned helplessness.

Harmonic double identity is the exact opposite of disharmonic. It can involve successfully coping with the challenges of both value systems, a positive response to the stimuli of the environment and a realistic evaluation of the past and the present.

Results

I will attempt to verify my hypotheses using the Hungarian data from a survey of Gypsies and poverty carried out in 2000 in Central European countries (Ladány and Szelényi 2001). The sampling procedure was intended to provide equal opportunity for every person labeled Gypsy according to the researchers' definition to get into the sample. The definition was based on the labels used by the majority. The labeling was carried out by the interviewer. In the second stage of the survey, those people who were identified as Gypsy by the interviewer were asked to answer the questions on a

more detailed questionnaire. This results of the second stage form the database I will use to test my hypothesis.

In order to increase respondents' willingness to answer the question concerning their ethnic identity, they were allowed to mark as many items as they chose in a list containing all ethnic minorities in Hungary. This fact makes it possible for me to operationalize double identity. Due to the small size of the subsample I could only compare the values of one single variable in the different groups rather than carrying out a multidimensional analysis.

Out of 19,000 respondents the interviewers labeled 1149 persons as Roma, which is 6% of the total sample. Out of this subsample 481 people were asked the questions on the second questionnaire. The percentage of persons who denied the Gypsy label is 20.8 %, the percentage of those who applied both labels to themselves is 18.5%, while those who only used the Gypsy label is 18.3 %. The deniers were the persons who did not apply the Gypsy label to themselves but were labeled Gypsy by all the members of the majority asked.

The main focus of the research was not on social psychology, so there were no questions directly concerning the structure of identity. However, there were several questions that were objectivized according to the majority value system or could only yield subjective answers. Unfortunately, there were relatively few questions that had any relevance concerning the value system of Gypsy cultures.

Factors that were involved in the investigations

Parents	Childhood (mostly at the age of 14)	Adult past (mostly in 1989)	Present
Living together with parents Ethnic identity (labeled by respondent) Education Was the father ever unemployed Number of siblings	Household income compared to average (as the respondent perceived) Starving Frequency of eating meat Clothes (good shoes, coat)	Unemployment Migration (in the country) False ethnic categorization (by the majority) Permanency of work	Unemployment Disability Starving Frequency of eating meal Clothes (good shoes, coat) Conveniences (of dwelling) Car Phone Condition of flat Ethnic identity of spouse (labeled by respondent)

As for the questions concerning parents, there was significant difference between the double-label group and the other two groups only in the case of ethnic identity and the level of education. The members of the double-label group labeled their parents Hungarian in significantly fewer cases than those accepting the Gypsy label, while in significantly more cases than those in the deniers' group. Those in the accepting group and those in the double-identity group were found to be homogeneous in terms of their use of the Gypsy label.

Ethnicity of parents

Side	Ethnicity	Deniers	Double identity	Accepting
Father side	Majority	91.8	78.4	3.1
	Minority	11.2	92.8	96.9
Mother side	Majority	91.8	82.1	3.1
	Minority	11.2	90.5	94.8

Double line shows significant difference

As for the level of education of the parents, there is significant difference between those in the double identity group and the deniers: both parents of the deniers tend to be one category higher.

The questions concerning respondents' childhood revealed significant differences only in the case of meat eating; those with a double identity recall eating meat more frequently than those accepting the Gypsy label. This marker can be important, because our own fieldwork experience shows that eating meat is central to the Gypsy idea of good life.

The questions concerning respondents' adult life revealed no significant difference between the three groups.

As for the questions about the present, there was significant difference with regard to material goods, the comfort level of the dwelling and the income admitted to the interviewer. Also, the difference was significant in the case of the attributed ethnic identity of the household and the permanence of employment.

It is worth examining the factors of the comfort level of the dwelling in more detail. It is noteworthy that there is only one single factor that sets apart the double identity group from the other two: significantly fewer telephones were found in this group. On the other hand, the members of this group were less likely to live in a flat with sewer service, hot running water, gas or central heating and a refrigerator than in the group of deniers. But they had fewer cars and they considered their housing significantly poorer and their jobs less secure than the members of the other two groups.

Conviniences

Conviniences	Deniers (%)	Double identity (%)	Accepting (%)
Electricity	98.0	96.9	99.0
Central or gas heating	42.0	26.8	29.6
Cold running water	69.0	58.8	61.2
Hot running water	54.0	35.1	39.8
Sewer or cest-pool	36.0	22.7	33.7
Telephone	44.0	25.8	46.9
Bathroom / shower	53.0	42.3	48.0
Toilette inside	57.0	41.2	43.9

Double line shows significant difference

Owning car and refrigerator

	Deniers (%)	Double identity (%)	Accepting (%)
Car	13.0	5.2	17.3
Refrigerator	85.0	70.1	75.5

Double line shows significant difference

When examining the attributed ethnic identity of the spouse I found the same pattern as with the attributed identity of the parents; in the case of attributing Hungarian identity, those in the double identity group were found to be in a medial position, while in the case of the Gypsy label there was no significant difference.

Conclusion

To sum up, the level of education of the parents of the members of the double identity group was more similar to those in the group that accepted the Gypsy label, while their meat eating habits, a potential marker of wealth, showed no significant difference from those who denied the Gypsy label. When answering the subjective questions concerning their present status they perceived their situation as worse than did the members of the other two groups, while in terms of the objective factors there was no significant difference. The relative idealization of the past as well as a negative perception of the present suggest the dominance of disharmonic double identity. Disharmony is increased by the fact that only one fourth of this group had telephones in contrast with the other two groups, where the proportion of those having a telephone was one half. They had significantly fewer cars as well. These two markers need to be taken into consideration because telephones and cars are important in both the Gypsy and the Hungarian value system. In the former they serve mobility and intragroup communication, while in the latter they are status symbols. The lack of both can greatly increase the sense of isolation in the double identity group.

My findings can by no means be considered final and complete, but can hopefully provide some starting ideas for a more detailed study of the group of persons who apply both the Gypsy and the Hungarian label for themselves. What I hope to have demonstrated is that this group would be a highly interesting subject for further studies both for those interested in Gypsy culture and for those focusing on the theoretical aspects of identity.

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Empowerment and Ethnic Relations: a Comparative Study of Hungarian Roma and African Americans in Selected Rural Communities

John A. Strong, István Sértő-Radics, Zsuzsanna Török, Endre Lengyel, Allyson Mills, and David Flautt

Introduction

Our research project compares the impact of political empowerment on minorities in Hungary and in the United States. The first phase of the research focused on the village of Uszka in the county of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg. The second phase focused on the communities of Tutwiler and Glendora in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi. The last phase was an analysis of the comparison between the results of the first two phases. The more specific goals of the project include the following:

1. To look for similarities and differences between the political empowerment process in the Hungarian Roma communities and in the African American communities with a special focus on the role of local government and local churches.
2. To look for strategies which will reduce racial tensions.
3. To look for strategies which lead to the improvement of existing social, political and economic status of minorities in both countries.
4. To learn more about the effect of the political empowerment of the African Americans and the Roma on the social condition, education and health status of all racial and ethnic groups in the community.

The Uszka research 1998–2001

The first phase of the research began in the fall of 1998 at the invitation of Dr. István Sértő-Radics, a physician in the national health service, who was at the time serving as the mayor of Uszka, a small Hungarian village of about three hundred and fifty people in the easternmost part of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County. Eighty per cent of the people in Uszka are Romungro. The Romungro and non-Roma residences are integrated, and the village council includes members from both ethnic communities. It is a poor village. Most of the people receive public assistance in the form of pensions, child-care payments, and welfare aid. Several of the houses in the village do not have indoor plumbing. Most of the men are either pensioners or are unemployed.

Prior to 1994 the Roma did not participate in the village elections even though they made up a majority of the voters. Until 1970 the Romungros lived on the out-

skirts of the village. There were eleven houses in this small enclave. The people here worked in the village, and some of the children attended the primary school in Uszka, but otherwise they lived as a separate community. At this time all of the adults had traditional Roma jobs, such as vályogvetés (adobe brick making), basket making, wooden trough carving, and playing in bands (interview, Matild Mursa, 05.04.1999). In 1970 the Batár River flooded and destroyed all of the Romungro houses. The Romungros moved to houses inside the village that they built or purchased with government loans. There were empty houses available because many Hungarians moved away looking for better paying jobs in urban areas.

Today the Romungro and non-Roma residences are fairly well integrated. There are 20 Hungarian houses, 77 Romungro houses and three whose occupants include both Romungro and non-Roma family members. Many of the houses owned by Hungarians remain empty. The majority of the Roma homes were built with assistance from the government. In 1973, soon after the Romungros settled in their new residences, the Free Christian Movement appeared in Uszka. By 1979 they had established a church, which soon became the primary social institution for the Romungros. The ceremonies and the contacts among the believers helped them to keep their identity in spite of the assimilationist goals of the government at that time. The Free Christian Congregation continues to play a very important role in the life of this community, although recently attendance has slightly decreased. The pastor of the church, Miklós Mursa, a Romungro himself, was born in the village and has many family contacts here. Unfortunately, Reverend Mursa passed away in the spring of 2001. In his sermons he usually reminded the people, "We have a Roma heritage and God loves us!" (field notes, 19.12.1998) .

Dr. Sértő-Radics, who had close contacts with many of the Roma villagers through his work in the government medical services programs, organized a political campaign that encouraged Roma participation. Sértő-Radics ran for mayor along with several Roma candidates for village council seats. He won a very close election by only four votes over Barnabás Kenderesi, the owner of the village grocery store. After his first administration, the mayor was re-elected by a wide margin because he had won the support of a large majority of the Roma. Several Roma, including the assistant mayor, Borbély Lászlóné (Orgován Gizella), were also elected. Some of the non-Roma Hungarians in Uszka had realized that there are some positive advantages to an administration that includes Roma representatives. Sértő-Radics, because of his familiarity with the sources of government aid available to communities with large Roma populations, was able to bring in funds to provide for employment and for village improvements. These projects aid the non-Roma as well as the Roma (interview with Sértő-Radics, Debrecen, 05.01.2000). The routine of village government brings together both groups in cooperative activities. This interaction undoubtedly resulted in the erosion of some negative stereotypes in spite of occasional minor conflicts.

Conclusions based on the Uszka research

Two important observations gained from our work in Uszka are related to the emergence of a more positive self-image among the Romungros. The first is the positive impact resulting from their participation on the village council and their involvement in community decision-making. The second is the influence of the evangelical churches on the Romungros. The Free Christian Church has played a major positive role in the process of acculturation that has been acknowledged by the Romungros and the non-Roma Hungarians.

One of the problems facing the Roma community is the failure of the educational system in Hungary to address the needs of Roma children. Roma students seldom advance beyond the eighth year in the schools. A majority of the Roma children are placed in a separate educational track for students with emotional and mental problems. Once on this track, they have little chance of advancing to the university. This is a problem for the Roma children of Uszka. They attend the schools in Tiszabecs, where they are placed on these separate tracks. Very few ever advance beyond the eighth grade.

The Mississippi Research

Research on the impact of political and social empowerment was done in the American South following the enfranchisement of Blacks in the 1960s. These studies indicate that participation in the political structure of the community leads to important changes in whites as well as in Blacks (Wirt 1997: 67-83; Wirt 1970: 3-19; Black and Black 1978: 126-137). Prior to the enactment of the federal voting rights laws in 1964 and 1965, Blacks remained on the margins of southern society. They were not allowed to participate in the political decision making process. Their lack of power encouraged whites to view them as second-class citizens and reinforced the negative stereotypes held by whites.

As Blacks began to take an active role in the political process, changes began to occur in the perceptions and cognitions of both whites and Blacks when Whites worked closely with Blacks on projects that both groups valued. The interaction tended to increase the respect that whites had for their Black co-workers (Wirt 1997: 67). This development, however, is often uneven. For example, while the Romungros in Uszka will be praised for the adoption of behavior patterns and values more in harmony with those of the majority community, on other occasions these differences will be ignored and the old stereotypes will be applied. The Romungros will then be lumped with the more traditional Roma into the common stereotypes. Wirt's studies, however, indicate that these conflicts are usually resolved without the level of violence that characterized racial tensions in the South prior to the 1960s.

The experience of the African American minorities in the American South suggests that active participation in community affairs can erode negative racial attitudes and render them less volatile. In a democratic system, the electoral process presents an alternative to violent social change. The first task of the newly enfranchised Blacks was to get their people registered and to have them vote. The power of the Black vote influenced most mainstream white politicians to abandon their more blatant anti-black policies and to end their openly racist remarks in public speeches. The second task was to elect white politicians who would respond to their needs (Wirt 1997: 81).

The similarities between the African American experience with enfranchisement in the South after 1964 and the political transition in Uszka after 1994 prompted the second phase of the study at the Croft Institute for International Studies at the University of Mississippi. The Croft Center provided an office and graduate student assistants, David Flautt and Allyson Mills, to help with the research.

This phase of the research focused on the small communities of Tutwiler and Glendora in Tallahatchie County because Sértő-Radics had visited this area previously and was familiar with its history and culture. Glendora has a population of 285, only 13 of whom are white. Several identified themselves as having mixed ancestry. Seven respondents, for example, said that their genealogies included members of two or more racial groups. The groups mentioned were Africans, Native Americans and Hispanics. Tutwiler is a much larger community with a population of 1364, which includes 116 white members. There were also a few respondents who identified themselves as having mixed ancestry (3) or as Native Americans (4), Hispanics (6), and Asians (5).

Although Yazoo City in Yazoo County was not in the original research plan, the local leaders there invited Sértő-Radics to conduct interviews in their community. Yazoo City has a population of 14,550, two thirds of whom are African American. These communities are all located in the Mississippi Delta and share a common historical and cultural background. In order to have a comparative database for white views on race, the community of Sumner in western Tallahatchie County was included. Sumner has a population of 407, including 236 whites, 159 African Americans, 9 Asians, 3 with mixed ancestry and 1 Hispanic. This community has a small white majority that remains resistant to change.

The methods for this phase of the study include interviews, surveys and archival research. The local archival sources include three local newspapers that cover the Mississippi Delta area, *The Sun-Sentinel* of Charlestown, the *Clarksdale Press Register*, and the *Greenwood Commonwealth*. The newspapers were analyzed using the method developed by Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998). The newspapers published in 1994 and 2001–2002 were selected to show the changes in news coverage during those years.

We had access to the town records of Tutwiler and Glendora from 1994 to 2002. This covers the transition period beginning in 1994 when the first Black mayor took power with a Black majority on the village council in Tutwiler. Unfortunately, an

arsonist burned down the Glendora town hall in 2001 and all the records were lost (*Sun-Sentinel* January 24, 2001). The national archival materials in the Schomberg Collections in New York City and the Carlos de Wendler-Funaro Gypsy Research Collection in the National Museum of American History in Washington, DC provided a national and international context for the local materials. We also had access to the following web site databases: National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, The National League of Cities, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The informants for the interviews included six mayors, five elected village officials, five educational administrators, five Church leaders, seven business leaders, and two health care officials. Ten research assistants provided by the Croft Institute for International Studies conducted the surveys. These students administered about 400 structured interviews using a standardized questionnaire that was developed by Sértő-Radics. The questionnaires asked for information about social status, self image, health conditions, expectations for the future, and attitudes about race and ethnicity. The people being interviewed were selected from specific gender, age, and occupational categories.

Conclusions

Two of the goals of this study were to look for strategies which would reduce racial tensions and would facilitate the empowerment of minorities. The authors of this study concluded that these are closely related goals. Once the African Americans of Tallahatchie County and the Roma of Uszka were empowered, the racial tensions were significantly reduced. When the minorities gained access to political power, they began to interact with the majority on an equal status basis. One product of this personal interaction was a better understanding between the racial groups. Frederick Wirt concluded that as the participation of black voters in Mississippi increases "leaders of both races learn the need to cooperate to deal with problems common to both. In the case of voting, then, the law changed one reality of the traditionalist outline and gave rise to new perceptions and new cognitions in both races" (Wirt 1997: 83).

The primary strategy to gain power used by the Uszka Roma and the Tallahatchie Blacks was to become involved in the political process in their local communities. The large majority of African Americans across the United States decided to work through the existing majority parties rather than attempt to organize exclusive Black Power parties. The brief success of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and the limited success of the Black Muslims today encouraged the African American leaders to seek a power base within the Democratic Party. Although the Roma and the African Americans represent a small percent of the total voting population, in a close national election such as the recent ones in Hungary and in the United States, a strong

minority turn-out could have played a decisive role in the election. The leaders in majority parties in both countries are becoming aware of this potential.

The primary vehicle for establishing a unified political base continues to be the local churches. This was true in the Hungarian village of Uszka, where the Free Christian church serves as a unifying force for the Roma voters and candidates. In Tallahatchie county the churches played a role in helping prepare the voters to take part in the elections and gave encouragement and support to Black candidates.

Another factor that is vital for the empowerment process is the support of the national government. In the United States the laws that guarantee voting rights and protect the minorities from all forms of discrimination played a determining role. The federal government also provides economic aid through grants for education, community development and minority owned businesses.

The minority groups can not rely on the government alone to solve their problems. They must establish other organizations which can address specific community needs, such as education, housing, and health. Non-governmental organizations such as the Tallahatchie Ministerial Alliance provide a mechanism for community self-education and interracial communication.

The right to vote and the initial involvement of Roma in the political process will not have long term impact, unless there are significant improvements in the educational systems in both countries. President Lyndon Johnson in his "War on Poverty" program introduced several important educational reforms. Hungarian educators should consider the teacher aide program that was part of the Johnson program. This program brings women from the local minority community into the schools to aid the teachers in the classroom. Their presence provides a positive role model for the minority children. It also establishes a liaison between the minority community and the school system. The Roma School Success Program (RSSP), sponsored by the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee, has introduced programs designed to meet the same educational needs in Hungary. The Gandhi School in Pécs is another model that provides significant insights for improvements in Roma education.

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Gypsies in Central and Eastern Europe

Permanent Exhibition of the Museum of Romany Culture, Brno, Czech Republic A Journey from Tradition to the Present

Irena Kasparová and Eva Davidová

The Museum of Romany Culture, Czech Republic, is the only museum of its kind in the world. Established in 1991 as an non-governmental organization, it has been active in the sphere of minority education, awakening of tradition, and preservation and presentation of material and spiritual culture, as well as original field research for more than ten years. The establishment of this museum was initiated as the necessity arose to document the traditional and present life, history, social position, and culture of Romanies. The first employees of the museum have been directly working in the field collecting documents about the traditional way of life, history and culture, including folklore, and the present life of Roma, visiting "Gypsy settlements" *(romane gava)*, particularly in Slovakia, many Roma, and many institutions and archives. A library of Romany and Romistic literature has been established thanks to reciprocal exchanges and purchases in a wide range of European countries. Today it houses a unique collection of books and periodical titles, which is used by researchers and students.

In 1992, the employees of the museum mounted a large exhibition, "The Romanies in Czecho-Slovakia," in Brno. In the same year the first number of a yearbook, Bulletin of the Museum of the Romany Culture, appeared.

Since December 2000, we have been situated in a newly reconstructed building, especially chosen by the City of Brno for our museum. The government of the Czech Republic has financed the reconstruction with the aim of transferring ownership of the building to the board members of our museum's non-governmental organization. This should be realized by the end of the year 2002.

Since the founding of the museum, we have managed to gather a large number of three-dimensional materials, as well as numerous documents, photos, video and audio tapes, and so forth, necessary for the permanent exhibition. At present, the museum possesses a collection of over 15,000 objects and two-dimensional material.

By the end of 2001, an architectural competition was announced to select an atelier or individual architect who would be responsible for the artistic and architectural vision of the exhibition. Since the beginning of 2002, we have been closely cooperating with a couple of winners of this competition.

Despite the fact that the museum building had been reconstructed using substantial funds donated by the government, there was not – and is not yet – sufficient funding to equip the building with furniture, as well as to finish the permanent exhibition.

Layout of the permanent exhibition

Room 1: India

This room should introduce the visitor to the Indian roots of contemporary Roma living in Europe, show their oldest traditions, ways of making their living, and language, as well as point to various reasons and speculations as to why the Roma people left India in the first place. The atmosphere of this room is somehow mystical. In the middle there is a large golden platform in the shape of a circle (the sun), which turns slowly. The light is low, so that the shadows of the visitors move around the walls. We find ourselves in the middle of a "shadowy crowded marketplace." Artifacts exhibited in this room include traditional Roma artistry (the Indian way of blacksmithing on the ground), traditional Indian/Roma costumes, puppets, musical instruments, utensils, photos, and so on. All objects are originals from India, from tribes which are labeled by scientists as predecessors of present-day Roma in Europe.

Room 2: Wandering

This room concentrates upon the travels of the Roma throughout Europe. It deals with various eviction policies and the approaches of different states, kingdoms and rulers to the wandering Roma people. It also introduces all the facts connected with nomadism, ways of transport, sleeping, cooking, hygiene, and so forth. The primary artifact here is a Roma wagon, others include the artifacts of trough making, horse dealing, magic, blacksmithing, kettle-making, etc. Most of the artifacts are originals, but in several cases reproductions are used to complete the illustration of the wandering reality.

Room 3: Settling down

In this space attempts to settle the Roma are portrayed. Due to the fact that not all states and governments supported the peripatetic way of life of the Roma, especially in eastern and central Europe they were forcibly settled and made to live like all the other people in the country. However, due to the forcible character of this law the Roma people have kept specific features of their own culture and incorporated it into seemingly non-Roma traditions. Out of this, a unique life style appeared which can be traced in central and eastern Europe up to the present day. The main artifacts in this room include a furnished shack of a Roma family, artistry connected with settled way of life, for example basket making, settled blacksmithing, and so forth.

Room 4: Holocaust

The Holocaust room portrays the terror of the Second World War, the suffering of the Roma both in their own countries as well as in various concentration camps. Together with the Jews, they were the first group of people who were to be wiped out purely on the basis of their racial origin. This fact is very little known among the Czech majority and this exhibition would like to make this information well known.

Room 5: Remembering the dead

This is a small room or open-air space. Green nature and sculpture out of natural material perform the function of a memorial place, where all those who died and suffered during World War II are remembered and thankfulness is expressed for those who survived.

Room 6: Romipen and the post-World War II years

This, the largest room of the entire permanent exhibition, is devoted to two themes. A large red section will portray the most specific features of Roma culture as the Roma themselves see it. It will include audio-visual performances of dance, song and instrumental music, as well as a display of various Roma costumes, language games, values, traditions, and so on. From this space open "see through" and "walk through" spaces into a more narrow, graphically different type of display, portraying how the majority saw the Roma people during the post-war period (1945-1989), displaying documents, photos, and artifacts. Any visitor can at any time of their stay in this room walk from one space to the other and vice versa.

Room 7: Present

This, the smallest and final room of the exhibition, portrays the present situation of the Roma in the Czech Republic. Due to the fact that this situation is very unstable, because while many things have improved since communist times (education, cultural events), many aspects are also much worse (unemployment, racial discrimination), this space does not give the visitor any concrete answer or vision for the future, but allows him or her to feel the situation with all its dimensions and aspects. The walls of this room are decorated from top to bottom with contemporary newspaper cuttings, posters, art, leaflets, etc., which are connected to Roma culture. A visitor does not need to view them all but has the opportunity to step into a turning cylinder?shaped model, where there are see through spaces which make a selection for him, thus allowing him to feel how selection by the media, public policy, human prejudice, and so forth, works, a sharp contrast with the whole picture as seen outside of the model.

The Museum of Romany Culture hopes to open the exhibition to the public by the end of 2003. The museum may be contacted at: Muzeum romské kultury o.p.s., Bratislavská 67, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic; tel/fax: 00420 – 5 – 45 57 17 98, tel: 00420 – 5 – 45 58 12 06; www.rommuz.cz; sekretariat.mrk"posta.cz.

The Uzhhorod National Roma Theater: Performing Gypsy Identity in Ukraine

Adriana Helbig

This paper analyzes the social and political implications of two performances staged by the Uzhhorod National Roma Theater, about the lives of Uzhhorod Roma. The Theater was established in 2000 by the Uzhhorod-based Roma musical ensemble Lautary with the help of a grant from the Open Society Institute, Budapest, Hungary. This paper aims to discuss the various factors that influenced the performances, including choice of language, musical style, choreography, and actors. It also analyzes the critical role of the commission, comprised of representatives from the OSI, the Ministry of Culture in Kyiv, and theater directors in Transcarpathia, who reviewed the progress of the Roma Theater. The commission gave recommendations after the premier of the musical *Black Gypsy* (2001), which affected the production of the Theater's second musical, *Musician's Wedding* (2002). This study incorporates the reactions of the Roma community to the Theater's performances and discusses why the Theater, while wanting to highlight local Transcarpathian Roma history and culture, drew instead on popular Soviet and post-Soviet Roma stereotypes.

Today, most Roma political leaders in Uzhhorod are former musicians and are directors of projects funded by the Open Society Institute. This Institute supports projects in Transcarpathia, such as Roma Sunday schools, music and dance ensembles, family planning, and litigation centers. The Uzhhorod National Roma Theater is one such OSI project. Founded by a professional saxophonist and former restaurant musician in Uzhhorod, the Theater is still viewed more as an ensemble than as a true theater because it does not have its own stage and work space. The 40 actors, dancers, and musicians rehearse and perform at the Padiun, a state-funded youth center where in exchange for practice space, performances are free for the public. Among other ensembles based at the Padiun are a ballet school, a Hungarian dance group, a Ukrainian folk dance group, and Rom Som ("I am a Rom"), a Roma dance group that is incorporated into the performances of the Uzhhorod National Roma Theater.

In May, 2002, the Theater repeated the production *Black Gypsy* and premiered its second musical, *Musician's Wedding*. Both stories were situated in Uzhhorod in order to raise the public's awareness of the city as a cultural and political center for Roma. Of Uzhhorod's 120,000 inhabitants, seven thousand are Roma, the highest Roma to non-Roma ratio of any city in Ukraine. Transcarpathia, with Uzhhorod as its administrative capital, is home to 60,000 of the approximately 350,000 Roma (1) in Ukraine

and is thus the region that the majority of Ukrainians associate with "tsyhany." Roma live in compact settlements (referred to as *tabory* or literally "camps") in Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Khust, Berehove, Vynohradovo, Rhakhiv and in villages surrounding those towns. Perhaps because they are significantly poorer and less educated than Roma who live in central and eastern Ukraine, Transcarpathian Roma are associated more quickly with begging, thievery, and unsanitary living conditions than Roma in other regions (Adam and Navrotska 2001: 105-111).

Aside from drawing attention to Uzhhorod, the musicals *Black Gypsy* and *Musician's Wedding* aimed to accent a distant past and the long history that the Roma have had in the city. The first references to Roma in Uzhhorod date from the 14th century, and according to the 1691 census, one of the nine streets in Uzhhorod once held the name "Tsyhanska" (Sova 1937: 145). The first production, *Black Gypsy*, focused on the story of the great-grandfather of the Uzhhorod Theater's founder who, in the 1920s, had joined Slovak Roma and Romungro (Hungarian Roma) in the Shakhta neighborhood of Uzhhorod, where one of the three Uzhhorod Roma camps exists to this day. As one actor stated, "the Theater will help us live forever-our ancestors left us very little history because nobody wrote about us – we are creating history for the future generation of Roma in Uzhhorod." Another added, "the Ukrainians celebrate millenniums of Christianity but we have no history – Roma have lived in Transcarpathia for over 300 years but the oldest stories I know are of my grandfather."

Because the Roma in Uzhhorod had been settled prior to the 1956 Soviet anti-wandering decree and had been attending the school built by the Czech government in their camp since the 1920s, the citizens of Uzhhorod do not consider them "real Gypsies." They are street cleaners who have no "baron" (2) to answer to and differ from the "shatrovi/tent Gypsies" in neighboring cities and villages whose women continue to wear traditional clothes. Uzhhorod musicians who were employed by Uzhhorod's restaurants until the early 1990s distinguish four hierarchical Roma groups in Uzhhorod. The musician families count themselves among the two highest groups and are referred to by the majority of Roma as the "Romska elita." They, in turn, refer to Roma who clean streets as "nyzhcha kasta" or lower caste. An Uzhhorod newspaper dated July 18, 2002, features an article written by a Ukrainian journalist about the three Uzhhorod Roma camps under the heading "Black Elite with a Street Cleaner's Broom," which reflects the general attitude in Uzhhorod that "tsyhan je tsyhan" 'a Gypsy is a Gypsy' (Zakarpatska Pravda, 18-24 July 2002). Once able to distinguish themselves as renowned restaurant musicians, Roma musicians have lost prestige in the eyes of Uzhhorod citizens in the past decade. Due to the economic crisis in Ukraine, Roma musicians are no longer hired by restaurants and cannot earn enough money in other jobs to be able to afford to teach the next generation of Roma musicians. Because the street cleaners are much more visible in public than the musicians of the past decades, the Roma intelligentsia strongly emphasizes the model of Gypsy as singer and dancer to mobilize general non-Roma awareness of educated

Roma in Uzhhorod. In popular Soviet films, Roma were defined essentially as performers. Uzhhorod Roma, wanting to be identified with this stereotypical but more positive image than that of street cleaners, draw on such tropes of performance to reinforce a sense of identity.

Roma culture as popularized by Soviet television differs from the preferred aesthetics of Roma musicians in Uzhhorod, who identify more quickly with Budapest restaurant musicians. However, drawing on images made familiar by Soviet media allows the Uzhhorod National Roma Theater to capitalize on Soviet collective memory and to include Russian and Hungarian-speaking Roma in Uzhhorod into the framework of the Roma political movement in greater Ukraine and Russia. Thus the costumes and dance movements of the Uzhhorod National Roma Theater are more similar to those presented on the stages of the Moscow based Theater Romen, for example, than to what can still be found in Roma settlements throughout Transcarpathia. The Uzhhorod Theater, having received national status after the performance of *Musician's Wedding*, is currently waiting for the Kyiv commission to grant it professional status. The actors hope this will break down the negative stereotypes of Uzhhorod Roma by drawing attention to the Roma as actors who earn money in the Theater and not as Gypsies who steal or sweep the streets. They want to be viewed in the same manner as the actors in the Ukrainian National Musical Theater in Uzhhorod are, namely clean and educated.

While the Theater's sponsors stand strongly behind the productions, it is unfortunate that the Roma audience members who saw *Black Gypsy* and *Musician's Wedding* in May, 2002 in Uzhhorod were not impressed with the staging and were even offended at certain aspects of the music and dance. The music is a fusion of jazz, Russian pop, and Transcarpathian Gypsy songs such as "Andro Verdo" that were popularized by the 1975 Moldova Studios film *Tabir Ukhodyt v Nebo* ("The Camp Reaches the Heavens") about the lives of Transcarpathian Gypsies during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The remaking of traditional songs in a modern jazz style disappointed many Roma members of the audience, who had come to hear traditional violin, cimbalom, accordion, and double bass in a musical that had been advertised as a representation of Gypsy life in historical Uzhhorod.

Traditional songs in both musicals were sung in Romani, while the libretto and songs composed for the first production, Black Gypsy, were in Russian. In the second musical, however, many traditional songs including "Andro Verdo" alternated Romani and Ukrainian verses. This was due in part because Ukrainian was highly recommended for the second musical *Musician's Wedding* by the members of the Kyiv commission, who offered suggestions for a further reframing of the Gypsy stereotype performed by the Roma Theater. Few Uzhhorod Roma speak Ukrainian fluently and the Theater encountered many difficulties while staging *Musician's Wedding*. Many Roma audience members did not even notice the change from Russian to Ukrainian in the performances and only questioned why there was no Romani dialogue. While

the Theater was criticized for employing mostly non-Roma, the majority of Roma who had tried out for the musicals could dance and sing, but were illiterate and could not read the Russian and Ukrainian monologues. Similarly, the choreographer for both productions was a non-Rom who received his training in the Virsky Ukrainian Dance ensemble in Kyiv. He incorporated classic concepts of ballet choreography into Gypsy dance, including dancing in unison and partnering, and believed that teaching the Rom Som dancers to move in unison was his greatest achievement. The young Roma dancers felt that moving in unison prevented them from being noticed and from being able to express their individual character through innovative moves. Roma dance ensembles in Uzhhorod who reinforce this solo aesthetic on stage are criticized by non-Roma audiences as having "no choreography," in comparison to non-Roma folk dance groups that accent precision and synchronized movements. While the choreography in *Black Gypsy* and *Musician's Wedding* was praised by the Kyiv commission, Roma audience members remarked that "despite the fact that all the girls did the same thing, they really impressed us with their *chechotka* (quick footwork)."

Due to the high percentage of non-Roma working in key positions in the Theater's productions, including the producer, choreographer, costume maker, violinist, and five of the six main characters, Roma audience members felt that the resulting product revealed more about non-Roma stereotypes than about local Transcarpathian Roma culture and history. It is important to note, however, that both the founder and composer were Roma and played crucial roles in the production, giving final approval to the staging. Yet the productions purposely did not present the Roma culture in Uzhhorod as it really exists because the Theater's founder felt that Roma culture in Transcarpathia had assimilated to the point that neither Roma nor non-Roma continue to consider them "tsyhany" in the more "exotic" understanding of the word. Nevertheless, the Uzhhorod Theater claims historical "tsyhan" legitimacy by marketing itself as the offshoot of a Roma Theater that existed at the Roma school in Uzhhorod in the 1920s (Fedynyshynets 2001: 55-60). The founder of the new Theater also suggests that the original Roma Theater in Uzhhorod served as a model for Roma who worked to establish Moscow's Theater Romen in the 1930s.

The Uzhhorod National Roma Theater uses the stage to reinforce non-Roma associations of music and dance performance with being Gypsy, in order to accent the "Gypsiness" of Uzhhorod Roma. Identity is a performative accomplishment that is socially approved by others. At present, these "others" for the Uzhhorod National Roma Theater are non-Roma who provide funding for the Theater's performances. The Theater casts stereotyped Gypsies in order to blur the lines between reality and the stage and to reinstate Uzhhorod as the legitimate center of "real Gypsy" culture in Ukraine. Roma political leaders, in turn, hope that the Theater will help raise non-Roma awareness of problems in Transcarpathian Roma communities by portraying illiteracy, poverty, disease, and homelessness in future productions.

NOTES

(1) These are unofficial statistics used by Roma political leaders in Ukraine, who feel that census figures for Roma in Ukraine are not accurate. The recent census (2001) states that there are 47,600 "Tsyhany" in Ukraine, 14,000 of whom live in Transcarpathia.

(2) "Baron" or "birov" refers to a traditional Roma camp leader in Transcarpathia. The title was passed down from father to son but by the 1990s, the role was taken over by Roma political leaders elected to village or city council.

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Elements and Symbols in the Celebration of Bango Vassili (St. Basil's Day)

Deyan Kolev

The article discusses one of the two major feasts of Romá people in Bulgaria, St. Basil's Day. It is based on fieldwork among several Romani groups in central Bulgaria during 2001 and 2002.

St. Basil's Day, or Bango Vassili (literally "Limping Vassil") is celebrated by all Romani groups in central Bulgaria. It is generally known as the "Romani New Year." Kaldarashi and Rudari celebrate the feast more modestly than the Yerlii, and especially the Burgudjii and Drandari, who regard it as a major feast equal only to St. George's Day (Kolev 2002: 35).

The Burgudjii and Drandari celebrate Bango Vassili for three days. They even differentiate somewhat between St. Basil's Day and Bango Vassili, celebrating St. Basil's Day on January 13th and 14th, while Bango Vassili is on January 15th. Kaldarashi, Rudari, and the rest of the Yerlii (for example, the Horohane-Romá) in Central Bulgaria do not make this distinction. They call all three days "Bango Vassili." We have to note as well that the evening before January 14th very often plays a role similar to Badni Vecher (Christmas Eve) (Marushiakova and Popov 1993: 168).

The celebration of Bango Vassili (St. Basil's Day) is connected with several Romani legends. We can divide them into two types. In the first type, Bango Vassil is St. Basil, protector and defender of Romá people. After a bridge used by Romá has been destroyed by the Devil or by God, St. Basil restores the bridge and saves the drowning Romá. In the second type of legend Bango Vassili is a "historical" personality, a limping shepherd, who saves a drowning child or shelters a Rom chased by his enemies (Krumova and Kolev 2002: 92-93). At the same time, there is an indirect connection between the celebration of St. Basil's Day and the legend about a flock of geese which save Romá from Egyptian troops by carrying them over the Red Sea (Numev 2000: 107).

Several basic stages in the celebration of St. Basil's Day can be distinguished. (For convenience, I will use the terms St. Basil's Day and Bango Vassili interchangeably.)

Preparation for the feast. It can start a week earlier than the day of the feast itself (January 13th). St. Basil's Day is celebrated with fowl, a goose (duck) for Horohane-Romá and some of the Kaldarashi groups or a rooster (hen) for Burgudjii, Drandari, and some groups of Kaldarashi. It is very rare to slaughter a lamb or even a pig for Bango Vassili. Mainly the Burgudjii do so, especially those families who have welcomed a daughter-in-law or a first grandchild during the previous year.

The preparations start with buying a goose or a rooster if the family does not raise its own animals. The animal has to be bought on January 12th at the latest. It is obligatory for the offering to spend the night in the house. This is done in order for the luck "not to run away." In the morning of January 13th the goose or the rooster is slaughtered. The real preparations start at 14:00, with the setting of the table and the preparation of the decorated dogwood *(Cornus sanguinea)* branch. The dogwood branch is decorated in different manners in the various Romani groups. The common element is that the branch is made from dogwood tree. The decoration consists of popcorn, pepper, and candies (Horohane-Romá), or just a simple decoration of *pindari* (gold coins) (Burgudjii). The Drandari from Zlataritza and Lyaskovetz do not decorate the dogwood branch (Kolev 2002: 36).

