The Rroma and education: a historical introduction to and a critical comparison of current educational provision for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom

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The Rroma and education.

A historical introduction to and a critical comparison of current educational provision for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom.

by

EWA A.E. KRUCZEK-STEIGER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Loughborough University for an award of Master of Philosophy

May 1999
ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to provide an historical introduction to and a critical comparison of current educational provision for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom.

Differing accounts of the history of the Rroma are presented and a number of hypotheses regarding the origins of the Rromani and of their migrations to Europe are proposed. A historical summary reveals the background to the current situation of national minorities in Poland and travelling groups in the United Kingdom and the attitudes of settled communities towards the Rroma in both countries. The problem of the racist attacks on the Rroma in Europe which began in the early 1990s is also investigated. In addition, statistical estimates of Rromani populations are given, and the role and importance of Rromani organisations are examined.

Minority groups in Poland, travelling groups in the United Kingdom and the legislation in both countries which affects the Rroma are described. Furthermore, the thesis seeks to outline the essential nature of nomadism.

An outline of educational systems for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom is given. Governmental policies on implementing education and the actual education provision for the Rroma in both countries are investigated and analysed. An account of how data was collected and information obtained for this study is included.

The evaluation of the data collected seeks to establish the status quo in both countries and identify the similarities and differences in current educational policy towards the Rroma. The comparison of both educational systems and various specialised projects allows the strengths and weaknesses of each approach in both countries to be identified. Based on this evaluation, a more effective approach is proposed which aims to exclude the shortcomings of the current educational systems.
Acknowledgements

To my Mother, Sister and Husband.

Kochana Mamo i Małgosiu, dedykuję Wam tę pracę wraz z wielkim podziękowaniem za Waszą ogromną pomoc i nieustanne wsparcie na przestrzeni ostatnich sześciu lat.

Lieber Wilfried, ich widne Dir diese Thesen als Dank.
My most sincere thanks are due to my families in Poland and in Germany. I am deeply grateful to my mother Elżbieta and my sister Małgorzata who have come over from Poland several times to look after Inez, Anita and Alexander, which enabled me to write my thesis. Without their help and support this project might have never been completed. My thanks also go to my German family who supported us financially and personally over the last six years. A special word of thanks goes to my husband Wilfried, who has assisted me in countless ways over these years.

I am deeply grateful to my Supervisor Mr. Cyril Simmons without whose goodwill, advice and assistance this study would not have been possible. I wish to thank Director of Research Prof. Ivan Reid for his interest, which has never wavered. My thanks also go to Mrs. Jane Mee from the Language Study Unit for her consistent help in proof reading over the last year.

I am grateful to the many institutions and individuals in Poland and the United Kingdom for all the discussions and providing me with valuable information. In particular, I would like to thank Mr. Andrzei Mirga for his help and encouragement.

Finally, I would like to thank Inez, Anita and Alexander for their happiness and cheering me on the way to obtain a ‘golden badge’. I am sorry for having neglected so many ‘good night stories’.
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GLOSSARY

ACERT
Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and other Travellers

ACPO
The Association of Chief Police Officers

BSSR
Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic

CRE
The Commission for Racial Equality

CSCE
Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

DES
Department of Education and Science

DFE
Department for Education

DOE
Department of the Environment

DSS
The Department of Social Services

DTEDG
Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group

EC
European Community

EFECOT
European Federation for the Education of the Children of Occupational Travellers

EU
European Union

EWO
Education Welfare Officer

GCECWCR
The Gypsy Council for Education, Culture, Welfare & Civil Rights

HMI
Her Majesty’s Inspectorate

HMSO
Her Majesty’s Stationery Office

IAPC
Inter Authority Payments Committee

ILEA
Inner London Education Authority

INSET
In-service training for teachers

IRU
International Romani Union

LEA
Local Education Authorities

MRG International
A Minority Rights Group International

NATT
The National Association of Teachers of Travellers

NCC
Nottinghamshire County Council

NGC
National Gypsy Council

NGEC
The National Gypsy Education Council
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTEC</td>
<td>Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUT</td>
<td>The National Union of Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFNM</td>
<td>Office for National Minorities (or: Bureau for National Minorities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFSTED</td>
<td>The Office for Standards in Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPCS</td>
<td>The Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAP</td>
<td>Polish Press Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PER</td>
<td>Project on Ethnic Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRL</td>
<td>Polish People’s Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCF</td>
<td>The Save the Children Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN</td>
<td>Special Education Needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMEASFTC</td>
<td>West Midlands Education Authorities Service for Travelling Children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

(English equivalence wherever available)

COUNTRIES / REGIONS

(Upper) Silesia  (Górny) Śląsk
Carpathian Mountains  Karpaty
Eastern Prussia  Wschodnie Prusy
Galicia  Galicja
Hungary  Węgry
Lithuania  Litwa
Pomerania  Pomorze
Romania  Rumunia
Slovakia  Słowacja
Tatra Mountain  Tatry
Transylvania  Siedmiogród
Volhynia  Wołyń
Wallachian route  Szlak Wołoski
Western Prussia  Zachodnie Prusy

CITIES / SMALL TOWNS / VILLAGES

Andrychów
Biała Woda
Białystok
Bukowina Tatrzańska
Bydgoszcz
Czarna Wieś
Czorsztyn
Gorzów Wielkopolski
Hajnówka
Harklowa
Jurgów
Katowice
Katowice
Konin
Koszalin
Krościenko
Lublin
Mława
Maniowy
Nowa Huta
Nowy Sącz
Nowy Targ
Olsztyn
Opole
Poznań
Puńsk
Rabka
Rzeszów
Skwierzyna
Stanisławów
Stupava
Szafary
Świdnica
Tarnopol
Tarnów
Zakopane
Zgierz
Zielona Góra

XIV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Alternate Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auschwitz</td>
<td>Oświęcim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birkenau</td>
<td>Brzezinka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breslau</td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cracow</td>
<td>Kraków</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gdansk</td>
<td>Gdańsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getynd</td>
<td>Getynga (Polish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khomshchyna</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>Kijów</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lvov</td>
<td>Lwów</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riga</td>
<td>Ryga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stettin</td>
<td>Szczecin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vilna</td>
<td>Wilno</td>
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<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>Warszawa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zyrardów</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIVERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neisse</td>
<td>Nysa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oder</td>
<td>Odra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vistula</td>
<td>Wisła</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XV
ETHNOGRAPHIC GROUPS

Belarussians Bialorusini
Bulgarians Bułgarzy
Cyganie Gypsies
Czechs Czesi
Germans Niemcy
Goralen* Górale
Greeks Grecy
Jews Żydzi
Karaims** Karaimi
Karaïtes Armenians Karaici Armeńscy
Kashubs*** Kaszubi
Lemeks Łemkowie
Lithuanians Litwini
Macedonians Macedończycy
Russians Rosjanie
Slovacs Slowacy
Tatars Tatarzy
The Bernikians Berńiki
The Bosakians Bosaki
The Galician Rroma (Galitsyaki) Cyganie galicyjscy (Galicyjaki)
The Highland Rroma Cyganie wyżynni
The Jaglanians Jaglanki
The Kalderash Kelderasza
The Lovari Lowari
The Lowland Rroma Cyganie niżinni (Polska Roma)
The Plunakians Płuńaki
The Russian Rroma (Tsharnobyltsy) Cyganie rosyjsci (Czarnobycy)
The Servians Serwy

XVI
The Tonakians
The Warmians
Ukrainians

Tońaki
Warmijaki
Ukraińcy

* Goralen - a small but fiercely independent Carpathian mountain people.

** Karaims/Karaite - a Tatar people of Jewish faith, who live in small communities in Central Poland, Silesia, and Pomerania.

*** Their language is related to Polish, but strongly influenced by German and by the language of Lithuanian tribes that occupied eastern Prussia prior to the settlement of that region by the Ritterorden in the mid-thirteenth century; live in the Polish Corridor and in eastern Pomerania.
TRANSLATION OF POLISH TERMS

“Locals” or “others”  Tutejści
A Bag of Judases  Worek Judaszów
A changed form  Forma przystosowana
A Chronicle of the Entire World  Kronika Wszystkiego Świata
A citizen of the Rroma nation  Obywatel narodowości cygańskiej
A constant form  Forma nieodmienna
A Duchy of Warszawa  Księstwo Warszawskie
A member of the Domestic and Social Committee  Członek konsultatywny Rady Gospodarczej i Społecznej przy ONZ
A Treasure of Secrets on Land-Owing Economy  Skład abo skarbiec znakomitych sekretów oekonomie ziemskiej
A working group  Grupa Badań Językозnawstwa Rromskiego
Academy of Physical Education  Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego (AWF)
Alexander the Jagiellon  Aleksander Jagiellończyk
Archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Department of Social Administration  Archiwum Ministerstwa Służb Wewnętrznych, Departament Społeczno-Administracyjny
Baro Shero (The Great Head)  Wielka Głowa
Basic vocational schools  Zasadnicze szkoły
Beginner’s lessons on the I and II level  Kursy nauczania początkowego I i II stopnia
Balerussian SSR  Białoruska Republika Socjalistyczna
Central Committee  Komitet Centralny
Club room, day-room, community centre  Świątlica
Collective farms  Kołchozy

XVIII
Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities
Komisja ds. Narodowych i Etnicznych Mniejszości

Commission on National Minority Issues
Komisja ds. Mniejszości Narodowych

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe - CSCE
Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa i Współpracy Europejskiej - KBWE

Congress Poland
Polska Kongresowa

County, province, district, region, voivodship
Województwo

Courses on General Studies adapted from the primary school programme
Kursy Ogólnokształcące z zakresu programu Szkoły Podstawowej

Crèches
Złobki

Democratic Institute and the Rights of the People
Biuro na rzecz Instytucji Demokratycznych i Praw Człowieka

Didikois
“half-breed”

Diocesan Priest of Roma
Diecezjalny Duszpasterz Romów

Do not fear a Rrom
Nie bój się Cygana

Education Departments of People’s Council Presidium
Wydziały Oświaty Prezydiów Rad Narodowych

Education System Act
O systemie oświaty

Elementary Schools for the Employed
Szkoły Podstawowe dla Pracujących

Embassy of the Swedish Kingdom
Ambasada Królestwa Szwecji

European Advise Committee
Rada Europy

External student
Student zaoczny

Gadžo / Gadjo / Gaujo / Gorgio
Non-Rrom (English)
(Masculine/Singular)
Nie-Cygan / Gadžio (Polish)
(Masculine/Singular)

Gadji
Non-Rromni (English)

Nie-Cyganka / Gadzi (Polish)
(Feminine/Singular)

Gadże / Gadjos / Gadjé / Gaujos / Gorgios
(Plural)

Galician Bookshop

General secondary schools

Government's Presidium

Great Travel

Gypsies (plural)

Gypsy (singular)

Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights

Home and Social Affairs

House of Lithuanian Culture

Institution of Sociological Surveys

Interdepartmental Committee

Intermediate lessons

Internal Affairs

Introductory Course

Kindergartens

Kris (Court of Elders)

Ladislaus Jogaila

League of Nations

(Feminine/Singular)

Non-Rroma (English)

Nie-Cyganie / Gadzia (Polish)

(Plural)

Galicyjska Księgarnia i Antykwaria

Licea Ogólnokształcące

Prezydium Rządu

Wielka Wędrowka

Cygan or Romowie or Rroma

Cygan / Cyganka

Rom / Romka

Rrom / Rromni

Hełsinska Fundacja Praw Człowieka

Rada Gospodarcza i Społeczna

Dom Kultury Litewskiej

Zakład Badań Socjologicznych Instytutu Polityki Naukowej i Szkolnictwa Wyższego

Międzyresortowa Komisja

Zespoły dokształcające

Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych

Kursy wstępne

Przedszkola

Sąd Starszych

Władysław Jagiełło

Liga Narodów

XX
Member of the consulting group for Home and Social Affairs
Minister of Rroma
Ministry of Culture and Arts
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Internal Affairs
Minority national group, minority group
Museum of Relicts of Balerussian Culture
Nasal letter
Non-Polish population
Office for Gypsy Affairs
Office for National Minorities (or: Bureau for National Minorities)
Older children
On Lithuanian and Polish Legislations, Their Spirit and Their Sources and on Things Contained in the First Statue for Lithuania
On Rroma
Orthodox Church
Paris Peace Conference
Parliamentary Committee for National and Ethnic Minorities (the Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities)
Plans of work
Polish citizens, but having different nationality and living in Poland
Polish People’s Republic

Członek konsultatywny Rady Gospodarczej i Społecznej
Duszpasterz Rromski
Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki
Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej
Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych
Mniejszość narodowa
Muzeum Reliktów Kultury Białoruskiej
Cerebralna, nosowa zgłoska
Ludność niepolska
Referat do spraw Cyganów
Biuro ds. Mniejszości Narodowych (przy Ministerstwie Kultury i Sztuki)
Dzieci przeróżnięte
O litewskich i polskich prawach, o ich duchu, źródłach, i o rzeczach zawartych w pierwszym Statucie dla Litwy
O Cyganach
Kościół ortodoksyjny
Paryska Konferencja Pokojowa
Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych Sejmu RP
Programy nauczania
Obywatele polscy innej narodowości
Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa
Polish Press Agency
Politburo Resolution
Presidium of National Councils
Presidium of People’s Council
Provincial Administration Office
Regular letter
Resolution of Government’s Presidium
Romania, Rome, Romanian, Roman
Romany Road
Rromani section
Savey Romendyr san? (Which Rroma are you from?)
School Superintendent’s Office
Senate’s Committee for People’s Rights
Teacher Training
Technical schools
The Association of Roma in Poland (The Roma Association in Poland)
The Association of the Gypsy Minority Group “Solidarity”
The Balerussian Democratic Association
The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party
The Central Committee Secretariat
The Centre of Romani Culture in Tarnów
The Code of Practice
Polska Agencja Prasowa
Postanowienie Biura Politycznego
Prezydia Rad Narodowych
Prezydia Rad Narodowych
Urząd Wojewódzki
Zwykła zgłoska
Uchwała Prezydium Rządu
Rumunia, Rzym, rumuński, romański
Romano Drom
Oddział cygański
Z jakich jesteś Cyganów?
Kuratorium Oświaty
Senacka Komisja Praw Człowieka
Liceum Pedagogiczne
Technika zawodowe
Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce
Stowarzyszenie Mniejszości Narodowej Cyganów “Solidarność”
Stowarzyszenie Demokratyczne Białorusinów
Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (KC PZPR)
Sekretariat Centralnego Komitetu
Centrum Kultury Romów w Tarnowie
Ramowy Statut Szkoły Publicznej
XXII
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>The Commission for Investigating Hitler’s</td>
<td>Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni</td>
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<td>Atrocities in Poland</td>
<td>Hitlerowskich</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Community Primary School</td>
<td>Społeczna Szkoła Podstawowa Towarzystwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated with Alternative Teaching, also</td>
<td>Alternatywnego Kształcenia, zwana Szkołą</td>
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<tr>
<td>called school YES</td>
<td>TAK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cultural Association of Roma in</td>
<td>Kulturalne Stowarzyszenie Romów w Tarnowie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarnów</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Democratic Institute and the Rights of</td>
<td>Biuro na rzecz Instytucji Demokratycznych i</td>
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<tr>
<td>the People in Warszawa</td>
<td>Praw Człowieka w Warszawie</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Democratic Union</td>
<td>Unia Demokratyczna</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Department of Social Administration</td>
<td>Departament Społeczno-Administracyjny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Home Affairs</td>
<td>Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Education Department</td>
<td>Wydział Oświaty</td>
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<tr>
<td>The eight-year schools (primary schools)</td>
<td>Szkoły Podstawowe</td>
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<td>The European Commission for Education</td>
<td>Europejska Komisja ds. Edukacji</td>
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<td>The European Community (EC)</td>
<td>Wspólnota Europejska</td>
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<td>The European Convention</td>
<td>Konwencja Rady Europy</td>
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<td>The European Safety and Collaboration</td>
<td>Komisja Bezpieczeństwa i Współpracy</td>
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<td>Committee (ESCC)</td>
<td>Europejskiej (KBWE)</td>
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<td>The French National Centre for Teaching</td>
<td>Francuski Narodowy Ośrodek Dokumentacji</td>
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<td>Documents</td>
<td>Pedagogicznej</td>
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<td>The Grand Duchy in Lithuania</td>
<td>Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie</td>
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<td>The Great Encyclopedia of PWN</td>
<td>Wielka Encyklopedia PWN</td>
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<td>The Inauguration of the Rromani Season</td>
<td>Otwarcie Sezonu Cygańskiego (przełom maja/czerwca)</td>
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<td>The Institution of Sociological Surveys</td>
<td>Zakład Badań Socjologicznych Instytutu</td>
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<td>The International Association of Roma</td>
<td>Międzynarodowy Związek Romów</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The International Gypsy Committee
From 1971- The International Rom Committee;
(In Rromani- Komiteto Lumniako Romano);
(In French- Comité International Tzigane -CIT)

The International Review of Rroma
Ensembles or Meetings of Rroma Music
Groups

The Jagiellonian University
Uniwersytet Jagielloński

The Kopacz clan
Ród Kopaczów

The Lakatos clan
Ród Łakatoszów

The League of Nations
Liga Narodów

The Michaj clan
Ród Michajów

The Minister for Home Affairs in Great
Britain
Minister Spraw Wewnętrznych Wielkiej
Brytanii

The Minister for Small-Scale Industry and
Handicrafts
Minister Przemysłu Drobnego i Rzemiosła

The Minister for Social Security
Minister Pracy i Opieki Społecznej

The Minister of Agriculture
Minister Rolnictwa

The Minister of Culture and the Arts
Minister Kultury i Sztuki

The Minister of Education
Minister Edukacji

The Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister Spraw Zagranicznych

The Minister of Health
Minister Zdrowia

The Minister of State Farms
Minister Państwowych Gospodarstw Rolnych

The Ministry of Culture
Ministerstwo Kultury

The Ministry of Culture and Arts
Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki

The Ministry of Education
Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej

The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy
Ministerstwo Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych

XXIV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Ministry of National Education</td>
<td>Ministerstwo Narodowej Edukacji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Native Pastoral Office of the Rom people</td>
<td>Krajowe Duszpasterstwo Romów</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The native speaking educational system, the education of the nationals</td>
<td>Szkolnictwo narodowościowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Athens or the Academy of All Full Sciences</td>
<td>Nowe Ateny abo Akademia wszeljej scyenyi pełna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Notorious Nuremberg Laws</td>
<td>Oślawione Ustawy Norymberskie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Office for National Minority Affairs</td>
<td>Biuro ds. Mniejszości Narodowych</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliamentary Commission</td>
<td>Komisja Parlamentarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Polish Roma Studies Library</td>
<td>Biblioteczka Cyganologii Polskie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The post of observer and a place on the General Council</td>
<td>Status obserwatora i miejsce w Zgromadzeniu Ogólnym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Potsdam Treaty</td>
<td>Traktat Poczdamski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Riga Treaty</td>
<td>Traktat Ryski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roma Association in Poland</td>
<td>Ogólnopolskie Stowarzyszenie Romów</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roma Congress</td>
<td>Cygański (Romski) Kongres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Romani Cultural Foundation</td>
<td>Romska Fundacja Kulturalna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Romani Cultural-Education Association in Tarnów</td>
<td>Cygańskie Stowarzyszenie Kulturalno-Oświatowe w Tarnowie (now - &quot;Spoleczno-Kulturalne Stowarzyszenie Romów w Tarnowie&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Round Table Debate (discussions between Solidarity leaders and government representatives)</td>
<td>Rozmowy Okrągłego Stołu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rroma Congress</td>
<td>Cygański (Rromski) Kongres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The School of Further Studies in Teaching (or “Pedagogical College”; or “Teacher Training College”)</td>
<td>Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Senate's Committee for People's Rights in Washington
The Social-Economic Council at UN
The sub-committee of the UN Rights for the People Group
The sub-committee of UN for the Legal Rights of Man
The Television Broadcasting Centre
The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye
The University of Warszawa
The Versailles Peace Treaty
The Wallachian Route
The Western Territories
The writings of Tadeusz Czacki
Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)
United Nations
University of Warsaw
World Romani Congress (The Roma Congress)
Yearly Statistics

Senacka Komisja Praw Człowieka w Waszyngtonie
Rada Społeczno-Ekonomiczna przy ONZ
Podkomitet ONZ ds. Praw Człowieka
Podkomitet ONZ do Spraw Praw Człowieka
Centrum TV Polonia
Traktat St. Germain-en-Laye
Uniwersytet Warszawski
Pokojowy Traktat Wersalski
Szlak Wołoski
Ziemie Zachodnie
Rozprawy Tadeusza Czackiego
Związek Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich (ZSRR)
Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych (ONZ)
Uniwersytet Warszawski
Światowy Cygański (Rromski) Kongres
Roczniki Statystyczne

XXVI
**NAMES:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>Grzegorz</td>
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<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Józef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basil</td>
<td>Bazyli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Januś</td>
<td>Janusz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassili</td>
<td>Wasyl</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Rroma, or Gypsies as they are commonly known, can be found almost everywhere in the world. Usually they claim the nationality and language of the host country. They are, quite possibly, Europe's most hated ethnic group. One of the particularly striking characteristics of this unique group is that they are people without an ethnic territory of their own and without a national state. This lack of a territorial base has had a profound effect on the way that they are perceived by host societies. It has contributed greatly to the long lasting neglect of their rights and has often given grounds for persecution and discrimination against them. Nomadism, which has been part of their identity for over five-hundred years, was forbidden in most Eastern European countries after World War 2. In Western European countries nomadism is increasingly affected by legislative systems designed for settled societies.

Owing to their unique culture and tradition the education of Rromani children is linked with some specific social and economical issues and problems. It is clear that there has been a failure to meet their educational needs. Large numbers of them do not receive formal education at all. Some of them attend school sporadically, as a result of family mobility, eviction from unofficial sites or general lack of interest in imposed education. Recent investigations carried out by the European Commission for Education discovered that 90% of the adult Rromani population is illiterate.

Currently there are various projects which aim to provide appropriate education for Rromani children. This thesis investigates and compares current educational provisions for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom. There are significant differences in the implementation of education in Poland and the United Kingdom following from the communist regime in the former and the imperialist tradition of the latter. It is clear that educational provision for the Rroma
is a political matter especially, since education has, for a long time been used to promote assimilation and final settlement.

There is an ambivalence within the Rromani community towards imposed education in general. In fact, in the Rromas' opinion, what schools offer them is often irrelevant to their way of life. Firstly, one of the functions of a nomadic family is educational and that would entail preparing a child for a nomadic way of life. Secondly, the curriculum does not seem to combine effective mainstream schooling with the cultural heritage of the Rroma. Only when their lifestyle and values are considered, will education be fully supported by Rromani communities.

This thesis attempts to compare the virtues of the different educational projects, in relation to their social and economic environments, in Poland and in the United Kingdom. It shows that improvements in education have to be supported by the authorities responsible for employment, industrial training, housing and planning.

It is concluded that, in order to be successful, dealing with education for Rromani communities requires a single European strategy otherwise efforts are scattered and not as effective as they could be.
1.2 Terminology

1.2.1 Vocabulary

The English term *Gypsy* and the several European variants of *Cygan*¹ are considered by many to be pejorative.

In the Polish literary language the word *Cygan* is not associated with negative feelings. It is a different matter however in everyday language. The image of the *Cygan* in Polish folklore has been much more visible than in Polish literature. There are many examples of written works, songs and customs in which we can see disparaging elements of this minority’s life. Besides, there are within the colloquial language derivatives from the word *Cygan* including the verb: cyganić/to lie and the noun: cyganstwo/a lie.

Owing to their mode of life, their great variety in culture, and, through these, their frequent conflicts with enforced regulations, the name *Cygan*, apart from describing their racial origins has certain distasteful connotations for example dishonesty, theft, a parasitic and tramp like existence etc. in other words everything for which the Cyganie are blamed whether rightly or wrongly (this also occurs in other European languages) [Kołodziej, 1995].

Since the name *Cygan* has such negative connotations, many activists, according to Lewkowicz² [Kołodziej, 1995], have sought to detach themselves from the stereotype figure of the *Cygan*, whose image is the subject of widespread opinions and ideas, and also from the usage of this minority’s name in the everyday language. It is because of this that the Cyganie themselves are trying to introduce into the European language their own name of *Rom* to describe themselves.

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¹ It is believed [Légléb, 1986] that, the German Zigeuner, French Tsiganes, Italian Zingari, Hungarian Cigányok, Turkish Tchinghanie, Romanian Tigani, Spanish Zingales, Portuguese Ciganos, Lithuanian Cigonis, Polish Cyganie and similar forms in several other languages, are all terms derived from the Byzantine name and are synonymous.

² The linguist, researcher of international lingual communication in chair of classical philology and in the chair of micro-computer education in University of Łódź (in Poland), also the chief editor of a magazine *Dialog-Phanibon*. 
Another reason for this phenomenon is the natural instinct for nationality among the Cyganie [Bartosz, 1994], awakening within them a deeper national identity from which arouses the desire to possess their own symbols of nationality e.g.: universal name, hymn, flag.

Clébert [1963, p.69] recorded that, when describing themselves, the Gypsies used the word Rom as an equivalent of the word Gypsy, and it is used in three senses: '(a) to mean “Gypsy”; (b) to mean “man”; (c) to mean “husband”. The feminine form Romni is commonly used for “wife”.'

An article entitled “Does Rom mean Gypsy?” appeared on the pages of the first edition of a new magazine Dialog - Pheniben printed through to the efforts of the Roma Association in Poland [Kołodziej, 1995, p.40]. In an interview conducted with Andrzej Lewkowicz, it was declared that the two words Gypsy and Rom were synonyms, although the latter has been used in the Polish press for almost twenty years. According to Lewkowicz, linguists use, considerably more often, the name Roma for European and American Gypsies. In another publication [Mirga and Mróz, 1994], it is indicated that some European groups do not identify with the name Roma (e.g. Manusze, Sinti), but agree to be embraced by the name Gypsy.

Tadeusz Czacki, in Mirga’s opinion, was the first in Polish literature to properly name the Gypsies and explain its double meaning; Romma - as a people and Romm and Rommi as husband and wife [Mirga, 1992a, pp.32-33].

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3 Which also is noted in:

4 Rom - singular, Roma - plural

5 Not in everyday language, unless used by activists, writers etc.

6 In 1971 the delegates at the first World Romani Congress rejected the terms Tziganes, Zigeuner, Gitanos, Gypsies etc. and opted instead for the term Roma. It emerged at the third World Romani Congress in 1981, that unity was still a difficult proposition. One of the reasons was that a group of German Gypsies objected the name Roma instead of the name Gypsy, preferring the name Sinti. As a result this group uses compound name Roma and Sinti.

7 (1765-1813) He was a prominent historian, statesman, educationist, collector and bibliophile, among other things involved in organizing and reforming the Polish educational system.
There are many arguments for the introduction of their own name *Rom* into the Polish language [Kołodziej, 1995]:

- similar action is being taken by other European languages
- introducing their own name and identification is a positive vision towards nationalisation and the birth of a culture
- the name, in fact, is already used in the Polish language and has been since 1979 when it became part of the Catholic church in Poland - The Native Pastoral Office of the Rom people

Contrary arguments include:

- the fear that together with the new name, new euphemisms will creep into the Polish language posing the question that surely it is better to raise the standards of culture of the Gypsies than change their name since old negative connotations may be attached to a new name.
- not all the Gypsies in Europe use this name to signify their origin, there are other names in existence apart from Rom like Sinti, Kale or Manuš
- there has been still no final explanation as to the origins of the word Rom
- the age old tradition (since the fifteenth century) of using the word Cygan in Polish language
- the name Rom is similar to the name of the capital city of Italy - Rome (Roma), and also to words associated with Romania, Romanian which could lead to many mistakes and misunderstandings in the Polish language especially when the word is first introduced

Lewkowicz suggests [Kołodziej, 1995, p.42] that the Gypsy name *Rom* can be introduced into the Polish language in two ways:

- in a constant form, i.e. the way in which it appears in the Romani language:
  Rom(m) - Cygan, Romni(f) - Cyganka, Roma(pl) - Cyganie
- in a changed form: Rom(m) - Cygan, Romka(f) - Cyganka, Romowie(pl) - Cyganie

---

8 In Poland term Rom was used officially for the first time when the Gypsy Association in Tarnów was renamed as the Romani Cultural-Education Association in 1984 (Bartosz, 1994).

9 In Lewkowicz’s opinion
1.2.2 Language

It was not until the early nineteenth century that scholars and philanthropists developed increased interest in Romani population. Also linguists became engaged in studying the Romani language\textsuperscript{10} [See the Section 2.1. Origins].

An essential element of the linguists' research into the origins of the Romani language was the definition of the word \textit{Rom}, used by the majority of European Gypsies. Detailed explanations and information about this subject can be found, among others, in: Bartosz [1994], Mirga and Mróz [1994], Kołodziej [1995], Liégeois [1987a], Kenrick [1976], Fraser [1995].\textsuperscript{11}

The Gypsy language has seventeen main dialects and Gypsies from different countries sometimes have difficulties in understanding each other. Sometimes dialects may be so different, that they are nearly different languages. This is also one of the reasons that governments select one dialect as a standard for communication throughout the whole country. In some countries, there are many different languages, in these cases it is useful to have at least one standard language to be able to communicate with people everywhere in that country. Nowadays the world has become so small that there are some languages spoken as international languages, like Spanish, English, Russian, Portuguese. A Dutch linguist, Hein van der Voort [1994], carried out research regarding Romani dialects. He thinks that many dialects have taken over parts of the grammar of other languages through the centuries of contact. It is not so long ago for most languages that a standard language was created. In his opinion, the problem of standardising the Romani language is even more difficult, because the Gypsies live in many different countries.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10}Romani Ćib


Liégeois, J-P. (1987a) \textit{Gypies and Travellers}. Strasbourg (Germany): Council of Europe, Publications Section. pp.29-37


\textsuperscript{12}Similar problem with standardisation of a native language have the Kurds (living in different countries) or the Evenki people in Siberia (living in China, Mongolia and Russia)
It is a vital part of people’s identity to keep their own dialects and languages, but also it is important nowadays to learn some sort of standard language to be able to feel comfortable everywhere. Furthermore, people need some standardised form of a language to be able to write it. When a language is written more people can be reached than through the spoken language.

Until very recently the Gypsy language had not possessed a written form, never mind a standard written form for its many varied dialects. Ever since the Gypsies learnt to write they have tried to form sentences adopting the rules from those written forms they already knew. Those who were examining the Romani language produced a written form based on various systems, adapting the script to generally known languages. Facing such a situation, linguists have, for some time, been trying to perfect the most universal method of writing which, having been adjusted to the most common dialect group, could be understood and read by all Gypsies in the world irrespective of their language [Bartosz, 1994].

According to Fraser [1995, p.13]:

'A strictly phonetic alphabet, like that of the International Phonetic Association, in which each symbol indicates a particular sound and none other, would leave no room for ambiguity. But while such an alphabet serves its purpose admirably in a technical work, it uses many more letters than the 26 of the Roman alphabet, and for the more general reader unfamiliar letter-shapes are likely to be somewhat bewildering'.

He also proposes [pp.13-14]: ‘To adopt a compromise, in which letters whose approximate sound value is unlikely to be seriously confused by the reader of English are left alone, but a few diacritics and special combinations of letters are used for certain sounds which are variously transcribed in European languages and within English itself’.

Ian Hancock, a Romani linguist, identified the problems of creating a standardised dialect as follows [1994, pp.22-25]:

- ‘No single dialect spoken anywhere is so close to the common protoform spoken upon arrival in Europe that it may be adopted with no modification. In other words,
whatever dialect is chosen will have to be adapted to a more internationally acceptable form, especially phonologically and lexically.

• Using existing means of education, the propagation of such a standard will be very unevenly achieved. Sedentary, already literate Roma, such as predominate in Eastern European countries, will have a far better opportunity to acquire such a standardised dialect. For illiterate and nomadic Roma, the task would be very much harder.

• Not all Roma everywhere will ever learn, or be disposed to learn such a dialect. This will create “linguistic elite” composed solely of those who have learnt to use the international standard’.

At present there is a working group under the guidance of Marcel Cortiade\textsuperscript{13} working on the standardisation of the Romani language. They are working within the confines of the programme set by the European Community concerning ethnic minorities.

The chief principle of the text is that one letter may represent different sounds in different dialects. This alphabet, together with a structured reading scheme suitable for all dialects, was accepted by the Fourth Romany Congress at Jadwisin close to Warszawa\textsuperscript{14} and for this reason it is often referred to as the “Alphabet warszawski”. It contains 32 sounds, one of which is [rɪ]. In the same year in Sarajevo, Cortiade produced a primer for learning the Romani language. A newer version was published in 1994 by the French National Centre for Teaching Documents\textsuperscript{16} [Bartosz, 1994; Mirga and Mróz, 1994].

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Marcel Cortiade (linguist, member of the Linguistic Committee attached to Romani Uni) is a Gălț and speaks Romani, and lived in Albania for a long time. He was a left-wing medical student at a provincial French university in the early seventies. He got into trouble for organising hunger strikes against governments cuts, and, disillusioned, left for Vojvodina, where he found work as a grape picker and laboured among Roma for the first time. Marcel is a brilliant linguist. He knows Samoan, Hiri Motu (Papua New Guinea), Maori, Tahitian. He can “get by” in Aige (New Caledonia), and, of course, he speaks all the “ordinary” languages - French, English, Spanish, German and passable Polish. Marcel has spent his life going to international conferences, representing Roma and, above all, working to standardise the Romani language. At present he is a manager of Romani Cultural Foundation [Faneca, 1995, p. 87].