Dinner. Bango Vassili is above all a family feast. In all Romani groups the dinner in the evening of January 13th plays a very important role, and comprises different symbolic elements. An obligatory element performed by all Romani groups is that the door is closed from when dinner starts until midnight; none of the family is allowed to go out, even into the yard, and no stranger is permitted to go in the house. This is one of the rare occasions when Romá refuse their traditional hospitality.

The dinner starts at different times, depending on the different groups and villages, usually between 20:00 and 22:00. In the past it was obligatory to have a special round table, *siniya,* for the evening of January 13th. For some groups this element is still preserved today. The dishes are put on the *siniya:* boiled rooster or goose, *sarmi* (usually with fortune slips, that is, dogwood buds), *banitza* with fortune slips, a richly decorated round loaf of bread (often with fortune slips) or a ritual bread, *kulak,* wine, rakia, and so on. The Burgudjii also put a handful of raw wheat from the same store of wheat used for St. Nicholas' Day and Christmas, and a handful of raw rice from the rice the rooster has been boiled with on the table. Drandari must prepare the so-called "Gypsy meal," a special Romani dish made with dried okra and dried tomato. It is a tradition (or rather, it used to be the tradition) for the Burgudjii from the quarter of Kaltinetz (Gorna Oryahovitza) and the Drandari from Zlataritza to place all of the family treasures on the table: gold, golden coins, jewelry, and so forth. Another group of Burgudjii used to take the treasures out and bless them by leaving them for everybody to see them. Anecdotes concerning thefts of gold left out by Burgudjii on Bango Vassili are still widespread among various Romani groups.

The dinner usually starts with burning incense and blessing the table. The person who does the incensing (usually a woman) says a prayer for luck, fertility and happiness. After this, the family members forgive one another by kissing one another's hands. After the ritual of forgiveness, the elderly people in the family (the grandmother and the grandfather) take the richly decorated round loaf of bread (or the *kulak*) and break it into two to "see who will have more luck during the year. The one who breaks the bigger part will be the luckier man and his luck will feed the house this year." Then the mother breaks the bread into pieces for all the children (among

Drandari in Zlataritza) or each of the children breaks as big a piece as he or she can (Horohane-Romá). The first bite is wrapped and placed under the pillow. It is believed that a dream during this night shows what would happen to the dreamer during the forthcoming year.

There is a difference between the Romani groups in the customs connected with the dinner. The mock "stealing of the duck" (Horohane-Romá, the village of Marash) is a custom where everyone tries to steal the boiled duck, unnoticed by the others, in order to be the luckiest during the coming year. Other Romani groups arrange *kulaks* one upon another and someone from the family hides behind them, entreating Bango Vassili to bring more *kulaks* during the next year, and so on. A common element among almost all groups is not to clean the table the whole night. This is believed to bring fertility (Kolev 2002: 37).

Welcoming Bango Vassili and the New Year. The welcoming of Bango Vassili and therefore the New Year occupies an important place in the festive structure. It is fulfilled in two ways, by *survakane* and by the transformation of the family head into Bango Vassili, or his messenger. The first variant is popular among all Romá, and is most probably a reflection of the Bulgarian folklore tradition *"survakarstvo"*. The second is practiced by Burgudjii and some Horohane-Romá groups (i.e. those groups who celebrate Bango Vassili more solemnly). The second variant is always in combination with the first.

St. Basil's Day and the New Year come at midnight. The *survakane* starts from this moment on. The Kaldarashi (in Dryanovo, for example) tap the decorated dogwood branches on the backs of family members only, while in other Romani groups the children go around to the neighboring houses (after midnight the doors of the houses are open to visitors). The people who do the *survaki* wish health, fertility, and luck. Their words are usually short and simple, for instance, "Surva, surva, a year, to be safe and sound until next year" in the *Burgudjii* group; "Surva, surva godina! Avelo Vango Vasili! E loventza, e pindarentza, e gulbientza... Hay maibut sastimos ande kadava kher!" "Surva, surva a year! Bango Vasili is coming! With money, with golden coins, with gold... And with much health in this home!" (Kaldarashi), and so on.

The custom of transforming a man into a messenger of Bango Vassili is more interesting. According to the Burgudjii tradition from the quarter of Kaltinetz, Gorna Oryahovitza, at midnight sharp, the head of the family (or the luckiest man or woman) collects wheat and rice from the *siniya,* puts them in a towel, takes the towel, *sourvakovitza,* and a jug of water and goes to the fountain. He first taps the water, then washes his hands and face, fills the jug with water and goes home. From this moment on he plays the role of Bango Vassili (or his messenger).

Upon entering the house, he cries out, *"Vassili avala,"* 'Vassil came' and he throws the wheat and the rice. The children try to get as much as possible because this is the luck St. Basil brings them. Then the *sourvaki* begins. First, the head of the family (St. Basil's messenger) taps everyone's back for health and luck.

In the Horohane-Romá groups from the villages of Vodolei, Marash, etc, the messenger of Bango Vassili is not the head of the family, but a close relative (uncle, brother-in-law, etc.) who comes as the first guest on the morning of January 14th. The guest stops at the front door but refuses to enter, despite the admonishments of the host. He agrees to enter on condition that a bridge, *kyupri*, is built. Then the host "builds" a bridge. He puts paper money on the ground in front of the guest from the front gate to the inner door. The guest (Bango Vassili) walks limping on the "bridge" thus built and so enters the house.

Upon entering the house, he greets the people, *"Bango Vasuy ayla!"* 'Bango Vassili came'. *"Bus selyamen byuchala tuke!"* 'He sends you his regards!' In response, the host pours rakia for everyone and says, "I pray God to regard you as you have regarded me!"

All these rituals are done very solemnly because it is believed that they will bring fertility, happiness, and luck.

The *Yerlii*, as mentioned above, celebrate Bango Vassili for three days without cleaning the table throughout these three days. On the third day they make the so-called "crooked banitza" to prevent the horses and the donkeys from becoming lame (Kolev 2002: 39).

There is something really symbolic in the fact that Bango Vassil is the beginning of the New Year, and at the same time connected with the restoration and building of the bridge. Four symbols are interwoven into the legends about Bango Vassili: the water (the river), the bridge, the destruction of the bridge and its reconstruction.

Water (the river) has played the role of a mediator between the two worlds, that of the living and that of the dead, since ancient times. On the one hand, it attracts and charms with its purifying power (flowing water is always a "pure place," washing away sins and sorrows). On the other hand, however, it frightens with its endlessness and might, with its destructive power, with its ability to take somebody away to the world of the dead.

The bridge is the other universal symbol connected with water. The bridge is not just a continuation of the ground or a connection of two banks, although it is this as well. The bridge connects earth and water, joining together the purifying power of water with the safety and predictability of the earth. He who walks on a bridge is not the same as he who walks on the ground; he has been purified and renewed by crossing the bridge. Therefore, the crashing of a bridge is always a great disaster. On the other hand, its building is extremely difficult and requires sacrifice.

The crashing of the bridge means destruction of harmony, rupturing the connection between earth and water. After the crashing of the bridge, the river becomes irresistible, destructive and wild again, taking the fallen people towards non-existence. As a result, the earth becomes a waterless, dry, dead, and dirty place.

The building of the bridge is a small cosmogenesis. It always requires a sacrifice, divine or human, in order to "domesticate water" and give earth life. In this regard,

we can compare the motif of immuring a human (or his shadow) in the building of a bridge popular both in Bulgarian and Romani folklore (see Marushiakova and Popov 1994).

On the basis of all the foregoing, we can perceive the deep symbolism of both the legends about Bango Vassili and the rituals of the festive system. St. Basil is the one who builds the bridge and thus saves the Romá. He provides them with the opportunity to go on their way renewed and purified. Therefore, the day dedicated to him is anticipated with hope by Romá people. St. Basil's Day (Bango Vassili) is also a bridge between the old and the New Year allowing the celebrants to become purified from the sins and the bad things that happened during the past year and to enter the New Year renewed.

This symbolism can be easily seen in the entire ritual. Probably the legend about the geese which save Romá by carrying them over the Red Sea (i.e. building a bridge) explains why the goose is the offering at St. Basil's Day. It is not by accident that the head of the family, who plays the role of Bango Vassili in the Burgudjii group goes first to the fountain to bring new *"sourvaki"* water, and just after washing his face and washing away his sins with it he starts to play the role of Bango Vassili. Furthermore, it is not by accident that the guest who plays the role of Bango Vassili among Horohane-Romá wants *kyupri*, 'a bridge' to be built. The New Year starts with the building of the bridge and the hope for salvation and happiness.

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The Structure of Romani Folktales

Hristo Kyuchukov

Introduction

My interest in Romani folktales was prompted by the following fact. Many years ago I was a primary school teacher in a small village in north-east Bulgaria. At that time, I asked my students to tell me folktales that they learned from their parents and grandparents. One student, six or seven years old, told me a story of three pigs. There were three pigs-three brothers-and each of them had a house. The wolf comes and destroys the houses and wants to eat the pigs up. But in the end the three pigs get together and kill the wolf.

Later on, I met a Roma man from Buenos Aires, Argentina, and he told me the same folk tale *(paramisi)*, as a paramisi of Kalderash of South America. I was curious how it is possible that two different Romani speakers from two different parts of the world and from two different generations preserved the same folktale.

Even later, I met a Bulgarian folklorist and told her the folktale. She told me that this is a folktale which is popular in Scandinavian countries. And a few years ago, when I was in the United States I heard the same folktale, but as a Mexican one.

All the folktales had the same content and the same structure.

The present paper aims to answer the following research questions:

What makes folktales (fairytales) have the same structure?

How do the Romani folktales differ in their structure from Gadžikane (non- Roma) folktales or fairytales.

Romani folktales and narratives

Different authors classify the Romani folktales differently, using different criteria. For example, according to Milena Hübschmannova (1985), among the Servika Roma (the Roma from the former Czechoslovakia) the following types of folktales exist:

Vitejzika paramisa (hero stories) which can continue several hours or until midnight.

Xarne paramisa (short stories) which are only a few hours long.

Pherasune paramisa (funny stories), among which there is a special category, the džungale paramisa (dirty folktales) and frky (short jokes) which are invented by the speakers.

Mulo (ghost) stories, stories in which the spirit of the dead person appears.

Donald Kenrick (1985), who studied Romane folktales from Bulgaria, distinguishes four classes of tales:

Masal. These are tales in the tradition of Arabian nights.

Xoxa (Romano lie). These are tales which are completely unbelievable.

Melalo (dirty). A tale with a sexual or scatological theme, probably only told by males to an all-male audience.

Unclassified.

Jane Dick Zatta (1985, 1986), whose research deals with Slovenian Roma in northern Italy, analyzes primarily mule (ghost) stories, but among those Roma there are also hero stories and funny stories.

I am sure that there are also other classifications which I did not mentioned here, but as we can see these classifications are overlapping in some types of folktales. Thus, we can say that wherever the Roma live, they have tales about heros, ghosts and unbelievable things, and sexual events, as well as jokes.

Usually, folktales are told during informal meetings, such as visits of relatives or close friends, where 20-30 persons (males, females and children) will come together, or during formal meetings, such as when someone dies and the relatives and close friends of the dead person have to spend the night in his house.

During the informal meetings jokes and ghosts stories are told, while during the formal meetings more often stories about heroes are told.

The role of the storyteller in different communities is different. In some communities, for example among Roma of Istanbul and its environs, where I did some field work, and in Slovakia (Milena Hübschmannova, personal communication), the dialogue and conversation among the people in the story must be sung, which means that the storyteller should be a good singer as well.

In other communities, for example among Roma in Bulgaria, the dialogue is usually given in different languages, in this case in Turkish or Bulgarian. The same phenomenon is observed among Russian Roma in Kyrgizstan.

We also know that in some Roma communities in Western Europe, for example among Lovara and Kaldarash the audience may stop the storyteller and ask questions like, "Why did the king do that?"; then the narrator has to give explanations. In other communities, such as Muslim Roma in the Balkans, interrupting the narrator is interpreted as impolite behavior.

There are communities where the narrator almost performs the tale. I say almost because there is no advance preparation, but rather the narrator must use all his artistic abilities to illustrate everything he says with facial mimicry or even movements, which involve the audience to be part of the illustration of the tale. Diane Tong (1985) reports this type of illustrated play among some groups of Greek Roma, and I observed it during my fieldwork with Kalderash Roma in Bulgaria.

The Structure of the Folktales

I found only one publication (Zatta 1986) in which the author analyses the structure of Romani folktales. According to Zatta, the tale contains:

Narration of the plot of the story in its essential elements
Explanation of the significance of what has been told (narrator's comments)
A reexamination of the most significant parts of the story, in the light of correct interpretation
Reaffirmation of the conclusion

Vladimir Propp (1969) gives a more complex description of the structure of the tale. According to Propp, the combination of events (he calls them moves) makes the tale. The combination of the moves may be as follows (Propp 1998):

One move directly follows another.
A new move begins before the termination of the first one. The action is called an episodic move.
An episode may be also interpreted in its turn.
A tale may begin with two villains at once, of which the first one may be liquidated completely before the other is.
Two moves may have a common ending.
Sometimes a tale contains two or three seekers.

Using this model of moves, Propp analyses Russian fairytales and classifies them. I used the same model of moves and applied it to Romani folk or fairy tales which I collected during the past 15 years.

Data and analyses

Data

For the purpose of this study I collected, transcribed and analyzed 51 folk or fairy tales. All the tales were collected by me over a number of years. All the transcriptions are in a computer format. All analyzed tales are broken down into their components. The basic components are the functions of the protagonists in the tale. The conjunctive elements and then motivations follow. The tales analyzed include two tales from Albania from the group of Mečkar; four tales from Kyrgizstan from the group of Russian Roma; three tales from Greece from the group of Fičira; 17 tales from Turkey from Xoraxane Roma; three tales from Sweden from Kalderash Roma; and 22 tales from Bulgaria from Vlax and non-Vlax groups.

Analysis

Most of the tales studied are with one move as is shown in the following tale from Sweden:

Sas pe jek data jek prinsesa kaj beŝelas kono pesko dad. Ando jek žes avilelem peračaja te mangen la. Sa rakelas faj te perende. Pe jek araklasas ke baro nakh sas les, a jekes araklasas ke piravela jaškin no kadja voj perde fardi arakelas pe lende.

As we can see, here the moves follow one another. The events are happening in a sequential order.

If the tale consists of two moves, one of them ends positively and the other ends negatively. We can see this in the following tale from Bulgaria:

Beginning: *Jekvar o beng thaj jek rom reste pes upral o drom. Phiren, phiren thaj resen alindž kompirenca...*

End: *O rom kidingjas o giv, dinjas e romen te xan, o beng liljas o khas thaj ačšilo bokhalo.*

In the tale there are two protagonists and the end of the tale shows that one of them has positive moves, and the other negatives.

In tales having three moves, there is a problem with one of the protagonists and events. That event is followed by the reaction of other protagonists, which consequently results in the solution of the initial problem. So the plot of the story is more complicated. This is shown in the next tale from Sweden:

Beginning: *Sas trin phral kaj tradine ande e lumja te šaj kerenas penge cira love...*

End: *Le trin phral gele kaj le amperatoski šej...*

The end of this tale is that the three brothers have to solve a problem and they go to help the king's daughter. And the result is that one of the brothers is chosen as husband to the king's daughter.

Conclusions

The main question to be answered is, did the Roma take their tales from their respective host countries as for example Vekerdi (1980) claims or did the Roma borrow motifs in the structure of their tales from the folklore of different countries as Fraser (1992) says?

Structural analysis of the tales according to Propp's model demonstrates the universality of Roma folktales. Roma folktales have the same structure as European folktales. The difference is the Indian background in some of them (Milena Hübschmannova, personal communication).

As the German folklorist Kohler-Zulch (1992, cited in Hübschmannová 1996) says, "Every nation, every cultural unit, is exposed to various impacts from the outside." A "pure" national folktale tradition does not exist in Europe.

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Field Notes From Russia and the Ukraine

Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov

In this paper, we have decided to go back to an old tradition of the Gypsy Lore Society, the presentation of notes on ongoing field research. Here, we will speak only about the field notes gathered from a less popular source, the so-called home video, that is, the videotapes which Gypsies in Russia and the Ukraine have at home.

The video materials, parts of which we will present now, were re-recorded in Russia and the Ukraine in the summer of 2001, in Gypsy homes, where there is usually more than one video recorder. Many Gypsies in Russia and the Ukraine have at least a dozen videocassettes with various recordings at home, mostly recordings of family holidays and celebrations.

Sometimes there are very interesting and unique recordings, such as this "chastushka" of the Kirimitika Roma (Crimean Roma, also known as "Krimtsi" or "Krimurja"), which was recorded in Moscow.

Kas del o Del e Vasiljas,
Me k' bal o Del ke Petja pashas
Me k' dela o Del, khuren, dzhoren
Da len katja phurane zlotja.
Phurane zlotja, mei baxtore
Phurane losha, da i but bersha.

Kas del o Del e Vasiljas,
Me k' bal o Del ke Lera pashas.
Me k' dela o Del khuren, dzhoren,
Da i trin katja phurane zlotja,
Phurane zlotja miri baxtore
Phurane losha da i but bersha.

Ax, dot, no, no, no,
Kate khuroro, kate dzhororo,
Tern busilja.

To whom will God, will Basil, give?
May God give to Petja, the Pasha,
May God give stallions, mules,
May he give three layers, old gold pieces,
Old gold pieces, lucky ones,
Old joys, and many years.

To whom will God, will Basil, give?
May God give to Lera, the Pasha.
May God give stallions, mules,
May he give three layers, old gold pieces,
Old gold pieces, my lucky ones,
Old joys, and many years.

Ax, dot, no, no, no,
Here a stallion, here a mule,
Tern bosilja.

The Krimtsi are a Gypsy group, who speak a Balkan dialect of Romanes. They probably settled on the Crimea from the Balkans in the 17th to 18th centuries. They used to be nomads. Now some of them remain in the Crimean peninsula, but many of them also live in Russia and the Ukraine, in Novorosiisk, Stavropol, Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, Nijnii Novgorod, for example.

The content and form of the song performed in the recording is typical for the Vassilitsa holiday, which is celebrated by Balkan Gypsies mainly in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Macedonia. Though it bears the Russian name "koljadka" (i.e. Christmas carols) and also "chastushka" (short humorous songs), the Krimtsi sing it at Old New Year's (the Tartar name "Eldâ Bashâ" is used) with wishes for health and prosperity. The last words "tern, bosilja" in the song are kept by tradition and nobody knows nowadays what they mean. They are considered to be old magical words. From Bulgarian folk song, where such endings are usual, we could translate them, "thorn, basil."

The next recording is also of a rare, ancient custom of the Servi group. The recording was made in the Ukrainian town of Perejaslav Hmelnickij and it shows the ritual of baptizing a small child by the godfather and godmother. The ritual included cutting of the child's hair from four parts of the head in the form of a cross. The cutting is performed by the godfather and his wife and godmother and her husband. The child's hair is collected in a plate along with vodka and gold items (rings, money, earrings, etc.). After the hair cutting the child's hair and gold are removed from the plate and given to the child's mother, who keeps it in a safe place. A red liquor is poured into the plate with the vodka and the godfather and his wife and godmother and her husband must drink all this from the plate, again from four sides of the plate (in the form of a cross). After this ritual, blessings are invoked and presents are given to the child.

Recordings of weddings are the most popular ones in Gypsy homes. You can hardly find a Gypsy home without several video-recordings of weddings of family members or relatives. Weddings are key events in the life of every Gypsy family. They are filmed by professional videographers, who then edit the films and add soundtrack upon request. In Kiev, there is a company of non-Gypsies who specialize in the recording and editing of video-cassettes of Gypsy weddings. Similar companis could be find in other places in Ukraine and Russian too.

We are going to show only fragments of recorded weddings of various Gypsy groups. They show some typical elements of Gypsy weddings in Russia and the Ukraine.

In the beginning the groom sets off for the house of the bride (the recording is of Ruska Roma in the Podmoskovie region). This is followed by the bride's parents' blessing the young people (the recording is of an intermarriage between Servi and Ruska Roma in Moscow). The bride is led out of her home (the recording is from the first wedding), another bride being led out and a church wedding (the recording is of a wedding in Perejaslav Hmelnickij, Ukraine).

We would like to make some clarifications about the Servi wedding, where some older ritual elements have been preserved. When the bride and groom are led out, the car is pulled by red ribbons because this is how the horse carriage carrying the young couple was drawn in the past.

We will show elements of a few other weddings. The first is a wedding feast, where men and women are seated separately. This is the rule for all Gypsy groups in Russia and the Ukraine. The recording is of a wedding of the group of Kishiniovtsi in the Podmoskovie. This is a relatively less known group, who speak a new Vlax dialect of Gypsy language. The Kishiniovtsi are one of the groups related to the Lovari and Kelderari in Russia, the Ukraine and Moldova. The group originally comes from Moldavia and Bessarabia. Part of the group is resettled today mostly in the outskirts of large cities of Ukraine and Russia.

Next is another wedding feast again from the Servi wedding. The groom's parents welcome the young couple and bless them with ritual bread. Then comes a recording of the display of the bride's honor and congratulations of the parents (recording of a Russian Roma wedding). The final episode shows all the guests throwing money (bank-notes) on the floor at the end of the wedding. The guests dance over the money, which must be collected only by small children (the recording is of a Krimtsi wedding in Moscow),

The video recordings of weddings of the various Gypsy groups in Russia and the Ukraine show very clearly that they adhere to a common pattern and have a number of common features. The differences between the groups are relatively small, mostly in some small elements of the ritual, including the manner of dancing, as was seen in the recordings.

Before we conclude the topic of the Gypsy weddings in Russia and the Ukraine, we would like to add something else. Each family of guests attending the wedding is required to congratulate the newlyweds with a song or a dance. This is shown on many recordings which we are not going to play here. It is a hard and fast rule that the musicians playing at the wedding not be Gypsies. There are quite a few groups of Gadje musicians specializing in playing Gypsy music at Gypsy weddings. One of the greatest cultural shocks of Russian and Ukrainian Gypsies upon meeting their brothers and sisters from Central Europe and the Balkans is to learn about the prevailing

custom of hiring Gypsy musicians for Gypsy weddings. For them, this is an inconceivable humiliation.

The wedding topic is closely related to the issues of borders of marriage, endogamy and group identity of Russian and Ukrainian Gypsies (and Gypsies all over the former Soviet Union). In the Gypsies' own milieu, group identity (that is, identity as Ruska Roma, Kelderara, Lovara, Krimtsi, etc.) is the most important level of identity. Maintaining endogamy within the group is equally important. The new state borders are not an obstacle to maintaining relationships among members of the same group who now live in different states. Nor is religious difference an obstacle; the largest number of Ruska Roma are Orthodox, but some of their subdivisions living in the Baltic states are traditionally Catholics, and so are some Kelderara and Lovara.

There are some interesting exceptions to these rules in Moscow and to a lesser extent in other large cities (Kiev, Saint Petersburg, Odessa, etc.) all over the former Soviet territories, where there is a higher concentration of Gypsies from different groups. There, marriages between the members of different Gypsy groups are more frequent. This tendency is most obvious in Moscow with professional musicians from different Gypsy groups. However, this is not an important trend in present day Russia and the new independent states, it is rather an exception from the established norms. Moreover, it does not lead to a change in group identity; the children of such intermarriages under the influence of different factors choose to be members of one or the other parent group.

We would like to add a few words about the relations between various Gypsy groups. Gypsies from different groups often have no contact with each other, which is not surprising considering the size of the former Soviet Union. Even if they live in the same place, their life is limited within the borders of their own group and their interrelations are minimal. The matrimonial market of each group is practically a closed territory (of course, there are exceptions to all rules). When the community has a problem to solve, most often family or "business" problems, they refer to the traditional forms of internal group self government, primarily the so-called "Gypsy court" ("Sendo/Syondo/Syndo" among the Ruska Roma and Servi, "Kris" among the Kalderara and Lovara, "Zhudikate" among the Kishiniovtsi, "Daviya" among the Krimtsi).

Although the desire of Gypsies from different groups is to avoid conflict and competition in their economic pursuits, in reality this is hard to achieve. The Gypsy lifestyle in the big cities and their high concentration in particular regions inevitably leads to such kinds of contacts and sometimes also economic conflicts between Gypsies from different groups. In this case, the so-called "occasional Gypsy court" (the most often used term for this is "sendo or syndo") is summoned to solve an argument (usually an economic conflict) between representatives of different Gypsy groups. This mechanism has proven its efficacy over a long period of time and actually conflicts between the individual groups are a rare exception caused by extraordinary circumstances.

So far we have talked about video recordings of weddings and other family celebrations. There is a different kind of video recording, which is always present in the home video collections of Ukrainian and Russian Gypsies. These are the recordings of Gypsy music and dance, sometimes purchased, but most often recorded from television-music shows, concerts, and so forth.

Music has an overwhelming place in the life of Gypsies in the Ukraine and Russia. There is no strict internal hierarchy among the Gypsy groups; each one believes that it is better than the others as a matter of principle. Perhaps the only exception is folklore and folklore-related professional art. Today, the most prestigious among all Gypsy groups are the musical and dance patterns of Ruska Roma (they are interpreted within the framework of the traditions of their performers even if they include some Kelderara elements). Their own traditions are half-forgotten and limited to the functional realm in a narrow family community, especially in the older generation. The reasons for this are the historical traditions of their music, songs and dances and their high status in Russian culture and secondly, the old socialist influence of the media and the arts (Teatr Romen, numerous films on Gypsy topics).

As an illustration of this tendency, we will show a recording from Bessarabia. It is a recording of a mother and her daughter belonging to the "Kishiniovtsi" family. The performances are a little theatrical for the sake of the video camera, but it is still clear what the songs of the different generations are. When the mother sings the "old songs" in her own dialect it becomes clear that the daughter does not know them, while the daughter actively participates in the singing of Ruska Roma songs in the Ruska Roma dialect. From 11 recorded songs only two are old "Kishiniovtsi" songs in their own dialect and nine are famous songs of Ruska Roma from the repertoire of Teatr Romen, learned from television, cassettes, radio, and so on.

We have shown only fragments from the life of Russian and Ukrainian Gypsies. We do not like to divide science according to the methods or sources used, otherwise we could have spoken of "home video" anthropology and its perspectives. We consider something else to be of greater importance. With this presentation we would like to show that the home video materials can be an important source and, used in combination with other methods (historical, linguistic, anthropological and others), they are able to teach us more about the Gypsies of the Ukraine and Russia.

Dervish Rituals and Songs Among Muslim Roms in Skopje

Trajko Petrovski

Already in the fifteenth century dervish orders had appeared (Elesovich 1925) and Sufi institutions had been established in the Balkan area. That of Isa-beg dates from 1462 and, somewhat later, as can be seen from the *defter* of 1489, Ahas-beg's tekia, or Sufi center, in Visoko, and the Mevlevi *tekia* in Skopje, viewed as one of the earliest in the Balkans, had been founded (Elezovich 1940: 13). Their influence spread from the Sufi centers, which existed in most cities and in many villages in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

The appearance of the Sufi orders and dervish institutions was contemporary with the foundation of other Oriental-Islamic institutions from which, taken together, was formed an urban Oriental-Islamic structure. This opinion emerges from the fact that orthodox Sunni Islam, in which the mystical component was firmly established, was victorious already in the fifteenth century, when the process of Islamization began in our area. The orthodox dervish orders were especially well represented as the spiritual dimension within the structure of the orthodox Islam. Nevertheless, it must also be said that the heterodox *tesauf* bloomed within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, and especially among the Turkmen inhabitants.

Due to the immigration processes which took place in our southern regions, heterodox dervish orders were largely present in Macedonia and Kosovo, much less so in Serbia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina.

Taking into consideration the importance of the dervish orders in the Islamization, and the influence of Islamic culture, literature, and art on us, in this paper we will point to their significance, influence and the role that they had in the religious life of the Muslim Roms of Skopje.

Among the Muslim Roms in Skopje it was the older blacksmiths, the *džambazi*, who have committed themselves earliest to the dervish sects. There are twelve of these sects, or orders, which the dervishes call *tarik*. These are *kadiris, rufais, bedes, desuks, sadis, nakshibends, mevlevis, halvets, sinans, dzelvets, shahzels,* and *bektashis*. Dervishes among the Muslim Roms belong to the kadiri, sadi, and rufai orders.

The word *tarik* in the Arabian language means "way," or "course." According to the people from whom I collected data, all of these orientations, or dervish orders, are good because they lead to the same goal. The goal is to become a good believer, one who is dedicated and dear to God. That is why there is no antagonism among the different dervish orders. Anyone belonging to any of these twelve orders is called a dervish. According to their understanding, to be a dervish, to belong to any of these sects is a good thing because that means being devoted and close to God.

Induction into the dervish orders is ratified by the chiefs of the tekias at gatherings of dervishes with certain ceremonies. This act of induction into the dervish orders is called in Romani *dolape vast,* lit. 'gives a hand'. The chief is very respected by the dervishes, so when he enters the tekia the dervishes bow to him deeply and say various blessings to him.

The places where the Rom dervishes pray to God, where they hold their service to God are called *tekias* and *semanes*. They are their places for praying to God, where they perform their religious rituals. While few in number, like all other Muslims, they bow in the mosques, they fast for Ramazan and keep other Muslim laws. However, they do not respect some of the laws of Islam. Many, for example, drink alcoholic drinks. In the Persian and the Turkish language dervish means "beggar," i.e. one who has rejected material goods. The term *fakir,* which is used in the eastern parts of the Islamic world for the disciples of the Sufi brotherhoods, has the same meaning. Sufism (a term derived by European Islamists from the words *suf* and *sufia,* refering to a rough woollen surcoat which its adherents wore) attracted the masses mostly because of its basic idea that the believer can get close to Allah, and even to unite with him by a special spiritual method. Sufis can be considered Muslim monks. The first religious communities appeared in Iraq (Kifa, Basra, and Baghdad) and in Syria in the beginning of the eighth century, and they quickly spread from Spain to India. Defeating the orthodox, and often frightening them with their unusual looks and strange behavior, sufis (mostly poor dervishes) at first attracted caution, suspicion, and even persecution from the authorities. Being devoted to Allah and tending to leave aside the earthly life, rejecting their feelings and passions, sufis appeared to oppose the common believers, considering that they are not obligated to follow the same norms, rituals, and traditions as were the orthodox. For example, instead of praying five times a day, sufis usually performed a ritual of remembrance *(zikr),* the forms of which varied from trance to ecstasy, to deep concentration which is close to Hindu or Buddhist meditation (Vasiljev 1987: 126-132).

Dervish tekias and semanes in the everyday life of the Muslim Roms

The dervishes in Skopje are mentioned for the first time by Gliša Elezović in his work published in 1925. But there is not a word about the Rom dervishes, or the Gypsy dervishes, as it would have been said then, although they, as we can now hear from their descendants, had one tekia at that time, or maybe two. We can guess that Elezović's guide through Skopje's tekias did not mention the Rom dervishes because he disregarded them in two ways; they drew from people then considered on the margins of society, and they also strayed from the rules of the order that they belonged to. Today, slightly more than 15 dervishes live permanently in Topaana. An equal

number joined the brotherhood, but are now dispersed around the world, and only a few come here for the big dervish festivals.

The Rom dervishes themselves, as well as the members of the other dervish groups in our country, know very little about the past and the rules of their order. Many dervishes, if they are not able to explain something, will say that there are things that should not be told to the unenlightened, because they are sir, a secret that, as they say, the *shejh* whispers to the newcomers in their ears during initiation.

On the hill above Topaana, the housing project in Skopje, there was at some time in the past a tekia, a dervish place of prayer. The old Muslim Roms claim that a dervish named Alti-Ajak Baba, a saint and miracle worker, is buried under its stone floor. The tekia was destroyed in the earthquake of 1963; only a slightly visible arch remaining. In Madzhuri, Baruchii, Prishtevci, and Teneke in Topaana, there are four tekias which belong to the kadiri and sadi dervish orders. Members of the kadiri brotherhood gather in the tekia in the neighborhood called Madzhuri in the Topaana housing estate.

Dervishes greatly respect the tekias and semanes. When they enter a tekia or a semane they always kiss the threshold three times; they also kiss the tombs and bow deeply to them. When they leave, they do the same, kissing the graves and the threshold and leaving in the opposite direction. There is a strong hierarchy in the dervish orders. Those in the lower degrees obey the elders unconditionally.

The nearby mosque is not visited by the religious Roms from Topaana, (1) because what they seek from the religion they find in the tekia. There they pray, get married, and perform burial rites; there the dervish chief, or shejh, has completely taken on the role of the imam. In the Muslim Rom communities the dervishes are greatly respected. Their spiritual and physical powers are praised. Roms buy books from the dervishes, talismans against spells and illnesses, they come to them from distant places to be told their destinies, to have evil spirits exorcized, to have illnesses diagnosed and cured. The dervish shejh is respected most highly. The believers pay respect to him on every occasion; they kiss his palm and touch it with their foreheads. When they want to pay special respect, they also kiss his knees, shoulders, and forehead. While the shejh sits on the post (a skin of sheep sacrificed for the feast of Bayram), the dervish postulant lights his cigarette, hands him a cup of coffee, or offers candies to him.

The weddings which are performed here are different from the canonic Muslim ritual in many details. In principle, the dervish orders keep the *sherijat*, the Islamic law based on the Kuran, but in practice, throughout history they were, as they are today, much influenced by local tradition. That is especially so for the Rom dervishes. In parts of the housing estates it often happens that a girl elopes with her boyfriend and lives unmarried against all the laws of sherijat. When, as is often the case, under-age marriages are in question, Rom tradition conforms with the religious laws permitting marriage with a girl under age; an example was given by Muhammad himself when he married nine-year old Ajsha (although, according to oral tradition, he lived with her only after she became fourteen years old).

If there are no religious or legal obstacles, and the families that are to become kin have decided on the material questions as the rituals require, the bride and the bridegroom, after they marry, go to tekia to confirm their union with a religious rite, which includes prayers, the reading of parts of the Kuran, and many folkloric elements with symbolic meanings, for example, eating bread and sugar from the knee of the groom or drinking water from the same glass. The bride and the bridegroom exchange wedding rings which have previously been laid on the Kuran, they moisten their lips with water into which the dervish has breathed in a breath which is raised when God's name is said and above which he whispered Kuranic verses. They kiss the holy book and all that are present in order of their rank. Among the wedding guests in the tekia are also the two witnesses without which the marriage could not be attested in the municipality. Although there are no institutions of godparenthood in Islam, the bride the bridegroom and their families will respect those two witnesses in the same way as newlyweds in Christian tradition respect their godparents.

Rom dervish education, unlike in non-Rom dervish groups, has mostly conformed to the folklore and norms of their environs. Among them, for example, Rom fables are preached together with tales from Islamic mythology, and the terms used in the rituals are most often Turkish and Persian words, pronounced in the spirit of the Romani language. We can guess that the Roms' rank in the Muslim community is the key to the adoption of those terms: their poverty, their work in undesirable jobs, and their life in isolated groups.

The circumcision that is required by religious norms is performed in the presence of the shejh and his assistant. The children, dressed in special clothes of blue color, are first brought to a photographer, and then they celebrate with music and games. When the shejh reads the special prayers, he performs the circumcision. The believers gather around the tekias whenever the shejhs are gathered, but especially on the anniversary of the founder of the brotherhood. At the kadiri tekia, Abd-ul Kadir Gilani, born in the 11th century in Persia, is celebrated as founder. It is considered that the saintly power of the founder influences the fate of every follower through the entire the community throughout all the centuries. In every tekia, the shejh is the center of that emanation and therefore all that he does alone or is done in his presence, has a favorable influence.

The preparation of the Rom dervishes for a ritual in the tekia

Before entering the tekia, Rom dervishes do *abdest*, which is a ritual washing of the body. Without the abdest the dervish is not allowed to begin a prayer, is not allowed to slay the sacrificial animal *(khurban)*, or even to read the Kuran. Some actions within the abdest are *farz*, that is, they are commanded by the holy book: washing the face, the arms up to the elbows, the crown of the head and the feet. Others are *sunnet*, or

what Muhammad recommended: thrice to wash the mouth, the nose and the ears, to rub the neck with a wet rag, to wash the skin between the fingers and toes, and to say *bismils*, or prayers. The third are *mustehab*, or that which is not obligatory, but whic his nice to do. If they find themselves in a place without water, the dervishes, like other Muslims, will do the so-called *tejemmum:* they will touch with the palms pure sand, soil, or an item made from soil, shake down the dust and rub their face and arms with it.

The dervish *mukadems* (leaders) are closest to the shejh; they help him in rituals and take charge when he is absent. Around the shejh and the mukadems there is a circle of devoted members, who are divided into a few ranks according to the length of their years of service, and around them, a devoted circle of the *murids*, postulants who, preparing themselves for membership, do household jobs in the tekias: they clean, bring fuel, serve as waiters, and so on. The next circle is of brethren, who are present and even take part in some rituals, but do not practice reaching the trance state in which the triumph of the spirit over bodily pain is manifested.

The last of the concentric circles around the shejh are the lay persons, members who help. The main financial support for the tekia comes from that farthest circle. Abdest is performed by the women also if they intend to go to the tekia. In most of the orders, including the kadiri order, it is allowed for this circle also. Allegedly, the jesevi and the bektashi orders permit women to participate in all the rituals.