\item In 1990
\item \textit{abcdefg}hijklmnoprstuvwxyz

Also published:

\begin{itemize}
\item Cortiade, M. (1985) \textit{Distance between the Romani dialects}. GLS/NAC Newsletter 8, (2).
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Taking advantage of Marcel Cortiade’s stay in Poland on the occasion of the Fourth Congress of the Rromani Unia in 1990, Adam Bartosz\(^\text{17}\) carried out an interview with him in order to discover: “Why do you write Rrom with two \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\)?”. The interview, conducted in Poland by Bartosz, has to this day not been published, but for this thesis it is the only source of information regarding this matter [Bartosz, 1990].

Marcel Cortiade, by establishing a written language for the Romani language, broke away from the analysis of a historical language. In the \(p\text{ra}\text{romani}\) language there were two different sounds for \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\); a Polish example is \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\text{h}\) and \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\text{h}\). In some Turkish and Bulgarian Romani dialects the old differences are used to this day. With time one of the \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\) developed into a long sounding \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\text{r}\)\(^\text{18}\).

There are some dialects in which the differences in sound have simply disappeared and have become single sounding \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\). Within these dialects, as a result of simplifying the sounds, other complications have occurred. For example the Romani word \(\text{rani}\) can mean \textit{lady} or \textit{branch} and the word \(\text{corami}\) can mean \textit{poor} or \textit{thief}\(^\text{19}\).

During the Fourth Congress of the Rromani Unia in 1990, because of the very complicated situation regarding this material, there were long discussions among the experts. Finally some suggestions, concerning the Romani alphabet, were produced declaring that there exists a tendency to use two kinds of \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\): one is the “regular” letter, the other the “nasal” one used only in dialects where they are in opposition. This second type of sound can be written as \(\text{\textasciitilde{r}}\text{r}\). In fact the

\(^{17}\) The director of the District Museum in Tamów and a member of the Rromani Unia. An ethnographer and Gypsy specialist, he set up the first permanent museum exhibition in Poland dealing with the Gypsies.

\(^{18}\) The author of this thesis will not delve deeper into details since this is purely a linguistic problem and requires a basic knowledge of the Indian language and Gypsy dialect.

\(^{19}\) \textit{pani} - lady, you, Mrs
\textit{ga\textascii{a}\textascii{a}} - branch
\textit{biedny} - poor
\textit{zlodzi\textascii{e}j} - thief
conventions proposed by Fraser conform with those adopted at a World Romany Congress in 1990.²⁰

As mentioned above, the Fourth Congress took place in Poland under the patronage of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO]. It was in fact Rromano Kongreso IV. At this Congress the Linguistic Committee recommended spelling Rrom in Rromani language with the usage of |r| [Bartosz, 1994].

Another reason for introducing |r| is the fact that often an innovative word like Roma/Rom/Romni/romani, in the majority of languages becomes associated with Rome, Romanian, romantic etc.²¹ Writing with |r| immediately cancels any visual association with these words. In addition the terms: Rom/Roma/Romani are sometimes confused with Romania, the country, or Romanian, because of the similarities in spelling and the fact that Romania has a significant minority of ethnic Roma; in fact there is no connection.

Faced with great inconsistency in the bibliography about the name used for this particular ethnic group, it was initially decided to use the term Rom/Romni to refer to a member of the group; Roma to refer to a plurality of members and to the group as a whole, and also as an adjective to modify group members (Roma children, Roma participants); and Romani as an adjective to describe the group’s language and culture in this thesis.

However, following the recent advice and suggestion of linguistic specialists it was finally decided to use the terms: Rrom(m), Rromni(f), Rroma(pl), Rromani(adjective), to refer to this people and their culture.

Since starting this thesis, only five sources where this new terminology is used have been found in:

²⁰ Except for [dz] where the congress opted for a special letter shape
²¹ There is even the Roma Gourmet Cookware Collection from Italy
In this thesis the terms *Gypsies* and *Rroma* will be used interchangeably and will vary according to the use of literature. Sometimes terminology like Romany, Romani, Gypsy/Gypsies, Gypsy-Travellers, Irish Gypsy Traveller, Traveller, Showmen will be used due to different sources of information and self-identification of this minority group. Nevertheless, the author thinks, given these warnings, that her use of the different terms will not cause confusion.

In conclusion, although there is no universal Rromani word for *Rroma*, there is such a term for *non-Rrom* (outsider). The spelling varies in different dialects: *Gadio*, *Gaujo*, *Gorgio*. It is the most widespread name for non-Rroma in dialects of the Rromani language. It means: peasant, countryman. The word given the form *Gadio* was introduced into nineteenth century English literature as *Gorgio*, in the writings of George Borrow [Fraser, 1995]. Also other spellings like *Gaujo* and *Gadjo* have been adopted. The above terms are widely used by writers and researchers.24

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22 "Do not fear a Rom"  
23 An old Romani proverb "sa e Roma phrala" meaning "all Roma are brothers" was used at the first World Romany Congress to indicate a strong feeling of unity.  
24 Used for example in:

1.3 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis seeks to provide an historical introduction to and a critical comparison of current educational provision for Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom. It is organised into 6 Chapters.

Chapter 1 sets out the framework for a thesis. It contains an introduction both to the study and to the terminology that will be used. Chapter 1 concludes with description of organisation of the thesis. The organisation describes briefly the various chapters and guides the reader through the project.

Chapter 2 presents the history of the Rroma. It introduces different hypotheses regarding Rromani origins and their migrations to Europe.

Chapter 3 presents recent statistical data and examines Rromani organisations and the settled community’s attitudes towards the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom.

Chapter 4 describes minority groups in Poland and travelling groups in the United Kingdom. It also reveals the basis of Travellers’ own identity - nomadism.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the detailed analysis of the educational provision for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom. An outline of governmental of educational policies for the Rroma in both countries is given. This chapter also contains an account of data collection, methods and sources of information.

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis. It reviews the completed project and evaluates proposed future work.
Chapter 2

HISTORY OF THE ROMA
2. HISTORY OF THE RROMA

2.1 Origins

Over the past two centuries history, anthropology, and linguistics have retraced part of the Rromas' history. This is an achievement that seemed improbable not so long ago since this minority group has no written language (they have no archives, and in fact have few written records at all). In this context, many different theories regarding origins have been advanced, often based purely on imagination. Claimed facts that feed prejudice and stereotypes always spread faster than the findings of research.

Until very recently everything was written by the Gadie who may have made errors, omitted things (whether deliberately or by accident), exaggerated or underestimated. Moreover, translations and the many transcriptions of documents are marred by important errors. There is also the problem of the variety of names of the population groups being described. Each nation, even each region, uses more than one term to designate the same Rromani groups, and also uses these same terms to describe other groups.

There are quite a few legends concerning the origins of the Rroma. Some of them seem to have been created by the Rroma themselves, others by their antagonists. There are a few common themes, although the legends sometimes diverge.

Theories about the origins of the Rroma are often hypotheses reflecting Rromani legends. In other cases, random structures are developed out of myths that have nothing to do with the Rroma at all. Most of the hypotheses are no less fantastic than the legends.
2.1.1 Legends

Some poets/writers, have made hypotheses about the Rroma, without any substantiation, by borrowing information from the Bible and portraying the Rroma as the cursed descendants of Cain. This story could explain the curse said to hang over them and to condemn them to eternal wandering. Genesis also specifies the occupations to which the sons of Cain were to be condemned.

Another story, registered by Liégeois [1986, p.18], also makes use of elements of Christian tradition. This is one of the most striking legends and tells of the Crucifixion. It says: ‘The ancestors of the Rroma forged the nails used to crucify Christ; three of these were used, but the fourth, a red-hot piece of iron, has followed them and their descendants everywhere: they are unable to cool it or to escape it’. Even today some Rroma in Serbia believe that their ancestors stole the fourth nail from the cross and that they were therefore condemned to wander for seven years or even for seven centuries.

Others say that the Rroma were Christ’s guards but that they got drunk and were unable to defend him; yet others that they were punished for refusing to shelter the Virgin and Child during their flight from Egypt. In fact Rroma did not reach Palestine until several centuries after Christ [Bartosz, 1994].

By contrast there are also positive legends. One says [Liégeois, 1986] that the Rroma are the descendants of Adam and a first woman created before Eve; they were therefore born without original sin and, unlike the rest of mankind, are not condemned to work or to suffer other punishments.

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25 Genesis, IV.12.15.19-22
26 According to Clébert [1963, p.23] in the Semitic languages the word Cain means “blacksmith”, “metalworker”.
An Egyptian origin to the Rroma is also associated in another legend which says [Clébert, 1963] that when Pharaoh’s army drowned in the waters during the crossing of the Red Sea, one young man and one young woman escaped, and they become the Adam and Eve of the Rroma.

Another legend [Liégeois, 1986, p.22; Clébert, 1963, p.28], recalling the prophecy of Ezekiel27: ‘I shall scatter the Egyptians among the nations’, refers to the myth of their Egyptian origin.

2.1.2 Strange Hypotheses

Many hypotheses present the Rroma as the inventors or propagators of bronze, or attribute their origin and dispersion to the art of metalworking. In 1844 Bataillard28 [Liégeois, 1986, p.23] recalled for instance that the Rroma, blacksmiths in the Bronze Age, ‘may have established their production centres in the region of the western Alps; from there, trading as they roamed, they spread their metalworking among the Celts and other tribes’. Franz de Ville was certain29 [Clébert, 1963, p.37] that it was the Rroma who introduced bronze into Europe.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who later became Pope Pius II, thought that the Rroma were descendants of a people from the Caucasus; others claimed that they had lived in the Camargue for two thousand years; and yet others that they lived on the borders of Turkey and Hungary. It also has been said that some groups of Rroma are descendants of Jews30 [Liégeois, 1986], or they were believed to be descended from Andalusian Moors. Some claimed that they came from the Iberian peninsula.

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27 Ezekiel, 29, 12

2. Wagensell, J.-C. (1697) De civitate Norbergeysi commentario... Altdorf.
In the sixteenth century [Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963], the French scholar Pierre Belon\textsuperscript{31} held that the Rroma, treated as foreigners in Egypt just as they were everywhere else, came from Walachia. In the same era Bonaventura Vulcanius\textsuperscript{32} believed that they came from Nubia. This was also the view of the seventeen-century Dutch Calvinist theologian Gisbertus Voetius.\textsuperscript{33} Father Garassus,\textsuperscript{34} also in the seventeenth century, thought they came from the Pyrenees.

In 1857, J.A. Vaillant [Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963], a professor of literature in Romania,\textsuperscript{35} said that the Rroma stand at the origin of the civilisations of Egypt, Greece, Italy and the Gauls, and of the East as well. Also in 1973 Jean-Claude Frère\textsuperscript{36} explained that for centuries, under various names, the Rroma stood at the origin of all our great civilisations, in Judaea, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. In turn, the more careful Baudrimont\textsuperscript{37} believed that the ancestors of the Rroma lived in Babylon, the destruction of which condemned them to migration.

Other hypotheses emerged from linguistic studies. It was a long time before it was realised that there was a real Rromani language.\textsuperscript{38} One of the first to take an interest in it was Bonaventura Vulcanius\textsuperscript{39} [Liégeois, 1986], whose book included a glossary of more than seventy words. Although Vulcanius was unaware of the origin of the language, he deserves credit for bringing it into the field of research.

Studies of the Rromani language remained stagnant for two centuries. However, as methods were increasingly refined, it finally became possible to locate the country of origin of this language: INDIA. This is now a certainty, which leads immediately to many fresh hypotheses and


\textsuperscript{32} Vulcanius, B. (1597) De litteris et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum... Leiden.

\textsuperscript{33} Voetius, G. (1655 to 1669) Selectarum disputationum... Utrecht.

\textsuperscript{34} Garassus, F. (1623) La Doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps ou pretendus tels... Paris.


\textsuperscript{36} Frère, J.-C. (1973) L'Enigme des Gitans. Mam, collection "Pensées et sociétés secrètes".

\textsuperscript{37} Baudrimont, A. (1862) Vocabulaire de la langue des Bohmiens habitant les pays basques français. Bordeaux.

\textsuperscript{38} Rromani šib

\textsuperscript{39} Vulcanius, B. (1597) De litteris et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum... Leiden.
suggests answers to some striking questions. Documents are few and far between; only two pieces of literary evidence are worth examining here. With regard to Rroma’s country of origin, most writers on the subject [Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963; Bartosz, 1994; Leblon, 1995; Fraser, 1995; Mirga and Mróz, 1994] refer to: The Book of Kings by the Persian poet Firdusi and a history of the kings of Persia written by the Arab historian Hamza ibn-Hasan Al-Isfahani.

Firdusi in The Book of Kings (an epic of ancient Iran completed in 1011 AD) reports, giving no exact date, that King Bahram Gur⁴⁰ was moved to pity by the realisation that the poorest of his subjects could not celebrate festivities because musicians’ fees were beyond their reach. He dispatched a messenger to Shankal, the King of India, his father-in-law, who responded by sending him musicians from his kingdom. When the Luri⁴¹ arrived, the King welcomed them and allocated them donkeys, cattle and seed grain, so they could cultivate the earth. All he demanded in return was that they play music for the poor for free. The Luri left, and returned a year later, pale and famished. They had consumed their seed grain and cattle without taking the trouble to sow or to labour. The King advised them to string their lutes with silk, take their donkeys and be gone, travelling the world and making their living with their music.

The second document is also referred extensively by researchers [Liégeois, 1986; Fraser, 1995; Leblon, 1995; Mirga and Mróz, 1994]. It comes from the Arab historian Hamza of Isfahan, who in the year 940 recounted a similar story, using the word Zott instead of Luri, and giving the figure of twelve thousand.

Fraser [1995, p.35] explains in his study that: ‘Zotti (plural Zotti) and Luli or Luri are still Persian names for “Gypsy”; in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, Luri is found in a variant form Nuri (plural Nawar). Zott is an arabicized version of the Indian tribal name Jat. Whether the original

⁴⁰ The King of the Sassanid dynasty who reigned in Persia in the early 5th century (420-438).
⁴¹ In a Persian dictionary [Amid, 1958]:
   - The entry under Koli reads: ‘Remnants of the tribe of Hindu musicians who came to Iran during the reign of Bahram Gur. They are nomads, found everywhere. Also called Luri and Luli’.
   - Under the entry Luli: ‘also means Luri and Koli; figuratively, a handsome young man, carefree, a singer, reciter of poems, or musician’.
Gypsies were identical with the Jats of India, (…), is a matter which has been debated for a hundred years or more'.

Some Rroma, who in modern times have themselves studied the problem of origins, have been attracted by hypotheses which make their ancestors kshatriyas - the warriors who formed the second rank among the four castes of Hindu society. A representative example of such a theory is put forward by Jan Kochanowski⁴² [Fraser, 1995; Bartosz, 1994] who claims that the Rroma may be descended from Jat and Rajput warriors.

One of the most elaborate and widespread hypotheses gives the origins of this minority group as in or near Egypt. One version of this theory is found in José Carlos de Luna’s book⁴³ [Liégeois, 1986, p.25]. It says:

'During the twelfth and fourteenth dynasties of ancient Egypt, anarchy lay over the country. It was a time of turmoil and civil war. Towards 1778 BC Egypt was invaded by the Hyksos, “shepherd kings” from Asia, who arrived with horses and war chariots and occupied the Nile valley. Only much later (under the eighteenth dynasty) was the country liberated. The Gypsies are the descendants of these Hyksos, who introduced the horse into Egypt and may have established settlements along the Spanish coast at the same time as the Greek and Phoenician colonies'.

There is one common tale, very similar to José Carlos de Luna’s hypothesis, by Serboianu⁴⁴ [Liégeois, 1986]. It says that the Rroma fled Egypt pursued by the Egyptians, and many drowned crossing the river. The survivors escaped over a bridge they had built of reeds. Ever since, they have regarded the reed as a symbol of their liberation, and story-tellers carry a strip of reed as an amulet.

Other scholars, such as Court de Gébelin in 1781⁴⁵ and Samuel Roberts in 1836⁴⁶ [Liégeois, 1986], also upheld an Egyptian origin. It can also be read in Bartosz [1994, p.20] for

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⁴³ Luna, J.C. de (1951) Gitanos de la Bética, EPESA, Madrid.
example: ‘On Sunday 17 August (1427), twelve penitents, as they said, came to Paris: there were a
duke, a count and ten men, all on horseback, who said they were Christians and natives of Lower
Egypt’. On the other hand Liégeois [1986] states that in medieval Europe the whole Eastern
Mediterranean, including Syria, Greece, Cyprus, and neighbouring lands, was known as “Little
Egypt”. The Turks also called the region of Izmir (formerly Nicodemia) “Little Egypt”, because of
its fertility. Well before Rromas’ official arrival in Europe [Clébert, 1963, p.27]: ‘(...), all
mountebanks and travelling-showmen of the main highways found themselves dubbed
“Egyptians”’.

2.1.3 Some Certainties

The real breakthrough came in the late eighteenth century. A pure accident provided the
starting point for widescale and profitable research into Rroma life and lore. In 1763, a Hungarian
named Istvan Valyi, discovered when he came into contact in Europe with Indian students from
Malabar, that there were many striking similarities between their language and that of the Rroma.
The Rroma understood some words in the language of these foreign visitors. It was realised that
Rroma must be of Indian origin. This discovery provided the basis for philological studies carried
out initially by Rüdiger, and then Grellmann, Graffunder, Pott, Miklosich, Turner, Sampson and
others. It is referenced in many books and studies [Ficowski, 1989; Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963;
Mirga and Mróz, 1994].

Once on this trail it was necessary to look for a group in India which could correspond with
the Rroma. Some of Indian castes link together the occupation of “smith and musician”, for
example: the Ghasiya, the Luri, the Asura [Clébert, 1963, p.36].

In 1949, apart from already mentioned the Ghasiya, the Luri, and the Asura, Hutton47
[Clébert, 1963] described some Indian tribes as:

- the Handi Jogi - beggars, charlatans and snake-charmers

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- the Kami - smiths and metal-workers of Nepal
- the Kasar (or Kaseras) - smelters of copper of North India
- the Korava - fortune-tellers, charlatans ... and thieves
- the Lohar - smiths from the North
- the Nat - nomad singers, dancers and acrobats
- the Tathera - metal-workers and smiths
- the Kanjar - mat-makers
- the Dom

But for some reason in this list, according to Clébert [1963] and Mirga and Mróz [1994] only the Luri and Dom have retained the attention of researchers.

Like the languages currently spoken in Northern India\(^4\) the Rromani language is descended from Sanskrit\(^4\) [Liégeois, 1986; Ficowski, 1989; Mirga and Mróz, 1994]. Its' closest relation is probably Hindi. Liégeois says [1986, p.36]:

'Since the beginning of the twentieth century, research has been increasingly refined. The works of Sampson and Turner in Britain have been particularly valuable. Sampson\(^5\) established the similarity between the Rom Gypsies and the Indian Dom caste. Many facts suggest that there is a similarity between them and that they have their origin in central India. Turner\(^6\) showed that the Gypsy language belonged to the central India group and had later borrowed from north-western India'.

Turner also points out [Liégeois, 1986, p.36]: 'While the Rom-Dom analogy rests on well-founded observations, the supposed close relations between Rom and Banjara, or Rom and Jat, remain hypothetical'.

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\(^4\) Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, Rajasthani

\(^4\) An ancient language of India. Artificially preserved, written according to the book: in it we find no dialects, limited chronological development, and no geographical divergences. It played a prestigious role similar to that of Latin in Europe and even now is one of the official languages of India [Fraser, 1995, p.17].


Gypsyologist Sir Angus Fraser [1995] explains that the *rom* of the European Gypsies is *lom* in Armenian Romani, and *dom* in Persian and Syrian dialects. *Romany* has nothing whatever to do with Romania, where, confusingly, the Gypsies have lived in great numbers for many centuries. *Rom, dom, and lom* are all in phonetic correspondence with the Sanskrit *domba*, which means, "man of low caste living by singing and music". There are references to the *Dom* as musicians from the sixth century. The *Dom* still exists in India; they are nomads who do a number of jobs, including basket-making, smithing, metalworking, scavenging and music-making. Not surprisingly, most of the scholars opt for a *Dom* theory of ancestry, although debate still rages. This point of view is also presented in other publications [Fonseca, 1995; Bartosz, 1994; Clébert, 1963].

Fraser also writes [1995, pp.20-21]:

'For much of the twentieth century there have been two main schools of thoughts. In the one camp were the proponents of a North-Western or a Dardic origin for Romani: John Sampson was one of these and he argued that Romani originated in the north-west provinces, the departure from there occurring at least as early as the end of the ninth century AD. In the other camp, most notably represented by Sir Ralph Turner (...), were those who sought to show that Romani belonged originally to the Central group'.

Examination of the vocabulary and grammatical structures of Rromani dialects in various countries has given scientists some idea of the paths taken during the dispersion. The further away from India, the more marked is the loss of basic vocabulary and the corresponding increase in the number of words borrowed from other languages. Locating the origin of borrowed words makes it possible to trace the routes.

In Fraser’s view [1995] there are three fine studies which illustrate the history of the language. One of the classic studies which investigated the Rromani language in Wales was published by Sampson in 1926.

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In this study, John Sampson discovered [Liégeois, 1986, also: Fraser, 1995] 150 root words of English origin, as against 518 of Indian origin (more than half the root-words are still in use). A total of 430 borrowed words were identified, of which about 40 were of Welsh origin, 90 of Greek, 60 of Slav, and a similar number of Iranian, the rest being of Romanian, German, French, and other origins. A recent count in a highly heterogeneous Sinto dialect showed that 41 per cent of the words were of Indian origin.53

In Poland, on the other hand, knowledge of the Rroma was extremely scant before the year 1800. The chronicler Marcin Bielski and the Rev Benedykt Chmielewski devoted short passages to them; Sebastian F. Klonowicz portrayed them in his poem A Bag of Judases. Jakub Haur included an illustration showing a Rroma couple in his work on the land-owing economy.54 These were the only references to the Rroma in Polish literature. Up until the end of the eighteen century the name Tadeusz Czacki55 is associated with the beginning of Polish gypsiology [Mirga, 1992a].

Czacki was the author of two works on the Rroma which, although small in size, are extremely important in the history of the study of that people in Poland. His first text referring to the Rroma was published in exactly 1800.56 This was not published in the form of an individual study or essay, rather it appeared in the form of a note to the “Rroma” entry of his book [Mirga, 1992a].

53 See also:

53 (1765-1813) He was a prominent historian, statesman, educationist, collector and bibliophile, among other things involved in organising and reforming the Polish educational system.
In Mirga’s opinion [1992] Czacki’s note constituted a breakthrough. He sorted out facts concerning Rroma history, but with respect to their origin he retained an erroneous hypothesis as he was not yet familiar with the theory on the Indic origin of the Rroma. The real beginnings of Polish gypsiology were marked by his second work which was written in the form of a complete essay On Rroma. Its new starting point was the thesis on the Indic origin of the Rroma, something which Czacki found to be fresh and unusually revealing.

Before tackling the problem of education for the Rromani population, it is vital to have a basic understanding of their background which, to some extent, creates their own image of themselves. In order to demonstrate how difficult it has been to determine parts of the Rromani history, some legends and theories, linked with Rromani origins have been presented. An analysis of their ancestry highlights another issue connected with a variety of names used in describing this population. This problem will be studied further in Chapter 4. There is no doubt that some Western European researchers have researched further into gypsiology than Polish ones.

2.2 Rromani migrations to Europe

2.2.1 The first migrations to Europe in the Middle Ages

The first historical information on the Rroma in Europe comes from the middle of the eleventh century (around 1068 AD) and speaks of wanderers from Constantinople [Ficowski, 1989, Mirga and Mróz, 1994, Fraser, 1995]. These are mentioned in The Life of George Mtharsmindel of Mount Athos, which refers to people known as the Asincan or Adsincani as “well known magicians and rogues”.

Also Clébert [1963, p.51 and p.54] registered: ‘In the year 1100 a Georgian monk noted the arrival at Mount Athos of a group of Atsincani, who were forthwith styled as “sorcerers and thieves”. In 1322 a similar tribe landed on Crete; another at Corfu in 1346. This is all that is recorded in the written documents’.

The next reference to Athinganoi used in the sense of Gypsies, according to Fraser [1995, p.46]: ‘comes in the twelfth century, in a commentary by the canonist Theodore Balsamon (…), which threatened a six-year excommunication for any member of the Church who exploited the public by displaying bears or other animals for amusement or by telling fortunes’.

The presence of groups like these, differing from those around them, in the Peloponnese before 1350 is also confirmed by Ludolphus of Sudheim. He gave them the name Mandopolini [Mirga and Mróz, 1994; Ficowski, 1989; Fraser, 1995]. Whether these Asincan, Mandopulos, Mandopolini were identical to the Rroma is only hypothesis. However

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28 Also known as: Life of Saint George the Auteurite

29 From Greek: Asintanot or Atzingtonoi. The term by which the Byzantines commonly referred to Gypsies. The most widely accepted view is that it is a name of the heretical Manichaeans sect of the Athinganoi. The name was applied to the Gypsies because both groups had a similar reputation for fortune-telling and sorcery [Fraser, 1995, p.46].

30 Mandopulos is almost certainly a corruption of the Greek “mantipolos” meaning fortune-teller.
the next references to them which occurred a few decades later appear to be certain evidence of the Rroma. According to contemporary documents, a "feudum Acinganorum" existed on the Island of Corfu in 1386. This was a Rromani tax which lasted until the nineteenth century. At this time the Rromani of Corfu were released from taxes and made legally subject to their own "chief", except as regards capital crimes.

In 1322 two Franciscans on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land saw cave-dwelling Gypsies near Candia, in Crete. Some twenty-five years later, in 1348, Cingarije were reported in Serbia. In 1378 many Cygans are mentioned in judicial chronicles in Zagreb, and in the same year the Venetian governor of Nauplia, on the Peloponnesian coast, renewed the privileges enjoyed by the local Acingani. At Modon, also in the Peloponnesian, the Gypsies were settled at the foot of Mount Gype. In addition, Liégeois [1986, p.38] re-introduced the name "black Gypsy", which had been mentioned in 1399 in the book of death sentences in a seigniory in Bohemia.

With the fifteenth century there are more written documents. Moldavia and Hungary were the main centres of dispersion at the time from where the Rroma moved North and North-West. Various chroniclers mention their presence in Germany between 1407 and 1416 [Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963; Fraser, 1995].

In August 1419, a group arrived at Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne in the Ain, France. In October 1421 a "count of Little Egypt" brought his group to Arras. In 1427 it was the turn of the city of Paris to be astounded by the appearance of Rroma at its gates. This has been noted by many researchers e.g. Liégeois [1986], Bartosz [1994], Clébert [1963], Fraser [1995].

The Rroma began to make their way into Spain from 1425. They claimed to have been driven out of their own country, "Little Egypt" - a region of Messenia in the Southern Peloponnese - by Turkish invaders, and to have been condemned by the Pope to seven years of pilgrimage. With this double status as refugees expelled for their faith, and as Christian
pilgrims, they were generally well received, and monarchs granted them letters of protection [Leblon, 1995; Fraser, 1995].

In July 1422 the Rroma arrived in Bologna, Italy claiming to be en route for Rome. There are no written documents of the rest of the journey, and no report of their arrival in Rome or any visit to the Pope. Nevertheless they soon turned up bearing letters of recommendation from Pope Martin V, though whether these were genuine or forged is not known. The effect was the same either way, since papal bulls were always treated with respect, by ecclesiastical and lay authorities alike [Liegeois, 1986; Bartosz, 1994; Fraser, 1995].

In a copy of a translation of one of these bulls, dated 15 December 1423, Pope Martin V requests all church and civil authorities to let Duke Andrew (a Rroma Chief) circulate wherever he chooses, safely and freely, without paying any tax or toll [Liegeois, 1986]. Others [Clébert, 1963; Fraser, 1995] also mention a letter from Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, from the same period (probably 1417), granting similar privileges to the Rroma.

A very important factor for the Rroma was that in this safe conduct Pope Martin V had guaranteed not only freedom of movement and protection, but had also recognised their own Rroma legal system. They were not to be brought before the courts of countries in which they committed crimes [Ficowski, 1989].

It is stated [Liegeois, 1986, p.44], that during the first quarter of the fifteenth century the Rroma travelled over much of Europe: Germany (1407), Switzerland (1418), France (1419), the Netherlands (1420), Italy (1422), Spain (1425), Poland (1428). Journeys to Northern Europe began in the first half of the sixteenth century: Scotland (1505), Denmark (1505, coming from Scotland), Sweden (1512, coming from Denmark), England (the first evidence of a Romany presence dates from 1514, but there was probably an earlier immigration), Norway (1540, coming from England).
According to Liégeois [1986], they entered Russia from the South in 1501, but apparently did not reach Siberia until 1721. Africa and the Americas had Romani immigration too, mainly as a result of the deportation of Roma from Portugal (mostly to Brazil) and Spain in the seventeenth century, and later from England and France. Finally, each wave of European emigration to the United States included Roma. They travelled in groups, including woman and children, and were led by a "chief", "duke", "count", "captain", or "voivode" [p.39]. They had horses and sometimes wagons for their baggage, and they always described themselves as penitents or pilgrims, living off private and public charity.

The Roma performed many useful services in town and country, they also provided entertainment. However, the Roma soon aroused hostility. The Church resented the competition of palm readers, the Guilds the fact that the Roma could undercut their prices and the State wanted them to settle down [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

2.2.2 Arrival in Great Britain

The first authenticated records of Roma presence in Great Britain are in 1505 for Scotland and 1514 for Lambeth in England [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

Fraser [1995, p.111] states: 'The first undoubted record of Gypsies in Britain is contained in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland for 1505: “Item, the xxij day of Aprile, to the Egiptians, be the Kingis command, x Franch crounis, summa vij li”. Before this disbursement by James II at Stirling, all is speculation in regard to Roma in Scotland'.

Some researchers [Clébert, 1963; Mirga and Mróz, 1994] speculate whether the Roma landed in England in 1430 or in 1440. It is not known how they crossed the North Sea or the English Channel.

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Probably the earliest mention of Rroma in England occurs during the reign of Henry VIII in *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight*. Moore relates, as Fraser writes [1995, p.112]: ‘As one who was present, that in 1514, at an inquest into the death of Richard Hunne in the Lollards’ Tower, one of the witnesses referred to an “Egypcyan” woman who had been lodging in Lambeth but had recently gone overseas, and who could tell marvellous things simply by looking into a person’s hand’.

2.2.3 Appearance in Poland


In Poland the only traces to be found of the Rroma’s first migration come in personal or place name data linked with the word Cygan. Following Ficowski [1989, p.11], the first piece of evidence of this kind dated from 1419, when the name of a settler at Trześniów in the Sanok province is given as Petrus Cygan; in 1428 the same name appears at Królikowa; at Berezówka in 1429, we find the name Nicolaus Czygan; in 1434, Mikołaj Czygan appears at Świerczów; and in 1436, Jan and Jakub Cygan at Królikowa.

In Długosz’s Liber beneficiorum and in court records we can also find traces of the presence of the Rroma in Poland in place and personal names. In 1487, a place called Cyhanowa Łuka existed in the Halicz province; in 1503 we can find evidence of the existence of a settlement named Cyganowo in the records of the Pyzdry province; and in the sixteenth century - or perhaps earlier - there was a village called Cyganowice, which belonged to a Poor Clares convent in the Ściesz province [Ficowski, 1989].

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63 Jan Długosz (1415 - 1480) Polish chronicler
Tadeusz Czacki\textsuperscript{64} claims [Mirga, 1992a, p.26] that he found in the Royal archives (which have been lost) a mention dating from 1501 of Polgar, the leader of the Rroma in the Kingdom of Poland. Therefore, the date 1501 is when, he says: 'For the first time (...) we see the name Cygan in the charters'.\textsuperscript{65}

On the other hand, Fraser [1995, pp.110-111] argues with this statement saying that it was in the same year that King Aleksander Jagiellończyk\textsuperscript{66} issued a charter at Vilna to the "Gypsy Voivode" Vassili, which confirmed his authority over the Rroma in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and gave him the right to judge disputes among his subjects. It also conferred on all the Rroma 'freedom of movement in our lands (...) according to the customs of our ancestors, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania of blessed memory (...) according to the former laws, customs and ducal edicts'.

The way in which this was formulated indicates that this charter dating from 1501 was not the first document of its kind. There must have been one which has not been preserved and of which we today know nothing.

Although Czacki enumerated most of the parliamentary acts concerning Rroma in the Polish Kingdom, he did not quote them extensively. As far as the legislation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was concerned, Czacki mentioned only the chapter of the Second Lithuanian Statue; the same one which he had used in On Lithuanian and Polish Legislations (...). He omitted a number of specific laws from the Second and Third Lithuanian Statutes which are discussed extensively by Ficowski [1985] who also corrected both the editor's and Czacki's mistakes made while dating the two privileges.

\textsuperscript{64} (1765-1813) He was a prominent historian, statesman, educationist, collector and bibliophile, among other things involved in organising and reforming the Polish educational system.


\textsuperscript{66} His reign: 1447-1492
Czacki rightly accepted the possibility that Rroma had been present in Poland under the reign of Władysław Jagiełło. This was confirmed by topographic and onomastic data gathered by linguists and historians. Czacki’s claim that the first document alluding to Rroma in Poland was a fragment he discovered in the Royal Register dated 1501 and subsequently reconstructed by Ficowski has also been proven to be correct [Mirga, 1992a].

However, the authenticity of another document from that same year discovered by Narbutt, the privilege granted to the Rroma Chieftain Vasyl by Aleksander Jagiellończyk, has recently been questioned by Mróz. According to Mróz, the privilege was written and signed by Aleksander Jagiellończyk (as King of Poland) in the Summer of 1501 when he was still the Grand Duke of Lithuania not the King of Poland. His coronation took place in December 1501 [Mróz, 1988].