Zikr of the Rom dervishes of the rufai order

The appearance of the *semane*, the room in which the devotional service is held depends on the wealth of the neighborhood. In Topaana, the semane is a damp, small room with a low ceiling, its walls painted with oil paint, ornamented with holy sayings and with themes from Kuran mythology. The misa starts with *namaz*, a traditional Muslim prayer featuring bowing and prostration. All that follows after that is characteristic of dervishes and is different in the different brotherhoods. The kadiris sit in circles and while the shejh sings and the others keep the rhythm with a characteristic blowing that can be seen in the rites of most of the orders. Among the people there was once a saying, "Puffs like a dervish."

There are several interpretations of the meaning and the purpose of these noisy exhalations, which sometimes are similar to the spoken word *hu*, and sometimes only to the sound which is made when a person exhales strongly from the depths of his lungs. Some dervishes explain that "hu" is one of the thousand and one attributes of God's name. Others think that it *is* a blessing or a greeting meaning "everything is in God's hands," and that because of it in some brotherhoods some dervishes say "hu" when they enter tekias, and those present respond "ejvalah," which means "it is, praise God." There are interpretations that the "hu" should be understood as a colloquial

form of a greeting, as the last syllable of a phrase, for example, of the exclamation "dzele shanuhu," with which every whisper of God's name is accompanied.

The ritual proceeds according to the *fulaveta,* a book that contains the rules of the work. Paces, posture, the number of repetitions, and the length of the session are prescribed. It is considered that there are 40 fulavetas, thus fewer than the dervish orders, which are, as some Islamists state, about 170, and counting also the suborders, about 370. The names of the orders and the suborders are mainly derived from the name or the nickname of the founders: bektashis, kadiris, rufais, etc. In our region, only a small number of brotherhoods has been kept, not more than nine.

Child postulants also participate in the services, with the full agreement and even with the pride of their parents, who are happy about their devotion and stimulate them to get used to the painful ritual. Among dervishes, as well as in every Islamic surrounding, an early start to religious training is common. When boys are born, *ezan,* the call to prayer, is whispered in their right ear, and in the left, *ikamet,* announcement of the start of prayer. In his fourth year the boy is sent to the mosque or the tekia to say the first words of El-Alek, the 96th chapter of the Kuran. In neighborhoods richer than the Rom ones, the parents also arrange a dinner when the child starts to learn the Kuran.

The rites do not flow continuously. About half an hour after the beginning, the shejh gives a signal to the dervishes to stand up and pray, turn to a *mirhaba,* a lighted cupboard in which there are daggers, needles, sabres and other ritual requisites. In that pause, some dervishes still communicate with their surroundings. When the rite continues, every contact of the dervishes with the watchers ceases. The approach to the ecstatic state lasts 40 minutes more, which together with the previous preparations completes an hour and a half. In the ritual of the rufais, the introductory phase is about the same length.

The new phase in the ritual is announced by finger cymbals, which dervishes call *zile, zilet* or *zilvi.* Nearly all the instruments that can be seen today at gatherings of dervishes were once used in Turkish military music. Small drums, called *kudums,* are made from metal (Rom dervishes use the headlights from some old types of automobiles) and taut lamb or donkey skin. Before use, the kudum is heated above a stove. A belt of strong skin is used for beating.

Although all achieve a trance by the same method, the state to which they enter, it seems, is so individual an experience that not all describe it in the same words. If they nevertheless try to explain it, most often they claim that their heart gets filled with love towards God and that they are possessed by a holy joy. The trance in which consciousness is lost, which is not desirable, is called *vedzid.*

After it is concluded that the children are ready, the shejh turns off the cymbals and calls on the ten-year-old children with a glance. The dervishes pierce only the earlobes of the small neophytes. If someone feels sorry for the children, they respond, "You pierce your children's ears so that they are able to wear earrings." The earlobe

is rich in blood vessels, but piercing it does not cause much pain. After cleaning and rubbing the place, the shejh carefully pierces the lobe with a needle 2 mm in diameter, watching the face of the child even while paying attention to another postulant. The shejh pierces the cheeks of the other dervishes from the inner side, at the place where the seventh upper and lower teeth touch, with the dagger that is kept in the semane, in the lighted cupboard. On the question why do they do it, they answered, "It is the will of Allah" or, "That is how the dervish shows that he has greater power than the common Muslims."

The basic ritual tools of the dervishes are made of iron, daggers darkened by corrosion, about 35 cm long, 4 mm in diameter, set in a wood haft from which hang twelve small chains symbolizing twelve grand brotherhoods. An identical or similar dagger is used in nearly all orders. The Rom dervishes call it *zafr*. It is used for piercing cheeks, for placing under the skin of the flank, turning and leaning its top on the Adam's apple, or piercing the inner side of the eyelids and leaving it hang. When the twelve small chains open to all sides, the Rom dervishes say that means that love is spread on all sides from all the twelve brotherhoods that follow and celebrate Muhammad's closest follower, the khalif Alija. Some Rom dervishes even dare to pierce their tongues with the zafr. When the *deveran* (turning) starts, all go one after another into the circle. That is the climax of the ritual. It can't go on any further. In some orders they lick red-hot swords, or walk on live coals, but they can't go any further than that.

From among the members of the Rom dervishes there is no characteristic contribution in the field of literature. There is one exception, and that is shejh Fazli Serbez, who was a disciple of the late shejh Durmish Serbezovski. Fazli Serbez is a good poet, a very popular mystic, a shejh, and prophet of the future. He was born in Skopje. In his poems, Fazli presents his views and revelations, the concept of God as an eternal creature, as an eternal reality that can not be determined and which is a real existence of everything that exists. His teaching, which he develops in his poetry, that everything that lives must die, and again be born anew with the help of God, the creator of everything that exists, is interesting.

NOTES

(1) Romany mahala (quarter) in Skopje.

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Gypsies in the United States

The Basket Makers of York, Pennsylvania, c. 1840–1930

Sheila Salo and Matt T. Salo

In the middle of the 19th century, immigrants primarily from southwestern Germany founded a community in York, Pennsylvania. This community, which became known locally as Gypsies, specialized in basket making and related occupations as well as in horse trading. This study in ethnohistory uses primary documentary sources to explore the European background of the founders and their immigration to the United States, and to analyze the interrelations of kinship, economy, and ethnicity in the York community. We wished to reconstruct the formation and development of the community, and to understand how its founding members lived and were seen by others before they emigrated to the United States.

Sources for the European background include parish records and local family histories *(Ortsippenbücher);* for the emigration experience, records generated by applications to emigrate required by the Kingdom of Württemberg; for the United States, ships' passenger manifests, federal census schedules, city directories, parish records and civil vital records, military and pension records, deeds, wills, property maps, and newspaper accounts and obituaries, as well as correspondence with some descendants of this group interested in their family history. The secondary literature on "German Gypsies" in the United States is sparse and largely unreliable.

The York community was founded by families mainly from the principalities of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and from the Kingdom of Württemberg, that is, generally speaking, the historic region of Swabia. The first, a group of 16 in two related families, who left the village of Inman in Hohenzollern on May 25, 1839, and landed in Baltimore in the third quarter of 1839, seem to have been the first to have settled in York. They were followed by a group of 33, or three interrelated extended families, primarily from the village of Benzingen, Hohenzollern, who arrived on September 18, 1840. Four members of the same families arrived in the last quarter of 1840 and on December 6, 1841. One individual, from Nagold in Württemberg, landed on July 12, 1841. A group of 24, an extended family from Unterjesingen in Württemberg and a nuclear family from Reusten, arrived on December 22, 1843. The 16 persons, three nuclear families, two the families of sisters, and primarily from Bondorf, Württemberg, who landed in New York on June 29, 1846 completed the core population that made up the York community up to 1860. The birth years of the immigrants ranged from 1776 to 1846; their ages at immigration ranged from a few months to 64.

The immigrants came from families which had engaged in basket making, brush making, kettle smithing, scissors grinding, and related trades going back at least to

the middle of the 1700s. These families were known in Germany as "travelers" *(vaganten, vagabunden)*. The records generally treat them as a social class, while sometimes endowing them with characteristics of an ethnic group. The records generally reserve the term "Zigeuner" for individuals bearing a surname commonly associated with Sinti. None of the families from which the York "Gypsy" community originates are referred to as Zigeuner in the records. With great caution, since we lack confirmation of the use of the term by members of the group or linguistic evidence, we would say that the group falls into the category of Yennish *(Jenische)*. I will use "traveler" as a neutral term.

The German records indicate a general tendency towards endogamy among "traveler" families, a tendency which nevertheless allowed for movement by marriage into and out of the group. The father of some of the immigrants from Benzingen (1785–1834) was sometimes referred to as "musician, brush maker, formerly townsman's son, in other words, vagabond." He was the only one of his siblings to become a "traveler." His own father (1756–1829) was in 1825 described as a smith on the dole. We find no marriages to persons called "Gypsies" among the ancestors of the core York community.

Judging from the birthplaces of their children in places in Baden, Württemberg, and Switzerland, as well as within Hohenzollern, the Benzingen families traveled widely within Swabia from 1800 to 1823. Their settlement in Benzingen seems to date from about 1826. The families from Inmau traveled in a restricted area in northern Hohenzollern and nearby Württemberg. The Württemberg families seem to have traveled primarily within the kingdom from 1779 to about 1830. In Württemberg, settlement, or association with a single town or village, may well have resulted from legislation of 1816 and 1828 dealing with residence, which Fricke (Fricke 1991: 60) discusses in relation to Gypsies.

Of the founders of the York community, we know that those from Unterjesingen and Reusten were among the Württemberg residents whose emigration was subsidized by their municipalities. Subsidized emigration was a practice adopted in the belief that it would ease the obligation of communities to support an increasingly pauperized population, and extended emigration assistance to those considered undesirable as well as to convicts (Walker 1964: 76; von Hippel 1984: 270). (1) The Unterjesingen town corporation paid 2496 guilders for 19 persons, including passage on the ship, clothing allowance, a stipend to establish the emigrants in the New World, and transportation to the port at Bremen by four-horse wagon (partly paid for by a private donor), including expenses for the 15-day journey. The corporation borrowed money to "put an end to the great misery" expected to arise from population growth among this family. The families from Bondorf appear to have paid for their own passage. We have no information about the circumstances of emigration from Hohenzollern. Nonetheless, we note that with the emigration from Inmau and Benzingen those towns were left with no "vagabond" families. We unfortunately have

no contemporary materials that document how the assisted emigrants felt about leaving, whether they considered it imposition or opportunity. (2)

In another effort to restrict population growth among the poor, Württemberg in 1828 and 1833 had made it difficult for those without "proof of substance" to marry (Walker 1964: 54). Of the Württemberg "travelers" only one couple arriving with children was considered legally married; the children of most of the others traveled under the surnames of their mothers. We do not know whether a similar policy held in Hohenzollern; we do know that the structure of the Imnau and Benzingen immigrant cohorts were similar. The married couples in these cases were wed before 1806. The unmarried couples regularized their unions soon after arrival in America, suggesting that marriage without religious or state sanction was not a preference among this group. The Minerva landed on September 18, 1840, and on October 12 four couples married at a Catholic church in Baltimore. Similarly, a woman who arrived with her child in 1840 married the child's father in the York Catholic church in 1841, and a couple arriving with their children in 1846 married in Baltimore about 11 months later.

Almost as immediately, the immigrants began to consolidate their community through marriages among the younger people. Beginning in 1841 in York and 1844 in Baltimore, we find marriages among the immigrants who arrived on the various ships and were from different home towns. There were also marriages to those who do not appear to have been members of the "traveler" population.

The arrival of these families in the United States attracted no attention, at least as reflected in the press. The families from Imnau, the first to arrive in America, appear also to have been the first to settle in York, a half-day's railroad journey direct from Baltimore in 1839. By 1844 they had declared their intentions to become US citizens, a goal achieved in 1848. Most of those who arrived in the subsequent years remained in Baltimore for a short while before moving on to York, while a few stayed on in Baltimore. The York and Baltimore families remained in touch, though it is difficult to gauge how long the connections were maintained. We find, for example, a couple who married in York in 1845 traveling to Baltimore for their child's baptism in 1847; while a couple who married in Baltimore in 1844 baptized a child in York in 1847.

The "travelers" settled in an area which until about 1900 was outside of the city of York, in a part of Spring Garden Township known as Freystown. In 1847, one of the 1846 group of immigrants is said to have bought land there; as during this period many transactions went unrecorded, the reference is from a later deed of sale. In any case it appears clear that at about that time many members of the community purchased land along what was then known as Low Street. On this land they built two-story frame houses which a hundred years later were seen as shacks. From 1900 through 1930 home ownership averaged 54%. The neighborhood became known as "Bullfrog Alley," and its inhabitants, "Bullfroggers."

This may be a good time to make clear that the population of this community was never large. At its largest, the population that could be considered members of the

York community remains under 300. The "traveler" population was never a majority even in "Bullfrog Alley," but did dominate in a few town blocks.

Marriages to local "non-travelers" increased the population. In about 1860, a shoemaker from Ober Klingen, Hesse-Darmstadt, who had immigrated with his wife and children in about 1854, settled in Spring Garden Township. His father was a swineherd, and neither he nor his wife appear to have had "traveler" ancestry. In 1870, his occupation was given as basketmaker; in 1871 and 1879 two of his daughters married York "travelers." Thus the family, or at least a part of it, became integrated into the community.

By 1877, a family of "travelers" from Switzerland, which had immigrated in about 1854 and was traveling as basket makers in Lebanon County in 1870, settled in Freystown and began to integrate into the earlier families by marriage.

The final group of "travelers" to integrate into the York community were the families of three men bearing a surname commonly associated with Sinti, who apparently immigrated to the US in about 1853, and began to appear in York in 1880 and 1881. One was married to a member of the Swiss "traveler" family, another to a Pennsylvania-born "non-traveler." Children of all three married members of the established York "traveler" families as well as of the Swiss "traveler" family.

Members also left the community. A family of the 1840 immigrants which had been in York since at least 1841 returned to Baltimore in 1851. In the mid-1860s an extended family descended from some of the 1846 immigrants moved to Columbus, Ohio. And by 1870, a member of the original 1839 group had moved to rural Ohio.

Up to now we have emphasized the consolidation of the York "traveler" community through marriage among families of similar background. Marriages to those not known to have come from that background were also common. Marriages between 1840 and 1860 were more likely to occur within the group; this includes the marriages which confirmed pre-existing unions. Of 12 marriages between 1861 to 1870, none took place within the group. From 1871 to 1890 approximately half the marriages took place within the group; this is the period of the newer arrivals. Marriages which took place after 1891 were overwhelmingly with "non-travelers." There seems to be no significant gender distinction in out-marriages, both women and men in more or less equal numbers marrying "non-travelers." For the most part the "non-traveler" spouses were of German origin, near neighbors, or both. We know of only two marriages with Gypsy groups from elsewhere than Germany or Switzerland.

As in most western societies, the nuclear family was the basic social unit, and marriages were freely contracted by the couples. When a household included more than one married couple, it was most commonly a son-in-law who lived with his wife's parents. We can detect a tendency for sons-in-law to adopt the trades of their fathers-in-law, and it appears that this structure aided the integration of "non-traveler" males into the community.

As we have seen, the manufacture and itinerant sale of baskets and brushes practi-

cally defined the "traveler" population in Germany, and it continued to do so in York. In 1850, basket making accounted for half the stated occupations among the small York "traveler" community; nearly as many stated their occupations as laborer. By 1880, the percentage engaged in basket making had risen to 79%. (3) By 1900, it had fallen to 42%, another 11% were brush makers. By 1920 and 1930, basket makers were but 15% and 16% of the community. By 1951 only three members of the community were said to remain in the business of making baskets, and by 1985 a descendant claimed to be the only basket maker left, and combined that trade with driveway paving, as does a son today (*York Dispatch* 3/31/1951; *York Daily Record* 1/30/1985).

Those who joined the community in the early 1880s added horse dealing to the economic repertoire. By 1900, 16% of the community dealt in horses, increasing to 21% in 1910, then decreasing in 1920 (13%) and 1930 (less than 1%).

Junk dealing, or "junking," was added to the repertoire in 1900, and increased in every census year to account for 45% in 1930.

Local industry employed 23% of the population in 1910, 34% in 1920, and 22% in 1930. Employment in 1910 was about evenly divided among basket making, horse dealing, junk dealing, and industrial labor.

The manufacture of willow baskets required the acquisition, preparation, and storage of materials. Willow was typically gathered from land located south of Freystown, cut in winter or early spring, or purchased. One basket maker briefly went into business selling willows. Photographs of members of a York basket making family in camp taken in May 1924 in Blair County, Pennsylvania, show the manufacture of plant stands of wood, willow, and rope, rather than willow baskets. However, in these photographs we also see the use of prepared and stored, rather than locally gathered, materials.

It may be only coincidence that the Minerva brought, in addition to the immigrants, 881 bundles of willows, and that a day after its landing a merchant advertised the availability of "18 boxes of Willow Baskets" "by late arrival from Bremen" (*Baltimore Sun* 9/19/1840). However, these facts do suggest a demand for the product. It seems that the York community's production coincided with the use of baskets in agriculture and in the baking industry. The period of demand for baskets may have been extended by their continuity of use by the Amish and Mennonite communities; one of the descendants of the York basket makers still finds a market among them. In the early 1950s, there was an increase in local demand among urban dwellers, but by then most of the "traveler" basket makers were no longer in business, and the demand was satisfied by imports (*York Dispatch* 3/31/1951). In the 1980s, baskets began to be appreciated as objects of folk culture (Lasansky 1979); in 1985 a grant intended to document and teach the techniques of the basket maker who considered himself the last of his kind was awarded to a folk heritage group, though nothing seems to have come of it.

The unit of production was the household or the workshop, in which basket makers worked as a group. In 1880, one of the York basket makers reported that his was a

one-man operation with $200 in invested capital. He used 2000 pounds of willows per year, valued at $140, and produced $600 worth of willow baskets per year (National Archives, Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29, Non-Population schedule, Industry and Manufacture, York Co PA). According to an 1886 local history, one of the basket makers sold $5000 worth of baskets in 1880, and $3000 in 1884; no sources are indicated for these figures. The same author says, "Nearly every house of the fifty-five along [Low] street, on both sides, is a basket manufactory, employing from five to ten hands" (Gibson 1886: 609-610). The 1894 fire insurance map of the Freystown area shows two free-standing basket factories or shops, both on property owned by members of the "traveler" community; the 1908 map shows three such basket factories or shops, all using hand power. Aside from the statement in Gibson, we have no firm evidence of the organization of labor in these shops, that is, whether each basket maker in a shop worked independently or in partnership, or was an employee. From 1910 to 1930, most basket makers considered themselves self-employed; two were employers. In 1910, neighbors not belonging to the "traveler" community gave their occupations as "peeling willows," perhaps an indication that the basket shops sometimes employed non-family hired labor. Basket making was primarily a male occupation, women aiding the enterprise by selling the baskets and, in addition, telling fortunes. We cannot know whether the basket makers saw salesmanship as at least as important as craftsmanship, as has been reported for other peripatetic groups. The horse dealers and junk dealers also considered themselves self-employed.

Parallel with the continuity of the older and adaptation of the newer shared occupations, some went into individually chosen work. While their father continued to manufacture baskets, a son made a career in the army, while his daughter founded the local visiting nurse association.

To what extent did the "travelers" travel? The 1886 history indicates that the horse dealers "roam[ed] all over the country" seasonally. A Sunday School begun in the neighborhood in the winter of 1897 closed at the beginning of July, 1898, "because the 'gypsie' element in this locality left on their summer vacation" (Eisenbert 1941: 274). Most travel for the sales of baskets manufactured in the shops, as well as horse trading and, later, junk dealing, was within Pennsylvania, some limited to a radius of fifty miles of York. Nearly all births took place in Pennsylvania. Most families were in York at census time, whether the census was taken in January, April, or June.

Reminiscences by "non-travelers" and "travelers" alike describe "Bullfrog Alley" as an integrated if scruffy neighborhood with an active communal life standing against the rest of the city of York. Speaking of an unspecified period, a "traveler" said "non-traveler" neighbors had initially been frightened of the Gypsies, but were won over by their generosity (*York Daily Record* 9/21/1990). Similarly, a "non-traveler" neighbor reported in 1945 that "the non-gipsies living among or near them were treated by them much as though they were fellow gipsies" (Young 1945). The "travelers" participated in local voluntary associations, such as the fire company and softball team

(1929-1941), local party politics, and church activities. While all but the Hessian family, Lutherans, had been Roman Catholic in Germany, marriages among and outside the group, as well as missionary activities in the neighborhood, produced variety in church membership. Community families became founding members of the local Moravian Church. Church membership was a part of community life: community members speak of attendance at a Catholic church picnic in 1870 and of leading the service at the Moravian Church in 1892 (National Archives, Records of the Veterans Administration, RG 15, Records Relating to Pension and Bounty Land Claims, Pension Application Files). Several members of the community served in volunteer units in the Civil War, thus extending their integration into American society beyond the local level.

The first evidence of any term being used for members of the York community is in 1886. This is unfortunate, because, as we have seen, the community was by then of mixed origins. Gibson (1886: 610) distinguishes between the Freystown basket makers and "gypsies," reserving the term for "horse traders and fortune tellers" who wintered in Freystown. It is impossible to be certain whether this distinction was common at that time. By 1898, the term Gypsy was apparently applied to the entire community. We do not know whether any term other than Gypsies was used within the community itself.

Manufacture of baskets and brushes, regional and seasonal itinerancy, and integration into a community of "travelers," "Gypsies," and "non-travelers," will bring to mind the "brush maker's town" of Lützenhart, in Württemberg. In 1852, that town, by then a ward of the state because of its "notorious poverty," sent a group of 41 emigrants to the United States at public expense. We know that some of them came through York, since one stood as witness at a York community marriage in 1858, and a woman who had immigrated without her family married a York man. Two families settled in towns not far from York, where one head of household worked as stone mason and brush maker, and the other, as scissors grinder. Unlike in the York community, these occupations did not extend beyond the first generation, and these families seem to have had few ties to the York community. Another extended family from Lützenhardt, immigrating in 1857, established a brush factory in Freystown but maintained few social ties to the community. Members of another extended family of "travelers" from Württemberg, also subsidized emigrants, settled in Albany, New York, and in Reading, Pennsylvania, respectively, and also rapidly blended into the general American social landscape.

In 1924, one of the York basket makers foresaw the disintegration of "our old-fashioned kind" of Gypsies, increasingly entering the wage labor force (Shoemaker 1926: 585). It was over twenty years before one could speak of the dissolution of the York community as a geographic unit, when a public housing project replaced the original housing and junkyards of "Bullfrog Alley." We have seen the formation of the York community based on the common experience of shared occupations, proximity of

residence, and intermarriage. We have also seen the lessening of that common experience through work outside the repertoire of shared occupations, marriage with outsiders, and religious variation.

This is the story, then, of an unsustainably small and localized population – that is, one with little connection to a non – geographical network of social relations such as supports a far-flung society like that of the American Rom-which nevertheless developed and maintained a community for over a hundred years.

NOTES

(1) Although the United States government expressed concern about "dumping" of paupers and convicts by 1845, and in 1848 sent a query to Stuttgart on the question (Molumann 1976; von Hippel 1984: 271), effective measures would be many years off. Statistics on subsidized emigration from Württemberg are not available for the years considered here.

(2) Walker (1964: 75) indicates that subsidized immigrants were usually eager to leave.

(3) Figures are converted to percentages merely to aid comparison among census years.

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Romnichels, Roaders and Travelers on the Great Plains

Matt T. Salo

About ten years ago, while trying to locate some Romnichel families in US census records, I accidentally came across a set of families in the American Midwest engaged in horse trading who were described as living "in wagons" in "camp." I followed the families in the records, but initially could not tie their names in with any previously known Gypsy or Traveler group. Eventually, I was able to make contact with living descendants of these families, who told me their family histories and alerted me to the fact that there were numerous non-Gypsy, non-Traveler families most referring to themselves as Roaders, who had been, and still are, leading a peripatetic life style that continues from generation to generation. Although I had long been aware of servants or hired help, referred to as "Refs," who sometimes traveled with Gypsies and Travelers, and had actually met some of the Roader families and not recognized them for what they were, I had not realized that large numbers of ordinary mainstream Americans were also among the continuing peripatetics in North America and had been for some seven or eight generations. These "Roaders" have remained invisible to outsiders, including current researchers of Gypsy and Traveler groups. The reported longevity of this adaptation and the implications it had for ethnic identification among peripatetics seemed worth investigating.

Sources and methodology

The data used for this paper come from various sources. Some of it is based on actual observations, but most is from interviews and informal discussions with members of these groups at their homes, at camping sites or wherever we met them on the road. Some information comes from correspondence with members too distant to be visited in person. This data includes family and life histories – taped interviews of both contemporary life and recollections of the past. I collaborated with several families to construct complete family trees, which aided considerably in the understanding of what happened to whom and how the families changed over time. A wide spectrum of respondents is represented, but much of the in-depth description comes from about a half dozen key informants.

The documentary data is from various administrative records such as United States census schedules, vital records, obituaries and cemetery records. Compared to

Romnichels or Travelers, there was surprisingly little newspaper coverage on Roaders, just mentions – no feature-length articles at all were found. Several families also made available historically significant photographs, which help us visualize what the peripatetic life was like. No published literature is available on this group.

Because of the small sample size of only 15 families in the case study portion, no statistical analysis is possible, but because of the consistency of the data with a larger corpus of families on which only discontinuous data is available we can cautiously point to a few practices and developments that appear to represent common cultural patterns or historical trends. The quotations and the photographs used for illustration represent what the respondents judged to be typical and not just what seems exotic to outsiders.

The earliest period from which I started tracing the families is approximately 1850 and we know their history up to the present, but the period covered for this study is roughly one century; i.e. up to about 1950. The bulk of our analysis is based on the case histories of the 15 families in the sample; the form of longitudinal research used here is generally referred to as cohort or panel study. The basic unit of analysis is a set of cohorts of extended families whose ancestors became peripatetic in the past and whose descendants today remain in the social networks of traveling people.

I exercised great care in checking the accuracy of both oral and written sources. Traveling people were often illiterate, may not have understood the purposes for which information was collected, and just as often made up something when they did not know the answer. They also often purposely garbled the information presented to outsiders and it requires intimate knowledge of when and what needed to be concealed and how this was done in order to evaluate the sources. As one Roader woman put it, "As you know, all records are not always correct. They did a lot of storytelling back when." Another Roader concurred, "If any of the records was right on the money it would be a miracle. The wrong answers were due to many reasons; partly on purpose and partly because they just didn't know."

In this study no piece of information stands alone as a mere anecdotal vignette; everything was triangulated or cross-checked to verify the accuracy of the findings. Comparisons were also made with unrelated Roader families to check against Galton's problem of cross-contamination and provide reassurance that we were dealing with more than an idiosyncratic or a local phenomenon and that the findings have wider validity at least within the American context. Finally, several respondents were asked to comment on the findings of this paper, but the author alone is responsible for any errors that may remain.

Historical background and cultural description

Romnichel Gypsies began entering the Great Plains of America by the mid-1850s. Who first set foot across the Mississippi is not known, but by 1860 several of the major Romnichel families were traveling there regularly, and by 1880 Irish Travelers had made their appearance and a little later, Scottish Travelers as well. At this time almost all peripatetics were engaged in horse trading as their major occupation, although most also had ancillary trades such as basketmaking, tinsmithing or peddling, which, if occasion demanded, could become the family's chief means of subsistence.

1. Horsetrading Roaders in camp with tent and horse corral.

2. Roaders making baskets for sale. All pictures courtesy of Roader families.

In regard to livestock trade, the peripatetics did not step into a vacuum; the midwestern and western states were already carrying on a brisk business of transporting horses from areas producing them to elsewhere in the country which had more demand than local production could meet. Early travels and concentrations of Romnichels and Travelers in the Midwest, the Great Plains and the Far West were largely dictated by the vagaries of the livestock business. Although the farmers of the Midwest provided the most steady market for horses and mules before the American Civil War (1861–65), it was the western expansion that provided unprecedented opportunities to peripatetics who could take full advantage of their lack of roots in any particular community and their ability to quickly discover and utilize market opportunities generated by the ever-shifting changes in the regional supply and demand for horses on the expanding frontier. Soon, several dozen Romnichel and Traveler families were making a prosperous living that continued throughout the heyday of the horse trading period but which came to a gradual end after World War I.

During the second half of the 19th century, there were large numbers of local farmers who were actively engaged in livestock trade; some becoming professional traders. Only a small percentage of the non-Gypsy traders would eventually become peripatetic, but most of those who did had at least some previous experience in the itinerant livestock business. Traveling as livestock traders was not the only exposure these families had to itinerant life; almost all of the families generating peripatetics had moved from state to state at least once; some several times and so were preadapted to traveling and frequent changes of residence. (See table for a summary of the histories of Roader families in the sample.)

During their travels many non-Gypsy traders met and became familiar with the Gypsies and Travelers on the roads, camp sites, at horse sales stables, livestock markets and fairs, or anywhere horse trading was going on. Camping sites were common meeting places for itinerants of all stripes. A check of midwestern census records shows numerous locations where migrant workers lived in tents, wagons, or makeshift shelters. Gypsies and Travelers also made use of these sites.

Starting sometime during the 1860s or 1870s we find records of people from all walks of life, but especially from the midwestern farming communities, associating with Gypsies and Travelers, forming partnerships for horse trade, and marriage liaisons with the families with whom they associated. It appears that before their involvement in the livestock business, all marriages among the families later to become peripatetic were strictly within their own community; that is, farmers' sons married farmers' daughters. Whether involvement with horse trading came first, or familiarity with Gypsies led to involvement with trading is difficult to determine with precision in each case. One Roader claimed, "Many of our family and others had the Gypsy road style before my grand-parents were married." However, it seems clear that the opportunities for association leading to sufficient familiarity for marriage increased with the degree of involvement in trading activities. The fact that at this time

traditional Romnichel marriages were still mostly by elopement aided the ease with which a Gypsy girl could run off with a non-Gypsy boy. Preponderantly, these marriages involved a peripatetic girl and a non-Gypsy or non-Traveler boy.

In analyzing the backgrounds of the non-Gypsies who became peripatetic we frequently find cases where a marriage precipitated their entry to a habitually peripatetic life. Most of the initial liaisons were with Romnichels or Irish Travelers, but later Scottish Travelers were implicated and also other Roaders previously converted into the traveling life. Because the majority of the Gypsy and Traveler families still preferred to marry their own kind, those who were considered "*gorgios*," "*diddikai*," or "country people" had a harder time finding mates among the traditional peripatetics and as a result started marrying other Roaders with more recent peripatetic backgrounds. According to one Roader, "There was a lot of intermarriages with the Roaders that traveled together back then." If the families persisted in the peripatetic life they continued to marry increasingly, and in some families almost solely, within the larger peripatetic community.

Other factors for entry into peripatetic life may also have been important. In some cases desire to escape poverty seems to have been the catalyst; in others a sheer love of adventure and a desire for change from the commonplace were key motives. We also have hints of some cases where people sought by the law found refuge among the Gypsies, just as wanted criminals today often hide among the homeless population.

In time, the offspring of these Gypsy or Traveler and non-Gypsy unions formed a category of traveling people that had characteristics all its own. We do not know the origin of the term, but today many of these families are still considered "Roaders," that is people who lead a traveling life identical to that of the Gypsies and Travelers, but who were not originally descended from those groups. However, many Roaders today also identify as either Travelers or Romnichels, no matter how slight their actual kinship with those groups. Their insistence clearly demonstrates that belonging to one of the traditional Gypsy or Traveler groups is considered more prestigious than being a "Johnny-come-lately." The term "Roader" is also seen as derogatory by some.

Adapting to a life of traveling and to traveler work has always been, and continues today to be, one of the most important defining attributes of peripatetics that qualify them as "traveling people," and in time it became the criterion for the Roaders as well. As one Roader reported,

> We all moved around together living in covered home-made wagons, tents, and later in trailers. Sometimes we would have five to six wagons traveling together – we used to say we were like a bunch of Gypsies traveling together. We identified with the Gypsies when we were with them to keep from offending them, but we are a unique group, although some of us later married out. We traveled together with grandparents, uncles, aunts, with friends joined in.

We would meet dozens of similar families on the road; we knew most of them and would stop and camp with them. We referred to ourselves as "Travelers" and spoke "road talk," like in, "Do you want to *jal* to the store?" or, "*Dik akai*, the *moskers* are coming." We couldn't distinguish between different kinds of talk, whether they were different languages or just some different words. When we traveled, the disapproval of the settled people was stronger; the farmers didn't trust Gypsies and we were often taken for them; they feared that we would steal like they did. We would be chased out of parks and recreation areas that wouldn't allow camping. It was a hard life and some people dropped out when they could. When we traveled, we met people living in a house that used to be traveling and they did not want to be recognized as Travelers or Rommichels.

Traveling was just a way of life; our parents traveled most of the time. We camped in one place longer if work was available, or children had to go to school. Not everyone got a chance to get education; not everyone learned to read or write. We got food from both farmers and from stores. Ladies peddling stuff would barter for food or tell fortunes for it. The boys did a lot of hunting for small game and we also picked fruit and berries in season and ate a lot of wild greens such as dock, lamb's quarter and wild lettuce, which looks something like dandelions. We would have a pot cooking with the greens, add some baking grease to warm it up and eat it with salt, pepper and vinegar. It was good!

One Roader recalled that his family used to travel through Nebraska, South and North Dakotas, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho before finally getting off the road.

They would settle once in a while, but then go on the road again. Now we only travel on vacations, but we miss the road. My uncle was a Roader until 1943; my half-sister stopped traveling in 1945 when she got married in Colorado, and after 1949 the rest of the group dispersed; some went to Colorado, others to California. But many of the families still continue to travel.

Whereas most Gypsies and Travelers used either converted or custom-made commercially produced wagons, one distinguishing feature of Roader life was their reliance on home-made vehicles. Since the wagons were not constructed according to a standard plan they varied greatly in shape, size and quality. One Roader described them as follows:

Our wagons were built on a flat wagon bed with sides and top added to it. The "outfits," as they were called, were self-contained; they were divided up just like a house with a bed across the back, a stove and a cabinet on one side for dishes – all contained in one little room. Children slept with mom and dad; there

could be four or five children in one wagon. Dad built his last wagon in Kansas in the thirties and went to Colorado with it; he got rid of it when the horses couldn't pull it over the passes. Later in the thirties rubber tires were added and the wagons became trailers; then we switched to bought trucks and trailers.

3. Roader camp with homemade wagons, ca. 1927.

Tents were also used. Here is one Roader woman's report of tenting life she experienced as a child:

> When we were working picking fruit in Washington, we slept on a dirt floor of a tent; others had pallets; those more fortunate had feather beds. Of course there was no electricity, no indoor plumbing or running water. As a child I had to get water, help with the smaller kids, cooking, washing, chopping wood and making biscuits. At first cooking was done over campfires; later with campstoves. We also used homemade campstoves constructed from sheet metal.

As for the need to travel in order to make a living, another Roader reported,

> They lived that way to make a living about any way they could. Horses were bought and traded anywhere. My grandfather sold horses to outlaws, even to Jesse James's gang. Grandpa did sanitation work before they had autos; he started honeydipping while they were still using horses and wagons; they did it with barrels on a wagon, the dirty way. Our family worked as laborers, theypainted and sold junk; women made willow chairs and baskets – anything to bring in money. The women learned to tell fortunes from a Romnichel woman who married in. She would tell them that she was the seventh daughter of a seventh daughter and told them to wait two weeks for the fortune to come true, which

would give them a chance to get out of town. And some made stuff like paper roses out of crepe paper; others home-made jewelry, or willow baskets which the women peddled door to door. Some were moonshiners – our family did that. When we went out West we worked in mushroom factories and picked fruit.

Concluding observations

Roaders had their origins in various parts of the country and diverse social classes, but were derived preponderantly from farming, rural poor, or working class people. Some may have been attracted to traveling life by its promise of freedom and adventure; others may have joined to escape the law, but marriage to a Gypsy or a Traveler woman appears to be the most significant correlation. A preadapted lifestyle was also a contributing factor, as most were already accustomed to traveling or engaged in similar work or occupations, especially horse trading, prior to becoming peripatetic.

As a group Roaders were loosely knit, not homogeneous by social class, ethnicity, or geographic origin. Some new peripatetics remained by themselves, but most associaed only with those who had made similar adaptations, whether Gypsies, Travelers or other Roaders. Ethnic identification and lifestyle remained flexible, a matter of choice.

Roader occupations followed those of the Gypsies or Travelers: horse trading, teaming, telling fortunes, tinsmithing, scrap dealing, cleaning septic tanks, painting barns or silos, manufacturing and selling rustic work, baskets, brushes, and novelty items, or peddling lightning rods, furs, flowers, and so forth. Roaders had no traditional prohibition against "nasty" work and in fact may have influenced some Romnichels to enter into sanitation work. They followed the same range of nomadism as Gypsies and Travelers; some were long distance travelers, others moved within a more restricted area. Their residential choice was opportunistic; where to travel, camp or use existing housing depended primarily on work opportunities. The use of home-made wagons and trailers was one feature unique to Roaders.

Roaders could and did split off from their group more easily than those raised as Gypsies or Travelers; there was not as much emphasis on endogamy and the boundary between the Roaders and settled people was not as strong. Most Roader families also had relatives who were settled.

Continuity in peripatetic life seems to be predicated on continuing social relations, especially inter-marriage and daily association with a peripatetic community, and on retention of peripatetic trades. One Roader reported that "today some do driveways, roofing, lightning rods, honey-dipping, sundry peddling or collecting scrap metal. Others paint houses, pick fruit, do odd jobs – just about anything." A loose actual and ideological core community remains despite outliers and defections. No signs of overall dissolution are present as many Roaders still retain the insider/outsider distinction and continue seeing themselves as a distinct category of traveling people.

Ethnogenesis of Roader families

Family	States of Origin	Former Occupations	Possible Motivation	Travel Range	Peripatetic Occupations	Current Occupations
1	NY, PA	farming labor	unknown	IA, NE, CO, UT	teaming lightning rods	Ppc trades
2	OH, KY, VA	Unk, prob. farming	marriage to Rcl	IL, MO, KS	scavenging, horse trade	Ppc trades
3	IL	hostler, labor	marriages to Rdrs	MN, SD, WY, CA	fur trading, livestock	Paving
4	KY, MO	Unk, prob. farming	marriages to Rdrs	CO, ID, WA	horse trade	Ppc trades
5	IN	farming, labor	marriage to Rdr	IL, OH, MI, KY, TX	horse trade, odd jobs, peddling, teaming, junk	paving, peddling
6	PA, IA	farming, labor	marriage to IT	MO, ID, CA	teaming, stock trading	Ppc trades
7	PA, Canada	farming, farm labor	marriage to Rdr, poverty	KS, MO, OK NE, CO	horse trade	Ppc trades
8	OH, IN, IA	farming	marriages to IT, Rdrs	MO, KS, OK CO, CA, OR	horse trade, wild west show	paving, roofing
9	IL, IA	unk, prob. farming	marriage to Rdrs	MO, KS, IA, NE	odd jobs, horse trade	Ppc trades
10	PA, IA, MO	farming, carpentry	marriage to Rdrs, Rcl,	WI, KS, OK, CO, ID, UT, CA	horse & cattle trade, odd jobs	Ppc trades
11	VA, IL	farming	marriages to Rcl & IT	IL, MO	horse trade	lightning rods
12	MO	farming	marriage to Rdr	OK, KS, NE	odd jobs, horsetrade, oil fields	rodeos
13	KY, OH, IL	farming, farm labor, odd jobs	marriage to Rcl, Rdrs.wk partners	MO, KS, OK, NE, CO, UT, CA, AR, MS	horse trade, bootlegging, honey dipping	paving, other ppc trades
14	Eng, NY, PA,	royal guard	wanted man, Rcl marriage	IA, SD, ND, NE, MN, UT, ID, CA	horse trade	Ppc trades
15	MO	merchant, manufacture	marriage to Rcl	IL, MO	horsetrade, bootlegging, teaming, peddling	Ppc trades

Abbreviations: Rdr = Roader or non-Gypsy Traveler; IT = Irish Traveler; Rcl = Romnichel; Ppc = Peripatetic; Unk = unknown

No names or specific locations have been used to preserve confidentiality and privacy of the families.

Glossary of argot, technical and special terms

The group labels used in this paper are given meanings more fixed for analytic purposes than they have in actual use, where the meaning of the terms varies depending on the situation, the person being addressed or talked about, and the current affiliation of the speaker. None of the terms for groups given above is derogatory in itself nor in its origins, although any of them can be, and have been, used in such a way. The context and the intention of the speaker determine how any term should be interpreted. People who admit that they may be "Roaders" in turn contrast themselves favorably against "Refs," whom they view as not genuine "traveling people." The term "Refs" has been interpreted as "refugees" or "riff-raff."

Bootleggers: People engaged in making, transporting or selling illicit or bootleg liquor. Also called Moonshiners.

Cohort: People born about the same time; here loosely translated as being of the same generation.

Diddikai, Diddykai: Romnichel term, in American usage broadly conceived to cover Refs, Roaders, and other non-traditional Travelers.

Gaujo, Gorger, Gorgio: Variations on the spelling and pronunciation of the Romnichel word for any non-Gypsies.

Great Plains: A geographical area consisting of the prairie states west of the Mississippi River up to the Rocky Mountains including Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The Plains overlap somewhat with the Midwest. Both were a source and a market area for peripatetic horse trade.

Gypsy: The common umbrella term in English for any peripatetic group; also a self designation in English for the dozen or so distinct groups, including sedentary ones in the United States whose ancestry derives from India. Irish and Scottish Travelers generally do not identify themselves as Gypsies.

Honeydippers: People engaged in cleaning latrines, cesspools or septic tanks, at first manually, later by pumps and tank wagons. This work was initially considered ritually impure or "mokerdi" by Romnichels, but today many Romnichel families are engaged in honeydipping.

Johnny-come-lately: A late or recent arrival; an upstart. Established traveling families tend to hold themselves above the Johnnies-come-lately. This includes Roaders, even those who have been peripatetic for several generations.

Midwest or Middle West: The north central part of the United States, including the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri. These were rich farm and cattle range lands which provided markets for peripatetic horse traders.

Mokerdi: The Romnichel term for ritually unclean, referring to taboos in the handling of dishes, laundry, and kitchen implements, or to personal hygiene. These taboos are violated by people who engage in honey-dipping or similar work. Glossed as "nasty" in English.

Moonshiners: People engaged in any aspect of manufacturing, transporting or selling illicit untaxed liquor. Also called Bootleggers.

Outfits: Homemade wagons or trailers set up for use as living quarters while traveling.

Peripatetics: Any group that makes an itinerant living by providing people goods and services for which the demand is too patchily distributed, low, sporadic or seasonal to support permanent local providers. These groups are often endogamous ethnic entities, which zealously maintain their separateness from settled people, as well as other peripatetics. They are to be distinguished from other commercial travelers in that usually the entire family travels and they may not have a permanent home base anywhere.

Refs: People who are hired by peripatetics to provide manual or unskilled labor for them. As a rule, they are merely short term hired help who neither learn their employers' culture nor the language, nor associate with them on an equal basis. However, a Ref may become a Roader if he continues to associate with or marry into a peripatetic family.

Roaders: People who have more than a nodding acquaintance with peripatetic life, usually due to a long work association or marriage ties with a peripatetic family. They comprise families who lead the same kind of life as the Gypsies or Travelers, but have their ethnic and family origins outside these groups. Some people use "Roaders" as a derogatory term, referring to them as "imitation Travelers."

Road Talk: An argot or cant used by non-Gypsy, non-Traveler Roaders with words gleaned from various sources, but most heavily influenced by Romnichel speech.

Romnichels: A Gypsy group immigrating from England and establishing itself as the first major Gypsy population in North America beginning about 1850.

Travelers: Peripatetic people whose ethnic origins are with the native stocks of the countries from which they came to the United States. Four such groups have been identified in the United States thus far: English (includes Welsh), Irish, Scottish and German. Some members of the hybrid Roader group discussed in this study also call themselves "Travelers."

Traveling People: A generic term for any Gypsy, Traveler or Roader group that shares the culture and ethos of traveling life. The main contrast is with a sedentary existence regardless of ethnic affiliation. Roughly equivalent to the more academic term "peripatetics."

Gypsies in Turkey

The Social Life of Roma (Gypsies) in Izmir, Turkey

Suat Kolukirik

The Gypsy problem has been an important reality in Turkey as in many other countries of the world. Insufficient information and prejudice perpetuate this problem and legalize the Gypsies' present condition. Despite concepts such as "democracy," "human rights," and "equality" which we use in cultural organizations, the Gypsies continue to be excluded, despised and discredited. The main purpose of this paper is to recognize, understand, and determine the position of the Gypsy culture in the context of living together with our similarities and differences. Within this perspective I will present the social and economic conditions, education levels, occupations, customs and traditions, group identity, social relationships, and political choices of Gypsies living in Tarlabasi (Izmir, Turkey), as well as how they view themselves. The Tarlabasi Gypsies migrated from Salonica, Greece to Turkey in accordance with the 1924 population exchange treaty affecting the Turks who were living in the Balkans and Europe. The Gypsies in Tarlabasi number between 750 to 800 and live in 60 houses. The data used for this paper derive from earlier literature and from field observations of 25 Gypsies interviewed between June 2001 and March 2002.

1. Social and economic conditions

A. EDUCATION LEVELS

The education level among the Tarlabasi Gypsies is very low (Ringold 2000: 17). Most of the parents have not attended any school. The situation is a little better for parents belonging to the youngest generation, but in fact these only attended primary school or left school early. Even if they are very few, there are some Gypsies who have attended university and followed good professions. Mostly, they display indifference towards education. The question, "Why didn't you go to school?" generally remains unanswered. They cite four factors for the low level of education.

1 – The low educational level of the parents
2 – Lack of enough money to acquire the payment for education
3 – The cultural disparities and differences they face in school
4 – Insufficiency of sociocultural environmental conditions

The low level of education is blamed on the parents. While the young blame their fathers, the fathers blame the grandfathers. In other words, the young blame their

parents for not guiding them. Insufficiency of income, which is put forward as a second reason, is most important and is an inhibitor. Most families prefer their children to work for money instead of sending them to school at school age. As part of their informal education children work as assistants to their mothers and fathers. Children who take care of their sisters and brothers at home also gather some wood, fruits, and edible grasses.

Although they do not say so explicitly, school is a difficult place for them. Since Gypsy children's contacts with non-Gypsy children take place mostly at school, the difficulty of this relationship can be easily understood. The difficulty of this relationship is not only found at school. It is noticeable that they also cannot enter into friendly relations with Turkish children who are recent Balkan immigrants. Gypsy children consider Turkish children overly proud of themselves. Actually, this situation is a product of the differences in their life styles.

When we consider this in the context of space and human relations, the settlement pattern of Gypsies is very protective. In the middle of the quarter there are Gypsy families. Around them live the Balkan immigrants, and around these immigrants, non-immigrant Turkish families. The process of socialization for the Gypsy children living in the central area is almost homogeneous. The role models which they take as references are fairly limited. From this perspective the sociocultural environmental conditions stimulate homogeneity rather than competition.

B. OCCUPATION

Although the Gypsies are related by kinship, their occupations are not uniform, nor are they traditional Gypsy occupations like horse trading blacksmithing, and exhibiting bears. The men mostly work as musicians, shoemakers, porters, tobacco workers, scrap metal dealers, rubbish collectors, peddlers and grocers. Some Gypsies work in government and private sector trades. Today, the main problem for most of the Gypsies is unemployment and working without insurance. Certainly, the low level of education determines both the work done and the level of income.

While in other Gypsy groups women work as basket sellers, florists, fortune-tellers, dancers and hostesses in bars, the Gypsy women in Tarlabasi work only as house cleaners. This irregular work is chosen by women as it brings high income and gives them the chance to express themselves. Despite some prejudices in society, this kind of relationship ensures communication between Gypsy and non-Gypsy people and it also mitigates the negative prejudices between these groups.

Working life is more uncertain for the young Gypsies. Some of them continue to live with the help of their families. The unemployment rate is rather high. Some of them work at seasonal work and some work at daily work, as peddlers, porters and whitewashers. Some young people prefer this day labor as it brings high income, but

some prefer secure and permanent jobs to this irregular work. Those who have high social prestige in the quarter are the musicians (Marushiakova and Popov 2001: 65). After them come those who work in government. As in some other Gypsy groups, music has an important function in the recognition and protection of group identity among Tarlabasi Gypsies.

C. FAMILY

Family life is established along very complex elements. In many houses more than one family lives together as an "extended family," all related by blood (Williams 1994: 1). The Gypsies explain this situation by citing economic insufficiency. Insufficiency of social security institutions makes "solidarity" among Gypsies inevitable (Fraser 1992: 240). Family organization follows a patriarchal model. The duty to represent the family belongs to the father and he is responsible for providing the income. The men act more comfortably and freely in the society than do the women.

Women's life in a Gypsy family is very difficult. The woman's first duty is dealing with housework and taking care of the children. If the woman works, a grandmother, elder sisters, or relatives take care of the children. In the quarter there are some women who do not have identity cards and formal marriages.

2. Customs and traditions

Non-Gypsies consider the Gypsies' daily lives very cheerful. Their colorful clothes, independent manners and music are considered the main characteristics of Gypsies. The Gypsy celebration of Hidrellez (festival of the beginning of summer, celebrated on the 6th of May), marriage and circumcision festivals are very exciting and natural. However, Gypsies' main cultural differences are Gypsy music, dance and language.

Gypsy marriage customs are no different from those of the culture they live in. The main differences are that in Gypsy culture the entire quarter joins in the marriage; they apply henna to the hands of the bride (believing it can protect her from evil); they play joyful Gypsy music and organize a dance competition among the girls. Contrary to the negative prejudices prevalent in the general culture, virginity is important to them and they have some rules to prevent sexual relations before marriage. As in most Muslim cultures, they have the custom of "showing the sheet." Some families attach red carnations to their hair instead of showing the sheet, a red carnation representing virginity.

The marriage age among Tarlabasi Gypsies is rising. The age at marriage for girls is at least 18 and that for boys is 22, but sometimes this varies. Neither elopement nor reciprocal bride exchange are found as forms of marriage. The level of endogamous

marriages is lower than in the past and there are marriages between Gypsy men and non-Gypsy women. The tradition of bride price continues among some families. The money taken by the girl's father is spent on wedding expenses and presents to the groom. The amount of the money is related to the social status of the family and also to the bride's past and her abilities. The bride price is currently from 200 to 800 dollars. Although it was the duty of the father to marry off his son, now it is less common. They prefer monogamy and they have about two to four children.

Hidrellez is an important day for most Gypsies living in Izmir. On the night of the 5th of May they build a fire in the middle of the quarter and organize an amusement with music around this fire. Some of them jump over the fire, making a wish. Most of their wishes are for wealth and health. Women attach a nail to the entrance of their home in the morning on the 6th of May; this nail means good news for Spring. Women also put some coins, rings, earrings, and buckles in a water bucket and while doing this they make a wish. In addition, some women draw figures like cars, houses, and so forth on the ground on the morning of the 6th of May and they believe that the wishes represented by the drawings will come true. They go to Izmir Fair, which is used as a festival place, towards the afternoon and the amusement continues there. Hidrellez is a day of "coming together and fusion" for Gypsies.

3. Religious life

The common image of Gypsies being irreligious is a prejudice. One of the important points of the processes of exclusion and oppression is to claim that Gypsies have no religion. Even if they have, they are not frank about this subject. Tarlabasi Gypsies belong to the Muslim religion. They carry out all religious duties perfectly in burial services, marriage, and circumcision festivals. They do not receive an education in religion. Under some conditions religious discourse is used as a means of defending Gypsy identity and culture. "We all believe in one God," and "We are men of the same God," are common statements used to display their attitudes towards the process of exclusion and oppression rather than their religious beliefs.

4. Political choice

The Gypsies' political choices are related to the timing of elections. There is no party which they support particularly or which is established by them. However, they vote for the parties of the left at a high rate. The reason for this is that the parties of the left have programs for "the others;" this shows the Gypsies' preference for being distinct. However, it cannot be said that the Gypsies have a close relationship with politicians. It is mentioned that politicians promise them many things at the time of elections but forget these promises after the elections.

5. Gypsy language and identity

A. GYPSY LANGUAGE

Language, which is the most important indicator of identity, "despite long immigration journeys, massacres" and dying out among the Gypsies, continues its existence (Hancock 1987: 115). Certainly, it is a characteristic which must be appreciated. Although there are some small disparities among the Gypsies living in the east and west of Turkey, this doesn't prevent communication. Their language is usually used as a secret way of communication. But the main problem is that the new generation cannot speak the Gypsy language perfectly although they understand it, and children have a low rate of speaking and understanding the language. Language is an important and indispensable condition with regard to identity. It is a basic distinguishing mark and characteristic in defining the group (Acton 1974: 55). In Turkey, there are some semi-nomadic groups who are also called "Gypsies" although they are not Gypsies in reality. These people are called Gypsies owing to the jobs they do. These groups do not know anything about the Romani language. In this framework, linguistic analysis and investigation are indispensable in defining group identity.

These are some examples of words in the language of Tarlabasi Gypsies.

Romni: girl, woman
Çavo: boy
Bori: bride
Dado: father
Miday: mother
Sokerasan: How are you?
Dovlo: god
Pannibuz:clean
Mulo: funeral
Yelati: come
Muk: leave
Laco: beautiful
Kir: home
Buzi: donkey
Roy: spoon
Soston: underpants
Kororo: blind
Sõtigaras: What are you doing?
Kayni: chicken
Mano: bread
H(K)abon: eat
Mas: meat
Keral: cheese
Kil: oil
Pani: water
Katekajas: Where will you go?
Lovo: money
Yalamundo: come here
Nas: escape
Boshanaka: sit down
Gras: horse
Tregha: shoes
Kapa: jacket
Kasuki: deaf
Danda: tooth
Gajo: non-Gypsy

In Turkish, "Gypsy" means a person who is despised. Adjectives such as "dirty," "liar," "thief," and "kidnapper" are considered characteristics of the Gypsies in this context. For this reason, most of the Gypsies, especially those who have professional occupations, hide their identities. Recently, however, they have begun to say that being a Gypsy is not a source of guilt and that they are no different from others. Nevertheless, the Gypsies who have a higher standard of life not only leave Gypsy settlements but also continue to hide their own identities and try to associate themselves with a "superior cultural identity." In this sense, the state of not expressing themselves is seen as a problem for the "future of the Gypsies."

There is disagreement among the Tarlabashi Gypsies concerning the terms "Gypsy" and "Roma." While some say that they are Gypsies and cannot deny this, they emphasize that "Gypsy" connotes "nomad." The others identify themselves as "Rom" or "Roman," and add that they are settled and that Gypsies are not nomadic, dirty and bad people. They know that their origin is actually connected with India but they show Salonica as a place they come from. For them their history and origin is limited to Salonica, and as is true for most of the nomadic group, history is limited to the living present.

6. Their perception of themselves and of the world

Derogating another Gypsy group is a common attitude among Gypsies (Sommeman 1999: 119). Tarlabasi Gypsies defend the concept of "us" in their discourses, and exaggerate their differences. They define as "us" their close relatives; those who are not their relatives are "the others" for them.

The life-styles of Gypsies and the Balkan Turks who are their close neighbors have gradually became more different and relations have worsened. The common points among Gypsies and Balkan Turks who settled in Tarlabasi at the same time have diminished. Balkan Turks have an advantage because they feel themselves close to the dominant culture group. Although Tarlabasi Gypsies sometimes mention that they are "citizens" of Turkey and don't want any other country, under some conditions they give examples of their being despised. These examples are used to legalize their position. If we consider that among them there are some people who are retired, or work in government and in the private sectors, their being despised is not a matter in question. Turkish cultural prejudices of Gypsies are related to their status and not personally to the Gypsy himself.

Gypsies are very pessimistic about the future. While blaming themselves for not seeing the future, they accuse "the others," non-Gypsies, because of their exclusionary attitudes and the inequalities they face in state or private sector workplaces. Their act-

ing defensively in all circumstances is not good for them in the future. They behave very timidly in acting together and making demands on the government. They are strangers to the organization of society with its institutions and clubs. The few Gypsy associations established in Kirklareli and Izmir are very weak and inactive.

Conclusion

With the increasing effect of globalization, not being integrated into the global system also causes the Gypsies uncertainty, like other poor groups. In this sense, difficulties brought by social and economic life cause deep pain for Gypsies. Nowadays, it is obvious that Gypsies cannot react sufficiently to technological developments and have difficulties in understanding complex professional life. Certainly, this situation is not so disturbing for those who make use of the educational facilities and have professional occupations. Those leave the Gypsy quarter where they were born and grew up, and prefer living among non-Gypsies and hiding their Gypsy identity. But the main problem is that the term "Gypsy" has a pejorative meaning in culture and that the the mechanisms of prejudice are severe. The Turkish Gypsies, who are not organized and who do not have enough mechanisms to support themselves, formalize this situation. Even now prejudices about Gypsies found in all parts of society include the use of such adjectives as thief, liar, kidnapper, lazy, dirty, etc. In this context, the solution to the problem lies in the answer to the question, "Can we live together with our similarities and differences?"

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The Professional Skills of Gypsies in Istanbul

Udo Mischek

The following material was collected during my first visit to Istanbul from April until June 2002. I started to study groups of Gypsies settling in the city of Istanbul. As an ethnologist I used the method of participant observation to collect my first batch of notes. This field research is integrated into a broader context, the collaborative research project of the universities of Leipzig and Halle called "Difference and Integration: Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Life-forms in Civilizations of the Old World."

The focus on the relationship between nomadic and sedentary people, rural and urban areas shapes my research in Istanbul as well. Although in the initial phase I was not able to detect as many traveling groups as I wished, this will be one of the aims of my next longer trip to the field in the following year.

Another focus of my present research project is to understand the close relationship between minority groups and their interaction with the surrounding majority. In the case of Gypsy minority groups, we find a close interaction with the majority. Especially in the economical sphere there was and still is a field of cooperation and, as the older literature suggests, this might be an old phenomenon. For example, historians of Ottoman history pointed out how Gypsy blacksmiths were integrated into the ship-building campaigns of the Ottoman navy (Faroqhi 2001). Likewise, the Ottoman traveler and historian Evliya Çelebi (1611-1684) mentioned Gypsies in his writings. He described the guilds of handicrafts and artisans in 17th-century Istanbul and noted those as well whose members were Gypsies.

In the same way, historians using Ottoman archival resources have shown the integration of Gypsies in another sphere. The existence of Gypsy *sancaks,* or army contingents, in the Ottoman military forces gives evidence that Gypsies had been integrated into at least some spheres of life. It might be argued that Gypsies were incorporated due to their skills, either as part of the regular units or as craftsman supplying the troops with their requirements (Streck 1996; Marushiakova and Popov 2001). Although in the present the professional skills are not required anymore for army purposes, some of my male informants pointed out that they had been very proud of being members of army campaigns in the southeastern part of Turkey.

In contrast to these common fields of action between the majority and minority, many groups demonstrate their cultural separateness by using a distinct language, drinking alcohol, debating and fighting loudly in the street, and playing with animals normally considered impure.

The arena of distinctiveness is the playing ground which I seek to decipher during my fieldwork and it is one where the anthropologist stands alone, as in this sphere the historical facts remain silent.

Nevertheless, historical material, either from old travel literature, like Evliya Çelebi, from earlier Gypsiologists, like the works of Alexandre Paspati (1870), or from students of Ottoman history, like Suraya Faroqhi, are a good starting point for my research. Using these sources which sometimes mention Gypsies, I wondered whether the descriptions they gave or the conclusions they drew are still relevant for the life of this minority today.

One of the points I have discovered so far is interesting to note; many of the quarters mentioned in the older literature (Halliday 1922) are still inhabited by Gypsy groups. This is true for the quarters of Sulukule and Balat intra Muros and for the quarters of Kasimpasa and Tophane outside the old town wall.

Even some of the professions mentioned in these older works are still performed here; there are some smiths and other metal-workers in Tophane, and dancers and amusement-industry workers in Sulukule.

Contemporary work of Gypsies in Istanbul

Although some of the traditional Gypsy crafts are still practiced today, many Gypsies now earn their money in the booming recycling industry. Either entire town quarters make their living from recycling or some families and individuals in nearly every part of the town do so.

There are still many Gypsy musicians who play in the bars of Taksim or in the fish restaurants of Kumkapi. There are still some Gypsy blacksmiths to be found, most of them older men who know the art of making horseshoes and who always assured me that today it is very hard to earn a living from this profession. Due to the replacement of horses by cars there is not as much work to be done as formerly.

Another sector of the economic sphere which is nearly monopolized by Gypsy groups is the selling of flowers in the streets. Whether this is an old activity or a newly occupied niche I am not able to say. Flower selling is the domain of the women and women with their colorful wears can be found all over Istanbul. While some of these women sell flowers the whole year round others practice this profession only in the cold season, when the blossoms last longer than in the summer and therefore the risk of losing money is minimized.

A booming sector: recycling

The recycling sector is the major source of income for individuals and for some groups as well. Collecting and selling rubbish is one of the main occupations. Many individuals and whole groups live on collecting and selling paper, different sorts of plastics and all sorts of metal to recycling firms.

The small township of Yayha-Kemal in the north of European Istanbul consisted of approximately 70 households where at least one member of the family was active in the recycling trade. Together with some neighbors, one of the families bought a shredder for plastic to reduce the voluminous cola and water bottles they collected in the streets. One bag of shredded materials of 50 kg was equal to three huge nets of unshredded plastic bottles. Twice a week a lorry came and the recyclable waste was sold to the factory.

In another quarter where Gypsies earned their livings in a variety of jobs, some of the inhabitants were waste collectors and one of the local men had a shop specializing in buying recyclable goods from the street collectors to sell in bulk to the factories. As his shop was near Taksim, where most bars are to be found, he never ran out of supply. A lot of the materials he resold were empty beer and wine bottles and of course plastic material. Formerly, this man owned the right – which he bought from the municipality – to collect rubbish from one of the city's waste dumps. After an explosion in which three of his employees were killed the contract was canceled. Nevertheless, he assured me that one could get really rich with this kind of work. Today, he makes his living by reselling the collected materials and earns enough money to pay two African employees and to drive old American cars.

But while the recycling sector is booming – in contrast to other parts of the Turkish economy – it is occupied not only by Gypsies. Nevertheless, Gypsies have, in some cases, a better starting position as they sometimes inherit shops and clients from their relatives; that was true of the Taksim shop owner mentioned above.

Conclusions

Whether one is allowed to label Gypsies as a sub-proletariat or as an underclass should be considered critical (Stewart 2002: 138). If the characteristics of this underclass are seen in their segregation from and their discrimination by the major society, the Istanbul case does not fit in the scheme.

As I mentioned above, the historical materials give evidence that Gypsies in the Ottoman empire had long been integrated in the economic and military spheres.

And if one considers the present day conditions, there are some points which do not correspond with the underclass label, since in Istanbul one does not find in the majority of Gypsy quarters the segregation that is common in most other European

cities. Instead, in most cases the Gypsy houses are scattered within the quarter and do not form a single continuous settlement cluster. The economic sector shows as well that Gypsies do not form a coherent underclass even when practicing not very highly valued jobs in the recycling business.

I share the view of Michael Stewart who stated in one of his latest papers, "Roma have resources of their own, and do not have to rely totally on the inspiration of outsiders to challenge their fate" (Stewart 2000: 148).

But of course I do not want to neglect that poverty is one of the most striking problems Gypsies in Turkey have to cope with. This does not only mean having enough to eat and not suffering from hunger; it also means having equal access to resources like education, health services, or justice.

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Language

The Romani Press in Macedonia: Language and Perspective

Victor A. Friedman

1. Introduction

On 17 January 2001, a tri-weekly, trilingual Romani-Macedonian-English newspaper began publication in the Republic of Macedonia. The publication, named "Roma Times" in explicit imitation of prestigious English-language newspapers ("The New York Times," "The London Times"), represents a significant event in the use of Romani in the Macedonian public sphere. It is the first Romani print-media periodical to appear regularly and with such frequency in that country. As it happened, Macedonia became involved in an armed ethnic conflict less then two months after the newspaper began publication. "Roma Times" is thus a multi-faceted reflection of Romani language use in the public sphere and a Romani perspective on significant historical events. At the same time, the trilingual nature of Roma Times (articles are in Romani, Macedonian, and English) reflects different potential audiences and viewpoints. This paper examines the "Roma Times" in terms of both form and content, analyzing the content, perspective and language-choice of the paper's overall news coverage as well as some linguistic aspects of the Romani-language articles.

1.1. Demographics

In multiethnic societies such as the Republic of Macedonia, in which collective rights and access to resources are based on ethnic and/or linguistic identity, numbers become an instrument of claims to legitimacy and power. Although such practices have been in place since the socialist period, a more recent example is the Ohrid Framework Agreement (13 August 2001), which resulted from the armed conflict of that year and served as the basis of subsequent constitutional amendments, and according to which the distribution of public administration jobs, political representation, and enrollment in higher education are explicitly tied to proportional membership in "communities not in the majority in the population of Macedonia," whose numbers are to be determined by census. The result of tying access to resources to census figures is that representatives of every ethnic group routinely claim that their group is undercounted and cite figures higher than the official ones. Added together, these claims surpass the total number of inhabitants of Macedonia without even counting the Macedonians. The point is clearly not one of statistical accuracy but rather of claims to political power and hegemony (Friedman 1996a). (1) It was such

claims that led the Council of Europe to pay for and supervise an extraordinary census in Macedonia in 1994 (see Friedman 1996a). (2)

In order to place "Roma Times" in the context of the constituencies it is attempting to address, it is appropriate to discuss the ethnic and linguistic structure of Macedonia as represented by census figures and other sources. Tables 1 through 5 give various statistics pertaining to Romani language and nationality in the Republic of Macedonia. The ethnic structure of Macedonia by declared nationality *(narodnost)* according to the extraordinary census of 1994 is illustrated in Table 1. Table 2 illustrates the fact that self-declared nationality can show fluctuations that are due to political climate rather than birth rate (cf. the figures for 1971 and 1981 and the discursion below). Table 2 also illustrates the fact that declared nationality and declared mother tongue are not isomorphic categories. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the problem of conflicting statistics from unofficial sources. Publications giving unofficial figures do not give any indication of the methodology by which the figures were arrived at. (3)

Declared Nationality (narodnost)	1994	%
Macedonians	1328187	67.0
Albanians	441104	22.9
Turks	78019	4.0
Roms	**43707**	**2.3**
Vlahs	8601	0.4
Serbs	40228	2.0
Muslims	15418	0.8
Bulgarians	1682	0.1
Greeks	368	0.0
Egyptians	3080	0.2
Bosniacs	6829	0.4
Yugoslavs	595	0.0
Others	9797	0.4
Total	1909136	100

Table 1: The Ethnic structure of the Republic of Macedonia according to the 1994 census

Source: Antonovska et al. 1996.

Declared Nationality	Romani 1953	Mother 1981	Tongue 1994
Macedonians	277	316	94
Albanians	70	1697	"
Turks	70	94	11
Roms	**16456**	**36399**	**34955**
Vlahs	0	2	0
Serbs	41	14	"
Muslims	*	308	20
Yugoslavs	2	530	0
Other	173	1280	0
Total	17089	37780	35120

Table 2: Romani as declared mother tongue by nationality

Source: Antonovska et al.1996
" = under 10
[* = figure unavailable; Muslim was not a nationality category in 1953]

	1994 Official Census				
	nationality	mother tongue	% of Romani Speakers	Demir &Demir %	Romani NGO estimates (nationality)
Demir Hisar	0	0	0	*	*
Brod	1	0	0	*	*
Debar	1103	2	0	0	2,000
Kičevo	1401	130	7	0	3,000
Bitola	1688	325	19	0	
Negotino	146	41	28	0	*
Kavadarci	478	132	28	1	*
Ohrid	48	15	31	0.5	*
Gostivar	2138	817	38	3	3,000
Kočani	1104	481	44	0	
Kruševo	27	15	55		*
Struga	120	70	58	0.5	*
Gevgelija	53	33	62	*	*
Berovo	662	431	65	100	7,000
Radoviš	43	30	70	0	*
Resen	112	82	73	*	*
Tetovo	2428	1789	74	100	5,000
Valandovo	26	20	77	50	*
Strumica	239	185	77	0	6,000
Štip	1463	1146	78	*	*
Prilep	3569	3036	85	12	5,000
Delčevo	624	539	86	100	*
Veles	505	464	92	7	*
Kriva Palank	552	510	93	89	*
Kratovo	135	131	97	100	*
Kumanov	3121	3063	98	100	7,000
Vinica	885	881	99	100	*
Skopje	209	79	20691	99 99	*
Sveti Nikol	43	45	104	*	*
Probištip	14	16	114	100	*
TOTAL	43707	35120	80.35%		

Table 3: Distribution of declared Romani nationality and declared Romani mother tongue and contrasting percentages by pre-1996 administrative district

[* = figure unavailable]
Sources: Antonovska et al. 1996, Demir and Demir 2000, Friedman 2002 (4)

Barany (2002: 136)	60,000
Bakker and Kyuchukov (2000: 40)	215,000
Roma Times (20.21 June 2001: 10)	220,000-260,000
Other (5)	100,000

Table 4: Unofficial estimates of the Romani population of Macedonia

The influence of legal recognition on self-declaration in connection with Romani identity can be seen from Table 2 in the fact that while the 1971 census recorded 24,505 Roms at 1.5% of the population of the Republic of Macedonia, the 1981 census recorded 43,125 at 2.3% of the population. This increase is not attributable either to natality nor to mechanical growth (migration) but rather to the fact that official recognition of Roms as an ethnic group, which began in the late 1960's, was finally established at the federal level in the 1974 constitution, which incorporated in a single document the individual changes that had been enacted at the republic level during the previous decade. The 1991 census recorded 52,103 (2.6%) but the extraordinary census of 1994 recorded only 43,707 (2.3%). This was due, in part, to a different methodology, namely citizens living abroad for more than one year were not included in the official results of the 1994 census but were included in 1991. Other factors, however, included mechanical decrease owing to migration either for economic or security reasons (e.g., fear of violence or military conscription) as well as problems related to undercounting, mechanical error (data input), stigmatization, and falsification. (6) It should be noted that the 1994 census was supervised by statistical experts from the Council of Europe, who certified that the level of mechanical error was within the range of international norms, and whose observers attempted to assure that census takers recorded the answers that were given. On the census forms, questions concerning nationality, language, and religion allowed the censused individual to declare whatever s/he chose and required the census taker to record the answer in the blank space provided. Given both the stigma attached to Romani identity and the pressure on Muslim Roms (91.6% of those declaring Romani nationality) (7) to declare themselves as Albanian or Turks – these being not only determined by the pressures of the political relevance of increased numbers but also by traditional paths of upward mobility (cf. Friedman 1997a) – there is considerable difference between official figures and unofficial estimates (see Tables 3 and 4).

1.2. Romani and international non-governmental organizations

The association between ethnic and linguistic numbers on the one hand, and claims to legitimacy, power, and resources on the other, is not only inherent in the legal structures of the Macedonian Republic-both in the Ohrid Framework Agree-

ment and in the constitution, which includes articles and amendments naming ethnolinguistic constituencies (Article 79 and Amendments 4 and 12) and specifying conditions for official language use (Article 7 and Amendment 5) and language use in schools (Article 48 and Amendment 8) – but is also reproduced and transformed by local and international actors outside the government sector, particularly international non-governmental organizations. In the case of Romani rights in Macedonia, for which "Roma Times" serves as both an illustration and an advocate, it is worth noting that international NGOs – a presumed audience of the English-language articles in "Roma Times" – have reproduced the contestations and marginalizations that were part of the Macedonian scene before their arrival following the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991.

Representative of the position of Romani in these discourses is the difference between the International Crisis Group (ICG) on the one hand, and the Open Society Institute (OSI) and Search for Common Ground (SFCG) on the other. The ICG is, as its name implies, a policy-oriented NGO that focuses on regions in conflict. It has been particularly active in the Republic of Macedonia since 1997, producing numerous reports and briefings on various policy-oriented topics, including specific recommendations to the international community. The armed conflict of 2001 between ethnic Albanian insurgents (and mercenaries) and Macedonian government and paramilitary forces was a major focus of international attention, and as happened during the extraordinary census of 1994, foreign observers' attention to the multiethnic complexity of Macedonian society was reduced to a binary opposition between Macedonian and Albanian (see Friedman 1996a). Just as was the case in 1999, when the plight of the Roms (and Turks, and Gorans, and others) caught between Serbs and Albanians in the Kosovo war was usually ignored in the international press and created problems that remain unresolved (Burg 2001: 16), so too the concept of ethnic rights becomes transformed into simply Albanian rights in various international documents, and official census statistics are used as part of the justification. Thus, for example, a recent ICG report contains the following dismissive formulation: "As ethnic Macedonians never cease pointing out, there are other ethnic groups in Macedonia besides the 'big two' [Macedonians and Albanians–VAF]. However, Turks, Serbs, and others make up barely a tenth of the total population according to the 1994 census. As in other parts of the Balkans, these small minorities have no territorial claims and, therefore, do not represent a primary source of conflict" (ICG 2002: 2). (8) Such formulations have the ironic effect of implying that minority rights are the privilege of large minorities and the problems of small minorities are not worth attention unless they can threaten the integrity of the state.

By contrast, organizations such as SFCG and the OSI have engaged in funding various projects, some of which reflect the same sort of binarism (e.g. Borden and Mehmeti 1998), but others of which are aimed at other ethnic groups, particularly the Roms (e.g. SFCG's multilingual children's television show "Our Neighborhood" or

Petrovski and Veličkovski 1998). Likewise, the Project on Ethnic Relations also attempts to focus on a variety of problems of inter-ethnic-relations, including those of the Roms (e.g., Burg 2001). In examining the ethnic relations that PER chooses to focus on, it is noteworthy that for Macedonia the two groups chosen are the Albanians and the Roms, i.e. the largest and most problematic group on the one hand, and the most transnational and at the same time marginalized group on the other.

2. Dialect and standard

Since Romani is a language in the process of standardizarion, issues of dialect choise in print media become freighted with multiple meanings and significant potential effects beyond the newspaper itself. This section, therefore, reviews some general issues relevant to dialect choice: classifications and numbers of speakers.

2.1. Classifications

Matras (2002) makes the point that Romani dialectal classification involves relative rather than absolute membership and must therefore be described in terms of shared isoglosses. He identifies three "diffusion centers," which correspond roughly to three of the four branches of Romani currently used in many modern dialectological classifications: 1) Southeastern Europe [South Balkan], 2) West-Central Europe, and 3) Vlax [Romania, north Balkan]. In a Macedonian context, there is a basic opposition between Vlax and South Balkan, and within South Balkan between two types labeled South Balkan I and a more divergent South Balkan II (see Boretzky 1999, 2000a, 2000b). Although each of these dialect groups is characterized by a variety of subdivisions, especially when former Ottoman Europe is taken as the unit of territorial context, if we take the current borders of the Republic of Macedonia as the defining factor, we can identify three dialects that represent the three major divisions: Arli (South Balkan I), Bugurdži (South Balkan II), and Džambaz (Vlax). Historically, the Arli dialect is closest to other long-settled dialects spoken in most of Ottoman Europe (Rumelia), while Bugurdži is more characteristic of regions such as Kosovo, Moesia, and Strandža (Boretzky 2000a). The Džambaz dialect seems to be characteristic of a group that maintained a peripatetic life-style into the twentieth century.