The most recent historical studies seem to show that Rroma’s first traces are found in South-East of Poland and in Kraków in 1401. The oldest piece of evidence regarding Mikołaj Cygan (Czigan) from Kraków was found by Mróz. Other documents referring to the name Cygan (Czigan) also appear in 1411, in 1417 and in 1422 [Mróz, 1992].

Every continent, perhaps even every country, has been affected by the Rromani dispersion, by their many migrations, fast and slow, minimal and noticeable, voluntary and forced. The groups that came to Western Europe sometimes settled down, but often continued to move from region to region and State to State.

However with time, as Liégeois [1986, p.44] notes: ‘The travels were gradually restricted by persecution; the scale of distances shrank, and became increasingly confined to the borders of single nations’.

67 1386-1434
69 As critical comments of Czacki’s “O Litewskich i polskich prawach (…)” In: Narbutt, T. (1830) Rzeczy historyczno ludu cygańskiego, Wilno.
70 Completed his studies in University of Warsaw, lecturer at the school of Ethnology and Anthropology UW. A member of Gypsy Lore Society.
2.2.4 New destiny for the Rroma in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe

After that first wave of groups from India no further major migrations are known of until several centuries later. The next major migration came in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Rroma in Romania were freed from slavery (in 1856) and emigrated throughout Europe, some going as far as the Americas [Mirga and Mróz, 1994; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Fraser, 1995].

Obviously after the Second World War there were huge deportations on the continent. Millions of Germans and Poles had to migrate as expatriates in the 1950s, because of transfers of territory. Rroma were also caught up in this displacement, they found themselves stateless. In 1956 after the Hungarian uprising Rroma were among the refugees who fled to the West. In the 1960s Romani groups living in Yugoslavia, where frontier regulations became more relaxed than in the rest of Eastern Europe, headed towards most states of Western Europe. Also in the 1960s many Travellers from Ireland crossed over to England and Wales. The unrest in Portugal in the 1970s caused an influx of Rroma into Spain. For much of the time the migrations had economic reasons [Fraser, 1995; Ficowski, 1989; Mirga, 1993a].

Mirga recalls [1993a] that the Rroma were the target of efforts at enforced assimilation by the Communist authorities, whose programmes all too often destroyed old patterns of culture and social structures without providing logical alternatives, and left poorly educated, unemployed populations living in deep poverty, segregated, despised by the majority groups and lacking the group cohesiveness or leadership required to defend themselves against violence.
2.2.5 Racist attacks on the Rromani population in the post-Communist period

The collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe has liberated numerous ethnic and national conflicts. While international attention is concentrated on the widespread killing and destruction in the former Yugoslavia, a festering issue threatens a series of social explosions in several countries: the fate of the Rroma. Violence against the Rroma, except in Romania, has become primarily an urban phenomenon since 1989, usually engaged in by “skinheads” and neofascist groups [Annex 1].

For the first several years following the collapse of Communism in 1989, the new Governments in Eastern Europe failed to treat the problem with the seriousness it deserved or to devote sufficient resources to its resolution. The problem was intensified by a lack of organisation among the Rromani communities themselves; their competing and contradictory demands both added to the confusion and permitted governments to continue to ignore the problem.

It is noted in the International Romani Union leaflet that [IRU, 1992, p.4]:

‘Information collected by Human Rights associations and by the International Romani Union have evidenced 50 cases of attacks, pogroms and violent incidents against Romani communities and persons in various European countries since January 1990. Twenty four Romanis were killed during incidents in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and in Romania. About 300 houses were partially or totally destroyed in Hungary, Romania, Poland and Spain. In most cases local authorities and police were passive, even when previously warned of the premeditation of such attacks’.

They are the most disadvantaged population in Europe by all important indicators: education, opportunity, income and employment. In addition, they are often scapegoats for society’s ills and the object of violent attacks. Serious incidents began to occur in the early

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1990s in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. There was violence even in places where the Rroma had long been legally settled and seemingly accepted [IRU, 1992; Liégeois and Gheorghe, 1995; Fraser, 1995; Delaney and Shymański, 1997].

Currently the Rroma are in the news because of the rising level of racist attacks on them in Eastern Europe and the controversy over caravan sites in the UK and other West European countries [Delaney and Shymański, 1997].

The Project on Ethnic Relations [PER, 1992] organised a Seminar under the title: “The Romanies in Central and Eastern Europe: Illusions and Reality”. Numerous participants stressed the significance of ethnically-motivated violence during the post-Communist transition in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The violence directed against the Rroma in all the former socialist States is widespread. Since the beginning of 1990, the Rroma have suffered more than 45 attacks, resulting in the deaths of 20 Rroma and the destruction of over 400 Rromani dwellings.

Some examples of pogroms in Eastern Europe are significantly alarming [Fonseca, 1995; IRU, 1992; Liégeois and Gheorghe, 1995]:

- Last February, in Austria’s Burgenland, where Rroma have been settled for more than 300 years, 4 men were killed by a pipe bomb when they tried to dismantle a sign that said “Rroma go back to India”.
- In Italy, Rromani children have been maimed by bombs planted in dolls or children’s books and given to them on the highway.
- Since the Velvet Revolution, at least 28 Rroma have been killed in racist attacks in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

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72 Information collected by the International Romani Union and Human Rights associations (Helsinki Watch, International Helsinki Federation and International Federation of Human Rights Leagues).
73 In Stupava (near Bratislava), Slovakia from April 30 to May 2, 1992.
74 1995
75 In 1992 - called also as the Velvet Divorce
In addition, many of the 800,000 Rroma of the former Yugoslavia are among the dead in the continuing Balkan war, although they have no interest in a nationalist fight for land, and no voice in the negotiations that will dramatically affect their lives.

In the first few years of post-Communist Governments, judicial authorities uniformly failed to prosecute anyone other than Rromani individuals themselves following mob violence against Rromani persons and property. There are signs that this situation is now improving, and more and more cases against Gadže instigators of mob violence are beginning to appear in the courts [PER, 1994].

One sign of change for the better was the prompt and decisive reaction of the Polish authorities when Rromani houses were burned down in Mlawa in 1991. Since then, no other such major incidents have occurred in Poland76 [Refer to the Section 3.3.3 The views of Polish society regarding the Rromani community].

The gaps between illusions and reality, theory and practice, plans and implementation, national legislation and local enforcement, create mistrust and alienation on all sides. Governmental authorities who fashion laws and provisions concerning minority rights often view Rromani criticisms of their actions as ingratitude and bad faith. On the other hand, the Rromani community, which is often unaware of these provisions because of inadequate publicity, perceives the central authorities as uncaring or even abusive when, as is commonly the case, the provisions are not implemented at the local level. There are three issues of most concern to the Rroma: human and civil rights, minority rights, community development and political organisation. The long term success of remedial social policies will depend on successful political organisation among the Rroma.77

76 From interview conducted with Andrzej Mirga in Kraków, end of August 1995
77 From interview conducted with Andrzej Mirga in Kraków, end of August 1995
Communist regimes created a false sense of security, which has now given way to a sense of social insecurity. The other factors behind current anti-Romani violence could be that [PER, 1994; Fraser, 1995]:

- In the whole of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, authoritarian political views were dominant during the Communist times.
- The new opposition groups are often not so much democratic as anti-Communist and Nationalist.
- During the Communist rule, nationalism was a strong opposing force. The collapse of Communism made it possible for nationalism to become stronger than ever which was initially very positive in that it brought the nation together to fight for freedom, subsequently the nationalist forces were used against those peoples who were not seen as 'nationals'.

From discussions in Stupava, it also emerged that, aside from the pervasive and broad support for anti-Romani attacks, which was often shared by central authorities, one of the obstacles to ending such attacks is the desire of State authorities to preserve a positive and "clean" self-image, particularly in circumstances in which they perceive their State to be in competition for Western aid. Racist and fascist violence, even if committed by marginal groups, is seen as something best kept quiet if the State is to continue to receive necessary aid during the current transition [PER, 1994].

2.2.6 New Romani migrations in the early 1990s

A significant number of Rroma have responded to hardships by attempting to migrate to Western Europe. The governments of Western Europe, however, have sought ways of keeping the Rroma out of their countries. Meanwhile, very little assistance, material or otherwise, has been rendered by these governments for dealing more constructively with the migration problem [PER, 1994; IRU, 1992; Fraser, 1995].
In practice, according to Kenrick [1995, p.14], the Home Office in Great Britain ignores the Convention on Stateless Persons which the United Kingdom signed in 1954.\footnote{It says: 'The contracting states shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalisation of stateless persons' [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.13].}

'tIn recent years Romanies from eastern Europe have tried to get asylum because of racial attacks in their own countries. The attitude of the Home Office is that there may be “harassment” of Gypsies but this does not amount to “persecution” so the applicants are refused and sent back to where they came from. Only a small number holding Yugoslav papers and unable to return to Bosnia because of the fighting have been allowed to stay.'\footnote{In fact, in 1992, Britain was sending genuine refugees from the former Yugoslavia back to countries such as Germany which already had more than 200,000 of Yugoslavian Rroma [The Times, 1997].}

In the rest of Europe, as in Britain, there have often been measures aimed at diminishing the number of Rroma people. According to Fraser [1995] these initiatives vary from being one element in an ethnic cleansing programme (as in Nazi Germany) to resentment at their success in times of economic depression (as in Romania).

Attempts to assimilate adopt a variety of forms. In France since 1969, the Rroma have had to carry an identity card which is regularly checked by officials who can decide to which commune nomads should be assigned. Some countries, for example Switzerland and Italy, concerned for the welfare of the Rromani children, have sanctioned their forcible adoption [Puxon, 1973]

In Germany, the Rroma are used by right-wing antagonists to support a restriction on liberal asylum laws. It is said [Boyes and Gledhill, 1997] that in 1992 Germany found itself the target of a massive Rromani migration from Romania. The Rroma claimed asylum but quickly found themselves subjected to neo-Nazi violence which caused political embarrassment in Bonn. After months of negotiation, Bucharest was offered a cash sum to resettle them and tens of thousands were deported. Berlin’s Der Tagesspiegel newspaper [Von Waldersee, 1995, p.10] drew a link between Oświęcim and the current violence in Germany, which has been plagued by resurgent racism and attacks on foreigners since
unification in 1990. Von Waldersee states: ‘Thinking that life has a different value according to which race, religion or background it comes from did not stop after Auschwitz. It marks the war in the Balkans as much as it determines the racist attacks in Germany’.

The Rroma fleeing the conflict in the former Yugoslavia have added to the tension, with violent clashes occurring all over Eastern Europe. Therefore, Eastern European governments are trying to control the internal migration of the Rroma. For example, in 1993 in some Czech towns the authorities approved regulations that drastically limited Rroma migration into urban centres and expelled the Rroma who could not meet restrictive residency requirements. Citizens were required to report visits that lasted more than three days, including those of immediate family members. Moreover, without any legal standing to initiate legislation, the Prosecutor General of the Czech Republic introduced an anti-migration Bill in the parliament stipulating that visits (again, including those of family members) could not exceed five days every six months and granting the police authority to enter dwellings to check occupancy [PER, 1994; Fraser, 1995].

Since 1990 Poland has faced huge migration from Romania. As a high proportion of new comers were illiterate and none of them spoke Polish, any regular work would have been difficult to find. So, they turned mainly to begging, hawking and petty crime. Most of them still want to reach Germany or other West European countries, so they treat Poland as a place of transit. They live mainly under the bridges on the periphery of a city in self-made slum houses. According to statistics, in 1996, there were no more than 2,000-3,000 Rroma from Romania in Poland80 [Zaradkiewicz, 1996; Grochowska, 1996].

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In the new circumstances the expulsion of the Rroma has taken a more organised and legalistic form. In 1980s hundreds of them were expelled from Poland as no longer having citizenship\textsuperscript{81} [Fraser, 1995].

The division of Czechoslovakia in 1992 was a catastrophe for many Rroma, because neither new state wanted them. They were expelled by one and refused admittance by the other. As a result they found themselves homeless and stateless. The social climate in Slovakia can be judged by its President’s remark in 1993 when he\textsuperscript{82} said: ‘It is necessary to curtail the extended reproduction of [this] socially unadaptable and mentally backward people’ [Fonseca, 1997, p.18; similar statement also in: Bartosz, 1994, p.59].

One of the Polish newspapers published in London [Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza, 1997] has informed the public of recent vast migrations of Rroma from Czech Republic to Canada\textsuperscript{83} - another wave of current Rromani migration.

In 1997, the Czech and Slovak Rroma decided to migrate targeted Canada as their country of first choice. However, since Canada started insisting on stricter entry rules (including proof that the Rroma are planning to return to the Czech Republic and bank accounts showing enough money to support their stay in Canada) their focus has shifted to Great Britain. The Rroma claimed political asylum in Kent, trying to flee persecution and unemployment in Eastern Europe. Britain has become their destination, partly because it was portrayed in a good light on television and partly because it was believed that it is easy to move from Britain to Canada [Boyes and Gledhill, 1997].

\textsuperscript{81} Sweden accepted them, treated them as refugees and helped them to find jobs and housing. [Also refer to the Section 2.8.3. Polish society’s view of the Romani community]

\textsuperscript{82} Vladimir Močiar

\textsuperscript{83} On April 1, 1996, in an effort to foster closer relations with the Czech Republic, Canada lifted the requirement for visitors to have visas. They simply had to produce a passport and show a return airline ticket. In 1995 there were 29 Czech refugee applications. By September 30, 1996, 1,285 Czech Rroma had applied to be refugees. On October 7, the Immigration Minister reimposed visa requirements on everyone coming to Canada. Since then many Rromani families have seen Britain as their country of hope [Brommer et al, 1997]. According to Jenkins [1997], between August and October 1997 116 men have sought political asylum for themselves and their families in Great Britain. In 1996 there were ten applications in the same period.
Hundreds of Eastern European Rroma flooded into Dover on the 18 October 1997. According to Mc Ginty [1997] their journeys were inspired by a television documentary broadcast in the Czech Republic which claimed Britain's immigration policy was weak and suggested it was easy to claim free state handouts.\textsuperscript{84} 

The crisis arose after the introduction of an European Union [EU] Convention (September 1997) that undermined the Government's ability to remove asylum-seekers speedily from Britain. Before that any asylum-seeker who had passed through another EU state could be sent back on the grounds that the application should have been lodged in the "first safe country". However, under the Dublin Convention\textsuperscript{85} on immigration, non-EU asylum-seekers travelling without visas can apply for refuge not in the first safe country,\textsuperscript{86} but in the state in which they wish to live.\textsuperscript{87} Kent County Council appealed for Government help to meet the bill of up to 2 million pounds to provide emergency accommodation and education for the 800 asylum-seekers in the Channel port. Most of them said that they were fleeing racial harassment in their home countries. In contrast, the Slovak Embassy denied that the refugees were racially persecuted and said that the Slovak Government spent large sums on Rromani culture [Ford and Lee, 1997].

Lee [1997] reported that there were English parents in Dover who were threatening to remove pupils from schools that had had to accept more than 100 children from the Rromani families seeking political asylum. The local Authority was obliged to provide for the children, who had been shared out among seven schools. Since few of them spoke any English they were given name tags to encourage other children to approach them. Each morning the

\textsuperscript{84} The immediate stimulus for the migration to Britain from the Czech and Slovak Republics was a programme on the private Czech television channel, Nova. The documentary, entitled "With Your Own Eyes", was screened on September 30, 1997 [Bremner et al, 1997].

\textsuperscript{85} The Dublin Convention was signed in June, 1990 by David Waddington, the then Conservative Home Secretary. It was ratified by John Major in July, 1992 and came into force in September 1997 [Ford, 1997b].

\textsuperscript{86} The main argument for dropping the "first safe country" rule was that the EU was to abolish internal frontiers, which Britain has always refused to do. Therefore Great Britain should not have signed the Dublin Convention [The Times, 1997].
Slovaks were taught English before mixing with the other children at break and lunch-time and for lessons during the rest of the day. Kent County Council said the extra cost of teaching the children of the asylum-seekers for a year would be 500,000 pounds.

Ford [1997a] pointed out that those who claimed asylum immediately on arriving at ports were allowed a range of state benefits including income and child support of up to 100 pounds a week, access to schooling and National Health Service treatment. The Council placed two hundred children in schools in East Kent, but officials were initially considering placing them in temporary accommodation instead, so that they could receive specialist help with their difficulties, particularly with the English language. The Council has had to provide interpreters and education welfare officers to help the children to settle at schools in the county.

Although governments are now more willing to view this situation seriously, and although some progress has been made by the Rroma in their internal political organisation and project development, it is nevertheless true that little progress has been made in addressing and resolving the basic issues facing the Rroma. In a number of cases, the situation has, in fact, worsened according to Project of Ethnic Relations [PER, 1994].