One of the features of Romani dialectology that frequently poses problems for external attempts at taxonomy is the applicability of glossonymic labels. Thus, for example, Arli is the Macedonian form that occurs in Bulgaria as Erli and derives from Turkish *yerli* 'local' (implying settled). Bugurdži is a trade-name from Turkish *burgucu* 'gimlet-maker,' which dialect shows clear historical relations to trade-name dialects like Drîndari 'mattress-stuffer' (from Bulgarian) and Kalajdži (from Turkish) 'tinner', but is also known as Rabadži (from Turkish arabacı 'cart-driver') and Kovačja (from

Slavic *kovač* 'blacksmith'). Džambaz (Turkish *cambaz* 'horse-dealer, acrobat') is known elsewhere as Gurbet or Gurbetči 'migrant worker', etc. While an exhaustive description is beyond our scope, some diagnostic features perceived as typical by speakers themselves are given in Table 5. (9)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Arli	buti	maro	pani	dindjum	agjar	devlea	on, ola	o	miro,mlo, mo
Bugurdži	buci	maro	pani	diyom	kidjal	devlesa	on, ol	o	moro, mro, mo
Džambaz	buk'i	manro	pai	diyem	gëja	devlesa	von	e	moro, mo
English	*work*	*bread*	*water*	*I gave*	*thus*	*with God*	*they (m. f)*	*the (Npl)*	*my (m)*

Table 5: Examples of salient Romani dialectal differences

Key: 1. palatalization of dentals before front vowels; 2. reflexes of inherited *nd̨; 3. palatalization and loss of /n/ before stressed /í/; 4. preservation or loss of rounding in the first singular simple preterit (aorist, perfective); 5. distinctive lexical items; 6. preservation or loss of intervocalic /s/ in grammatical endings; 7. form of the third person plural pronoun and presence versus absence of a gender distinction; 8. form of the nominative plural definite article (merger either with masculine nominative singular /o/ or oblique /e/); 9. form of possessive pronouns.

Other features include the distinction vs neutralization of two types of /r/ (tap/trill or trill/uvular), treatment of /x/ and /h/ (distinction vs free variation or elimination), (the former distinction more characteristic of Džambaz or Vlax dialects in both cases), reduction of unstressed vowels (especially in South Balkan II), Romanian versus Turkish vocabulary (Vlax vs Non-Vlax), and the palatal mutation of velars before front vowels (stronger in South Balkan I). All of these features have implications for the representation of standardization in published texts, including "Roma Times." The problems of competition, variation, and consistency are continual processes that continue to be manifest to different degrees (see section 3.4).

2.2. Numbers

The importance of numbers for emerging literary standards is also reflected in the fact that codification efforts can be influenced when a given dialect is spoken by a majority. (10) In the case of Macedonia, the fact that Arli is the majority dialect everywhere except Tetovo has led to its firm establishment as the basis of the emerging Romani literary standard in Macedonia, despite the fact that the earliest language activists are native speakers of Džambaz or other Vlax-related dialects. Table 6 illustrates dialect and language use among Roms in Macedonia.

	Arli	Bugurdži	Džambaz	Mac., Alb., Turk.
Berovo	100	0	0	0
Bitola	0	0	0	100/T
Brod	*	*	*	*
Debar	0	0	0	100/A
Delčevo	100	0	0	0
Demir Hisar	*	*	*	*
Gevgelija	*	*	*	*
Gostivar	1	1	1	97
Kavadarci	1	0	0	99/M
Kičevo	0	0	0	100/M
Kočani	0	0	0	100/T
Kratovo	100	0	0	0
Kriva Palanka	89			11/M
Kruševo	*	*	*	*
Kumanovo	85	10	5	0
Negotino	00	0	0	99/M
Ohrid	0.5	0	0	99.5/A
Prilep	12	0	0	88
Probištip	100	0	0	0
Radoviš	0	0	0	100/T
Resen	*	*	*	*
Skopje	89	5	5	1
Struga	0.5	0	0	99.5/A
Strumica	0	0	0	100/T
Sveti Nikole	*	*	*	*
Štip	*	*	*	*
Tetovo	15	80	5	0
Valandovo	50	0	0	50/M
Veles	5	2	0	93/T
Vinica	100	0	0	0

Table 6: Dialect of Romani or other language used by Roms for in-group communication by percentages for pre-1996 municipal divisions

Source: Demir and Demir 2000
[* = figure unavailable]

Despite the Arli dialectal base, however, "Roma Times" also reflects more of the Vlax-type features of some of the editorial staff than some earlier publications (see section 3.4).

3. "Roma times"

In examining "Roma Times" as both a sociolinguistic and political artifact, I wish to concentrate here on overall choice of language, i.e. percentage of use of each of the three languages, and specific choice of language, that is, the content of what is presented in each of the three languages. I will also make a few remarks on the form of language, i.e. choices among systemic dialect features for the Romani texts. I will save a more detailed analysis of linguistic form for a later work.

3.1. Language choice

In terms of overall language use, I surveyed selected issues during the first eighteen months of publication from January 2001 through June 2002. The figures given in Table 7 below represent the official policy of percentages of materials in each language as stated in issue No. 2 and the actual percentages for that issue, ten issues later, the fiftieth anniversary issue, fifteen issues after that, and finally issue No. 200. These figures are for the total content of the paper. Appended to these is a figure for the language of front-page headlines for the first fifty issues and selected issues thereafter, totaling 215 headlines.

	Policy	No.2	No.12	No.50	No.65	No.200	Headlines (215)†
Romani	60	51.5	53	42	25	27	75
Macedonian	30	41	41	49	71.5	68	20
English	10	7.5	6	9	7.5	5	19

Table 7: Percentages of language use in "Roma Times"
(Out of 55 Issues; 1-42, 44-46, 49-50, 52, 54, 62-66, 200)
†14% of headlines were bilingual in Macedonian and Romani

The figures in Table 7 reflect changes in policy oriented toward the newspapers intended readership. As can be seen from this table, at no time did the percentage of Romani actually reach the target of 60%, nor did the percentage of English ever reach 10%. Instead, Macedonian usage was always significantly higher than the stated goal of 30%. As can also be seen from Table 7, a radical shift in editorial policy, which occurred immediately after issue No. 50, resulted in a significant drop in Romani-language content and a corresponding increase in Macedonian-language content. This shift was realized primarily by the introduction of the practice of reproducing most news stories bilingually in Macedonian and Romani. Thus, for example, in issue No. 200, out of sixteen pages, two were entirely in Romani, four entirely in Macedonian, six bilingual Romani-Macedonian, one bilingual Macedonian-English, and three had majority Macedonian-language content.

By contrast, the language choice in headlines was overwhelmingly Romani, and 41 of the 55 issues surveyed contained an English-language headline on the front page, which gives English-language representation in headlines a disproportionately high visibility vis-a-vis its actual usage in the newspaper.

The apparent motivation for the change in policy was the relative literacy of the newspaper's intended audience. The rate of illiteracy among Roms is more than four times higher than the national average (Antonovska 1997: 37-45), and given the small number of Romani-language classes available in schools, (11) literacy in Romani is even more restricted.

Ethnic affiliation	Total population over 15	Illiterate	Approximate percentage
Macedonian	1014468	40698	4%
Albanian	289416	31168	11%
Turkish	51521	5988	12%
Romani	28862	6993	24%
Vlah	7146	540	8%
Serbian	33699	1918	6%
Other/Undeclared	28970	1815	6%
Total	1454082	86415	6%

Table 8: Percentage of illiterates by declared ethnic group
(Source: Antonovska et al. 1997)

The newspaper thus broadened its orientation from being a source of information and advocacy to being a source of potential language acquisition for Roms (and, of course, potentially also non-Roms) who can read Macedonian but are not comfortable reading Romani. It is worth noting that Romani-language television programming, which began in 1991 at fifteen minutes twice a week and is now available at more or less any given time on at least one of four channels (MTV2, BTR Nacional, Shutel, TVKumanovo) was subtitled in Macedonian during the mid-1990s but is now unsubtitled, a practice which suggests that proficiency in passive comprehension of the kind of Romani used in TV news programming has increased. (12) The reasons for the subtitling could be construed as various. Not only is there considerable variation among the Romani dialects of Macedonia, and more people consider themselves to be of Romani nationality than have Romani as their mother tongue (confirmed by census figures), but also the kind of vocabulary and syntax required for reporting news and similar programming was not, until recently, used in Romani. The use of a large number of neologisms, therefore, contributed to the need for subtitles. Whereas in the past Roms would complain to me that they could not understand the language of news reports, the elimination of subtitling can be taken as an indication that this type of language use is acquiring larger currency. (13) Arguably, "Roma Times" is attempting to do the same for the written word.

3.2. Headline content

Looking at the overall content of headlines, we find a distribution not unlike that of language-use policy. Of the 215 headlines examined, 57% were concerned with news of specific relevance to Romani issues, 39% with Macedonian news, and 4% with news whose content related to Yugoslavia or Kosovo. The Romani content headlines varied both in subject matter and according to the language they were in. The only non-English language headline in the sample that reported a story unconnected with former Yugoslavia was a Romani-language report of a disastrous earthquake in India (No. 6). There were also three sports headlines (22, 24, 26), one dealing with a south-east European political initiative, and one for Easter. (14) English-language headlines were, with a single exception, teasers for the English-language feuilletons that constitute almost all the English-language content of the paper. (One of the later pages includes, in Macedonian, names, addresses, telephone and fax numbers of the various embassies and consulates of Skopje, bus schedules, telephone numbers for city services, airlines offices, and the like, and, in English, information on major sight-seeing attractions, car rental agencies, hotels, and, occasionally, events such as exhibitions and movies.) The English language content was concerned with the history and culture of the Romani people, focusing on specific issues such as the (mis)treatment of Roms by various governments during World War Two, the current conditions of Roms in Serbia, Romani rights in the context of various European organizations, Romani traditional holidays, etc. The two exceptions to this were a speech delivered by the newspaper's editor, Zoran Dimov, at a roundtable on Roms in relation to conflict and crisis (No. 31). The speech was reproduced in its entirety in English on page one and in Macedonian on page eight. The one other news-specific English-language headline in our sample (No. 51) concerned security threats Roms continue to encounter in Kosovo. News from Yugoslavia and Kosovo was invariably reported in Romani.

Headlines in Macedonian tended to focus on security issues, international support for Romani rights, and human rights abuses directed at Roms. Headlines with Macedonian content were generally concerned with the security situation, political pronouncements by party leaders, and economic and social welfare problems, particularly labor strikes and the pension system.

3.3. Story content

Language use in both headlines and stories occasionally reflected different perspectives depending on language, or used language as an index of ethnicity. For example, issue No. 45 had two major content headlines: the Romani headline read: *Jali i Makedonija si ko praga e maškardizutno (gragjansko) mariba?* 'Is Macedonia on the thresh-

old of civil war?' while the Macedonian headline read *Makedonija e vo vojna!* 'Macedonia is at war!'. At the time of publication (7-8 May 2001), the Macedonian prime minister Ljupčo Georgievski was attempting to have parliament declare a state of war or martial law, which would have allowed him to claim extraordinary powers, something parliament was extremely reluctant to do. The Romani-language article contained the usual reporting of fighting and ethnic tensions that were the daily fare of the Macedonian-language press at that time. The Macedonian-language article was not an article at all. Rather, the teaser headline directed the reader to a page that reproduced those articles of the Macedonian constitution concerned with declaring martial law. It is also worth noting that during the period of low-grade civil war, there was a stark diversion between the Albanian and Macedonian language presse.

The Macedonian-language press concentrated on reports of military action, mutilated corpses of soldiers killed in ambushes, and angry denunciations of western and Albanian politicians and the international media. The Albanian-language press concentrated on stories about humanitarian disasters, police beatings of innocent civilians and theft of Albanian property, the funeral of a seven-year-old girl killed by a bomb, and angry denunciations of Macedonian politicians. On 30 May 2001, however, the president of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences leaked to the Macedonian newspaper "Večer" a map proposing an exchange of territory and populations with Albania and Kosovo. The districts around Tetovo and Gostivar would go to Kosovo, Debar to Albania, and the Macedonians would get the western shores of Lakes Ohrid and Prespa. All these regions are mixed but each has a majority, plurality, or significant number (defined by Macedonian law as at least 20%) of the other's ethnic population. It raised a huge furor in all the media of Macedonia regardless of language, and all the press, regardless of language and political orientation denounced the plan. (15) On 12 June, the president of the Academy, Georgi Efremov, resigned. Otherwise, the two presses had almost no articles in common.

"Roma Times" in this respect reflected the point of view of the Macedonian-language press; it conformed with the Romani political position of siding with the majority vis-a-vis the largest minority. It is important to note that throughout the nineties, Albanian claims in Macedonia have not been framed so much in terms of minority rights as in terms of creating a binational state. Albanian politicians have never attempted to include concerns of other minorities in their agendas (in fact, they have rejected the label minority), (16) and have been accused of pressuring other minorities to give up their identities in favor of Albanian. It is most certainly the case that some Roms choose Albanian identity to avoid the stigma of Romani identity. Moreover, the Egyptians *(Gjupci)* of western Macedonia and Kosovo, who have an ethnonym identical to a common exonymic term for Roms (cf. English *Gypsy*, Turkish *Kipti*, Greek *Ghyftos*, Albanian *Evgjit* and *Magjup*, Aromanian *Yiftu*, Serbian/Croatian *Je[d]up[ac]*, all ultimately from earlier Greek *[e]gyptos* 'Egypt[ian]') but who have a separate identity, are, in Macedonia, two-thirds Albanian-speaking. (17)

3.4. Notes on form: dialect features

In terms of actual language usage, i.e. dialect choice, orthography, neologisms, etc., "Roma Times" represents a complex combination of tendencies. On the one hand, the relative predominance of the Skopje Arli dialectal base continues, e.g., the use of compound pasts in *sine,* lexical *agja[a]r* 'thus', absence of original intervocalic /s/ in inflectional endings, third person pronouns in *o-* rather than *jo-* or *vo-*, plural definite article *o* rather than *e*. On the other hand, a number of Džambaz or other Vlax forms that were giving way to Arli during the course of the nineties (cf. Friedman 1985, 1995, 1996b, 1997b, 1999b) occur again in "Roma Times" together with Arli ones, e.g. copulatives in /l/ as well as /n/ masc. *talo* vs *tano,* 1st singular preterit endings in *-em* as well as *-um* lexical *javer* as well as *aver* 'other', forms with and without /h/, e.g. Bahtalo Herdelezi (No. 45) vs Bahtalo Erdelzi in (No. 44) 'Happy St. George's Day'. Moreover, there has been, in some respects, an editorial decision to favor some forms of native origin over colloquial forms of later origin, e.g. *thaj* for 'and' rather than Turkish */h]em,* which is mostly restricted to quotations from people being interviewed. The situation is in this respect reminiscent of the Albanian press in Macedonia in the early nineties, when Geg was used in quotations from local residents embedded in articles written in the Tosk-based standard of Albania that had been adopted by Albanians of former Yugoslavia in 1968-72. In the case of Romani in Macedonia, the overwhelming majority of speakers use Arli, but, as noted earlier, many of the intellectuals involved in publishing are speakers of Džambaz. The question of a unified versus a diversified dialectal base has been raised in Macedonian Romani intellectual circles (see Friedman 1995). Although certain markedly Arli or Skopje Arli features are clearly established in print usage, other issues continue to be a source of variation. In this respect, "Roma Times" reflects a trend that can be found in other Macedonian Romani-language publications as well. Whereas during the course of the 1990s a relatively consistent consensus was gradually emerging, in more recent years, with the increase in publications in various genres (bureaucratic, political, religious, educational, periodical, literary) the consensus has been opened to new variations. If developments from the nineties and on the international scene are an indicator, it is likely that a new consensus will emerge or re-emerge.

4. Conclusion

Macedonia has a history of producing important firsts in the use of written Romani (see Friedman 1999b), and in terms of frequency, regularity, and durability of publication "Roma Times" has become another such first in the realm of periodicals and news media. Both directly (in its linguistic form) and indirectly (in its linguistic content) it reflects the situation of Romani in Macedonia today. Romani language stan-

dardization and usage as well as Romani social concerns are still emergent in the public sphere. Standardization is not an act but a process. It takes place over time through usage and acceptance. This, in turn, suggests modifications to the cyclical process of language planning discussed in Radovanović 1992 (but cf. also Radovanović and Bugarski 2002). Radovanović describes ten stages of language planning-1) Selection, 2) Description, 3) Prescription, 4) Elaboration, 5) Acceptance, 6) Implementation, 7) Expansion, 8) Cultivation, 9) Evaluation, 10) Reconstruction-in a cycle which can move from stage 10 to stages 1, 2, 3, or 4. I would argue, however, that at any stage, a process can cycle back to the preceding one, and this is precisely what is occurring in Romani in Macedonia as manifested by "Roma Times" (cf. also Friedman 1998). The emerging consensus of the nineties has been replaced by a new diversity. At the same time, "Roma Times" reflects the fact that as Roms become more visible in pursuing their concerns and interests in Macedonia, there is a situation in which, for political reasons, a smaller minority caught between a majority and a larger minority has found its interests better served by alliance with the majority (cf. Friedman 2002). This, in turn, has implications for international NGOs, especially those connected in some way to human rights, which must take these factors into consideration as they attempt to influence the course of events in sovereign states. The Romani-language press, therefore, as represented by "Roma Times," provides a variety of interesting case-studies both for theories of language planning and theories of socio-political development.

NOTES

(1) A particularly sensitive issue rarely addressed in such unofficial claims is whether the difference between official and unofficial figures is due to the undercounting of the total population or to the declaration of members of one nationality that they belong with another, and if the latter is the case, which nationalities' numbers are to be proportionately diminished. One concrete example is Strumica, where the number of declared Turks is roughly equal to the number of Roms estimated by Romani non-governmental organizations (Friedman 2002).

(2) The claims were associated with the ethnic Albanian minority and its implied threat of the potential spread of the war that was already in progress elsewhere in former Yugoslavia. The Council of Europe proposed enumerating only the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups, a proposal that was firmly rejected by the Macedonian government. The census was a statistical success but a political failure. Although certified by the Council of Europe as conforming to the norms of census taking, ethnopolitical actors representing various minorities in Macedonia rejected its results and continue to use larger figures in public debate.

(3) Friedman (2002) is an exception. The estimates given there are extrapolated by non-governmental organization workers on the basis of the numbers of families they have had contact with or are aware of in the district.

(4) Note that in two cases the number of those declaring Romani mother tongue exceeds the number of those declaring Romani nationality, resulting in figures of over 100%. Districts marked with an asterisk were not listed in Demir and Demir (2000).

(5) This figure is one that the author has heard cited at various meetings in Washington DC.

(6) I am indebted to Matt Salo for pointing out the variety of factors that complicate the problems of achieving an accurate census.

(7) Of the remainder, 2.1% declared some form of Christianity (1.8% Orthodox) and 6.3% were atheists, unspecified, unknown, or undeclared.

(8) Note that Roms, who are more numerous than Serbs, are grouped with "others." Note also that Serbs in northern Macedonia were in fact a source of potential conflict throughout the 1990's when the Former Republic of Yugoslavia refused to recognize its border with Macedonia as international. Aside from the implicit conflation of armed conflict with access to human rights, the connection of territorial claims with "source of conflict" is belied by events such as the Romani riots in Plovdiv in 1998 and 2002 (Buechsenschuetz 2002).

(9) Thus, for example, the Arli of Skopje, which is numerically the strongest Romani dialect in Macedonia, differs in significant respects from some other Arli dialects, e.g. that of Prilep or the Erli of Bulgaria. The fact is worth noting, but the details need not concern us here.

(10) A classic example of this is the fate of literary Croatian. In the early nineteenth century, intellectuals who were involved in the elaboration of Croatian were centered in Zagreb, in the heart of the Kajkavian dialect area, itself linguistically closest to Slovenian. The majority of Croats, however, spoke Štokavian dialects, which is the Southern West South Slavic branch to which all dialects spoken by Serbs belong. This was a crucial factor in the decision of Croatian intellectuals to abandon their pursuit of a Kajkavian-based literary Croatian and join forces with Serbian intellectuals for a common Serbo-Croatian literary language. It is worth noting that even under the modern circumstances of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the renewed pursuit of a literary Croatian separate from Serbian, the dialectal base remains Štokavian. Numbers are not an absolute factor, however, and can be trumped, e.g., by politics. Thus, although the number of Geg (north) and Tosk (south) Albanian speakers is roughly the same within the Republic of Albania, all Kosovar and Montenegrin Albanians and most Macedonian Albanians speak Geg dialects. Nonetheless, in 1968 the Albanians of former Yugoslavia abandoned their cultivation of an independent Geg-based Albanian norm and adopted the Tosk-based norm of Albania itself, for the sake of national unity. In this case, a minority dialect was adopted by a larger minority for political reasons. (See Friedman 1999a.).

(11) Various figures have been reported, but the total does not appear to be greater than five.

(12) I wish to thank Elsie Dunin for pointing this out.

(13) By contrast, Macedonian friends would often claim that they could understand the Romani news owing to the large number of Macedonian borrowings.

(14) Ramadan, and in particular Bajram, did not occur during the sample period but would also have occasioned a headline.

(15) Denunciations sometimes took different tones, however, ranging from accusations of attempting to commit national suicide to complaints that the details were unsuitable.

(16) "For almost 20 years, Macedonian authorities have not announced the exact number of Albanians. Officially they claim that Albanians represent about 23% of the population of the Republic. [...] But other sources speak of a larger number of Albanians. One can say without fear that they represent not less than 35% of its [Macedonia's] population. As a consequence, the Macedonians represent only 55% of the population, including here those who consider themselves Bulgarian (the others are Serbs, Turks, and Roms). With such a significant importance, the

Albanians cannot in any sense be considered as a minority but as participants, equal to the Macedonians, in their common state" (ASHSH 1998: 44).

(17) The remainder declared Macedonian mother tongue in the 1994 census. Mother-tongue appears to correlate with religion (Albanian for Muslim and Macedonian for Christian) and locality.

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A Geographical Approach to the Classification of Romani Dialects

Yaron Matras

1. Introduction

The present paper argues for a geographical diffusion model that can account for the major *isoglosses* (language boundaries) separating Romani dialects. According to this model, relations between dialects are not absolute, but relative to the position of the dialects in question on the geographical continuum. This continuum reflects, historically, the spread of structural innovations in time and space, and in some instances also the clustering of archaisms. While it will be impossible to give any thorough consideration to the historical developments here (the reader is referred to Matras 2002 for a more elaborate discussion), the point I wish to make is that most dialects of Romani can be classified in relation to their participation (or non-participation) in several principal types of structural changes. Of those, the most relevant are changes that are internal to the inherited structures, that is, not triggered directly through contact with the respective majority languages. The relevant changes appear to have emerged during the period of settlement that followed emigration from the Balkans, that is, between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The diffusion model assumes that they emerged in a particular location, and spread into neighboring dialects, subsequently diffusing further over a larger area. The extent to which a dialect participates in any specific development will thus depend on its geographical position during this period. The exceptions to the model are the migratory dialects, which have been displaced through migration after the period of Romani settlement.

2. Current views on dialect classification

In recent years, a division into several dialect groups has emerged, which became a popular reference grid in work on Romani linguistics during the 1990s (cf. Bakker and Matras 1997, Elšík 2000). This division recognizes a Vlax branch (centered around the historical Wallachian and Transylvanian regions, with outmigrants in various regions throughout Europe), a Central branch (with a northern sub-division in southern Poland, northern Slovakia, and Transcarpathian Ukraine, and a southern sub-division in southern Slovakia, Hungary, southeastern Austria and northern Slovenia), and a Balkan branch (including the Black Sea coast dialects, and occa-

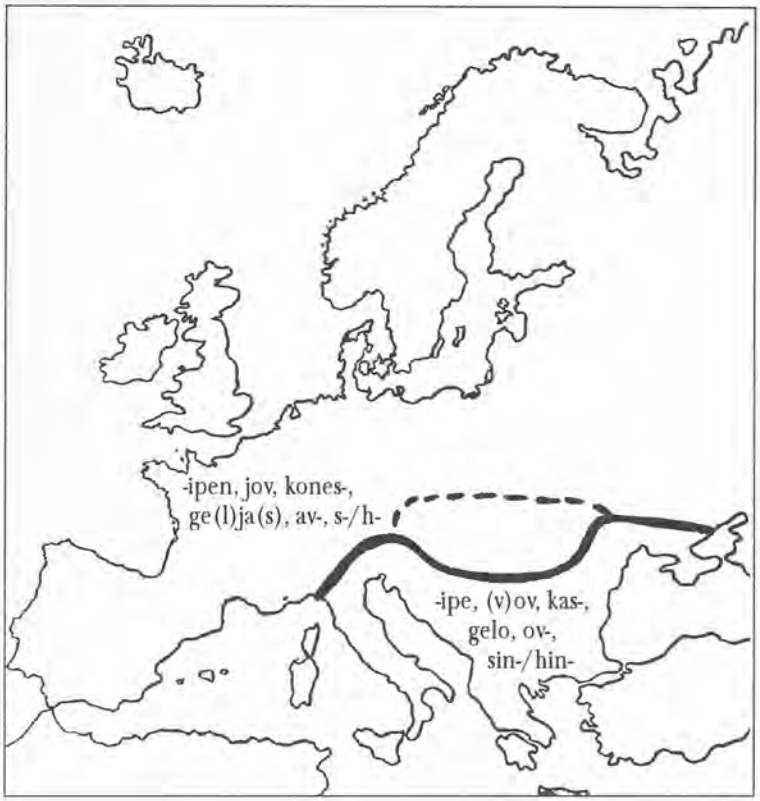
sionally sub-divided into a "default" Balkan dialect-Southern Balkan I in Boretzky's (1999) terminology-and a distinct sub-group based in northeastern Bulgaria and Macedonia-called Southern Balkan II or the Bugurdži-Kalajdži-Drindari group). More controversial are the status and affiliation of the dialects of western and northern Europe, including southern Italy and the Iberian peninsula. Bakker (1999), following other suggestions in the literature, grouped them together under the heading of a so-called "Northern" branch. It seems more realistic to define separate Northeastern (Baltic) and Northwestern (German-Scandinavian) groups, and to treat the remaining dialects as isolates (see Matras 2002, Ch. 9).

3. The geographical diffusion model

The geographical distribution of structural changes in the dialects allows us to identify two primary centers of innovation in Romani. The first is in the northwest, and its center is in or around Germany. The second is in the southeast, though two distinct types might be recognized: the first covers the entire Balkans; the second is more specific to Transylvania and Wallachia, but often influences the Balkans, especially the Black Sea coast, sub-dividing the southern Balkans into an eastern and a western zone. The two major centers are separated by the Great Divide-a bundle of isoglosses following roughly the line Croatia-Vojvodina-Transylvania-Wallachia.

Typical features that follow this divide in their geographical distribution are depicted on Map 1. South of the Great Divide, we find loss of the nasal in the nominal suffix *-ipen/-iben,* rendering *-ipe/-ibe.* North of the Divide, we find the prothetic insertion of *j-* in a series of word beginning in a vowel, especially in *a-* (*aro* > *jaro* 'egg'), and characteristically in the form of the third person pronoun *(ov, oj, on* > *jov, joj, jon).* Also in the north, we find consistent analogous renewal of the oblique form of the interrogative 'who', *kas,* to *kon-*es. The 3.SG of past-tense intransitive verbs is assimilated into the transitive paradigm in the north, and so we find *geljas* 'he, she went' (or *gejas,* or *geja*) in the north, by analogy to *kerdjas (kerdja)* 'he, she did', while in the south we find the preservation of adjectival forms in intransitive verbs: *gelo* 'he went', *geli* 'she went'. The dotted line on the map represents a transitional zone where both forms may appear. In the north, the subjunctive and future form of the copula 'to be' is renewed to *av-,* modeled on the verb 'to come', whereas in the south the original form *ov-* 'to become' is retained. Finally, the copula forms in the north tend not to show insertions in *-in-,* although these are found within the transitional zone (as well as in Finnish Romani) in the third person (*hin* 'is'); in the south, except for the dialects of Romania, *-in-* is often prevalent, at least in some tenses (e.g. *sinom* 'I am', *sine* 'he was').

Map 1: The 'Great Divide'



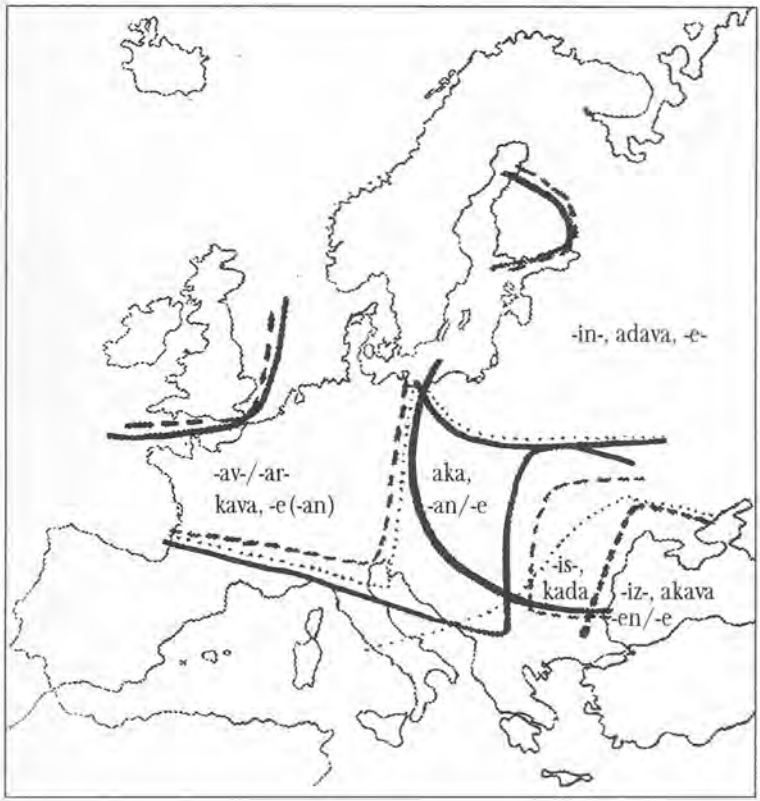
A southeastern zone (Map 2), follows roughly a line from Transylvania, which then separates the Black Sea coast region within Bulgaria from the west of that country. Most of the features are innovations that occur within the zone. The only exception to that is the retention of a consonant cluster in words such as *mandro (mando, manro, marno)* 'bread', as against the simplification to *maro* outside the zone (a transitional area in the north has clusters in some relevant words, and a simple *-r-* in others). The other features are innovations: prothesis of *a-* in many lexemes, as in *anav* 'name' against *nav* outside the zone. The Vlax dialects, situated within the zone, continue this development even further to include words such as *abijav* 'wedding'. Furthermore, the zone shows affrication of palatalized dentals as in *cikno* 'small' and *dzes* or *zis* (from **dzives*) 'day', against the older *tikno* and *dives*. New demonstrative forms with a suffix in *-d* and/or *-k* are formed within the zone (*kada* 'this', *kaka* 'that'), and with loan verbs we find adaptation markers in *-is-* or *-iz-*, as against predominantly *-in-* (or absence of the marker altogether; with peripheral retention of *-is-* in the now extinct dialects of Britain and Iberia) outside the zone.

Map 2: The southeastern zone

A number of other isoglosses have a more regional character. They include the loss of final *-s* in a zone stretching from the eastern Adriatic coast and into southern Hungary, and the prevalence of forms in *-h-* in intervocalic position in central Europe.

The reference grid or so-called "consensus classification" has a partial reality, however, in that it tends to represent the clustering of a number of isoglosses that have to do with the re-structuring of a number of complex morphological paradigms, notably demonstratives, loan verb adaptation markers, and analogies in the set of past-tense concord markers. In relation to this particular cluster of isoglosses, one might tentatively speak of a consistent grid of features allowing to separate the Balkan, Vlax, Central, Northeastern, and Northwestern dialects. This grid is depicted on Map 3.

Map 3: Morphological paradigms



Loan verb markers ----------
Demonstratives .....
2/3.PL perfective ——————

The broken bold line represents the markers used in the verb to indicate borrowings from contact languages. These are either Greek-derived, or derived from inherited transitivity markers. The complete inventory was originally shared by all dialects, then simplified, with individual dialects retaining just one or two forms. We find *-iz-* around the Black Sea coast, *-is-* in the Vlax dialects, *-in-* in a belt comprising the Baltic dialects (Northeastern group), the Central dialects, and the western Balkan dialects, and *-av-* or *-ar-* in the Sinti and Finnish groups (Northwestern). The (now extinct) dialects of Britain and Iberia appear to have retained a more conservative picture with several different forms.

The straight lines represent the boundaries of demonstrative forms. The older forms *akava* and *adava* are found in the Balkans as well as the southern and western

peripheries. To the west, we find a renewed form in *kada* (also *kaka*). In a region of central Europe, shortened forms in *ada, aka* are most common. Western dialects have reduced forms in *kava* (also *dava*), while the Northeastern group has *adava* (but has lost **akava*).

Finally, the dotted line represents changes in the personal endings of the second and third persons plural in the past (perfective) tense. The original forms were 2.PL *-an* and 3.PL *-e*. In the Balkans, there is partial assimilation, with 2.PL -en partly copying 3.PL *-e*. In the Northeastern group, both forms merge in *-e*, while in the Northwestern group, both merge as either-*en* or *-an*.

A combined examination of the lines, as depicted by Map 3, reveals that there is considerable overlap between some of the developments.

Conclusions: the relevance of the diffusion model

How can we interpret the data plotted on the maps?

First, it is noteworthy that linguistic structures are distributed within geographical patterns. This means that linguistic developments and changes were shared by neighboring population groups, suggesting that contact between neighboring population was responsible for their diffusion. This, in turn, shows that Romani populations did not migrate randomly, but, to the extent that they maintained itinerant occupations, they appear to have traveled within the containment of specific regions.

Next, the fact that structural variants are distributed geographically rules out that the changes that led to the variation occurred before the relevant groups settled in their present locations. Instead, it suggests that groups first settled, then developed differences in speech. This is confirmed by the fact that we often find that the outer peripheries share older forms (for example demonstratives), while the areas in the middle of the map show changes. This suggests that the relevant changes occurred after the period of Romani settlement in the western, northern, and central parts of Europe, which occurred from the late fifteenth century onwards. Since we have documentation of Romani from the eighteenth century onwards, which shows variation between the dialects that is very close to the variation found today, we can conclude that the major changes took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Third, the fact that we can attribute the changes to this particular period help us explain at least some of the patterns, specifically those depicted on Map 1 (the Great Divide). The fact that there are innovations on both sides of the Great Divide which fail to spread across the divide suggests interrupted contacts between the Romani populations on either side of the divide during the crucial period. This can be seen in connection with the rivalry between the Austrian and Ottoman empires during the same period. Map 3 shows the Vlax area as a dynamic zone, which influences its immediate surroundings both to the north and south.

Fourth, we see in Map 3 that a series of developments overlap to a considerable extent. They all involve the simplification, then re-structuring of complex morphological paradigms. Due to the complex and layered nature of the process, it is not surprising that similar patterns are shared by groups of populations that formed rather coherent communities over a longer period of time. The most obvious examples are the Sinti population of Germany and neighboring regions, the Northeastern group, and the British and Iberian Romani populations (respectively). These similarities account for the impression of a tighter relation among the dialects in the respective groups cited above as a recent classification grid: Vlax, Balkan, Central, Northwest and Northeast.

Finally, the implications of the diffusion model for dialect classification are straightforward. Dialects are likely to share a feature if they are on the same side of the demarcation line which marks the extent of geographical diffusion of a particular innovation (structural change). The affinity among individual dialects is thus not genetic, but one that consists of the adoption of a set of similar features; hence it is not absolute, but gradual.

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Politics, Identity

Processes of Formation of Roma Identity in East Central Europe

Éva Blénesi

Introduction

Very few groups worldwide are faced with as many and as complicated identity issues as the Roma, a people living in diaspora without a claimed homeland, and unique in Europe.

There are several factors, both exogenous and endogenous, which make the issue of identity in the case of Roma increasingly problematic. Some of the problems stem from the lack of a territorial base, which had a significant effect on the way in which majority populations perceived the Roma. According to non-Roma perception, territory is closely connected with such notions as permanence, stability, reliability, all these notions being traditionally seen as carriers of positive traits. Following this line of logic, the lack of these features, in turn, has been associated with negative characteristics: transitional, unstable, untrustworthy. The other factors are related to the socioeconomic conditions of coexistence. Speaking in general terms, if an ethnic group is mainly associated with low social status, its culture tends to be stigmatized, thus easily being target of discrimination and harassment. The case of Roma is particularly relevant in this regard.

Further sources of the problems can be found inherently in the process of formation of identity itself over time. In traditional societies, whose members lived within a fixed kinship system, one's identity was fixed and stable, having the function of well-defined social roles and a system of myths, and beliefs which provided orientations for the community members and also dictated their niche in the world, circumscribing the realm of thought and behavior. Thus, in pre-modern times identity was less problematic, and not so exposed to challenges which would radically modify its characteristics, whereas in modernity – caught up in many different and often conflicting roles – identity became more subject to change, thus more flexible and self-reflective.

The multitude of the problems which the study of the different aspects of identity raises also presupposes a multidisciplinary approach to the subject matter. Thus the theoretical notions of the discussions related to the field of psychology, sociology and anthropology by their nature should reflect this complexity.

This approach will briefly examine the range of social identity-formation efforts of Roma populations in general, and in particular those of opinion-makers within the Roma communities in East Central Europe in the light of contemporary identity the-

ories. It will also make an attempt to find possible responses to the internal and external barriers that prevent the Roma from participating on an equal basis in the society within which they live, also highlighting some cases when these barriers have been successfully transcended or overcome by Roma representatives.

Different patterns of Roma identity formation in the light of contemporary identity theories

There is a consensus in contemporary identity theories that identities are constructed and that they have a relational character, that is, they are always constructed in relation with the other, a process which is constantly challenged by intra-group and inter-group interactions. Identities are constructed by individuals, by organizations, and social groups and notably through the complex and refined interaction between individuals and social groups, hence the necessity that identity should be considered in both its *personal aspect* and *societal context*.

Given the fact that the Roma have long been subject to various forms of discrimination and severe mistreatment including enslavement, expulsion, and even annihilation, there are a considerable number of its members for whom Gypsy identity is a matter of imposed stigmatization, bearing the brunt of racial prejudice and stereotypic categorization. No wonder these experiences of being Gypsy resulted in these individuals' developing for themselves a sense of *negative identity* and tendencies of *hiding* or eventually *denying* their identity. However, the latter attempts have met with difficulties if the physical appearance, such as skin color, made Roma members strikingly distinguished from the rest of the society.

The Afro-American scholar and activist W. E. B. Du Bois (1995) speaks about *double consciousness* in the case of those people who are subject to treatment on the basis of being labeled by others as belonging to an inferior or objectionable group. In Du Bois' view, such people have their own sense of themselves and values but they also experience as a nagging background residue the contempt in which they are held by the dominant groups in their social environment. This dual character of their estimation from within and from outside often leads the Roma either to conceal their true values and customs from the outside or to take on some of these negative characteristics.

Some Roma activists, on one hand, are completely aware of the humiliation and the economic deprivation of their community, yet they also often feel dissatisfaction and discomfort with many traditional Roma attitudes and ways. Thus, as they are alienated both from non-Gypsy authorities and their local community, in their case we may well speak of *triple consciousness*. As the Romani activist Ondjej Gina admits, one of the problems of the Roma in the Czech Republic is that they suffer from "an unclarified situation within its own ethnic group and perspective [...] not yet integrated into the majority society and losing contact with the Romani ethnic group" (Gina 1998).

Other specialists in the fields of identity, like Castells (1997), claim that in the contemporary context there are at least three forms and origins of identity building, namely *legitimating identity, resistance identity,* and *project identity.* Very briefly, *legitimating identity* can be derived from the attitude of the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination vis -a- vis social actors. *Resistance identity* is generated by those actors who are in positions or conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, therefore they build trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles which are strikingly different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society. Finally, he speaks about *project identity* when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of the overall social structure.

Based on the above identity theories of Castells and Touraine (1955), Richard M. Clewett (2002) emphasizes the fundamental *importance of imposed and stigmatizing identities* for understanding both the historical and current experiences of Roma and their basic conditions for constructing either *resistance or project identities.*

Crafting the collective Roma identity: from ethnic awareness towards identity politics

Approaching the problem from a broader aspect, Clewett speaks about two centerpieces of the paradigm which are being advocated by most contemporary Roma opinion makers: *nationalism* and an *emphasis on human rights and minority group rights.* However, the concept of nationalism in the context of Roma identity politics is even more complicated than in other cases, as Roma people lack some of the traditional key elements of nationalism, an autonomous political state of their own, and a well defined geographical homeland that they dominate. But from an other aspect, the claim that the Roma constitute a nationality or a legitimate ethnic group corresponds with the emphatic concept in the terminology of European Human Rights documents guaranteeing minority and ethnic rights.

At a deeper level, ethnic identity includes such factors as ethnic awareness, self-identification, attitudes, and reference group selection. In this regard, we may speak about at least three main categories of ethnic identity:

strong-ethnic identification: alignment with the traditions and values of the culture of family of origin

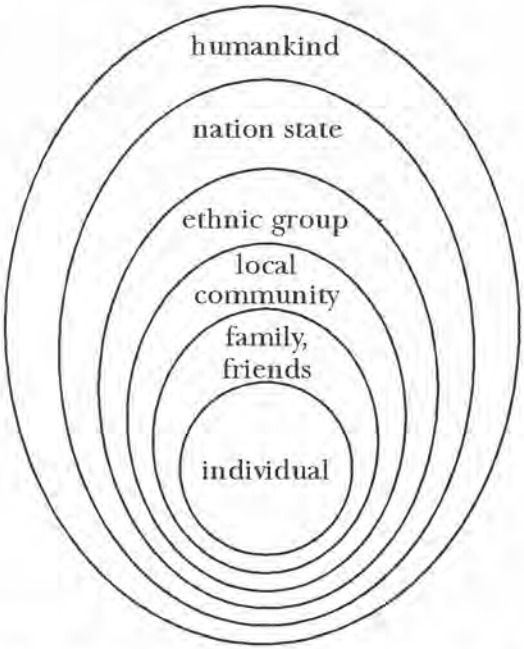
bicultural: identification with two ethnic groups within one's society, such as that of the mainstream and that of one's own cultural group

mainstream: alignment with majority norms and traditions

Nevertheless, when scrutinizing advocacy for ethnic and minority rights in the case

of Roma, we should also take into account the problem of loyalty, a sociological category hereby illustrated with the help of concentric circles, as suggested by Szabó (2001).

Concentric loyalties



But such multiplicity by its nature might cause tensions. Therefore, one of the challenges for the Roma activists is how to find a balance between different levels of their affiliations, loyalties and power. The Roma activist Ondjej Gina speaks exactly about these kinds of difficulties when he says that among "many Roma there occurred a loss of the most basic elements of their identity, ROMIPEN, and from there fell into a schizophrenic position: not yet integrated into the majority society and losing contact with the Romani ethnic group" (Gina, 1998).

All these problems already put into play the problem of identity politics as well.

Generally, identity politics is regarded as a mode of political activism – typically though not exclusively – by groups excluded from traditional mainstream politics. Similarly to other marginalized groups, the Roma too generate a self-designated identity (group consciousness) that is instantiated by the individual identities of its constituents. Thus, politics and personal being are inseparable entities. In this process, Roma activists who are consciously struggling for ethnic identity and participation in democratic governance must simultaneously cope with many demanding tasks. Ideally, they must integrate in a meaningful way their personal identity (also referred to as project identity) and social identity (previously referred to as resistance identi-

ty) and try at the same time to find a balance while shifting from one form of identification (strong ethnic, bicultural and mainstream) to the other. Ágnes Daróczi, a key Romani human rights activist, speaks exactly about these difficulties while articulating her ideas about the position she has vis -a- vis her community and power:

> [...] For more than twenty years I have been engaged in working in different fields of activity so that my people should become an equal partner and of equal rank with the prevailing majority in this country. This is a rather long period in terms of a life of a person. Throughout my professional career I have often experienced political situations in which I found myself alone in the face of both Romani community and power. This is perhaps also due to the fact that I happen to be a woman and I've always dealt with the arts. The other reason could be that I am not a good politician, because I was never able to make compromises. I've always articulated my views as firmly and as loudly as possible while stating that for us there is no other alternative, we can not represent anything but exclusively whatever is the interest of this minority. Of course, we must find our allies, always, in all situations, but the real aim is that we, Roma intellectuals, should always be the kind of advocates the majority listens to, just as presumably the members of our community do. While doing so, we must express even more loudly and even more unambiguously that we in all circumstances are the tongue, the ears, the eyes, the hands of our community, in other words, its advocates. I have had an awful lot of conflicts because I dared say "no" even to my own community (Blénesi 1995).

Like Ágnes Daróczi, the case of the artist Katarzyna Pollok, of Sinti-Polish and Belorussian origin, is illustrative of how her life has been and still continues to be a conflicting struggle for identity and recognition. Her paintings communicate a Gypsy's intense quest for identity celebrated through art. "My parents," says the artist, "tried to hide my Sinti descent because of the traumatic experiences of my father, who bore the brunt of Holocaust. But I was eager to know about my ancestors and my roots" (Pollok 2002). Although Katarzyna Pollok is not a traditional Sinti woman but a modern one in terms of her lifestyle, she manages to couple in her artistic universe those value symbols which are relevant to the Roma cultural heritage with those from the international iconography, thus lifting the particular into the sphere of the universal. Her consciously crafted identity whose boundaries are expended through the means of art offers a chance for many Roma from Poland to Spain and from India to Israel and elsewhere to associate themselves with this positive image.

But apart from these above mentioned cases of advocacy, an ever greater number of Roma leading figures choose the sphere of politics in their struggle for ethnic and minority rights. Therefore, we see a great proliferation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the East Central European post-Communist regions, a fact that does not mean that Roma ethnic-based political parties are excluded from

the political arena. In fact, during the period of transition Roma have managed to explore a great variety of forms of political expression and political participation ranging from non-governmental to traditional political forms, including participation in mainstream politics. However, one of the most critical aspects of Roma political participation is their under-representation at the national level. The prominent human rights activist, Nicolae Gheorghe, has a critical evaluation of the current situation of Romani politics, which includes internal criticism as well as concrete plans to improve it. "In the coming years I also intend to devote more time to fostering Romani electoral politics with the goal of increasing the number of elected Roma in the OSCE region countries. I would like to see more Roma knowledge of how the game of politics is played. Elected Roma can have a real legitimacy. I would like to devote energy to getting us out of the self-appointed leadership model" (ERRC 2001).

Conclusions

Although the limited framework of this paper does not permit a deeper analysis of the problem of Roma identity formation, it offers a slight possibility of highlighting some key aspects of this complex issue.

The rationale behind setting the subject in the broad context of contemporary identity theories has been manifold. Firstly, I wanted to draw attention to the fact that in their quest the Roma are faced with problems which are generally universal for all identity struggles. Secondly, there are some unique aspects stemming from both exogenous and endogenous causes which make their struggle very particular and extremely difficult. Key among these latter factors is the paradox that the richness and fluidity of their culture is their advantage and disadvantage at the same time.

As is also suggested by Clewett, the future of Roma communities and the quality of life of Roma in Central Europe depend in a crucial way on the outcome of the interplay between the efforts to preserve or to adapt their traditions so as to maintain their sense of distinctiveness and cohesion. However, without a *constituency* from within (immediate community) and from outside (majority society) not even the slightest success is conceivable.

If we accept the thesis that identity inherently contains the element of the self and of the *other*, then the efforts throughout the process of Roma identity formation should give the non-Roma a mirror which reflects the success or the failure of their quest.

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Ethnicity, the Law and Gypsy-Travellers in Scotland: Which Way Now?

Colin Clark

My presentation today is about recent social and political developments in Scotland and the ways in which the civil and human rights agenda has shifted in the last 24 months vis-a-vis Gypsy-Travellers. My work in this area started towards the end of 2000 and has been part of a wider project looking at the impact of the Human Rights Act in Scotland and how minority groups are using it in the pursuit of equal rights and social justice. The fieldwork and analysis have been finished and I am now beginning to write up the findings. I should mention that the research has been funded by The University of Newcastle upon Tyne Small Research Grants Committee. I am grateful to them for letting me engage in this work.

It was more than two years months ago, in June 2001, that an influential committee of Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) called for Scotland's Travelling People to be formally recognized as a distinct ethnic group. MSPs agreed that Travelling People, also known (self-ascriptively) as Gypsies and also as Gypsy-Travellers, in Scotland should have the same human rights as everyone else in post-devolution Scottish society.

This bold statement followed extensive inquiries by the Scottish Parliament's Equal Opportunities Committee during 1999-2000. During this time, they found evidence of harassment and institutional discrimination directed at Travellers in Scotland. In the many hearings and evidence that was given, much of it by young Traveller children and their parents, it was felt that this harassment and discrimination was essentially racist in nature. MSPs heard of General Practitioners (GPs) who refused to register or treat Travelling People and that bullying in schools was commonplace. Likewise, women and children suffered in terms of access to health care, such as screening and immunization programs. In other words, much was still to be done in terms of equality of opportunity for the Gypsy-Traveller community.

It was made clear by the Equal Opportunities Committee, especially by the convenor, Kate MacLean, that this "ethnic" recognition was important if Travelling People were to have the same rights as other members of Scottish society. Gypsy-Travellers, she said, needed to be part of and actively included in broader moves towards mainstreaming equality issues and achieving social inclusion and justice. This "ethnic" status, it was argued, would enhance their rights as a minority group. And, to be sure, their *rights* in a democratic society, of course, also meant keeping a check on their *responsibilities* to that society as well.

As it is throughout the United Kingdom, Scotland has shifted to a model and discourse of citizenship that has moved on from the days of Richard Titmuss and T. H. Marshall, one where "rights" cannot be spoken of without also mentioning "responsibilities." This shift has been predictable, often for solidly argued Blairist New Labour reasons. However, it often seems that when talking of "minority group rights," it is always the responsibilities that are demanded and scrutinized first, particularly if such groups are seen as not meeting them.

The unfortunate aspect here is that in Scotland this formal recognition of ethnicity does not equate with formal legal recognition with substantive and protected rights. Unlike in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, through the relevant Race Relations Acts, Scotland has not yet seen a test case before a court of law to establish the exact nature of Scottish Gypsy-Traveller ethnicity. (It is important to note here that of course Gypsy-Travellers know who and what they and their families "are" themselves in terms of ethnicity and identity; it is just the legal system that doesn't know.) This rather bizarre situation has arisen due a number of different and complicated factors. However, it is mainly because all cases so far that have been brought have been directed against private sector service providers, for example, brewery and restaurant chains, who have had the financial means to settle out of court. It is not surprising that families worried about their futures, financial and otherwise, and given the many inevitable delays in the legal process, have accepted these settlements. The offers look attractive to families under pressure and with other more immediate matters on their minds.

As an aside, it is interesting to note here that in August 2002 I was in discussions with Kathleen Bolt, the Principal Legal Officer of the Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland, who is now in a position to anticipate taking a number of cases to court in Scotland which may well solve this legal puzzle of Scottish Traveller ethnicity. These cases involve various families and are being brought against public sector bodies and are thus much more likely to go "all the way" rather than to be settled out of court. The strategy for the CRE at the moment seems to be in two approaches. Cases with self-ascribed Traveller families in the North-West who claim indigenous origins and mainly speak Gaelic rather than Cant (for example, whose origins are considered to be a result of the Highland Clearances, etc.) and cases with self-ascribed Gypsy-Travellers in the Central Belt who claim international or foreign origins and who maintain a Romani family connection and mainly speak Cant or other versions of Romani. The interesting and common thread here is the various ideas that are being thrown into the pot on what identifiable Scottish Traveller/Gypsy-Traveller ethnic characteristics actually are – whether this be factors such as a nomadic way of life, a distinct culture and heritage, languages, or worldview and tradition – the vagueness is telling and worrying and it opens up the possibility for inter-ethnic Traveller hierarchies (seeMcKinney, 2002 on this issue). The cases are expected to be heard during 2003 and 2004. I will return briefly to this important theme later.

However, in the meantime – with no such test case established – Kate Mclean, the Equal Opportunities Committee convenor, has said, "Rather than wait for that test case to happen, our basic premise would ensure that fundamental rights already guaranteed for other minorities by law would be extended in practice to Gypsy Travellers."

In principle, this seems to be a significant advance. However, it does seem to be a case of extending the coverage of the 1976 Race Relations Act by proxy. What I mean is, how does this "extension in practice" actually work? How is it practiced across all parts and regions of Scottish society? How is it policed and monitored to ensure that the "in practice" becomes "in reality"? These are all questions which, from my work, seem to be different according to who you talk to and which Local Authorities in which part of Scotland you visit.

Nonetheless, there is a clear agenda for change. In the bulky Equal Opportunities Committee Reports which were published in 2001, 37 recommendations were made in a clear and accessible format. All these recommendations were to be disseminated to public and official bodies in Scotland and they were called on to take heed of them.

As Kate Mclean also said, "It acknowledges we have a problem and takes a first step in addressing that problem."

Certainly, from a reading of the reports, it is apparent that views on Traveller sites differed greatly across the population. MSPs visited nine sites in different parts of the country and found them to be badly located, having inadequate facilities, and with restrictive rules and regulations. They could also have added high rents to this list as it is still the case in Scotland, as it is throughout different parts of the UK, that Local Authorities plot or pitch rents are far higher than comparable Council or Social Housing rents.

One Committee member, Kay Ullrich MSP, spoke of seeing the cold and uninsulated "amenity blocks" on Local Authority sites with hardly any facilities and said, "That is the sort of thing that combines with the limited access they have to healthcare, and it is no surprise that one GP said the average life expectancy is 55."

The positive thing expressed by this MSP is that at last connections are starting to be made between different issues in policy circles. In other words, the need for "joined up policies" which is something that is so often spoken about in debates on social inclusion or exclusion, but only actually practiced in a few very rare settings where often key energetic individuals make things happen.

The recommendations did not just cover sites, however. All the main public service providers, including health services, the police and schools, were given instructions and advice on righting some of the wrongs (whether intentional or not) that are being committed against Gypsy-Travellers in Scotland. This included things like clear anti-bullying strategies, improved training on meeting health needs and specific guidance for the police on dealing with Travellers in a sensitive manner. Some of these are listed in Table 1.

TABLE ONE

THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMITTEE HEARINGS OF 2001: REPORT, RECOMMENDATIONS AND REALITY:
FOUR KEY AREAS

(1) ACCOMMODATION

a) Recommended: Council run sites should be brought up to an acceptable minimum standard, as provided to council housing tenants, with on-site facilities such as community meeting places and playgrounds built into the design process. There should be active consultation with residents at the earliest stage on site redevelopments or upgrades.

Reality: Many sites are still in a state of disrepair, without adequate washing, cooking, heating or play facilities. Communities Scotland, on behalf of the Scottish Executive, recently completed a study to assist with future site inspections. There are no grants to Local Authorities for the upgrading of sites as in England and Wales.

b) Recommended: Guidance should be given concerning the introduction of affordable rents, electricity and pitch retainer fees.

Reality: Currently rents of up to £40-£60 per week are payable on each pitch before council tax. On-site electricity is set at a higher tariff than for "domestic" use.

(2) EDUCATION

a) Recommended: More flexible schooling and work or training arrangements should be made available, including distance learning and on-site schooling.

Reality: Some councils do offer open learning but there is no national policy in place and provision and quality vary greatly across different parts of the country.

b) Recommended: Anti-bullying strategies with Gypsy Travellers specified as an ethnic minority group should be introduced with additional training made available to teaching and support staff.

Reality: Work by the Save the Children Fund (*Denied a Future- The Right to Education of Roma/Gypsy and Traveller Children in Europe*, SCF, UK Chapter, 2001) shows that bullying of young Gypsy Travellers is endemic across the UK. There is no national policy to focus on this group specifically.

(3) HEALTH

a) Recommended: The Scottish Executive should commission research on Gypsy Traveller health issues.

Reality: No in-depth research has ever been carried out on these issues in Scotland. It is said that the average life expectancy in Scotland for Travellers is around 56 years of age.

b) Recommended: More training should be given to health professionals on Gypsy Traveller issues. GP practices should register patients who are Gypsy Travellers rather than exclude them.

Reality: Training for health professionals is only available from voluntary bodies and Gypsy Traveller groups claim frequent discrimination in GP practices.

(4) PROMOTING GOOD RELATIONS

a) Recommended: Gypsy Travellers should be recognized as an ethnic minority group in all government policies.

Reality: Only the Health department has explicitly mentioned Gypsy Travellers as an ethnic minority group in policy documents since 2001.

b) Recommended: Gypsy Traveller Liaison Officers should be employed by every Scottish Council to address the difficulties communities encounter in accessing services.

Reality: Currently only two Scottish councils, Glasgow and North Lanarkshire, fund such a post.

NB: The full report and all 37 recommendations, with commentary, can be viewed and downloaded from: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library3/government/gtoctober-00.asp

[Source: adapted from: Harris, 2002. (Harris, 2002: 24-27.]

It is easy to be cynical about all this. We have seen guidance like this come and go a several times in policy circles and little, on the ground, actually seems to change. However, as one Traveller in Scotland said to me – with a bit of a grin on his face – that wasn't all true, policemen now need to say "please" before telling Traveller families to move their caravans or otherwise face an eviction at 4 o'clock in the morning.

The reception the Hearings and Report generated mirrored this attitude. The Scottish Gypsy-Traveller Association (SGTA) has been in existence since 1994 and has sought to change attitudes towards "Scotland's oldest minority group" as they often put it. The organization largely welcomed the report and stated that "the inquiry process has given Gypsy-Travellers a valuable opportunity to make their voices heard at the Parliamentary level and the subsequent report represents one of the SGTA's most significant achievements to date."

Mark Kennedy, the vice-chair of the SGTA and one of its most vocal and passionate members, has said, "We are delighted that there has been recognition of the social exclusion, discrimination and harassment which Gypsy-Travellers face on a daily basis. We strongly hope that the Scottish Executive, local authorities and service providers will take urgent action on these recommendations to improve the lives of Gypsy-Travellers." In other words, they were quick to claim their victory.

So, has this "urgent action" been taken? Has the Equal Opportunities Committees Findings and report been taken seriously and on board by the Executive, Local Authorities and other service providers? Again, it all depends who you ask and where you go in Scotland. I would say that the general picture as of 2002 is rather depressing and the wave of optimism created last year is now quickly disappearing.

Twelve months is a long time in political and civil rights struggles. All the hard work put into the Equal Opportunities Hearings has led to, in the main, disappointment and frustration. Doors are now closing rather than opening.

– The Glasgow Traveller Community Development Support Project closed in July this year.

– Aberdeen Young Travellers Group will close, most likely, in October this year.

– And, despite (or perhaps because of) its national status, the SGTA itself is in a very precarious position regarding funding.

Thus, despite a national rhetoric of social justice, social inclusion and, more recently, social cohesion, it seems that Gypsies and Travellers in Scotland are being left out in the cold. It is resources and funding that is drying up, not the commitment of the organizations that are trying to make a difference. But without stable funding, commitment and hard work will only ever get you so far.

Despite the media interest in the Equal Opportunities Committee hearings and report of last year, the interest in the recommendations has now all but vanished. One of the few exceptions to this was a United States State Department report in March 2002, which praised the inquiry for its efforts and findings. Although some lip-service has been paid to the recommendations by some Local Authorities, by far the main thing they are doing is sitting on a dusty shelf. This is one result of the Scottish Executive's doing very little to encourage their implementation, much to the frustration of some MSPs involved in the inquiry. It is becoming more likely that the recommendations are destined to be talked about as being the outcome of a "seminal inquiry and document" but one that ultimately led to little action or substantive changes.

As I have probably made very clear, the most important of these 37 recommendations was the statement on ethnicity. However, to my knowledge, this "extending the RRA 1976 laws in practice" to Gypsy-Travellers in Scotland has not led to far-reaching change in attitudes and behavior. Even with the implementation of the Human Rights Act 1998, as well as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act of 2000, the common feeling seems to be that the culture of minority rights does not apply to Scottish Gypsy-Travellers in Scotland (although, as I explained earlier, this may well change; we will have to wait and see when the legal cases come forward).

So, by way of bringing my 15 minutes to a conclusion, I would like to briefly return to an earlier discussion. It does seem that the ethnicity question in Scotland regarding Travelling People has to be resolved in a court of law for the debates to progress and for real changes to occur. This will more than likely mean dancing with the devil,

as those involved in the English and Irish Gypsy/Traveller equality cases CRE vs Dutton (1989) and P. O'Leary and others vs Allied Domecq (2000) and others know only too well.

The point, as I see it, is this: if there is legal uncertainty and doubts about the status and "genuineness" of an "ethnic" group that the majority society largely dislikes and wish would just go away, then it leads to advice, suggestions, guidance, and recommendations simply being ignored. If there are no legal sanctions to be faced or active monitoring of such policies, then why bother? Relying on altruism and the kindness of the human spirit is often not enough. But the lack of a consensus amongst Scottish Travellers themselves on "who they are" collectively, in the sense of the ethnic mobilization and ethnopolitics literature as discussed in Zoltan Barany's recent book (2002), will lead to situations such as this one. I will close with this simple anecdote as a kind of conclusion which I think tells it like it really is.

I was in Dundee in 2000 for a seminar hosted by Save the Children Fund. It was to mark the publication of a new report called *Moving Targets* they had published, which looks at the law and Travellers in Scotland. I found myself in a small group discussion in the afternoon session about the then forthcoming Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and what this might mean for Scottish Travellers. The person leading the workshop, a person with many years of experience in the voluntary sector working on equality issues, insisted on referring to Travellers as an ethnic minority group. To him, this is who they were, as this status as an "ethnic minority group" meant benefits and protection, theoretically, from the law. Who would refuse it? However, to the three female Travellers who were in this small group with me it was an absolute outrage. One woman in her late 50s or early 60s, with white hair and a Celtic white complexion, looked straight at him and said, "Do I look black to you, son?" She then, in a very articulate manner, argued that she was Scottish first and a Traveller second, whilst acknowledging that for other Travellers it may well be the other way about. However, she wanted no special favors or to be known as an ethnic minority. She was proud to be Scottish and simply wanted justice and to be able to live the life her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents had also lived, residing in a caravan for some or all of the year and seeing her grandchildren grow and develop into "good Travellers."

To me, this moment raised key questions and issues of Scottish and Traveller identity and questions about nation, citizenship and belonging – as well as questions about ethnicity and ethnic identity. This cuts to the heart of what is going to be a very interesting 2003 and 2004 in various Scottish Courts of Law.

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The Making of a Roma Underclass – Comparative Perspectives –Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania

János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi

This paper considers whether the nature of Roma poverty differs in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. Are Roma excluded the same way in all three countries, or are there competing logics of exclusion? Faced with the challenges of the changing nature of poverty under post-communism, do different types of post-communist capitalism define their new poor differently? When we formulated our hypotheses for this project we entertained the idea that with the post-communist transition a Roma underclass might be in the making. According to Julius Wilson (1987), de-industrialization led to the transformation of the African-American inner urban ghettos in the United States. The Black urban ghetto poor were the main losers with de-industrialization; economic restructuring destroyed their jobs permanently. At the same time, African-American society became also more polarized. For the first time, upwardly mobile Black, the new Black middle class, began to move out of inner urban ghettos into suburbs. As a result, those who were left behind were now locked into life-long poverty, were turned into an "underclass," a class below (or to be more precise, outside) class structure. In our earlier publications on the Hungarian situation (Ladányi 2001, see for critical comments Stewart 2001 and 2002, and Ladányi and Szelényi 2001), we hypothesized that an analogous change may take place with the economic restructuring of post-communism. Now we can pose these questions in a cross-national comparative framework and test it empirically. Are there post-communist conditions under which we meaningfully can claim that an underclass has been formed, while in other post-communist conditions that might not be the case?

We begin our analysis with the assumption that all post-communist societies face the challenge of a "new poverty." During market transition not only the extent of poverty increased several fold, but the nature of poverty also changed. After the collapse of state socialism, people face long term unemployment and poverty, which involves increasing segregation, permanent exclusion from the labor market and the inheritance of poverty over several generations. Furthermore, these three dimensions of exclusion are likely to reinforce one another. "New poverty" is new in two respects: it lasts longer than poverty did under socialism and it tends to be multidimensional. Our task now is to try to measure these three dimensions of exclusion, to assess to what extent they occur simultaneously and finally to evaluate what the cross-national differences and similarities are in this process.

A survey on poverty, ethnicity, and gender in transnational societies was conducted in 2000 in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania on random samples of the adult popula-

tion, including an over-sample of people who were identified by interviewers as being of Roma ethnicity. Data collected in that survey forms the basis of the present analysis.

Various dimensions of exclusions

We distinguish three dimensions of exclusion. The first one is *residential segregation.* In our survey, we asked the interviewers to evaluate the character of the neighborhood where the interview took place, whether it was a "Gypsy settlement," a neighborhood where the majority of the population was Roma, or a neighborhood where the majority was poor, but not Roma. In the present analysis, we define as residential exclusion any type of segregation. This measure is based on the subjective judgment of the interviewer. The level of segregation measured this way varies a great deal. In Bulgaria, residential segregation of Roma is rather high, in Hungary and Romania it is quite modest in particular when one compares it with degrees of segregation of African-Americans in the US. (1) This is arguably in the nature of the beast. Segregation-especially racial residential segregation-in Europe is far less extreme than in the United States (2) and therefore what we here term "underclass" is also not identical with its American counterpart.

The second dimension is *exclusion from the labor market.* Here, our measure is the presence in the household of two adults who are "out of the mainstream." If there are at least two individuals in the household who are unemployed, who are on home duties, who respond to the survey question about employment status by saying he/she is "doing nothing," or who are incarcerated, we define that household as being "out of the mainstream."

The third dimension is *educational exclusion.* Those households are defined as excluded from the educational system where no member has completed more than a primary (elementary) school education. This is arguably our strongest variable. Those who do not get an education beyond primary school do not have much of a chance of getting a decent job or any job at all.

Table 1. Different dimensions of exclusion

Country	Type of sample	Dimensions of exclusion		
		Residential	From Labor Market	Educational
Bulgaria	General population sample	32.5	19.4	14.5
	Roma over-sample	88.7	71.2	61.1
Hungary	General population sample	21.2	3.9	10.8
	Roma over-sample	54.9	29.9	27.9
Romania	General population sample	19.3	17.2	15.1
	Roma over-sample	55.2	60.3	34.0

Table 1 shows that the extent of segregation varies from a low 20% of Romanian non-Roma to 89% of Bulgarian Roma. In general, Bulgaria is the most, and Romania the least segregated country, Hungary being halfway between the two, but closer to Romania. In terms of exclusion from the labor market, Hungary is doing the best. In this respect Romania is very close to Bulgaria. Hungary stands out, however, as far as the gap between Roma and non-Roma is concerned. While in the other two countries the ethnic gap is 1:3, in Hungary it is 1:7. This even more pronounced exclusion of Roma from employment, in comparison with the non-Roma, might indicate ethnic discrimination by employers in Hungary. Finally, in educational exclusion Bulgaria again takes the lead, ahead of Romania, and the least such exclusion can be found in Hungary. The degree of exclusion of the non-Roma population is quite similar, but the educational exclusion of the Roma varies substantially, from the rather high 61% in Bulgaria to 31% in Hungary, Romania being very close to Hungary.

Multiple exclusions

Our next task is to evaluate to what extent poverty under post-communist capitalism is multi-dimensional and whether the combination of multiple dimensions follows one or various logics. What kinds of combinations of various dimensions shall we expect in order to be satisfied that there are indeed various types of "new poverty," ranging from caste-like exclusion to an underclass type of exclusion?

In Table 2, we summarize the theoretical propositions. If the Roma group as a whole is excluded and is excluded in multiple dimensions, arguably its situation can be described as an "under-caste." If the Roma population is split, some Roma not being excluded at all and some Roma having multiple exclusions, we might be satisfied that an underclass is being formed. Finally, if Roma are typically excluded only in one (or possibly two) dimensions, but non-exclusion is rare among the Roma, we may call them a lower class.

Table 2. Various types of ethnic exclusion

	Excluded in two or three dimensions	Excluded in one dimension
The whole ethnic group is excluded	Under-caste	Lower class
Only some of the ethnic group is excluded	Underclass	Lower class

Table 3 reconfirms that the social condition of Roma in Bulgaria is indeed strikingly different from the other two countries. Almost half of the Bulgarian Roma are excluded in all three dimensions (while this figure is 10% in Hungary and is only 16% in Romania) and over two thirds of them are excluded in at least two dimensions.

Only very few (4%) of the Bulgarian Roma are not excluded in any of the dimensions, while in Hungary over a quarter of Roma fit this category.

We might conclude therefore that indeed the Roma in Bulgaria are excluded in a caste-like way; very few can escape exclusion at all, the chances of Roma to join the mainstream are negligible, the whole of Roma society being excluded as a social category. Under these circumstances, the ethnic boundaries are quite clearly drawn, various outside classifiers have little doubt who Roma are, and those who are classified by others as Roma are likely also to self-identify as such.

The social condition of Roma in Hungary is rather different from this. Over a quarter of Hungarian Roma are not excluded at all, they are in or close to the mainstream of Hungarian society. While the proportion of the non-excluded is quite similar for the non-Roma population in all three countries (Hungary, being the more affluent country of the three, certainly has a higher proportion of such non-Roma people, but not substantially so) the proportion of non-excluded Roma varies a great deal. Hungarian Roma are more than five times more likely to escape any exclusion that their Bulgarian brothers and sisters. We regard this as one of the crucial indicators that underclass is being formed. In order to see the emergence of an the underclass it is anticipated that the ethnic community is split along class lines; that happens in Hungary, but it does not in Bulgaria. The other condition, of course, is the high rate of multiple exclusion for the rest of the Roma society, and we can demonstrate this as well in the case of Hungarian Gypsies. The extent of double and triple exclusions in Hungary is rather high. With some simplification we may say that the Hungarian Roma society is sort of tri-polar; the proportion of those who are not excluded, who suffer only a single exclusion, or who are exposed to multiple exclusions is rather similar. Hence, the hypothesis that an underclass is being formed in Hungary receives support from our data. Approximately a third of Hungarian Roma might be locked into an underclass situation. A third of them may be in the lower class and up to a third may have experienced at least some limited "bourgeoisification" or "embourgeoisement" and may be in the process of joining the mainstream and the middle class.

In this analysis, Romania comes out as being between Bulgaria and Hungary. Many more Romanian Gypsies escape exclusion altogether than Bulgarians, while multiple exclusions are even more frequent in Romania than in Hungary. Hence, forces of underclass formation may be at work in Romania as well, though not quite as robustly as in Hungary. The accelerated socialist industrialization in Romania apparently dissolved the traditional Roma social organization far more extensively than it did in Bulgaria. But since market forces did not gain quite as much room after 1989 as they did in Hungary, middle class formation among the Roma appears to be more limited than in Hungary. As a result, all three structural positions-caste, lower class, and underclass-may be applicable to describe various fragments of the Romanian Gypsy society, though the majority of them is likely to be somewhere between an under-caste

and a lower class. It is conceivable that within Romania there might be regional variation in this respect: moving from east to west (from Bulgaria to Hungary) the structural position of Roma might gradually change from under-caste to lower class.

Table 3. Multiple exclusions

Country	Sample	Excluded in			
		Three	Two	One	None
		Dimensions			
Bulgaria	General population sample	3.9	12.1	30.7	53.3
	Roma over-sample	44.6	36.1	15.5	3.8
Hungary	General population sample	.5	6.2	24.5	68.7
	Roma over-sample	10.3	29.7	33.6	26.5
Romania	General population sample	.6	8.3	33.4	57.7
	Roma over-sample	16.3	33.0	34.9	15.8

How important is ethnicity in marking extreme poverty? In Table 4, we assess what proportion of multiple exclusion is ethnically marked. Given the caste-like separation of almost all Roma from the rest of the society in Bulgaria, understandably almost half of those exposed to multiple exclusion are Gypsies, therefore the ethnic marking of poverty is significant when the ethnic minority is locked into an under-caste situation.

Ethnic marking is also important in Hungary. In this country, according to our estimation, the relative size of the Roma population is just half of that in Bulgaria, nevertheless, in Hungary still a quarter of those excluded in multiple ways are Gypsies.

In Romania, Roma who constitute almost 6% of the adult population represent only 10% of those with multiple exclusions. This contrasts with Hungary, where Roma are about 5% of the adult population, but constitute a quarter of those with double and triple exclusions.

Table 4. Size of Roma population and share of Roma within the double and triple excluded

	% of Roma in the general adult population (3)	% of Roma among the double and triple excluded
Bulgaria	10.9	45.7
Hungary	5.0	24.7
Romania	5.6	10.5

There is a weak ethnic marking of the very poor in Romania. 90 percent of them are Romanians or Hungarians, therefore they indeed constitute a lowest class in society. In Hungary, a quarter of the very poor are Roma, hence the boundary between ho is Roma and who is very poor gets blurred. The non-Roma very poor often live in neighborhoods with a substantial number of Roma, and the two may even intermarry. It becomes therefore unclear whether a person is just very poor or whether that person is Roma.

As a result, in Hungary the emergent underclass is marked by ethnicity, but it is not an ethnic category. Under 10 percent of the Hungarian population belongs to the no-hopers, but enough of them (one quarter of them) are Roma so the ethnic labeling or racialization of poverty becomes possible.

Let us summarize. In Bulgaria, the Roma are excluded as a category and therefore they are locked into the conditions of an under-caste. In Hungary, a minority but nevertheless a substantially large proportion of the Roma managed to take advantage of the emerging market forces. They escaped exclusions and they are joining the middle class while the bottom third of Roma population is even worse off, locked into an ethnically mixed, but nevertheless ethnically marked underclass. In Romania, the destruction of traditional Roma communities progressed further than in Bulgaria. The caste-like separation of Roma was substantially weakened, but given the weaker development of the Roma middle class than in Hungary, the Roma are more likely to be in lower class with other ethnic groups of the Romanian society, a class not especially marked ethnically.

Conclusions

Are there differences among the three countries we studied in 2000 in terms of the "quality" of Roma exclusion? We present evidence suggesting that the exclusion of Roma in Bulgaria is "caste-like," while in Hungary Roma society is fragmented by class, some Roma joining the middle class, while others, together with some non-Roma poor, are locked into the position of an emergent underclass. Romania is somewhere halfway between Bulgaria and Hungary in this respect. Romanian Gypsies seem to be on their way from an underclass position-similar to those occupied by Bulgarian Roma-and whether they will become the lower class or whether they will join the underclass of post-communism remains an open question.

NOTES

(1) Such a comparison-given the relatively small proportion of Roma in these countries-is not without problems. In American cities African-Americans often represent a much larger proportion of the population, thus, one would expect a higher level of segregation as well.