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87 From October 22 they were refused entry to Britain. Some families at Calais decided to accept an offer of free transport home, others have opted to seek political asylum in France. The French authorities are powerless to move them on. Although they have little chance of being granted asylum, they have the right to stay within the EU's open-frontier area for three months [Lee and Bell, 1997].
88 In October 1996 the courts ruled that Local Authorities had a duty to asylum-seekers under the National Assistance Act of 1948. Then in July 1997 the courts ruled that Councils were not allowed to give refugees cash to buy their own food, so Councils have been forced to deliver meals on wheels or food parcels to bed and breakfast hotels [Ford, 1997a].
Chapter 3

RECENT STATISTICS, ORGANISATIONS AND ATTITUDES
3. RECENT STATISTICS, ORGANISATIONS AND ATTITUDES

3.1 Statistics

Establishing the exact number of Rroma gives rise to serious difficulties, since the public registers in many countries do not include members of ethnic groups. Sometimes the Rroma, for reasons known only to themselves, do not declare their origins. As a result many countries rely to a great extent on estimates in order to determine the number of Rroma. For this reason too data contained in various publications should be viewed with certain reservations [Zywert, 1968].

One of the issues raised during the conference in Slovakia [PER, 1992] was the quality of statistics relating to the Rroma. None of the demographic statistics from any of the states in the region was considered reliable by the Rroma participants. Even where deliberate political manipulation of the numbers was not suspected, the statistics depended heavily on the organisation that collected them, the purpose for which they were collected, and the methods of collection.

3.1.1 General statistical estimations.

Clébert [1963, p.15] estimated the Rroma population at around 5-6 million world-wide. However, the number given in the Great Russian Encyclopedia [Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna, 1963, p.648] determined the Rroma as 1 million in Europe and 1 million in the remaining continents.

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89 As Cormick reports [1994, p.4] the Rroma in America remain the only ethnic minority which still has laws actively in effect against them. In fact, in some states it is illegal either to do business, or establish a home, or both, for a Rrom/Rromni. These are some of the reasons why the Rroma hide their true identity from the outside world.

90 The Project on Ethnic Relations organised a Seminar (in Stupava, near Bratislava - from April 30 to May 2, 1992) under the title: “The Romanies in Central and Eastern Europe: Illusions and Reality”.

41
Figures in Table 3.1 show how the Rromani population was perceived in some European countries in 1961.

**Table 3.1: The Rromani population in some European countries in 1961.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>THE RROMANI POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>205,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>135,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>115,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>30,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>790,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to Kwilecki [1963, p.87] in the years 1961-1962 12,000 Rroma lived in Poland.

*Source: Atlas Narodow Mira, 1964; p145*

Liégeois held that the total world population of the Rroma may be in the order of 12 to 15 million. A rough estimation of the total number of the Rromani population in Europe would be 3,421,750 to 4,935,500. This is shown in Table 3.2. Table 3.2 also contains data found in Bartosz’s publication.
Table 3.2: A rough estimation of the total number of the Rromani population in Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>According to Bartouz</th>
<th>According to Liegeois</th>
<th>According to Gypsy Research Centre, Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>90,000 to 100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>5,000 to 20,000</td>
<td>8,000 to 10,000</td>
<td>20,000 to 25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>10,000 to 15,000</td>
<td>10,000 to 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>300,000 to 500,000</td>
<td>700,000 to 800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Not Listed</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>Czech Republic: 200,000</td>
<td>300,000 to 400,000</td>
<td>Czech Republic: 250,000 to 300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slovakia: 300,000 to 400,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Slovakia: 480,000 to 520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>3,000 to 4,000</td>
<td>1,000 to 2,000</td>
<td>1,500 to 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>5,000 to 8,000</td>
<td>5,000 to 7,000</td>
<td>7,000 to 9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>100,000 to 250,000</td>
<td>220,000 to 300,000</td>
<td>280,000 to 340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>50,000 to 100,000</td>
<td>55,000 to 65,000</td>
<td>New Germany: 110,000 to 130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>50,000 to 300,000</td>
<td>80,000 to 120,000</td>
<td>160,000 to 200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>400,000 to 600,000</td>
<td>550,000 to 600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>20,000 to 25,000</td>
<td>22,000 to 28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>20,000 to 100,000</td>
<td>60,000 to 90,000</td>
<td>90,000 to 110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>30,000 to 35,000</td>
<td>35,000 to 40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>250 to 500</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>50,000 to 60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>30,000 to 70,000</td>
<td>20,000 to 30,000</td>
<td>40,000 to 50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>500,000 to 3,000,000</td>
<td>500,000 to 800,000</td>
<td>1,800,000 to 2,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>250,000 to 700,000</td>
<td>300,000 to 450,000</td>
<td>650,000 to 800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>60,000 to 100,000</td>
<td>15,000 to 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>4,000 to 5,000</td>
<td>120,000 to 15,000</td>
<td>30,000 to 35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>20,000 to 80,000</td>
<td>80,000 to 110,000</td>
<td>90,000 to 120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Former USSR: 200,000 to 1,000,000</td>
<td>200,000 to 300,000</td>
<td>Russia: 220,000 to 400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Belarus: 10,000 to 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Estonia: 1,000 to 1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Latvia: 2,000 to 3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lithuania: 3,000 to 4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ukraine: 50,000 to 60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Former Yugoslavia: 700,000</td>
<td>700,000 to 900,000</td>
<td>Former Yugoslavia: 718,000 to 840,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luxembourg: 100 to 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey: 300,000 to 500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4,145,000 to 8,645,000</td>
<td>3,421,750 to 4,935,500</td>
<td>7,000,000 to 8,500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Wojecki [1993, p.7], there are more than 10 million Rroma residing in the world, dispersed among 30 different nations. Fonseca [1995, p.85] estimates that perhaps as many as 8 million Rroma live in Europe - mainly in Eastern Europe. In her opinion they are the continent's biggest minority. Another publication [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.145] estimates up to 1,800,000 Rroma and Travellers living within the twelve countries of the EU.

In July 1994 the first Romany Congress of the EU was held in Spain. It formulated a series of demands in the fields of social policy, civil liberties, literacy and the rights of women. It is in the development of education for the Rroma and Travellers that the EU has made most progress. EU policy regarding the education of the Rroma and Traveller children is set out in Resolution 89/C153/02 of 22 May 1989 [Hawes and Perez, 1995]. With a population of up to 1,800,000 it suggests that over half are children. Therefore, the importance of encouraging school attendance and developing literacy is a prime objective. The Resolution is premised on the fact that only 30% to 40% of the Rromani population within the EU attend school with any regularity, that over half have never been to school and that only a very small percentage ever get into secondary education.

3.1.2 The Rromani population in the United Kingdom.

As might be expected, precise information on the number of Rroma in Great Britain is not available. Clébert [1963, p.263] indicated that it has been possible to categorise the Rroma into four main groups. According to him, of the 50,000 people who have been called Rroma, there are only about 10,000 who really merit the name. It is estimated only with a great deal of uncertainty. However, the question still remains as to how we define a Rroma. Okely [1983] noted that the status of the Rroma is ascribed at birth and is the one fundamental requirement for belonging to the community. Even those Gadže who have married a

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91 Also Bartosz [1994, p.78]
92 See 2.7.9.3. New measures in identifying the Rroma (in: Section 2.7. Travellers in the United Kingdom) which is dealing with the definition of the term Gypsy/Rrom.
Rroma/Rromni and live with other Rroma have found that they are required to "Gypsify" [Adams et al, 1975, p.61] themselves before being accepted by the community in which they live.

A very interesting observation was presented by Smith [1975, p.3]:

'To complicate matters further, some Gypsies themselves even talk of "true" or "real" Travellers.\(^93\) The essential point is that for all practical purposes (for example national and local government work) any attempt to hunt out the "true Gypsy" or the "real Romany" is likely as an exercise to be both chimerical and damaging because of the implied existence of "untrue" or second class Gypsies. There are countless examples of local authorities, journalists and others who have attempted to wriggle out of difficult or embarrassing situations by exculpating Romanies and turning against the Tinkers, the didacoi or simply the "dirty van dwellers". The search for an ideal type, in other words, will inevitably lead to the discovery of lesser mortals: these inferior people will then be discriminated against because they are not the "real thing".'\(^94\)

According to Nathan Lee [1993], who represents the National Gypsy Education Council [NGEC], 'It is estimated that there are about 100,000 Gypsies and Travellers in the UK. Of these some 45,000-50,000 are nomadic or semi-nomadic. This includes those living on official Gypsy sites within the nomadic category as these families are in reality semi-nomadic. There are about 48,000-50,000 sedentary or housed Gypsies/Travellers'. In his opinion these figures are probably inaccurate as no account has been taken in recent times of the many Rromani families who have settled in housing, many for as long as five or six generations. These people have merged in with the Gadje population in their style of housing and in the work they take up. It would be untruthful to say that they had become assimilated completely, but they are indeed so well integrated with the host society, it almost makes them "invisible". Many hold responsible positions or are professionals; some work in education and some are in entertainment, their children go to school like everyone else. The majority of these people try to hide their being Rroma from their neighbours and colleagues, not from any shame of their racial origins, but because of the negative

\(^93\) The search for the "true" Rroma is familiar to sociologists phenomenon labelled as the "scapegoat mechanism". It is used both by society against the Rroma, and by Rroma against each other. This mechanism is described in great extent by Acton, T. (1974) Gypsy Politics and Social change pp.80-87.

\(^94\) A celebrated Gypsiologist, Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald, was consulted when the first county survey in England was suggested by the government and carried out by Kent in 1951. He made a distinction between Rroma and Travellers, the first being "full blooded" and the others having no Rromani blood. It can be assumed though that highly subjective criteria were applied then by Vesey-Fitzgerald [Adams, 1975, p.30].

45
image and pejorative connotations the very word Gypsy arouses in the mind of the average British.
Nathan Lee acknowledged [1993, p.124]: ‘I know of many cases where a Gypsy has lost his job or
failed to get one when it has become known that he is a Gypsy’.

The numbers of Rroma/Travellers in each category oscillate owing to some slight seasonal
migratory movement during the times of certain fairs and festivals (for example, Epsom Derby and
Appleby Horse Fair), and also when seasonal work is available. These figures are also hard to
evaluate precisely owing to the numbers of families, mainly newly arrived Irish Travellers, who are
often forced into local authority homeless family accommodation, bed and breakfast or hostels (due
to the harsh legislation in the UK concerning unauthorised encampments).

The first attempt in England and Wales to ascertain the number of the Rroma and other
persons of nomadic habit by means of nation-wide census was made on 22 March 1965
[Cripps,1977].

Reiss [1975, p.65] has pointed out that there are no data whatsoever on the size of the
housed Rroma and Traveller population. All figures given so far are for caravan dwellers. He
wrote:

‘Three points can be made on the question of the total Traveller population of England
and Wales. Firstly, the 1965 census figure of at least 15,000 individuals from 3,400
families was an underestimate. 95 Secondly, it has been known for some time that each
year there is an influx of families from Eire. Thirdly, the 1967 report gave a projection of
the Traveller population (based on fertility and mortality rates) which suggested that the
population would increase from 15,000 to 28,000 between 1965 and 1985 providing that
there was no substantial movement into houses. So far, there is no evidence that the
number of families moving into houses is any different than it has been in the past’. 96

In order to estimate the size of the Rromani population and monitor progress towards
meeting the provisions of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, the Department of the Environment [DOE]

95 In 1976 Cripps estimated a population size of 40,000 [Taylor, 1988, p.355].
96 Traveller families are on average much larger than those of the host community - 4.5 persons as compared to 3.0 for the rest of society [Reiss,
1975, p.66].

46
and Welsh Office asks local authorities to count the number of Rroma on authorised local authority and private sites and on unauthorised sides in their areas. The count is carried out twice a year, although some councils carry out more frequent counts for their own purposes. While there is a statutory duty to provide accommodation for the Rroma, the count is not mandatory. DOE and the Welsh Office rely on the voluntary co-operation of local authorities to carry out, and bear the costs of the work [Green, 1991].

Six-monthly caravan counts, undertaken by the DOE since 1978, are the main source of statistical information about England’s Traveller population. These are carried out locally by the environmental Health Officers for each District Council and London Borough. The information gathered includes:

- the location of sites
- the status of sites (unauthorised, private authorised or official)
- the number of caravans on each site and the number of families, subdivided into adults and three age groups of children

The count, taken by the DOE in July 1982, indicated that [Her Majesty’s Inspectorate, 1983, pp.I-2] there are over 9,000 Traveller caravans in England with 7,000 to 8,000 families making up an overall population variously estimated to be between 30,000 to 50,000.

The Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys [OPCS] suggests that the groups to be covered by the count be specified. So, Green [1991, p.6] recalls that a list was provided for counting staff which included Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, long distance Travellers, Gypsies who rarely travel and New Age Travellers. She also comments [p.14] on the definition given by the 1968 Caravan Sites Act: ‘Although no-one has been able to improve on this definition, there have been disputes about the status under the Act of certain groups of Travellers, particularly Gypsies who are not nomadic and New Age Travellers’.

Few officers reported problems with identifying the Rroma although, there were considerable variations in the methods used. This is presented in Table 3.3. So, there is the
instruction including a list of features that might help district offices identify the Rroma. In cases where there was doubt they were told to ask people whether they considered themselves to be Gypsy-Travelers.97

Table 3.3: Ways of identifying gypsies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Number of county/district officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asks if they are Gypsies/they identify themselves</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in caravans and lorries</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group identity (i.e. they know each other)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeanour or appearance</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Paraphernalia” (e.g. dogs, milk churns)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camping on traditional sites</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accent</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal names</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large number of children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Green, 1991, p.34

The best current estimate comes from the DOE caravan counts. Local authorities in England undertake a bi-annual count of the Rroma caravans, the last set of figures published was on 20 July 1994. It suggested that there were 12,595 Rromani families in England making up an overall population of about 56,677.98 Estimates are displayed in Annex 2.99 In another publication

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97 The DOE commissioned the Cripps Report (1976, p.2), which quoted the 1975 publication Gypsies and Government Policy in England, based on major research of the early 1970s: "(...) if a group of Gypsies or Travellers recognises as a member a person calling himself a Gypsy, then his identity as a Gypsy is a social fact."

98 The metropolitan and shire counties with the largest number of caravans are Greater London, Kent, Cambridgeshire, Surrey, Hartfordshire, Hereford and Worcester, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, Greater Manchester, West Midlands and, particularly in the summer, Norfolk.

99 Specific numbers for the East Midlands and other regions are shown in Annex 3.
[Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.11] there are overall numbers of the Rroma of each ethnic group in England.\textsuperscript{100} Those figures are shown in Table 3.4.

\textbf{Table 3.4:} Population figures. Overall numbers of Gypsies, distinguishing each ethnic group in England.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>IN CARAVANS</th>
<th>IN HOUSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romanies</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Travellers</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots Travellers</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalé</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS (to nearest 1,000)</strong></td>
<td><strong>63,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>33,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>30,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Source: Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.11}

The evidence available suggests [HMI, 1983] that migration patterns vary considerably and are determined by numerous factors, such as work opportunities, kinship ties, site provision and specific social events, such as horse fairs. Summer migrations are the most common, but generally it seems that the majority of Travellers stay in the same place for most of the year with movement within a small area of a city or county.

3.1.3 The Rromani population in Poland.

After the war there were, according to somewhat imprecise estimates [Ficowski, 1989, p.49], over 20,000 Rroma left in Poland, who had managed to evade the camps, gas chambers and executions. Some of them came out of the depths of the forests where they had managed to survive; others returned from the concentration camps where they had not yet been exterminated; still others returned from the Soviet Union as repatriated persons.

\textsuperscript{100} According to the source (Centre de Recherches Tsiganes, René Descartes University, Paris, 1994), there are from 90,000 to 120,000 Rroma

49
Since post-war yearly statistics (also those from districts and areas of non Polish natives), do not give the numerical data regarding minority nationals, it is particularly difficult to make accurate estimates of the Rromani population. Table 3.5 gives the information about the population of various minority groups in Poland in 1960.

Table 3.5: Population of Minority Groups in Poland in 1960.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINORITY GROUP</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>around 180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarussians</td>
<td>around 170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>around 30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>around 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>around 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rroma</td>
<td>around 12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>around 10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>around 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechs</td>
<td>around 2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN, 1963, p.648*

Data presented by Ficowski [1965, p.130] in 1963 shows the number of Rroma was not in excess of 17,000 - 18,000. However, an official document from Internal Affairs [Bartosz, 1994, p.189] states that on the 31 December 1963 around 18,000 Rroma lived on the Polish People's Republic territory. Kwilecki [1963] held that actual data from the national register of people in Poland did not take into consideration ethnic minorities, and one of the sources on which the central authorities could have based their findings was the data kept by the area authorities: officials from Internal Affairs and the police. In his opinion preciseness of this material in many cases was problematical.

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101 According to Rokoszowa [1989, p.22] the question of nationality and language was not taken into consideration when completing the national register.
Against this background of sheer numbers an interesting article by Mauersberg appeared in 1970, *Schools for Ethnic Minorities in Poland*, in which no mention was made of the Rromani community either because the community was ignored altogether and its existence effectively denied or because it did not easily fit into the conventional categories for ethnic minority groups.

Evidence for the Rromani community certainly existed at this time, since an article by Zywert [1973, p.625] states that the Rroma population in Poland numbered around 18,000 in 1970. However, Zywert pointed out that up till 1973 all articles devoted to the problems of the Rromani people did not consider their numbers nor the locating of this relatively small group of people. Written evidence existing during this time was fragmented. In his article Zywert utilised material and numerical data made available to him from the Department of Social Administration and Home Affairs. The growth of the Rroma population in Poland during 1966-1970 is displayed in Table 3.6. Of course it is impossible to show an accurate growth in numbers due to a lack of specific data. Until the time that they became settled, the Rroma attached little importance to the regulation of registering.

**Table 3.6: The numbers of the Rromani population in Poland in the respective years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PEOPLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>16,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>16,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>17,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>17,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>17,908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Zywert, 1973, p.625*

Since Mauersberg [1970] mentioned in his article the smaller groups like for instance the Germans (around 2,000) or the Czechs (around 2,000), but did not consider the Rroma population of around 18,000 it shows that he did not count them as a minority group in the 1970s or even recognise their existence.
From the manner in which information about ethnic minorities in the Polish People’s Republic was presented, we can deduce that a fair way of tackling these problems was, and still is, hampered by the lack of basic information and prejudice.  

Statistics about the number of the Rroma are uncertain. The various official figures differ since the criteria used to establish who is a Rroma are often politically determined (and often vague). Some countries minimise the number of the Rroma or even deny their existence (so as to facilitate a policy of assimilation and deny cultural problems). Others inflate the numbers in an effort to exaggerate the alleged difficulties caused by the Rroma as an excuse for keeping them out. Moreover, most Rroma will not declare themselves as such in a census, partly because centuries of persecution have encouraged them to be cautious and partly because the word *Rroma* is meaningless in Rromani culture itself.

The Rroma in the former Yugoslavia are one example of those who objected to calling themselves ‘*Roma*’. In 1990, they started a movement in Macedonia to adopt the name *Egipcani* (Gypsy). As a result several thousand Rroma allied themselves to the classification of being called a *Gypsy* in the 1991 census. Also in Bulgaria, when the first post-communist census took place in December 1992, some 288,000 among the country’s 8,500,000 population identified themselves as *Gypsies*. At the same time many Rroma having Turkish as their mother-tongue insisted they were Turks [Fraser, 1995, p.300].

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102 The Universal Encyclopedia PWN (1975) gave no statistical data regarding ethnic minorities. 

103 A great impact was made by accepting them into UN in the year 1979, as a member of the consulting group for Home and Social Affairs. Not long before, the sub-committee of the UN Rights for the People Group awarded the Rroma the status of Minority Nation.
Statistical studies therefore provide no more than an illusion of accuracy, and comparative studies of different countries or periods are generally worthless.
3.2 Rromani organisations

3.2.1 General information - Western Europe

The Rroma are a unique group with unique problems in Europe. A particularly striking problem is that they are a people without an ethnic territory of their own and without national State. They do not have any territorial claim either. They do not consider India as a homeland, in fact they reject the concept of a homeland altogether.

This lack of a territorial base has had a profound effect on the perception of the Rroma by host societies. The fact that Rroma people, living as a dispersed people, do not conform to the common picture of nations has contributed greatly to the long lasting neglect of their rights and has widely given ground to their persecution and discrimination.

Information on the situation of Rromani communities has been provided during the hearings organised by the European Community [EC] (Brussels - May 1991), the European Parliament (Strasbourg - July 1991) and the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg - July 1991). A Seminar on the situation of Rromani communities in Central and Eastern Europe was organised by the Project on Ethnic Relations in Slovakia\textsuperscript{104} in April 1992 [IRU, 1992].

As one of the participants of this Seminar noted [PER, 1992, p.11]: ‘The ownership of a historical territory is closely associated with the idea of permanence and stability. A transnational group, lacking a geographical homeland or political territory, is perceived as unstable and, hence, untrustworthy’.

\textsuperscript{104} Near Bratislava.
At present, their lack of a territorial base makes the Rroma vulnerable. This is the reason why they are demanding political recognition as a minority not only at the level of the national States in which they live but also at the European level as a whole.

In addition, Hancock [PER, 1992, p.12] stated at Slovakias’ meeting that ‘the Roma were initially vulnerable to attacks on their identity because of geographical fragmentation as the original migrations followed separate routes into Europe, (...) and, most radically, by the assimilationist policies of host societies’.

There were some reasons why the European States considered it in their interest to treat the Rroma only as a social population rather than as an ethnic or racial one.

Firstly, Hancock [PER, 1992, p.13] pointed out at a 1992 meeting that: ‘As a social group, the Roma themselves could be blamed for their lot, but if they were an ethnic group,105 the host societies would have to take some responsibility for their disadvantaged status’.

Secondly, categorising the Rroma as a social group or “problem” legitimises intrusive State intervention to handle the “problem”. Perhaps the most radical instance of such intervention was the policy of social sterilisation adopted by the Slovak Government between 1980 and 1990 to control what was called “unhealthy high fertility rates” among the Rroma [Mayall, 1995; Fraser, 1995; Liégeois, 1986].

And finally, in the support of European capitalism, the status of an ethnic minority (or national minority, when the two are differentiated) often gives certain entitlements and rights which the status of social group does not. This was the reason that the German Government, in March 1992, refused to sign an agreement recognising a Rroma minority in their country [PER, 1992].

105 Under the Race Relations Act 1976 there is official recognition that Rroma constitute a distinct ethnic minority group. Hancock presumably means: “if they were treated as an ethnic group”.

55
Under the Communist regimes, violence against the Rroma was fairly well restrained unless it developed at State direction. Since the revolutions in Eastern countries, however, both open discrimination and violent racism have been on the increase [Refer to the Section 2.2.5 Racist attacks on the Rromani population in the post-Communist period].

A growing need for political recognition was the beginning of the formation of many Rroma organisations or similar travelling groups. Often these organisations were inspired by Gadie sympathisers, who wished in this way to help the Rroma to become assimilated within, or adapt to, a settled life and to protect them from being abused by the State.

When the Rroma first arrived in Europe they were reported to have said that they had a "king" or a "queen". Rromani "chiefs" were sometimes appointed by rulers who wanted to deal with an official representative (notably in Poland). These examples from the past may be compared with the present "presidents" and "secretary-generals". As for so-called Rromani "kings", in the twentieth century, this myth has become essentially journalistic [Liégeois, 1986].

In the late 1920s, in Poland several members of the Kwiek family (from Romania) had themselves been officially recognised as "kings", from which designation they obtained a number of privileges and a few duties. In 1930 Michael Kwiek II succeeded his father Gregory but was soon forced to leave Poland. Mathias then, declared himself "king" in 1935, but Michael's supporters prevented him from gaining wide recognition. Finally, in 1937 Januš Kwiek had a coronation. He was, however, accused later of having bribed the voters in his elections. Then came the war and the German occupation. In 1946 Rudolf Kwiek proclaimed himself "king" of the Rroma, but then abandoned that title in favour of "President of the World Council of Gypsies" [Liégeois, 1986; Clébert, 1963; Ficowski, 1989].

\[106\] He died in 1964.
As Liégeois [1986, p.145] implies in his research: ‘Some members of the Kwiek family had moved to the Paris region and were among the earliest members of the organisation called the World Gypsy Community’.

In 1959 Ionel Rotaru, who was born in Romania, had himself crowned “Supreme Chief of the Gypsy people”. Shortly after his coronation, Rotaru founded two associations: the National Gypsy Organisation (which never attracted much attention) and the World Gypsy Community which included Rom, Manuš and Kalè from France and had contacts in Poland, Canada, Turkey and other countries [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995]. The main aims of the World Gypsy Community were, as Liégeois recalls [1986, p.147], the fight against “illiteracy, obscurantism and poverty”.

In 1965 the World Gypsy Community lost most of its leadership. An opposing group split from Rotaru and founded the International Gypsy Committee. This organisation concentrated mainly on war reparations from Germany. The International Gypsy Committee soon became a kind of federation linking various national organisations107 [Liégeois, 1986; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

In the following years some other organisations were set up across the Europe. Some of them were large and influential, some had only a nominal existence, but all shared certain characteristics [Annex 4].

As Acton [1974, p.232] writes:

‘All of them had as their primary aim not the adaptation of Gypsies to the host society, but the ending of injustice by the host society. They were concerned not with the Gypsy problem, but with the Gaujo problem, and, where practicable, were prepared to back up their case with militant modern methods of demonstrations, civil disobedience, lobbies and publicity campaigns. They all proclaimed their desire to uphold Romani language and culture’.

107 A total of 23 as of 1972, representing groups from 22 countries.
It was put forward by Acton [1974] that some organisations did not admit non-Rromani members; some did, but insisted on Rroma office-holders and a Rroma majority on committees. This attitude arose probably from a fact that in many countries there exists some policy or organisation dealing with the Rroma, but run by the Gadže. This was also illustrated by Grattan Puxon in 1971, after he was elected joint Secretary-general of the World Romany Congress. He stressed that very often Rroma’s illiteracy is confused with their lack of intelligence as can be seen not only in England but also in France, where gypsiologists usurp the seats that should be reserved for the Rroma.

It seems that the Rroma’s nationalist concepts come from the following sources.

• The emphasis on the need to preserve economic and geographical flexibility
• The right to continue travelling
• The use of the Rromani language and culture in formal education
• The upgrading of the Rroma self-respect and ethnocentrism.

In some publications [Acton, 1974; Liégeois, 1986; Kenrick and Puxon, 1972], it is indicated that the Rroma’s current concept of nationalism has been borrowed from nineteenth-century nationalism centred on the idea of the nation-state. As already mentioned “King” Januš Kwiek of Poland made one of the first proposals for the foundation of a Rroma homeland when he wrote in 1937 to Mussolini asking for a piece of Abyssinia. It is also indicated [Hawes and Perez, 1995] that, with the new organisational and political methods used by some of the Rromani organisations, a new problem of “Rroma nationalism” arises. Instead of “integration not assimilation”, certain individuals and groups propagate “separation not assimilation”. Therefore thus idea of Rromanistan came about.

The closest they have ever been to having a homeland is in this concept of Rromanistan - that, where a Rrom happens to be standing at any particular time, is where his/her nation is. They have not heard of Rromanistan, nor has the education they have received done much towards making them aware of concepts like this one. The Rroma will remain here. There is nowhere else.
Therefore the centrist line now adopted by some West European militants is [Acton, 1974, p.234]:
"We must create Rromanistan in our hearts!" 108

From 1969 onwards the Ministers, Parliamentary Assembly and other organs of the Council of Europe, 109 adopted a series of resolutions and recommendations, criticising the underprivileged situation of the Rroma and other Travellers in Europe and urging member governments and local authorities to put an end to discrimination, to do something about camping grounds and housing, and to promote education, health and social welfare [Fraser, 1995; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

The International Gypsy Committee 110 organised the First World Romany Congress in London from 8 to 12 April 1971. The delegates at this congress rejected the terms Gypsy, Tsigane, Zigeuner and Gitano, which were not their own and did not reflect reality, adopting instead the term Rom. The International Gypsy Committee was renamed as the International Rom Committee. It became a federation of national committees, the permanent secretariat and executive body of the Congress [Liégeois, 1986, p.155; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.72; Fraser, 1995, p.317].

Called into existence at this London Congress, the International Romani Union, 111 acts within special circumstances. The organisation does not have a headquarters, office, or an address. It can be read in Bartosz [1994, p.157] that the chosen committee members try to operate within the area where they live. As a rule they are active within organisations in their country of residence. In spite of their scattered dispersal and lack of constant funds, the IRU has become recognised within the international forum as representing the Rroma without a political bias. The educated

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108 Which is noted in:

109 The Council of Europe covers over thirty countries. It has no powers over its members, nevertheless it played a part in raising consciousness of the Rroma issue at an international level.

110 In Kenrick's view the Gypsy Council was host of this Congress.

111 President: Dr Rajko Djurić
Rroma, believe that their own emblems (an anthem and a flag) [Annex 5], which are recognised world-wide, enable them to have a feeling of national identity and of belonging to a separate nation.

The Second World Romany Congress was held from 08 to 11 April 1978 in Geneva. It was attended by some 60 delegates and an equal number of observers from 26 countries [Liégeois, 1986; Fraser, 1995].

It is indicated in many publications [Bartosz, 1994; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Wojeccki, 1993] that at this Congress it was publicly declared that the Rroma were a race originating from India. The IRU was selected as a member of the consulting team on the Social-Economic Council at the United Nations [UN] in 1979 and became the legal representative of the Rroma throughout the world and among the member States of the UN.

Since 1993 the IRU has had a representative at the UN (the post of observer and a place on the General Council), and is recognised by State governments and political and religious organisations (eg. the Vatican). IRU may in the future establish their own kind of parliament [Bartosz, 1994].

The Third World Romany Congress was held from 16 to 20 May 1981 at Göttingen in Germany. At this Congress two characteristic gestures were made. A representative of the German Government was invited, in whose hands were laid the demands for compensation for those Rroma who suffered under the Germans during the time of the Nazis. Taking into consideration the fact that the Rroma suffered great losses, that complete clans were wiped out and there was no one who could realistically take on the responsibility of receiving and distributing the compensation, and those that survived were often unaware of what had occurred - they were required to pay compensation on a global scale rather than to individuals. The money could be allocated to cultural and educational funds to help Rroma organisations. The presence of the
ambassador for India at the Congress was symbolic as in the name of Indira Gandhi, he presented the representatives of the IRU with a handful of earth from India and read a declaration in which Indira Gandhi officially recognised the Rroma as spiritual brothers of the Indian nation. The members of the Congress in Göttingen appealed to the Governments of the allied nations in the UN to grant to those Rroma residing in their country the rights of a free nation [Bartosz, 1994; Fraser, 1995].

From 1977, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights turned its attention to discrimination against Rroma. In the institutions of the EC, from 1984 (when the European Parliament decided to study school provision), the relevant work was mainly concerned with education. Information was collected from all member countries and published in 1987 [Fraser, 1995, p.288; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.72].

The study was accepted by the Education Committee and since then, as it is [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.75] stated: ‘Gypsies await further positive action in the form of pressure on governments to provide a framework within which their children can receive education, as well as finance for adult training programmes. This may come from a resolution of April 1994 by the European Parliament stressing the need for new initiatives’.

The Fourth Congress was in 1990 under the patronage of UNESCO. The host country was Poland. The instigator and sponsor of the Congress, Marcel Cortiade, presented a project to standardise a universal alphabet for Rromani children in their native language as well as a standard writing pattern [Bartosz, 1994; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Fraser, 1995].

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112 Then the Prime Minister of India.
114 Jadwisin near Warszawa.
115 Director of the Romani Cultural Foundation.
The Rroma are Europe’s largest minority group. According to some researchers [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.145], it has been estimated that there are up to 1.8 million Rroma and other Travellers living within the twelve countries of the EU. Over half of them are children. Therefore, the importance of encouraging school attendance and developing literacy is a principal objective.

The current situation in the EC countries is more than worrying. In fact investigations carried out by the European Commission for Education produced alarming results: only 30-40% of Rroma children attended school with any regularity, over half had never been to school at all. The illiteracy rate among adults was frequently over 50%, in some places 80% or more. Also the preschool care was inadequate [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.146; Stankiewicz, 1993, p.3].

The next important step was taken in 1990 when the document endorsing the rights of national minorities was signed by 34 governments at a meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. After a disapproval of any form of discrimination on ethnic grounds, there came the words: ‘In this context they recognise the particular problems of Gypsies’ [Fraser, 1995, p.289].

The EC attaches a lot of importance to the emerging problems of the Rroma in Europe. In connection with this, on 29 May 1991 members of the IRU were invited to Brussels to meet representatives of the EC. They were presented with an outline of action prepared by the Community in which they summed up their achievements for the Rroma cause [Stankiewicz, 1993, p.3].

Thanks to the democratic renewal of the constitutions of some countries in Eastern Europe and to the recognition of the Rromani’s particular problems, a more favourable legal and political

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116 Also in a report by Bill Delaney and Jackie Shymanski - Among The Rromani People: The Gypsy Legacy, Sky TV-CNN, 18.08.1997
117 Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, UK.
background has arisen in the proceedings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and United Nations Bodies. A few can be mentioned here [IRU, 1992, p.4]:

- Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE [June 1990, Art.40]
- Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on Human Dimension of the CSCE [September-October 1991, Art.42.2]
- Resolution 1991/21 of the UN Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
- Resolution 1992/65 “Protection of Romanis (gypsies) of the UN Commission of Human Rights”.

The EU’s policy: ‘Asserts now the importance of schooling within Gypsy communities, emphasises the changing environment, and promotes a set of measures aimed at improving access. These include, for example, the promotion of innovative teaching methods, the dissemination of lessons and the training of specialist teachers, especially those with a Gypsy origin’ [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.146].

In May 1994 the first Romany Congress of the EU was held in Seville, Spain. It formulated a series of demands in the fields of social policy, civil liberties, literacy and the rights of women. However, it is in the development of education for young Rroma and other Travellers that the EU has made most progress [Wilson, 1994].