(2) See Wacquant 1993.

(3) This has been calculated from the screening interviews, therefore Roma here means those who are classified as such by interviewer, who does not know what the self-identification of the respondent is.

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Music

The Performance of "Oriental Music" in Contemporary Romania*

Margaret H. Beissinger

"Oriental music" *(muzică orientală)* is a contemporary vocal-dance genre that is performed by Romani musicians in Romania and is coded as "Gypsy." It combines Romanian traditional and popular music with Romani, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Turkish elements, reflecting an eclectic but distinctly "oriental" (Middle Eastern) sound. The song lyrics relate directly to love and power, usually from a male perspective. The genre was formerly banned by the communist government because of its Romani associations although it is now regularly played in public. Heard most often at weddings, oriental music is popular among many segments of society (youth, working-class and rural Romanians, and Roms). At the same time, it is rejected by ethnic Romanian nationalists and intellectuals who seek to deny Balkan, oriental, and Romani cultural influences in Romania.

In this article, I explore oriental music in contemporary Romanian society, treating its performance (who performs the genre, when, and for whom), music (including dance), and song texts. (1) I also consider the contrasting responses and reactions that oriental music generates. For its adherents, oriental music provides an intoxicating form of participatory entertainment. Fans of oriental music relate to its seductive rhythms and melodies, erotic and empowering lyrics, and alluring associations with the "other." For its foes, however, the genre evokes "polluted" sounds, vulgar words, and alien cultural symbols. For them, the genre represents an assault on aesthetics, folklore, nation, and Romanian social homogeneity. Oriental music and how it is received in Romania speaks powerfully to culture, ethnicity, aesthetics, and class. (2)

What is oriental music?

Oriental music is performed almost exclusively by Roms. Most of them are *lăutari* (sg. lautar), professional male Romani musicians whose occupation is hereditary and passed along the male kinship line within families. (3) The young and middle-aged lăutari who performed traditional Romanian repertoire in ensembles in the 1970s and 1980s are many of the same lăutari who play oriental music today. (4) But there are also many Romani musicians who came of age in the 1990s and now perform exclusively oriental music, never having performed either during the communist

* Paper not presented at the conference.

period or in traditional ensembles. One such band, which played at a wedding in Bucharest in 2000, was composed of five teenage male musicians and was called "Copiii orientului" (The Children of the Orient), a name that paradoxically places them squarely in the post-1989 era.

Romanian and Romani weddings in cities and villages provide the most common occasion for the performance of oriental music. (5) Ensembles of musicians are routinely hired to play at lengthy, elaborate, late- or all-night banquets, typically the culmination of wedding celebrations. Music plays a central role at these affairs; indeed, the events of the wedding are circumscribed by the hired musicians, who play practically non-stop throughout. Though diverse genres of song and dance are performed at weddings, oriental music is currently the most popular. It provides for virtually uninterrupted dancing by the wedding guests, often lasting for hours on end.

Oriental music is championed mainly by Romanian urban, rural, and peasant urbanite working-class populations. (6) Some have belonged to the urban working class for generations. Others are formerly rural families who may or may not still maintain village homes but now work in cities and towns. Roms, both urban and rural, are also among the genre's biggest fans.

Oriental music exhibits a marked Middle Eastern sound based on instrumentation, harmony, and rhythm. The most common instruments employed in its performance are accordion, synthesizer or other keyboard, small drums or drum sets, clarinet, violin, and bass viol. (7) Ensembles generally consist of between two and five male instrumentalists and a male vocalist. (8) The instruments are amplified with an electric sound system. Much of the "oriental" quality of the music is produced by the synthesizer, which can generate diverse timbres, many of them evoking Turkish and Indian sounds. Oriental associations in the music also derive from distinctive harmonic patterns, especially chromaticisms and augmented seconds, also typically coded as Gypsy. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of oriental music is its Middle Eastern rhythmic mode (consisting of an eighth note, a quarter note, an eighth note, and two quarter notes) in varying patterns. (9) When asked, most performers claim that its peculiar rhythm is the chief defining quality of oriental music.

The dance form that accompanies oriental music is the *manea*, a solo improvisatory dance typified by subtle, sensual movements by the outstretched hands and arms and small steps in which the feet alternately step forward and back. Formerly, the manea was a female Romani dance but during the 1990s it became the trend among Romanians of both genders. (10) At Romanian and Romani weddings where oriental music is played, the manea is now the most popular dance.

The themes articulated in the stanzaic songs of oriental music by and large concern love, power, and status. The lyrics speak, above all, about erotic desire, typically from a male point of view, such as in "Sexy, sexy," heard repeatedly at weddings in 2000. (11) The song texts are typically comprised of couplets that rhyme. "Sexy, sexy" begins with a refrain, which is repeated intermittently throughout the song:

Sexy, sexy, ştiu că mă vrei,	Sexy, sexy, I know that you want me,
Toată noaptea mă gîndesc la femei.	All night long I think about women.
Sexy, sexy, nu mai visa,	Sexy, sexy, don't dream any longer,
Hai la mine la o cafea.	Come with me for a coffee.

It is followed by the first and second stanzas, which expresses sheer lust:

Trupul tău e atît de fin.	Your body is so fine.
Eşti cea mai senzuală, ai un chip divin.	You're the most sensuous; you have a divine figure.
Mă atragi, sincer tu îmi placi.	You attract me; really, I like you.
Eşti foarte sexy, îmi place cum te îmbraci.	You're very sexy; I like how you dress.
Vreau să te sărut de sus pînă jos.	I want to kiss you from head to toe.
Pentru mine e lucrul cel mai frumos.	For me it's the most wonderful thing.
Privirea ta provocatoare	Your alluring look
Te face fiinţa cea mai fermecătoare. (12)	Makes you the most bewitching beauty.

Other popular erotic songs from the past few years include "Eşti femeia visurilor mele" (You are the woman of my dreams) and "Salomeea" (Salomée), as well as "Pe la spate" (From the back), the meaning of which points graphically to how "girls want to be made love to all night," as a rural Romani musician pointed out to me at a wedding in 2002.

The lyrics of oriental music overtly celebrate masculinity and virility, as in "Eu sunt mare gagicar" (I'm a big girl-chaser), "Sînt bărbat adevărat" (I'm a real man), "Sînt sigur pe mîna mea" (I'm sure of myself), "Sînt un bărbat cel mai frumos" (I'm the most handsome man), "E greu, Doamne, să iubeşti două femei" (O God, it's hard to love two women), and "Am două femei frumoase" (I have two beautiful women). Infidelity, usually marital, and betrayal are also familiar topics of oriental music. Songs such as "Şi-a aflat, Doamne, nevasta mea" (O God, my wife has found out) and "M-a prins nevasta" (My wife caught me) represent a common theme of the unfaithful husband who sings of his adventures in another version of the empowered male. Adrian Copilul Minune (Adrian the Child Wonder), the leading oriental music vocalist in Romania since the mid-1990s, juxtaposes his wife and home with his mistress in "Prinţesa mea" (My princess), popular in 1998:

Am copii şi am nevastă,	I have kids and I have a wife,
Şi am tot ce-mi doresc acasă.	And I have everything that I could wish for at home.
Dar am o inimă lovită	But I have a heart that's been smitten

De o prințesă denumită.	By someone I call princess.
Mă ceartă nevasta mea	My wife reproaches me
Că nu mai mă tem de ea.	Since I no longer fear what she thinks.
Eu nu știu ce să-i mai zic ei, *of.*	I don't know what to tell her any longer, *of.*
Îi spun că-s obosit, *mă.* (13)	I just tell her that I'm tired, *mă.*

Related to songs of masculine potency are songs that assert male power through imagery focusing on money, such as in "Sînt șmecher și fac mulți bani" (I'm sly and make lots of money) and "Sînt un bărbat luxos" (I'm a rich man). Sex and money at times come together, as in "Banii și fetele" (Money and girls) and "Dragostea și banii" (Love and money). Money is also associated with rivalry and making enemies; "Of, of, of, mor toți țiganii că eu mă distrez și arunc cu bani" (*Of, of, of,* all the Gypsies are 'dying' since I'm having a good time and I'm throwing my money around) blends themes of Gypsies, money, and envy. "Am dușmani că am bani" (I have enemies because I have money) and "Banii-ți fac dușmani" (Money gives you enemies) express similar themes.

Possessions as symbols of status and prosperity are expressed in songs such as "Am o casă așa mare și mașina cea mai tare" (I have such a big house and the fastest car). "Mi-am cumpărat un celular" (I bought myself a cell phone), from 1998, combines the image of the carefree drifter, his newly purchased cell phone, car, and even swooning women, all in the first few verses:

Mi-am cumpărat celular.	I bought myself a cell phone.
Sînt un vagabond hoinar.	I'm a wandering vagabond.
Din mașină eu vorbesc,	I talk [on my phone] from my car,
Pă femei le zăpăcesc. (14)	I drive women crazy.

Money, cars, big houses, and cell phones are all emblems of power and status that resonate in today's Romania, where luxury goods are ubiquitous yet poverty is widespread, and where memories of the communist period-when most people in Romania lived far more modestly and few owned cars-still linger.

Songs are also at times framed by expressions and imagery that evoke Romani culture. The theme of heartache, for example, is often enhanced by "Gypsy" nuances. In 2001, "Of, viața mea" (*Of,* my life) was constantly heard at weddings. It expresses the despair of an embittered man, who wails: "M-ai amăgit, m-ai chinuit și tot te-am iubit" (You deceived me, you tormented me, and still I loved you). The exclamation *"of"* in the title, which recurs throughout the refrain, is coded as a Romani interjection with a plaintive resonance, thus intensifying the Gypsy flavor of the performance:

Of, viața mea, of, inima mea,	*Of,* my life, *of,* my heart,
Of, degeaba plîng,	*Of,* I cry in vain,
Tare necăjit mai sunt! (15)	I'm still so miserable!

Some songs not only invoke *"of"* but also depict the life of Roms, typically called *"ţigani"* (Gypsies, sg. ţigan) in the genre. (16) A popular song in the late 1990s was "Tigani din ţigănie" ("Gypsies from the Gypsy ghetto").

Paradoxical cultural meanings

Oriental music is rejected by many Romanians from among the urban elite: educated, office- and service-employees, professionals, and intellectuals. They disdain the music and lyrics of the genre as well as its performers and adherents, dismissing especially Romani culture, but also Romanian working-class and peasant urbanite taste, as "low-class." The Romani, or "Gypsy," performers of oriental music belong to an ethnic minority that, despite its long and ubiquitous presence in Romania, is really very little understood by the ethnic dominant population. Roms are perceived by most Romanians as belonging to an inferior class, detached from the ethnic Romanian "nation." Indeed, at the very heart of nation in Romania is folklore, including music, which represents deeply held expressions of national identity and values. Romania's "national idea" includes, among other things, an obsession with a historical, "unbroken Romanian peasant tradition" (Verdery 1996: 69). Oriental music threatens this sacrosanct "idea"; its mass appeal is thus seen by many elite Romanians as pushing out the very core of what "Romanian" means.

The most consistent objection to oriental music by Romanians is the "foreign" nature of its music. Opponents of the genre hear in it alien and adulterated Middle Eastern sounds, qualities that invert their claims to affinities with Western culture, viewed as the civilized antithesis of the East. Indeed, oriental music (and the accompanying manea) was prohibited during the communist period specifically because of its Romani associations. Yet, ironically, it has become standard in the repertoire at many Romanian weddings precisely due to the powerful appeal of the Romani and "oriental" qualities in the music and dance (manea). For its enthusiasts, oriental music embodies an exhilarating combination of amplified instruments, Middle Eastern rhythms, and exotic harmonies that evoke a seductive "otherness," especially when combined with the sensual dancing of the manea.

The song lyrics of oriental music also elicit provocative, materialistic, and Romani imagery that references sex, youth, contemporaneity, maleness, and "Gypsyness." From the point of view of oriental music devotees, many of whom are youthful and concerned with expressions of love, power, and status, these songs provide uncomplicated lyrics that they can easily relate to. Their words and meanings are sensual, relevant, and instantly accessible. From the vantage point of the intellectual and professional elite, however, the lyrics are viewed as crass, unrefined, and pornographic. (17) For them, oriental music defies aesthetics, native folklore, and the Romanian social homogeneity that allegedly characterizes the "nation."

Romania is still coming to terms with a feasible post-communist identity. Oriental music mirrors many of the tensions and contests inherent in Romania's attempt to forge its contemporary image and agenda. The genre references multiple levels of meaning, all variously played out on complex social, ethnic, and cultural stages. Culture and ideology converge in oriental music as approval or rejection of the genre and everything it signifies represent powerful mechanisms and symbols of aesthetics, gender, ethnicity, and class. Oriental music furnishes a telling example of how genre and performance represent conflicting levels of meaning in a world still in transition as its citizens struggle to build and maintain a viable society for the twenty-first century.

NOTES

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(1) My observations are based on fieldwork in cities (Bucharest, Craiova, Târgoviște, and Pitești) and villages (Mârșa, Blejești, Cartojani, Preajbă, Milcovățu, and Celei) in south-central Romania between 1998 and 2002.

(2) This cultural phenomenon has not been unique to Romania. Coinciding with the collapse of communism, the explosion of ethnic and popular music into diverse fusion ethnopop styles occurred elsewhere in East Europe and occasioned a variety of responses similarly informed by ethnicity and class. On Serbian newly-composed folk music and later "turbofolk," see Gordy 1999; see also Rasmussen 1991. On Bulgarian ethnopop, see Buchanan 1996; on Hungarian ethnopop (*lakodalmas* rock), see Lange 1996.

(3) Lautari were slaves in the estates of the Romanian nobility and monasteries from the late 15th c. in Wallachia and by 1570 in Moldova until their emancipation in 1864 (Iorga 1925: 27; Cosma 1996: 22-24). On contemporary lăutari, see Beissinger 1991 and 2001.

(4) Traditional ensembles are composed of acoustic violins, bass viols, accordions, and cimbaloms or hammer dulcimers.

(5) It is also sometimes played at baptisms and other family celebrations.

(6) The term "peasant urbanite" was coined by Andrei Simić (1973). It refers to peasants who relocated, especially in the post-World War II era, to Balkan cities such as Belgrade and Bucharest: "rural migrants, generally poor, [who] came to the city to take jobs in the growing industrial and service sectors and [who] did not entirely integrate into the culture of the city" (Gordy 1999: 106).

(7) In Romanian, they are called *acordeon, orgă, tobe, clarinet, vioară,* and *contrabas;* sometimes drum sets include bongos or conga drums. The saxophone and electric guitar also join ensembles at times.

(8) Female vocalists also perform oriental music on occasion.

(9) Carol Silverman terms this rhythm *"čiftečeli"* in Romanian oriental music (Silverman 2000: 278).

(10) On the manea in communist Romania, see Garfias 1984: 91-92. A dance comparable to the manea is known throughout the southern Balkans in forms such as the Macedonian *čoček* and Bulgarian *kjuček*; see Silverman 2000: 278.

(11) Though the title of this song is in English, the language of oriental music is Romanian. Few Romani musicians in southern Romania speak Romani; on the use of Romani among lăutari, see Beissinger 2001: 43-45.

(12) Ştefan de la Bărbuleşti, "Am o nevastă sexy," *Miss Piranda 2000*, Vol. 1 (Pro Music SRL, 2000).

(13) Adrian Copilul Minune, "Prinţesa mea," *Prinţesa mea* (S. C. Studio Recording S. R. L., Timişoara).

(14) Nelu Petrache, "Mi-am cumpărat celular," *Muzică orientală: Mi-am cumpărat celular* (Amma, Bucharest).

(15) Adrian Copilul Minune, "Of, viaţa mea," *Of, viaţa mea* (Cristian's Studio, Craiova, 2001).

(16) In the lyrics of oriental music, lăutari typically refer to themselves as ţigani, not romi (Rom, sg. rom); on the use of "ţigan" vs. "rom" among lăutari, see Beissinger 2001: 45-47.

(17) They are "banal and even licentious" according to their critics (Rădulescu 1998: 5).

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On the Songs of the Oláh Romanies

Eva Davidová

Since time immemorial, the Romas have expressed their joy, fears, pain, love and hatred-their whole lives-in their songs. In the same way as authentic Roma song folklore is largely unknown to the general public, Oláh ("Vlach") Roma songs remain even less known, since these Roma for the most part sing their songs only within the circle of their family and immediate social group. This is connected with the status and function of their Lovara language, which they still consider secret not only to society at large, but also to other Romas.

Vlachike Roma, the Oláh Romas, also known as Olaš Romas, one group of which is the Lovara, always lived in isolation from the rest of the population, enclosed in endogamous family groups living according to their own private laws and customs. This state of isolation persisted not only during the period of their traditional nomadic travels up to 1959, when they were forcibly made to settle by the ruling regime of the day, but also during the decades that followed. Although conditions today are different, these Romas have maintained the enclosed character of their extended families and their society, including an Oláh system of values and a specific way of life accompanied by a wholly original culture.

Oláh Romas respect their own laws and norms to this day, and those who betray them are punished by order of an Oláh court, called a kris, which imposes punishment for their offense. In extreme cases, this can even mean being excluded from one's family and the entire Olah group. This, the harshest punishment for failing his people, was paid by the onetime clan chief Bán, the "king" of the semi-nomadic Lovar-Stojka group near Topolčany.

The Oláh Romas themselves distinguish between two main types of songs: mulatouša, or louke d'ila, slow songs, and *khelimaske d'ila*, rhythmic songs for dancing.

The first group of beautiful slow songs is not only made up of songs for *mulatování*, or a pleasant time spent sitting with one's family and friends, but all other slow songs as well. These include family and love songs (such as *"Kali sas i Boja"* – Boya was black), songs from nomadic life, lullabies (such as *"Haju, haju, Kejžinko"* – Sleep, sleep, my Kevzhinka), and songs reflecting their former close bond with nature, which they often personified (such as *"Májuši, májuši, taj nad'on sukar san"* – May, May, you are most beautiful). Songs taken from a prison setting have a particularly powerful meaning.

The second group is composed of fast rhythmic songs for dancing, *frišša*, or *khelimaske d'ila*, sung not only for dancing but also at meetings and celebrations with the family and other relatives. These have shorter, more compact texts that are as valuable

as their melodies, in contrast to the chardashes and rhythmic tunes of the Roma inhabitants of Slovakia (the Rumungrs), whose texts are not as important as their musical expression. The Oláh Roma sing these songs at their family celebrations, at weddings *(bijav)* and at christenings *(keretčágo)*. Funeral gatherings *(práchomo)* and wakes, vigils with the deceased before the funeral *(verrastáši)*, on the other hand, are accompanied by storytelling and slow songs.

The songs of the Lovara have their own rules and established order. Before singers begin to sing, they state the ceremonial order in which they will present themselves and request permission for their songs with which, like a toast, they want to bring those assembled health and happiness. The singer is thus in contact with the others, who often join in the song with calls and shouts of agreement. Some of them sing along. It is therefore a collective expression of the song's leading singer and the people around. The listeners, that is, the co-singers, often add to the character of the song with guttural sounds and bumbázi, clapping, finger-clicking, foot-stamping and other rhythmic accompaniment such as banging on tables or pots with their hands or spoons. This substitution for instrumental accompaniment creates the characteristic interpretational expression of the Oláh Roma group.

The texts of these songs often lack an "attractive" and romantic character. In their rawness and harshness, they reflect the Oláh Roma life and fate of both the past and present without any embellishment. While the Romas who settled in the Czech Republic and Slovakia have long absorbed domestic and foreign influences, Oláh Romas have not, as a result of their "splendid isolation," had the possibility or desire to assimilate external influences. This situation has remained to the present day, which is why their songs have survived in a relatively original and authentic form. In recent years, however, several new texts have appeared in their songs, in which the Oláh Romas themselves exchange or supplement part of the original text, reflecting the modern day and its new living conditions. An example of this is a song in which a man complains that his wife doesn't want him because he doesn't own a Mercedes. A similar trend can be seen in songs that highlight the transformation from nomadic travel by caravan to modern-day travel by car; the horses under the automobile hood are as strong and beautiful as those which once pulled the cart.

I have also taken a look at Oláh song texts of remarkable and largely unknown songs, from the point of view of their meaning and content rather than their musicological significance.

A few poetic devices characteristic of lyrical Romani songs will be described here.

1. Recurring qualifying adjectives, the "colorfulness" of the text (e.g., golden mother, golden God, green forest, red horses, black hat, black earth, black hearth, etc.). These colors often have a supernatural meaning. Black is the color of sadness and grief and it also emphasizes the different "fate" that the Gypsies' dark complexion implies. Earth, to which they have always been closely related, is always described as black (e.g., *My mother gave birth to me on the black earth / There was no hay or sheet*

around...). Black is also the color with the greatest supernatural, magic force. It may insure that one's love for another will be returned (e.g., *I'll buy him a red shirt / So that he will come to see me every night... or I will cut a red apple in two...*). Red gives strength to fight against diseases and evil forces.

2. Fixed similes (e.g., *I have been left alone / Like a leaf... like a fallen tree... I'm crying like the pouring rain; Love is sweet like sugar,* etc.).

3. Phrases which originally carried a magical connotation presently used in colloquial language for expressing emotions (e.g., *May I eat your heart/soul/eyes/blood,* etc.).

In general, it can be said that the drawn-out nomadic songs usually have a greater number of melodious embellishments. Expressive proof of this is afforded by the performers of the songs themselves when they mutually invite one another to sing:

Phen oda amenge, Bãno (Sedro, Matu)
Tell us, Bãna.

It is interesting that the nomadic Gypsies say "tell" (that is, by means of singing), while others say "sing."

Here, the freed melodies would appear to the result of shifting of the emphasis to the semantic aspect of the text while it is sung. In the case of nomadic Romani songs, the accented semantics of the text further manifests itself through characteristic exclamations by those present to the solo singer, for example:

Av sasto thaj bachtalo, phrale (phenie)!
Be well and happy, brother (sister)!

Tumare pativake!
In your honor!

It is well known that the Oláh Gypsies do not play any musical instruments; they sing their dance songs themselves and accompany them with sounds imitating various instruments. The dance songs are rendered by virtuosic "rolling," which is only occasionally interrupted by one or two lines or stanzas.

In the region studied, relatively few dance songs combine stamping and clapping or cracking the fingers in rhythm. Various utilitarian objects are also used to produce sounds. Women usually drum on the edge of a table or on a pot lid, hitting the edge of the surface sharply with the lower part of the palm on the first quaver.

The song folklore of the Oláh Gypsies, or Vlachike Roma, especially of the Lovara group, remains the most typical Roma folklore in the Czech and Slovak Republics, for up to now they have sung only for themselves. They have never played instrumental music and have never sung for a living, but only for pleasure, inside their own extended families. They have kept their traditional language, culture, and values up to the present day, though in different living conditions.

My presentation, with recorded examples, is only a small outcome from my large collection of Roma traditional song and music folklore, of which only very little has been published so far. The published material can be found in "Dúral me avilem: Avri kikidc le vlašika dila" (I Came from Afar: Anthology of Oláh Songs); "Čhajori romaní," (Anthology of Slovak Roma Songs, Prague 2000 and Prague 1999); the CD "Vlachicka Djila," (The Oldest Recordings of Oláh Roma Songs in the Czech and Slovak Republics, Praha: Academia 2001).

It would be very useful to conduct comparative international research in this area, to publish it together and thus to protect and to bring into the open this rich part of Roma culture.

The "Superterritorialization" of Rumba Catalane and Manush Swing

Katherine J. Hagedorn

During the third week in May each year, Roma families from all over Europe make the annual pilgrimage to Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer in the Camargue region of France to worship the relics of St. Sara (rumored to be the "Egyptian" [Gypsy] maid of the Virgin Mary). From an ethnomusicological perspective, what is striking about this festival are the competing genres of music performed outside trailers, in open-air stadiums, and in streetside cafes. Most common among these genres is rumba flamenco, known locally as rumba Catalane, a genre of percussive guitar music related to flamenco and made internationally popular by the Gipsy Kings of southern France. I first heard the Gipsy Kings in Havana, Cuba in 1989, and was struck not only by their use of Cuban percussive instruments, but also by the popularity of this music in Cuba. Almost as common at the Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer festival as rumba Catalane is Manuch swing, or "jazz Manush," a jazzy musical argot with its roots in France and in central Europe. Django Reinhardt, Manush swing's most famous proponent, relied heavily on the syncopated upbeats and abrupt harmonic shifts of mainstream Afro-American jazz of the 1920s and 1930s to develop this new musical language, creating, in the process, a distinctive new way of keeping time on the guitar known as *"la pompe manouche"* (Williams 2000; Reyniers 1998: 107). Expanding upon Arjun Appadurai's (1990) idea of "deterritorialization," a globalizing process which "disrupts the link between space, stability, and cultural reproduction," I argue that rumba Catalane and Manush swing are "superterritorial." That is, they both encompass and greatly extend the geopolitical borders with which both Gitans and Manush musicians are traditionally associated.

The notion of "deterritorialization" has become a reference point for an impressive array of scholarship in the humanities and the social sciences throughout the 1980s and 1990s and into the twenty-first century. It is a concept most often associated with Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987 [1980]) as well as Paul Virilio's *Speed and Politics* (1977). With the publication of Arjun Appadurai's essay, "Disjuncture and Cultural Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" (1990), deterritorialization took on a new urgency in Anglo-American scholarship, particularly in the social sciences. As Appadurai defines it, deterritorialization is "the fertile ground ... in which money, commodities and persons are involved in ceaselessly chasing each other around the world" (Appadurai 1990: 12). The concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization would seem to be particularly appropriate for

describing the music of Gitan and Manush musicians, since an important aspect of their identity involves mobility of performance and facility of adaptation and improvisation. Indeed, scholars of Catalan Gitans and Central European Roma communities have used these terms persuasively to describe their fluid compositional and performative processes (Bertrand 2002; Fraysinett 1994, 2002; Poueyto 2002).

What I am suggesting in this paper is that the incorporation of Cuban music by Catalan Gitans (and the incorporation of certain jazz conventions by the Manush musician Django Reinhardt) is not simply a continuation of the time-honored and much-documented tradition of "Gypsy travel," "Gypsy borrowing," and the subsequent appearance of new, yet familiar, genres. Rather, it seems that there is a larger cultural process at work here that depends less on the physicality of people or of land and more on the "mechanical reproduction" (to paraphrase Benjamin [1969]) of music and all of its attendant aesthetic and social markers. In this sense, my paper is about expanding the notion of "territory" such that a crucial geographic and cultural reference point for Catalan Gitans becomes Cuba-not France, not Spain, not Roma or Sinti or Gitan communities elsewhere in Europe-but Cuba; and an equally crucial reference point for Django Reinhardt becomes not French accordion music nor Romanian *doine*, but Afro-American jazz.

The Catalan Gitan musicians from Perpignan to whom I refer include Els Rumberos Catalans from the Sant Jaume (Saint Jacques) quarter of the city. They began performing together in the 1970s and recorded several CDs in the 1990s (see especially *Musiciens Gitans de Perpignan* [1991], and *Son de Perpinyá* [2000]). Both Guy Bertrand (2002) and Corinne Fraysinett (1994, 2002) worked with these musicians during the 1990s, and have outlined the Iberian, Afro-Caribbean, and Maghreb influences on their music. These scholars also note the overwhelming influence of Cuban and Puerto Rican salsa on the musical evolution of the rumba Catalane sound.

At this point, it might be useful to make a few musical observations about the genre of rumba Catalane. First, rumba Catalane, also known as rumba gitana, is a musical form derived by Catalan Gitans from rumba flamenco in the 1940s and 1950s, with influences from Cuban dance music of the time-such as songs by Armando Orefiche, Rumbavana, and Lecuona Cuban Boys-and from rock 'n' roll, especially Elvis Presley (Billiet 1999). Rumba flamenco, for its part, is said to be derived from Cuban *son*, through the performance of Cuban traditional music (mostly *son* and *guaracha*) in the *café cantantes* of Andalucía. This strong Cuban connection locates rumba Catalane squarely within the genre of songs known as *cantes de ida y vuelta* (songs of departure and return) that have been traded between Spain and Cuba since the late eighteenth century (Linares and Nuñez 1998). Despite its Cuban origins, rumba Catalane has very few of the elements Cubans would understand to be rumba, with the exception of a syncopated ostinato rhythmic pattern that governs the strumming of the guitar. Traditional Cuban rumba is governed by a *"clave"* (key) rhythm, the most common of which is known as *guaguancó*. This *clave* guides the other polyrhythmic patterns of the

almost entirely percussive Cuban rumba, making a typical *guaguancó* sound like a rainstorm of percussion carried by a vocal melody. ("Congo Yambumba," from the recording entitled *Guaguancó, Columbia, Yambú*, by Los Muñequitos de Matanzas, is a good example of a traditional Cuban rumba *guaguancó*.)

Second, the syncopated guitar rhythm prevalent in rumba Catalane is an evolution of the "*ventilador*" (fan) style of playing developed by Barcelona-based Gitano guitarist Peret, whose music gained enormous popularity in the 1950s and 1960s. Peret, along with Argentine-born musician Javier "Gato" Perez, brought rumba Catalane to the fore of Barcelona's popular music scene. (Peret's "El Gitano Anton," from his recording entitled *Grandes Exitos*, illustrates the *ventilador* guitar style.) Not surprisingly, there are some connections between the Moorish vocal style of *cante jondo* (deep song) in flamenco and the melismatic vocables that introduce traditional Afro-Cuban rumbas in the lyrical "*diana*" section.

Third, many flamenco scholars and performers agree that rumba flamenco (and thus rumba Catalane) has an uncertain place within traditional flamenco repertoire (Leblon 1995). It lacks the unmetered, melismatic solo vocal passages that characterize so much of cante jondo, its *compás* (rhythmic structure) is generally in duple meter (rather than complex meter), and there is more emphasis on repetitive percussive phrases than on long improvisatory forays, as would be the case in more traditional flamenco styles.

And fourth, although most of the members of Els Rumberos Catalans speak Spanish as well as French, they are most comfortable with their own brand of Catalan, labeled by linguist Jean-Paul Escudero and others as "Catalan Gitano" (see Bertrand and Escudero 1994; see also Leblon 1989: 526). As if to emphasize the power of naming, the members of the group call themselves Els Rumberos Catalans and refer to their music as rumba Catalane, referencing two geographic areas that are not necessarily Gitan, but are certainly part of a larger sociocultural Gitan imaginary.

Barcelona-based Gitano guitarist Peret popularized his *ventilador* style of playing guitar in the 1950s and 1960s, claiming influence from Cuban big bands and from Elvis Presley. (Indeed, the first rumba flamenco heard at Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer was recorded in 1955.) Then came the salsa craze of the 1970s and 1980s, in which the musicians of Sant Jaume not only participated, but propagated by incorporating Cuban/Puerto Rican salsa into their music, and by naming their children Tito (as in Puente), Celia (as in Cruz), Mambo (as in the Cuban dance), Johnny (as in Pacheco), and Fania (as in Records). In the twenty-first century, the next generation of musicians from Sant Jaume is still interested in Cuban music, but they prefer recent and cutting-edge styles, like *timba* (a current style of Cuban popular music that incorporates rap, sampling, and funk; El Médico de la Salsa's "Me Pase de Copas" would be a good example of this genre).

Still, one wonders why Catalan Gitans have chosen Cuban music rather than, say, North African or North Indian music (see Leblon 1990: 127-137, for example), Spanish

or French popular music, or the popular music of nearby Gitan or Roma communities. After all, Catalan Gitans are not living in Cuba; Cuba is not a "host country" for them, so theoretically there is no need for the Gitans to accommodate or incorporate Cuban music. But they've chosen to do so for three generations now. A likely reason comes from Fabién, a twenty-something Gitan musician whom I interviewed in June 2002, whose uncles and cousins were involved in the salsa "explosion" of the 1970s and 1980s in Perpignan. Fabién is the leader of a *gitane-cubaine* band, whose members range from 8 to 20 years old. Upon learning that I had done research on music in Cuba, he asked, "Is it true that the people who play *timba* in Cuba are bad- Like, gang kids?" I said no, the timba kids were not bad at all, but they "looked" bad-they walked the walk and talked the talk-like some of the tough-looking hip-hoppers or rappers in urban centers around the world. Fabién seemed disappointed, as though he were harboring a fantasy of empowerment, a way to tap into a successful and defiant marginalized group whose music amplified its status, locally and globally. The "pure interest" in the music is certainly there; Fabién and his band love the latest salsa and *timba* songs. But this strong identification also has to do with images and fantasies of slickness, speed, money, and conspicuous consumption, in short, visually manifested empowerment within a larger society that has marginalized these groups socioeconomically, if not ethnically and racially. (Consider the 2002 recording of flamenco vocalist Manzanita, *Gitano Cubano*, in which Manzanita does convincing covers of such Cuban standards as Guillermo Portabales' "El Carretero," recently revived by the Buena Vista Social Club, and Ignacio Piñeiro's old favorite, "Echale Salsita.")

In conclusion, I offer a brief vignette of another kind of "superterritorialization" which has to do with Manush swing and Django Reinhardt. In 1946, Django Reinhardt was asked by French director Raoul André to compose a score for a film entitled "La Village de la Colere" (The Town of Anger). True to his interest in jazz, Django composed a "swing jazz" score, with the help of his friend and colleague André Hodeir, a well-known French composer, who helped Django transcribe the instrumental parts. In an interview in June 2002, Hodeir remembered that the director and the producers of the film found Django's score too jazzy; they wanted something that sounded more "Gypsy." Django left the project demoralized and disgusted, his oeuvre pigeonholed into a category of "Gypsiness" based on the fantasies of non-Gypsies, while an important inspiration for his work (Afro-American jazz) was rejected as "inauthentic." The director and producers of the film had imagined the traditional "Gypsy music" of Central Europe, with its characteristic string bands and cimbaloms. Manush swing, with its uptempo references to a contemporary musical vernacular that not only spanned countries, but continents, was, literally and figuratively, too far removed for the producers' concept of "Gypsy music."

Gitan and Manush musicians, though historically and popularly characterized as semi-nomadic and marginalized, are engaged in a post-modern, globalist enterprise of transnational cultural flow, a "superterritorialization" in which they erode and ex-

pand the boundaries that geopolitical entities have created for them, through their physical travels, through their audiovisual journeys, and through the musical genres that are reproduced and recombined with each territorial and virtual border crossing.

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Adrian, Taraf, and the Political Reception of Gypsy Music in Bucharest*

David Malvinni

In an otherwise economically depressed, dirty, and polluted cityscape – an urban catastrophe – music's dissemination through cassettes signals one the brightest spots of existential renewal in contemporary Bucharest. A plethora of selling scenes creates this impression: household tables stacked with cassettes on busy sidewalks, semi-enclosed tents, other varieties of makeshift structures, and, perhaps a sign of what is to come, traditional storefronts. By far, the most common (at least in December, 2000) was the simple table. Proprietors at this venue typically blast a cassette at high volume to attract customers.

It is rare to find no one around the stands, and in fact, the booths are usually quite crowded. When you stop at a booth, the owner or employee will play any of the cassettes for you. A new concern, apparently, is whether or not the cassette is authentically manufactured or is pirated. Many of the newer cassettes come with a stamp or label of authenticity. But it can be difficult to tell; at one stand, my Roma musician friend from Clejani, Robert, who is illiterate, asked the seller over and over again whether the cassette was original.

Most of the cassettes I saw and heard were newer ones, produced in 2000, or at the oldest from 1997. (1) This is in line with Western countries, where the demand is for the latest and the newest, as witnessed by the trendiness of styles like hip-hop or light pop. However, in the case of Romania, it might also be due to falling production costs. It seemed that the huge stars, like Adrian, whose career I will discuss below, had as many as ten to fifteen cassettes available, all produced within the past two years. (2)

The cassette covers are slick and artistically inferior, usually promoting symbols of wealth and success, commonly featuring expensive cars or girls in a beach environment complete with palm trees. Emil Preda's cassette, "Mama, ce pustacica tara," features Emil posed against a car with a cell phone. Cell phones are starting to make inroads in Romania, with companies like Connex, yet they remain beyond the average salary earner's means. They symbolize economic and personal success, along with their visible counterparts, such as western European automobiles, Coke, and McDonald's.

Cassettes cost on the average about 15 thousand Lei (3) (about $ 0.50). At the stands where I would linger, in the Cringasi market, most people who purchased music bought one cassette per visit. By comparison to cassettes, CDs cost considerably

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* Paper not presented at the conference.

more, about 150 thousand Lei. Most people here do not own CD players and could not afford the cost of the CDs. The CD stands I saw on the street (for example, the expensive and trendy Magherul) offered CD-ROMs instead of music CDs, with language or computer instruction, or even literature.

At the "Music Box," a strong tentlike structure located at the entrance to the Crîngasi metro, I found some material not available at the other stands. I was interested in older Gypsy recordings. The owner, Ilie, gave me "Musica Lautareascu Veche, vol. I," with Ion Ghitulesco (singer), and a fine collection, "Da-Mi Boi erule, Nevasta," on the older Romanian label, Electrocord. The third one I bought illustrates the lack of violin (viora) music available; I explained to the owner I preferred violin music, but was instead given "Jocuri populare batranesti," by an accordionist Gigel Basamale. The owner implied to me that the accordion could approximate what the violin could do.

The company "RBA" put out the cassette "Musica Lautareascu Veche, vol. I" in 1997. Individual musicians are not credited, although the orchestra (band, or taraf) is "Paraschiv Oprea." The singer, Mr. Rhitulescu, is an assimilated Gypsy with a Romanian name. These kinds of Gypsies call themselves "Romanianized Gypsies." Musically, they sing in the Romanian language, though with a "Gypsy" temperament: high, exaggerated passion, nasal sounds, guttural vocalization, and tremolo. To a Romanian, a Gypsy voice is unmistakable.

The subtitle reads "Old Romania." What is meant is not really very old, nor perhaps anything confined specifically to Romania only. Rather, it is the urban, café style common to central Europe in the twentieth century (though in Bucharest, perhaps with a more Southern or Balkan accent, especially rhythmically). The tunes are probably congruent with the first half of the twentieth century, at a time when Marie Tanase was the greatest Romanian popular singer (enjoying a status similar to the great Egyptian singer, 'Um Kulthom), known and admired by composers such as Enescu and Shostakovich, and the violinist Jascha Heifetz.

The instrumentation is the classic restaurant taraf of the Bucharest restaurants: cymbalom, bass, accordion, and violin. Agreeing with descriptions which start with Franz Liszt's, the cymbalom plays an essentially rhythmic role, providing some rudimentary harmonies to the active bass line. The accordion and violin are virtuosic in their ornamentation. They play mainly when the singer is not singing, and lightly during the vocal parts. In the academic sense, these "obbligato instruments" approximate the human voice, and are able to match its deep emotions.

Within this rich and varied context of cassette sales in present-day Bucharest, now, I would like to present a dialectic of the music industry, in order to show the vastly different economic contexts for the reception of Gypsy music: Adrian versus Taraf de Haidouks. In doing so, I would like to indicate an internal political layer for any mode of reception, where cultural contradictions inform the perception of the object at hand.

Simplifying somewhat, the category of "Gypsy music" has been interpreted in the West in two principal ways: 1) as a cross-cultural substance, cutting through various

traditions but playing the same role nearly everywhere; 2) as a phenomenon that is best understood regionally, with attention to local repertoires and tastes. According to the first category, Gypsy music is a unified phenomenon, admitting of similar traits wherever it may be found. For the second, Gypsy music emerges as dependent on contact with local circumstances. Fascinating, and perhaps adding to its own richness as an artistic rendering, the film *Latcho drom* (1993) can be read either way. Although much work is beginning to appear on Gypsy music repertoires, the contradictions that fuel its local controversies have been less studied.

This is unfortunate, because if our understanding of "Gypsy music" is always already ideologically motivated-according to one's interest, in other words-the *reception* of Gypsy music can be a cleaner and a more distinct essence to reveal. The Gypsy singer Adrian Copilul Minune's cassettes are by far the most popular and sought after in Bucharest. By contrast, Taraf de Haidouks, one of the hottest Gypsy acts in what is called, rather strangely, "world music," is hardly known, even though the members of the band come from Clejani, a village within a forty minute bus ride of the city.

What I will try to show in the rest of this paper is that this reception is a politically manufactured one, and dependent on the figure of the Western economy.

Despite having numerous cassettes available, Adrian's cassette "Copilul Minune: canta cu mine" was the one recommended to me by more than one vendor. On the cover is a smiling Adrian, holding a smaller version of himself in the form of a microphone. This artful and reflective cover is in contrast with many of the other cassettes available. There is also a picture of the manager, George Hodorogea, on the cover. At 35,000 Lei, this was an expensive cassette in December 2001.

The title song "Canta cu mine" is quintessential Adrian. It begins with a huge percussive flourish on the drum boxes, then enters the accordion (the most traditional element of the layered texture), then "hey hey hey, opa" of Adrian. Adrian sings effortlessly over a syncopated, generic "world-beat" accompaniment, and the listener quickly gathers the impression that any vocal innuendo is possible with this powerful voice. Adrian makes references to Latin dance music and rhythms, obviously huge influences on his own style. The text is presented at the end of this paper.

Let us begin by listening to the explanation that the producers of Taraf give for the band's relative obscurity in Bucharest. In December 2000, the Taraf gave their first concerts in the Romanian capital, resulting in a CD entitled "Band of Gypsies," and a documentary film (to be released). The CD liner notes give the story in a series of elaborate "subplots": "Subplot A: these are their [Taraf's] first ever concerts in the Romanian capital, where they've always been dismissed as »ragged» Gypsies." (4)

Since the production of their first CD in 1991, the producers have claimed that there exists no interest in Bucharest for Taraf from Clejani. The main reason? Racism and hatred for Gypsies. Producer Michel Winter maintains that "In France, Gypsies have organizations against racism. Romania is 100% racist against Gypsies." The production company Cramworld's web site confirms this idea: "These were indeed the

band's first ever concerts in the Romanian capital; after ten years of international success Taraf were still not recognized in their own country (maybe because they were perceived as Gypsies rather than as musicians)."

As chance would have it, on the day before I was set to fly home from Bucharest (the only sunny day while I was there), I wandered into the famous Hanul lui Manuc. Admiring the 18th-century architecture of old Bucharest, I quickly realized I could make out some strange but familiar music coming from above. Almost running up the stairs, I saw Caliu, the lead fiddler from Taraf. I learned that the band was being filmed in an old hall by Tony Gatlif's daughter, Elsa. The event is supposed to become an hour-long documentary, and the concerts from the rehearsals on those days became the CD "Band of Gypsies" already mentioned, which obviously plays off the caché of Hendrix's all-black group of the same name. A close analysis of this CD will form the basis of another article, but for now I would like to consider the real motivation for this series of concerts.

As an aside, I would offer this partial explanation: if and when Romania does join the EU, someday, it is a smart business move to sow the seeds for future concerts and sales. (5)

But what of Winter's thesis, that the band can never be popular in Bucharest because of entrenched Romanian racism against Gypsies. Does not the success of numerous Gypsy artists, especially Adrian, essentially defeat such a view- Winter might counter that Taraf plays an old-fashioned, village kind of music, ballads, something not comparable to the pop trends of an Adrian. According to Winter,

> "During the Ceausescu dictatorship, the old songs were banned. It was easy to read the criticism of the government into a ballad about the King, so Romanians stopped playing folk music. Except for academic folklorists for Communist radio, the Gypsies were the only ones keeping the old ballads alive." (6)

Yet the situation is more complex. If Taraf began in the early 1990s playing these ancient ballads, today they are combining them with the newer style of village music. Indeed, in the liner notes to "Band of Gypsies," it is mentioned, ironically, that Sperantsa Radulescu, "the ethnomusicologist who first recorded the Taraf elders in the late '80s," explains that "she prefers the medieval ballads sung by the older generation to the modernist drift of the young." What becomes clear from this is that the production and marketing machinery around the band are losing their earlier orientation of the band as espousers of village purity, authenticity, and ancient tradition. The music has suddenly become jerked into the fusion world, it is more hip, more "Gypsy" – something for the likes of a Johnny Depp.

The concert event of Taraf in Bucharest was a marketing triumph for fusion. Taraf was not presented as a solo act, but together with musicians from Bulgaria and Turkey. As it turns out, the producers, Stephane Karo and Winter, whose first major joint production was with Taraf, have expanded their portfolio to the Macedonian Kocani Orchester and even an African group. For this event, they brought the Kocani

Orchester to Bucharest, along with a Turkish dumbek player, Tarik Tuysuzoglu, and a clarinet player, Filip Simeonov, from Bulgaria. It is pretty obvious to see what is happening: an attempt at fusion, at a "pan-Balkan" music, as the liner notes state.

(And in parentheses because it is really another story, two myths dispelled for me that day were that Gypsies 1) learn new music easily; 2) improvise naturally.)

In any case, because I had the good fortune of staying at the home of the Romanian ethnomusicologist Marin Marian Balasa, I was able to get a deeper perspective on the situation. First of all, this music has been known to ethnographers for quite some time. At the Brailoui Institute, where Dr. Balasa is a research associate, I was treated by him to tape recordings from Clejani, from the early 1960s. The music was from another world, something very different from even the first album of Taraf. But the main point is that the village of Clejani has been known to ethnographers from at least the 1960s, or even much earlier. Gheorghe Ciobanu (1969) published a very serious musicological look at the musicians from Clejani.

Second, on the wall of a house I stayed at in the village of Clejani there was an old photograph of Nicole Neacsu that showed him playing as a young man dressed in traditional village costume. I asked Caliu about this, and he informed me that under communism the Gypsies of Clejani had won perhaps more awards than any other musicians in the national folk festivals sponsored by the state in the 1970s through the 1980s. Thus, although the producers of Taraf would have us believe otherwise, the Gypsies of Clejani are not so different from their "official Gypsy" cousins on TV.

Third, since the cost of the concerts featuring Taraf was too high for the average native Bucharest person to attend, I cannot believe that the event was intended to introduce the band to the working people of Bucharest. In 2000, the average person makes from 80 to 100 U.S. dollars a month, and the ticket prices were around 40,000 Lei (about two dollars), which I learned was a lot of money for a concert. I thought nothing of this ticket price until my friend Marin informed me that an average Bucharest resident would consider that outrageous. At first, I was stunned, but then I realized that he was absolutely right-this was not a show for the city, but for the press and their entourage. And the concert had received virtually no local advertising; Marin was very surprised to learn that there even were these concerts.

To conclude, we can see the dialectic of the local superstar Adrian and the world superstars Taraf in terms of how their music is physically disseminated, respectively, the cassette versus the CD. By producing their music exclusively on CDs, the producers of Taraf have made what I think is a conscious decision to promote the band outside of Romania, where there is much more economic promise. How difficult would it be to produce some cassettes of Taraf de Haidouks for sale in the local markets? The producers might counter that this would open up their product to pirating, and yet, even so, would they be losing any money in the more lucrative Western markets if their Romanian cassette was in fact pirated?

A final irony: although Adrian's music is more infused with generic world-beat

trends-synthesizers, drum boxes, hip hop beats, flamenco rhythms and innuendos-his music remains regionally entrapped in Romania and perhaps the Balkans, and virtually unknown in the West. (7) In contrast, while Taraf music plays off village tradition, "authenticity," the ballad and hora (dance) repertoire – all dependent on local circumstance – this music can be found throughout the West, and especially in Japan, where Gypsy music enjoys a massive popularity.

Appendix (8)

ADRIAN
During the instrumental introduction, he says: "I dedicate this melody to professor... Petrişor. From me, Adrian".
1) Cântă cu mine, simte-te bine, invită-mă la dans
În seara asta fiesta e a ta.
Şi muzica să-nceapă şi ea latino party balans
Cu veselie gustă distracţia.
REF.: Hai dansează pe ritmuri latine
Muzica să cânte, dansează alături de mine
Haide joacă, dansaţi cu toţi
Viaţa e frumoasă, nu ţine cont de noroc.
(Instrumental play, twice)
2) Muzica bună seara răsună cu melodii de dans
Şi discoteca e plină de ritmul lor
Vino cum noi pe ritmuri latino party balans
Şi simte mirajul melodiilor
(Ref. twice, instrumental play twice)
3) = 1)

NOTES

Acknowledgments. I am indebted to Dr. Marin Marian Balasa, of the Brailoui Institute in Bucharest who kindly read and commented on this article. I take any responsibility for any remaining mistakes or inconsistencies, however.

(1) These new cassettes are in a style of music in marked contrast to the urban popular music analyzed by Robert Garfias in his many excellent articles on the Doina. For accessible MP3 audio examples, see Garfias (2002).

(2) I was also able to purchase a Gypsy Music CD set, called "Stele Muzicii Lautaresti," twelve volumes (Amma Service, 2000), which featured Adrian along with other current "stars" like Stefan de la Barbulesti.

(3) I have recently learned that these are now as high as 40,000 Lei.

(4) From the CD Liner Notes (Nonesuch 79641-2, 2001).

(5) Dr. Balasa took strong issue with this statement. However, I stand by it: perhaps the producers are "testing the waters" of the home territory, to see how viable Taraf would someday be on their home turf.

(6) Commenting on the inaccuracies of this quotation would take another article in itself; but for now, suffice it to say that the ballads were not banned and that the style has survived quite well despite the communist regime.

(7) Ironically, he was featured as a professional musician in Tony Gatlif's film *Gadjo dilo*.

(8) I am grateful to Dr. Balasa for his transcription of this text.

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EMMANUEL FILHOL – Emmanuel Filhol has a PhD in Information Science and Communication. He teaches at the University of Bordeaux 1, where he conducts a graduate seminar, "The Perception of the Gypsies in France (15th to 20th centuries)." He is a member of the Laboratory Epistémé (Bordeaux 1 University) and the Gypsy Research Center (Paris V University). His research concerns the representations of Gypsy history and Gypsy persecutions in France. He has published works on these topics in journals such as *Etudes Tsiganes*, *Migrations Société*, *Annales du Midi*, *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, *and Lexicographica*. Filhol's book, *Memory and Oblivion: The Internment of the Gypsies in France, 1940-1946*, has just been published (Paris, L'Harmattan, "Interface" Collection, Gypsy Research Center of the Paris V University, 2003). Another, *Gypsies in France: Representations and Persecutions*, has been submitted for publication. As an homage to François de Vaux de Foletier, French historian of the Gypsies, he organized an exhibition and European conference entitled Gypsy Stories: In Honor of François de Vaux de Foletier (1893-1988) to be held at La Rochelle (Archives départementales, rue F. de Vaux de Foletier) in October 2003. The proceedings of this conference will be published in *Etudes Tsiganes*, 2004 vol. 1. Filhol is currently writing a book on the internment of the "Alsace-Lorraine" Gypsies in France during the First World War.

VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN – Victor A. Friedman is Andrew W. Mellon Professor and Chair in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago. He is the author of the first book on modern Macedonian published in the United States (1977) and has published over 200 articles and reviews on languages of the Balkans and the Caucasus. A member of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and

Sciences since 1994, he also received the "1300" Years Bulgaria Jubilee Medal for his contributions to Bulgarian linguistics in 1981 and the Golden Plaque Award from the University of Skopje in 1991. In 1992 he participated in a conference sponsored by the Board of Education of the Republic of Macedonia on the introduction of Romani as a language of study in schools. In summer 1994, he worked as a senior policy and political analyst for the United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) stationed in former Yugoslavia, during which time Romani concerns were in his purview. He has also served as a consultant on the Republic of Macedonia, including Romani issues, for the Council on Foreign Relations (Center for Preventive Action) and the International Crisis Group. In July 1999 and July 2001 he lectured on Romani linguistics at Central European University – Budapest (as part of a summer course entitled "Plight of the Gypsies"). Friedman's publications on Romani include "Problems in the Codification of a Standard Romani Literary Language," Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, New York: Gypsy Lore Society, 1985; "Balkan Romani Modality and Other Balkan Languages," Folia Slavica, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1985; "A Caucasian Loanword in Romani," Papers from the Eighth and Ninth Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, New York: Gypsy Lore Society, 1988; "Turquismes en romani: a propos de l'établissement d'une langue rom unique et les composants lexicaux turcs des différents dialectes," Tsiganes: Identité, Evolution, Patrick Williams, ed., Paris: Etudes Tsiganes, 1989; "The Earliest Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's Seyahat-name," (with Robert Dankoff), Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series), Vol. 1, No. 1, 1991; "Case in Romani: Old Grammar in New Affixes," Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series), Vol. 1, No. 2, 1991; "Dialect Variation and Questions of Standardization in Macedonia: Macedonian, Albanian and Romani," Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1993; "Romani Standardization and Status in the Republic of Macedonia" in Romani in Contact: The History, Structure, and Sociology of a Language, Yaron Matras, ed., Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995; "Romani and the Census in the Republic of Macedonia," Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series), Vol. 6, No. 2, 1996; "Linguistic Form and Content in the Romani-language Press," in The Typology and Dialectology of Romani, Y. Matras, P. Bakker, and H. Kyuchukov, eds., Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997; "The Romani Language in the Republic of Macedonia: Status, Usage, and Sociolinguistic Perspectives" Acta Linguistica Hungarica, Vol. 46, No. 3-4, 1999; "Romani in the Balkan Linguistic League," in Valkaniki Glossologia: Sygkhronia kai Diakhronia/Balkanlinguistik: Synchronie und Diachronie, Chr. Tzitzilis and Kh. Symeonidis, eds. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2000; "Proleptic and Resumptive Object Pronouns in Romani: A Balkan Noun Phrase Perspective," in Grammatical Relations in Romani: The Noun Phrase, Yaron Matras and Viktor Elšík, eds., Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000; "Romani Multilingualism in its Balkan Context," Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung, Vol. 54, 2001; and "The Romani Indefinite Article in Its

Historical and Areal Context," in "Was ich noch sagen wollte..." A Multilingual Festschrift for Norbert Boretzky on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Sprach-typologie und Universalienforschung, Supplements, Studia typologica 2), Birgit Igla and Thomas Stolz, eds., Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001. Friedman has served on the Board of Directors of the Gypsy Lore Society since 1983, including a term as president (1984-86), and he is on the editorial board of the journal Romani Studies.

JUAN F. GAMELLA – Juan F. Gamella is an anthropologist, presently professor of Cultural Anthropology at the Universidad de Granada, Spain. He has done fieldwork in Sumatra, Indonesia, on development, social change and the expansion of the oil industry; and in the US and Spain on the history of drug problems and the spread of AIDs. Among the publications resulting from this research are "The Spread of IV Drug use and AIDS in a Neighborhood in Spain" (*Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1994), *La historia de Julián. Memorias de heroína y delincuencia* (4th ed., Madrid, 2003), *Las rutas del éxtasis. Drogas de síntesis y nuevas culturas juveniles* (in collaboration with Arturo Alvarez, Barcelona, 1999) and *Drugs and Alcohol in the Pacific* (ed., Aldershot, UK, 2002). He has been working with groups of Spanish Gypsies since 1993 in several areas of Andalusia, Madrid, and more summarily in the Basque country and Catalonia. His publications in this field include a book on the ways Spanish children from multiethnic schools conceptualize their Gitano neighbors (*La imagen infantil de los gitanos*, Valencia, 1998), an overview of the situation of the Gypsy population in Andalusia (*La población gitana de Andalucía*, Seville, 1996), and a first version of a long term study on the marriage and gender systems of Andalusian Gypsies, which combines demographic history, ethnography, and ethnohistory (*Mujeres gitanas. Matrimonio y género en la cultura gitana de Andalucía*, Seville, 2000).

KATHERINE JOHANNA HAGEDORN – Katherine Johanna Hagedorn is Asso-ciate Professor of Music at Pomona College in Claremont, California, where she teaches seminars on the performance traditions of Latin America and the African diaspora, survey courses in "world music," and classes on ethnomusicological theory and method. Professor Hagedorn also directs Pomona's ethnomusicology program, which features a Balinese gamelan gong kebyar, a rotating ensemble-in-residence (Ghanaian drumming, Flamenco guitar, Afro-Cuban percussion, etc.), a concert and lecture series, and an interdisciplinary plan of study.

Her primary research, carried out in Cuba and the United States, focuses on Afro-Cuban religious performance and its transformation into folkloric theatre, with an emphasis on the central role of batá drumming. Over the past ten years, Hagedorn has presented more than thirty scholarly papers on this topic, and has published articles and review essays based on this research in *World of Music, British Journal of Ethnomusicology, and Ethnomusicology*. Her book, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería*, was published in 2001 by the Smithsonian Institution Press. She

plans to begin a new research project in Cuba in January 2003. Her most recent project in her secondary area of research (Roma music) considers the music of French and Spanish Gitans (Gypsies) of Catalunya, focusing on the surprising and enduring influence of Cuban popular music there. Hagedorn presented a paper on this topic at the Gypsy Lore Society conference in Budapest in September 2002, and has received a Hirsch Grant and two Pomona College research grants to continue her research in this area. Trained as a classical pianist, Hagedorn has performed West African, Afro-Cuban, and Indonesian percussive traditions since the late 1980s. She has a B. A. in Comparative Language and Literature from Tufts University, an M. A. in International Relations from The Johns Hopkins University, and an M. A. and Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology from Brown University. Hagedorn has taught at Pomona College since 1993, and in 2000 was the recipient of the California Professor of the Year award, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education. In May 2002, she won a Wig Teaching Award from Pomona College, and in October 2002, she was awarded the Alan Merriam Prize for the best ethnography published in 2000-2001, for her book *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería.*

ADRIANA HELBIG – Adriana Helbig is a doctoral student in Ethnomusicology at Columbia University where she received the M. Phil. degree in 2001 and the M. A. in 1999. In 2002, she conducted research in Ukraine on a Fulbright U.S. Student grant and is writing her dissertation on Roma identity politics in Ukraine. She is also interested in issues of gender in Romani dance. At present, Helbig is a graduate student instructor in the undergraduate Music Humanities Core Curriculum at Columbia University.

DEYAN KOLEV – Deyan Kolev is a teacher of Philosophy and Ethics in Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria. He has an M. A. in Systematic Philosophy from Saints Cyril and Methodius University, Veliko Turnovo. He is interested in Romani folklore and culture and the history and anthropology of Native American peoples. He is author or co-author of five books on Romani tales and feasts (*Romá Folklore in Central Bulgaria, Tales, Legends and Songs of Central Bulgarian Romá, Calendar Feasts of Central Bulgarian Romá, Stories and Memories, Wedding Customs of Central Bulgarian Roma*), one manual (*Teacher's Book of Romá Folklore*) and one textbook on Roma Folklore (*Magic Pages from Romá Folklore: A Textbook for Pupils from Grades* 2 to 7). He is Chairman of the Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance "Amalipe" which works to implement Roma folklore in Bulgarian primary schools.

SUAT KOLUKIRIK – Suat Kolukirik is a Research Assistant in the Department of Sociology, Ege University, Izmir, Turkey, where he is preparing a Ph.D dissertation on Gypsy culture and identity. His areas of interest include Romanies (Gypsies), cultural

studies and identity, theoretical analysis, and new approaches in sociology. He has published articles in the press and has spoken on television on Gypsies, especially those living in Izmir.

HRISTO KYUCHUKOV – Hristo Kyuchukov is Professor in Linguistics and Education at the Veliko Tarnovo University, Bulgaria. He holds a Ph. D. in Linguistics from the University of Amsterdam and a Ph. D. in Education form the University of Sofia. He is interested in the Romani language from a psycholinguistic point of view, and has been studying and doing research on early acquisition of Romani in the home environment. He is interested as well in Roma children's narratives and in Romani sociolinguistics. He has been working on the language of Turkish speaking (Muslim) Roma. He has a number of publications on these topics. In addition, Kyuchukov has an interest in Roma children's education, studying the means of enriching the quality of Roma children's education in Bulgaria and other European countries. He has published many articles and books in Bulgarian and English on the educational problems of Roma children.

JÁNOS LADÁNYI – János Ladányi is Professor of Sociology at the Budapest University of Economic Sciences and Public Administration, Hungary. His research focus includes social policy, urban poverty, and ethnic conflicts. His publications include three books in Hungarian and, more recently, "Class, Ethnicity and Urban Restructuring in Post-Communist Hungary" (co-author), in Enyedi, ed., *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe* (1998); and "The Hungarian Neoliberal State, Ethnic Classification and the Creation of a Roma Underclass," in Emigh and Szelényi, eds., *Poverty, Ethnicity and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition* (2001).

ZORAN LAPOV – Zoran Lapov graduated in Ethnology and Russian Language and Literature at the University of Zagreb (1996) and holds a diploma from the Post-Graduate Course in Intercultural Relations and Education of the University of Florence, Italy (1996/97). His main field of research is the Romani language and culture. Currently, he is conducting a seminar on the Romani language and culture in the Department of Education at the University of Florence, and preparing his Ph.D. in intercultural education on non-territorial minorities, i.e. Roma and Sinti, in Italy. Among other research activities, Lapov has been engaged in a European research project, "The State and the Gypsies," in collaboration with the Institute of the Comparative Social Research of Berlin. His publications on Roma include "Pripadnost romskog indoeuropskoj jezičnoj zajednici [The Romani language as a member of the Indo-European linguistic family]," in *Svarožić*, Ethnology Students' Journal of the Department of Ethnology, University of Zagreb, 1991; "Nuovi flussi migratori e nuovi stereotipi sul popolo Rom. Il caso italiano [New migratory flows and new stereotypes about the Roma people. The Italian case]," in *Migranti, rifugiati e*

nomadi: Europa dell'Est in movimento, G. Campani, F. Carchedi, and G. Mottura, eds., Turin: L'Harmattan Italia, 1998; "Etnonimi presso alcuni gruppi di Xoraxané Romá [Ethnonyms in some groups of Xoraxané Romá]," in *Italia romaní*, vol. II, L. Piasere, ed., Rome: CISU, 1999; "La tragedia del popolo Rom si ripete [The tragedy of the Roma people repeats itself]," in *Immigrati siamo tutti*, S. Grippi, ed., Florence: Edizioni D. E. A., 2000; "Un esempio di negazione dell'identita linguistico-culturale: il caso del romané [An example of linguistic-cultural identity denial: the case of the romané]," in *Dinamiche identitarie: multilinguismo ed educazione interculturale*, G. Campani and Z. Lapov, eds., Turin: L'Harmattan Italia, 2001; forthcoming publications: "The Roma and the State, Report on Italy," Berlin: EMZ, 2004; "Vaćaré romané," Milan: Franco Angeli, 2004; "Italian 'Camps for Nomads'," Berlin: EMZ, 2004.

DAVID MALVINNI – David Malvinni teaches music at Santa Barbara City College and The Waldorf School of Santa Barbara. In 2002, he completed his dissertation at the University of California, Santa Barbara, *The Gypsy Caravan: From Real Roma to Imaginary Gypsies in Western Music*, soon to be published by Routledge Press. Malvinni's fieldwork focuses on Eastern Europe and especially Romania and Hungary. He has published articles dealing with Mahler's *Sixth Symphony*, Brahms's *Hungarian Dance no. 5*, Rachmaninov's *Aleko* (in press) and most recently on Gypsy film music, the latter two in the journal *Eastern European Meetings in Ethnomusicology*. Malvinni also participates in music outreach throughout Southern California, including adult-audience music appreciation and after-school strings programs, and he lectures frequently for various music organizations. He has presented papers on Gypsy (Roma) music at national and regional meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology, American Musicological Society, and the Gypsy Lore Society, and has taken part in panels at many venues including Lincoln Center. As a performer, he is recording a CD of Classical Guitar standards. Current research projects include a book, *Here Comes Your Sunshine: A Listener's Guide to The Grateful Dead*, an article on Elmer Bernstein's score to *The Magnificent Seven*, on which he is working with Mr. Bernstein, and an article focusing on guitarist Django Reinhardt's creative influence on Gypsy Jazz.

ELISA MARTÍN – Elisa Martín is an independent researcher affiliated with the GERI (Grupo de Estudios Romaníes Internacionales) at the Universidad de Granada, Spain. She has studied architecture and history, and is finishing her Ph.D. dissertation on the historical demography of Spanish Gypsies in Eastern Andalusia since the beginning of the Civil Register (1871-2000). She has collaborated in several demographic and historical research projects and has published on minorities and opium regimes in the Philippines ("Las rentas del Anfión," *Revista de Indias*, 1992); on the demographic structure of Gitanos ("La estructura de la población gitana de Andalucía" (*Demofilo* vol 30, 1999), and their nuptiality patterns ("Roots of Ethnic Difference- Nuptiality Patterns of Spanish Gypsies (1870-1999)," *Journal of the History*

of the Family, 2003, in press). Presently she coordinates a graduate program on Romani Studies at the Universidad de Granada, which will begin in October 2003.

ELENA MARUSHIAKOVA and **VESSELIN POPOV** – Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov started their research of Gypsies in the mid 1970s. They have written about Gypsies in Bulgaria, the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov's major publications include the first monographic research on the history, ethnography, social structure and culture of the Gypsies in Bulgaria (1997), a book on Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire (2000) and on identity formation among minorities in the Balkans (2001). They are publishing a series of collections of Roma folklore. They are affiliated with the Institute of Ethnography and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and with the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Leipzig. Currently, they are conducting extended field research in the former Soviet Union as a part of the collaborative research center SFB 586 "Difference and Integration" at Universities of Leipzig and Halle. In 1995, they created the Roma Heritage Museum Fund at the National Ethnographic Museum in Sofia, establishing the first museum-based exhibition on Gypsies in Bulgaria, and in 1998–1999 set up an exhibition in Budapest on Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. They founded the Minority Studies Society – Studii Romani in 1991.

YARON MATRAS – Yaron Matras is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Linguistics, University of Manchester. He has published extensively in the fields of language contact, language typology, and various aspects of sociolinguistics, and is one of the leading authorities on the Romani language. His book *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2002, and is a comprehensive overview of the Romani language, its dialects, and its history. Yaron Matras has also edited and co-edited numerous other books on the Romani language. He was the initiator of the International Conferences on Romani Linguistics in 1993, and coordinates several research projects on Romani and its dialects. His PhD thesis, "Studies in Romani Grammar and Discourse" was published as a book in 1994 by Harrassowitz. Before taking up a lectureship in linguistics in Manchester in 1995, Matras worked at the University of Hamburg, and with a Romani civil rights association based in Hamburg, where he created the RomNews information network. He has been serving as editor of the journal *Romani Studies, which continues the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, since 1999.

UDO MISCHEK – Udo Mischek studied Ethnology, History of Religion, and Islamic Studies in Berlin and Tübingen, and in 1999 completed the doctorate in ethnology at the University of Leipzig, where he is now a lecturer. Since July 2001, he has been a member of the research group SFB 586 "Differenz und Integration." Currently, he is doing fieldwork among Gypsy communities in Istanbul.

TRAJKO PETROVSKI – Trajko Petrovski is a Romologist, researcher of the Romani language, ethnology and folklore. He is senior researcher at the "Marko Cepenkov" Institute of Folklore in Skopje, Macedonia. Since 1974 he has taught history and geography, and since 1980 he has worked as a researcher of the Romani language, ethnology and folklore at the Institute of Folklore. In 1987, he earned his master's degree in the Department of Ethnology in Belgrade with a thesis, "The Calendar Rituals of the Roma in Skopje and Environs." In 1997, he earned his doctorate in Ethnology at the University of Zagreb; his dissertation was "Ethnic and Cultural Characteristics of the Roma in Macedonia." In 1997, he was president of the organizational board of the first scientific international symposium on the Roma. He has published a large number of scientific works on the Romani language, ethnology and folklore, among them Roma in Macedonia, Books One and Two; *Romani Folkore; A Book of Romani Folk Songs* and *Proceedings of the First Symposium on the Roma*. He is the author of the *Romani-Macedonian Dictionary, Roma-Italian Dictionary*. Petrovski is now preparing a grammar of the Romani language and a book of Romani tales. He has participated in a large number of conferences, congresses, and symposia in Macedonia, Europe, USA, and India.

JEAN-LUC POUEYTO – Jean-Luc Poueyto directs a training center for adults many young Gypsies attend in order to learn how to read and write. He defended his Ph.D. thesis in literature in 2000. He teaches at the Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour (UPPA) and is attached to the Center of Anthropology of Toulouse (CNRS/ EHESS). For nearly ten years, Poueyto has been doing research on the question of wri-ting in the Manush community and has written several articles on the question of writing, on memory (particularly about the memory of the concentration camps), and also upon the question of naming within this community.

CSABA PRÓNAI – Csaba Prónai teaches at the Department of Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) and is a researcher at the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He has an M. A. in history, in cultural anthropology, in Hungarian language and literature, and in aesthetics. Prónai defended his Ph.D. thesis in sociology in 1999. He is interested in the history of anthropology, and in the development of anthropological theory, especially as related to Gypsy studies. His textbook *Cigánykutatás és kulturális antropológia* [Gypsy Studies and Cultural Anthropology] (1995) is derived from his lectures and seminars. Prónai is the editor of a Hungarian translation series *Cigányok Európában. Kulturális Antropológiai Tanulmányok* [Gypsies in Europe. Cultural Anthropological Studies], published by Új Mandátum. The first volume (500 pp.) consists of selected studies from Patrick Williams, from Leonardo Piasere, and a translation of Bernard Formoso's "Tsiganes et sédentaires." The second consists of a translation of Leonardo Piasere's "Mare Roma" and of Jane Dick Zatta's

"Gli Zingari, i Roma" and of studies by Francesca Manna, Elizabeth Tauber, and Paola Trevisan.

MATT T. SALO – Recently retired from his position as a senior Research Anthropologist at the U.S. Census Bureau, Matt T. Salo currently devotes most of his time to Gypsy studies. He has a Ph.D. in anthropology from the State University of New York at Binghamton, an M. A. in Uralic and Altaic Studies from Indiana University and an undergraduate degree in Philosophy of Science.

His scope of interests include all traveling (peripatetic) peoples in North America, with a greatest emphasis on Romnichel and Rom Gypsies and on Scottish Travelers and Roaders. He rekindled American Romnichel research after over a half century of neglect by scholars and was the first to draw attention to a hitherto unknown peripatetic group of families calling themselves Roaders. His article on "Gypsy Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity*, 6(1): 73-96, set a new standard for rigor in Gypsy studies, calling for an examination of each group as a distinct ethnic entity rather than as part of a fictional unity glossed as "The Gypsies," or more recently with the neologism, "Roma." With his wife, Sheila, he co-authored a monograph, *The Kalderaš in Eastern Canada* and the articles "Romnichel Economic and Social Organization in New England" and "Gypsy Immigration to the United States." He is the editor of *The American Kalderaš: Gypsies in the New World* (1981) and *100 Years of Gypsy Studies* (1990), and of special Gypsy studies issues, *Peripatetic Peoples in Nomadic Peoples* Nos: 21-21 and *Urban Gypsies in Urban Anthropology* 11, Nos: 3-4. He has contributed articles on Gypsies and Travelers to several encyclopedias and is the author of numerous reviews on the subject. Salo was instrumental in resurrecting the moribund Gypsy Lore Society and transferring its headquarters to the United States in 1989, where it has continued as a revitalized scholarly organization. He has served seven times as the President of the Society, and has been on the Society's Board of Directors since 1978.

SHEILA SALO – With Matt T. Salo, Sheila Salo has conducted ethnographic research with Rom, Romnichels, and Ludar in North America, as well as documentary research on the histories of Gypsy groups in the United States. Her primary interests are in the interrelations of social, economic, and ethnic organization. She is author of *Register of the Carlos De Wendler-Funaro Gypsy Research Collection C.1920-1975* (1986), "'Stolen by Gypsies': The Kidnap Accusation in the United States" (1988); "The Flight into Mexico, 1917" (1992); "'Lolya's Story': Steve Kaslov and His Memoirs" (1995); and "An American Rom Family in the World, C. 1918–1949" (1999). Sheila Salo is co-author of *The Kalderaš in Eastern Canada* (1977, with Matt T. Salo); "Gypsy Immigration to the United States" (1986, with Matt T. Salo); "Romnichel Economic and Social Organization in Urban New England, 1850-1930" (1982, with Matt T. Salo); and *Gypsies and Travelers in North America: An Annotated Bibliography* (1994, with William G. Lockwood). She edited "The Ways of My People,"

selections from the memoirs of Steve Kaslov (1995); and "Sinclair Meets the Rom, 1902," from the field notes of Albert Thomas Sinclair (1993). She has served as editor of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* and the *Newsletter of the Gypsy Lore Society*, and currently serves as president of the Gypsy Lore Society.

DÁVID SIMON – Currently Dávid Simon is a PhD candidate at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Social Science, Budapest. He graduated from the Semmelweiss University of Medicine, Budapest, in 2001 (Thesis: A magyarországi romák egészségi és egészségügyi helyzetének szociokulturális háttere [The Sociocultural Background of the Health Status and Situation in the Health Care System of the Roma in Hungary]) and from the Institute of Sociology of Eötvös Loránd University in 2002 (A magyarországi cigánykutatás módszertani problémái [The Methodological Problems of Gypsy Research in Hungary]). He presented a paper entitled "Becoming Roma in Central and East Europe: Results of a Comparative Sociological Investigation in Three Countries" at the Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities in 2002. With György Csepeli, he is co-author of "Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-identification," soon to be published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. His PhD project focuses on the methodological aspects of researching the economic activities of urban Roma.

JOHN STRONG – John A. Strong is Professor Emeritus at the Southampton campus of Long Island University. He earned his PhD at Syracuse University. He has published three books and several articles on Native American ethnohistory. His interest in Roma studies began when he was Fulbright lecturer at the University of Miskolc in Hungary. His research team, which included Endre Lengyel and Zsuzsa Török, presented a paper at the British and American Studies Conference in Timişoara, Romania (1999), comparing problems of racial and cultural identity in the Roma of Uszka, Hungary and the Native American communities on Long Island in the United States. In 2002, the completion of this study was presented in Budapest at a symposium celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian-American Fulbright Commission.

IVÁN SZELÉNYI – Iván Szelényi is William Graham Sumner Professor of Sociology and professor of political science at Yale University, New Haven. He is fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, ordinary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and vice president of the American Sociological Association. His research interests include classes and elites, social change, urban sociology, and ethnicity. His books include *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power (1979)* (co-author); *Socialist Entrepreneurs (1988); Making Capitalism without Capitalists: The New*

Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe (1998) (co-author); *Poverty, Ethnicity and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition* (2001) (co-editor).

PATRICK WILLIAMS – Patrick Williams has worked at the CNRS (Paris, France) as a social anthropologist since 1985. In 1996, he became director of the *Laboratoire d'anthropologie urbaine* (UPR 34 CNRS). He has studied Gypsy communities in Europe, mostly in France. His thesis, defended in 1979, is a monograph on Kalderash Rom living in the Paris suburbs (*Mariage tsigane. Une cérémonie de fiançailles chez les Rom de Paris*, 1984). Another book, "*Nous, on n'en parle pas.' Les vivants et les morts chez les Manushes*" (1993) concerns relations between the living and the dead among the Manush. He has also published papers on various aspects of Gypsy community life, as such the uses of language, the relation between literacy and orality, and the development of pentecostalism. He is also interested musical expression (*Django*, 1991 and 1998, *Les Tsiganes de Hongrie et leurs musiques*, 1997).