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118 In July 1992.
119 The Committee of Ministers signed the convention on the protection of national minorities in November 1994 [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.147].
120 According to Hawes and Perez [1995, p.145] it was July.
3.2.2 Voluntary associations in the United Kingdom

In December 1966 the Gypsy Council was established in Kent. In 1968, the National Gypsy Education Council was set up with a committee of Romani activists and educationalists. Lady Plowden was invited to head this new body. The NGEC built up links with a number of Romani organisations, such as the East Anglian Gypsy Council and the Association of Gypsy Organisations, and in 1991 renamed itself the Gypsy Council for Education, Culture, Welfare and Civil Rights [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Hawes and Perez, 1995].

In the 1960s the Gypsy Council, the National Council for Civil Liberties and the Association of Public Health Inspectors applied increasing pressure for a legal duty of site provision [Forrester, 1985; Hawes and Perez, 1995].

In 1973 the Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and other Travellers was established. Chaired by Lady Plowden, the Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and other Travellers [ACERT] consists mainly of former NGEC members. ACERT employs a full-time field development officer whose primary function is to liaise with and advise Local Education Authorities [LEAs]. The Committee publishes newsletters, holds teachers’ seminars, conferences, and runs summer programmes. ACERT is non-political, and is grant-aided by the Department of Education and Science [Reiss, 1975; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Hawes and Perez, 1995].

As stated in their leaflet [no date], ACERT works for:

- *equal access to education for Gypsies and Travellers*
- *safe and secure accommodation for Gypsy and Traveller families*
- *equal access to health and other community services for Gypsies and Travellers*
- *good community relations, endeavouring to eliminate discrimination against Gypsies and Travellers on racial or other grounds*

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121 In 1969 [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p. 62].
• equal opportunities generally for Gypsies and Travellers’

The Romany Guild is another organisation created by Rroma and other Travellers resigning from the Gypsy Council. According to Reiss [1975] it is a Traveller-only body.

All of Save the Children’s work is firmly based on the Rights of the Child, first drafted by its founder Eglantyne Jebb in 1923. This Charter formed the basis for the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations in 1989. Save the Children welcomed the new UN Convention and stated that it would be encouraging the international support essential if countries throughout the world were to implement it. Save the Children’s work [1991] with Rroma and Travellers throughout the UK was set out as being to:

• ‘encourage health, education and welfare authorities to provide accessible and appropriate services for Rroma and Travellers

• combat prejudice and ignorance about Rroma and Travellers and promote mutual tolerance and respect between them and the settled population’

Examples [Save the Children, 1991; Forrester, 1985] of work with the Rroma and Travellers include: London Gypsy & Traveller Unit, West Midlands Partnership Project, West Yorkshire Traveller Project, Work in Scotland.

The National Association of Teachers of Travellers was formed in 1980 as a national support network for teachers of Travellers and at the request of teachers attending the 1979 Department of Education and Science [DES] course at Southampton on “The Education of Travelling Children”. Teachers [NATT, 1994a] expressed a desire to break the isolation of their work, to have regular meetings with colleagues working with Traveller children and to exchange ideas, practice and learning materials.

The inaugural meeting of the Association [NATT, 1994a] was in May 1981 in Newark. The Constitution was accepted and officers elected. In March 1992 the National Association of Teachers of Travellers [NATT] held its first national weekend conference. In 1994 the Association
had over 280 members. It actively seeks to end the educational marginalisation of Traveller children and promote improvements in Traveller education and its place within a pluralist mainstream education.

The Constitution of NATT was adopted by Annual General Meeting on the 12th of May 1984. The aims of the Association are [NATT, 1994b]:

- 'To seek to promote and improve the education of Travellers;
- To seek recognition of Travellers as a minority ethnic group; and for education to be provided within the multicultural education framework;
- To support teachers of Travellers by:
  (a) working to improve their conditions
  (b) providing a pool for the exchange of knowledge, information and materials for the education of Travellers
- To examine the curricular needs of Traveller children;
- To circulate information of the Association to other groups concerned with education;
- To make LEAs aware that it is their responsibility to provide mainstream education with adequate support for all Traveller children'

Membership of the Association is restricted to qualified teachers involved in Traveller education. There is an Annual General Meeting in May of each year, and a minimum of two ordinary meetings in each year. Meetings are held in different parts of the country so that as many members as possible can attend. At the meetings such items as good practice in education, the development of resources and other educational items are discussed.123

NATT [1994c] is a founder member of European Federation for the Education of the Children of Occupational Travellers with residence in Brussels. It is the European Organisation for

123 The author attended an Annual General Meeting (Stevenage; 09 May 1992). Participated in the meeting and also met many people directly involved in working with Travellers, as well as Arthur Ivatts (HMI) and Pat Holmes (Co-ordinator of WMEASTC; also vice-chair of EFECOT).

At this meeting feedback from the Race Equality Conference in Birmingham (December 1991) was given by Mrs Pat Holme; report from Working Group for Improvement of Education for Circus and Fairground children by Mr Chris Hart and Mrs Chris Tyler (teachers from the
the education of the children of the travelling population, and it is based on the resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education of the 22nd May 1989. The publication of European Federation for the Education of the Children of Occupational Travellers [EFECOT] is *Newsline.*

EFECOT [1992] was established because, as it states in the leaflet addressed to Travellers’ parents:

- European co-operation for the education of your children is important now and in the future;
- It is better to add together the knowledge and the materials from all countries;
- United we are stronger to defend the interest and rights of our children;

The Organisation also wants to:

- point out to the governments of the different countries the obligation of giving extra assistance;
- give information to parents regarding education;
- assist with the exchange of experiences of parents and teachers;
- support extra training for teachers;
- support special projects for education;
- support scientific research;
- support subsidies for boarding schools;

The melting away of national boundaries within a Single Europe will offer a better future for travelling workers. Fairground workers, circus performers and workers on inland waterways will increasingly be able to sell their skills in the international labour market. However, there is a problem of education for children who travel with their parents. From one day to the next they may be confronted with different customs, teaching practices and educational systems.

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*South of Hertfordshire*. Also a report from visit to Youth Conference in Luxembourg (March 1992) was presented by Mrs Valerie Moody (a Showman) and discussion about how to support and include Scotland, Wales and Ireland within NATT. 

124 Published with the co-operation of the Commission of the European Communities (Trimesterial)
When in foreign countries parents must be provided with a support mechanism to which they can turn for help with problems with education. Such a support mechanism is already in place and in operation in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom. EFECOT [1991] is currently working on extending this support system to other European countries.

In order to help parents, EFECOT has compiled a booklet\(^\text{125}\) of useful information. It contains the address in Brussels as well as all regional centres: in Germany, Spain, France, Holland and England. This folder also includes hints of what parents should remember when travelling abroad [Annex 6].

The European Co-ordinating Group was set up within NATT to bring some coherence to NATT’s various involvement’s in Europe, particularly with EFECOT [NATT, 1994d].

There is a close co-ordination between national organisations in the United Kingdom. It started in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in the organisation of summer schools which emphasised the educational deprivation of the Rroma and other Traveller children and provided a motivation to LEA provision. These national organisations are: The National Association of Teachers of Travellers, The National Gypsy Education Council, The Save the Children Fund,\(^\text{126}\) Advisory Council for the Education of Romany and other Travellers [Hawes and Perez, 1995; Waterson, 1993]

### 3.2.3 General information - Eastern Europe

After the Second World War most of Europe’s Rromani population came under communist regimes. Their lives were limited to a single country and determined by internal Government policy. The official duty to assist underdeveloped groups was claimed by those Governments for

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\(^{125}\) Published in: English, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

\(^{126}\) UK Department - SCF Travellers' Information Unit.
years. Everyone of working age had both the right and also the duty to work, this had to be for a registered co-operative unit or one managed by the State, and entrepreneurial activities were illegal.

Romani organisations were also forming in socialist States, but their characteristics were based purely on educational and cultural matters, and were subject to local law and order.

In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] the Roma have been recognised as a nation since 1920, they could be described as Tsigan on identity cards and internal passports. A Roma became a citizen of the State, like every Czukcza, Ewenk, Gold, Burian or other. They were given a alphabet was created for them, school textbooks were produced, schools were developed as well as a theatre, newspaper, and separate Roma collective farms [Bartosz, 1994; Plutowski, 1981].

A Pan-Russian Gypsy Union was formed in 1926. Unfortunately the post-war period did not activate the early policies. Nomadism was outlawed in 1956 [Fraser, 1995].

Also in Czechoslovakia the authorities concluded in 1958 that Roma were not an ethnic group but people as Fraser [1995, p.277] points out: 'maintaining a markedly different demographic structure'. A law was enacted in that year to enforce school attendance and the settlement of nomadic people. Special schools were set up as a stop-gap measure until Roma children could go to ordinary classes.

According to Liégeois [1986, p.112], in the late 1960s a campaign started against illiteracy and parasitism. The Academy of Sciences was called in to undertake an analysis of Roma life. For a few years the Roma were experimentally treated almost as a national minority and allowed to organise economic co-operatives and form their own socio-cultural associations. The

127 According to Fraser in 1925 [Fraser, 1995, p.275].
128 A State Gypsy Theatre was found in 1931.
"normalisation" which followed the Prague Spring meant that the experiment was short-lived and in 1973 all Rromani organisations were dissolved on the grounds that they had, according to Fraser [1995, p.278]: ‘failed to fulfil their integrative function’. In addition, as expected, a scheme to introduce Rromani as a teaching language in primary schools was dropped. The authorities returned to assimilation as the only solution.

In Hungary, a Rromani consultative committee was set up in 1958, and then abandoned in 1960. In 1974 the committee was re-established, to be replaced in 1986 by the Romany Council, followed by a national Rroma association. It linked together about 200 local cultural clubs. As for educational issues, the Government was, at first, in favour of keeping Rromani children with others in ordinary Hungarian schools, but then considering the language problems it began to encourage experimentation with teaching in their mother tongue (either on its own or alongside Hungarian) [Fraser, 1995].

Liégeois [1986] states that in Romania in 1926 a local association of Rroma was formed in Clabor. Between 1930 and 1934 a journal was published, called The Gypsy Family. In 1933 the General Association of Roma in Romania was founded by a Gădăjoş journalist, Lasurica. This association, which survived for only one year, produced two newspapers. A national conference was held in Bucharest in 1934 and established the General Union of Roma of Romania. It existed up to 1939.

According to Fraser [1995], Romania and Bulgaria were also reluctant to recognise the Rroma as an ethnic group after the war. In Romania the Government followed a policy of forced settlement. The larger groups were divided and eventually from the early 1970s, the government simply refused to acknowledge the Romas’ existence. In Bulgaria a decree of 1958 prohibited Rroma from travelling and urged councils to direct them into factories and co-operative farms. From 1969 segregated schools were set up to give thousands of Rromani children some primary education and direct them towards apprenticeship and technical diplomas. The speaking of
Rromani at these schools was forbidden. At the same time their newsletters and associations were closed down. From the 1970s the Rroma were legislated out of existence. The identification *Cigan* was abolished in identity papers.

The multicultural policy was very advanced in Yugoslavia, the federation country formed after the war. In 1981 the Rroma were given nationality status which equalled them with such other minorities as Albanians, Hungarians and Turks. The media dropped the word *Cigan* and replaced it with *Rom*. A few TV and radio stations started regular programmes in Rromani. The number of Rromani social and cultural associations grew up and they also began to participate in regional politics. In 1983 the Rromani language was given a place in a number of primary schools [Fraser, 1995].

Bartosz [1994] indicates that in the post-Communist States the process of instructing them in their nationality increased together with freedom of speech and self determination. In countries where there were large numbers of Rroma residing, a number of parties were formed immediately. This was the position in 1993 in Romania, Hungary and Slovakia.

Rrom-po-drom [1995] points out that it was not until 1st February 1995 that 21 nations signed the European Convention to protect ethnic minorities. Among them was Poland. The Convention is the first international document to protect the rights of ethnic minorities carrying with it the might of the Law, i.e. the countries which signed the document are bound to uphold its laws and regulations. The recommendations of the European Convention do not refer to the protection of the minority group as a whole, but to protecting the legal rights of individuals within these groups.131

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130 Glasul Romilor (The Voice of the Roma) and O Rom.
131 As an example of this radical change one must quote from the article of Convention 3 which says: ‘Everyone belonging to an Ethnic Minority group has the right to a free choice as to be treated as a member, or not a member, of that group and this choice or the profit gained from this right will not draw any unfavourable consequences’. 

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Since 1989 violence against Rroma has increased drastically, and many local and national organisations throughout Europe have been working for a number of years to identify and resolve local conflict. Often they act as mediators.

### 3.2.4 Rromani organisations in Poland

In 1981, Plutowski [1981, p.1] wrote in his article: ‘Poland is one of the few countries where Cyganie are not recognised as a nation’.

Also, according to Mirga [1993b] Rroma were never treated as nationals. They are regarded as a mixed race of nomads without a fixed country of origin. The legal and political status of Rroma was not clear. In the view of the state, they represented neither a nation nor a nationality. The 1952 decree [Mirga, 1993a, p.3] referred to them as a ‘population of Gypsy origin’.

Up until recently, it was possible to regard oneself in Poland as a Rom or e.g. Lemek, but this did not mean that this description could be included in one’s identity card. However life itself overtook any official stabilisation, since for some time the Rroma had been treated informally as an ethnic group. This spontaneous action was started first by the Press. Looking through past newspapers it is noticeable [Bartosz, 1994, p.161] that at the beginning of the 1980s the address ‘a citizen of the Rroma nation’ emerged, which definitely was not mirrored in the official treatment of the Rroma. It was only at the beginning of this decade that the official terminology Rom or Cygan began to be used to describe their nationality.

In the early 1950s Poland tried to secure integration of nomadic Rroma by offering housing and employment. Schools enrolled many children and there were attempts to set up co-operative workshops based on traditional skills like coppersmithing. In 1964 they were forbidden from travelling in caravans, they were compulsorily registered, and regulations on meetings and gatherings were strictly implemented [Mirga, 1993b; Ficowski, 1989; Fraser, 1995].
In Poland, according to Bartosz [1994], efforts to organise associations started in the 1950s. It was not until 1963 that a Rromani community emerged in Tarnów. This community still exists to this day. From the start the Romani Association in Tarnów had a regional bias, gathering together the Rroma from what was then the province of Kraków. The importance of this association was acknowledged in a newspaper Rrom p-o drom [STS, 1993, p.7] with a comment: ‘The Romani Cultural-Education Association in Tarnów, created in 1963, became the first association of its kind in Poland’.

Also the Office for National Minorities [OFNM, 1994b] stated that a Romani Cultural Centre was operating in Tarnów on the basis of the Romani Cultural-Education Association founded in 1963. The Centre conducts professional training for Rromani youth, and, jointly with the Regional Museum in Tarnów, cultural gatherings and research sessions devoted to the problems of the Rroma are organised. It was officially acknowledged by the OFNM [1994b, p.7] that: ‘As a result of the democratic changes in late 1980s, and the implementation of the right to free speech and press, independent Rromani organisations and press could be formed’. The Rroma themselves are the originators and organisers of these initiatives.

In December 1991 the Association of Roma in Poland, which was founded with the approval of the Chief of the Polish Roma with the aim to be the nation-wide representative of the Rromani community, was registered. It was the first Rromani organisation in Poland with political tendencies. The Roma Association, with its headquarters in Oświęcim, was initiated by Andrzej Mirga and Roman Kwiatkowski. In 1994 it had 849 members.

The Association [Mirga, 1992a] started publishing the Polish Gypsy Library, in which source texts to the history of Rroma in Poland appear along with other material. The purpose of

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133 The decree: Prawo o stowarzyszeniach dated 7 April 1989 [Document of the Copenhagen Meeting, 1993]
134 Henryk Kozłowski - Serb Rom.
135 Information about Mirga in Annex 7.
136 In 1992 “Rozprawki Tadeusza Czackiego” were published as an inaugurating booklet.
that Library is to make up for the lack of publications of existing printed materials concerning Rroma. The Association's task is to systematically provide authoritative information that will enrich knowledge regarding that ethnic community, a community of which little is still known and which is often seen through a prism of stereotypes and prejudices.\footnote{137 Other Rromani organisations which were active in Poland in 1996 can be found in Annex 8.}

In the parliamentary elections, Mirga, leader of the Roma Association, was proposed as a member of parliament by the Democratic Union. He ran for office in the Polish Sejm\footnote{138 As Parliament in Great Britain.} in September 1993, though failed to obtain a mandate. Although his chances were minimal, it was a symbolic moment in the political history of Polish Rroma [OFNM, 1994b; Bartosz, 1994].

On an initiative of the Association, Polish Television in Kraków has been broadcasting a monthly programme about the Rroma since the end of 1993. Association activists want to draw the attention of the Polish public opinion to the problems of the Rromani community. They also undertake activities, serving to remind the Rroma of their own history. An example of such activities, [OFNM, 1994b; Bartosz, 1994] is the celebrations of the anniversary of Rromani exterminations in concentration camp at Oświęcim, organised in August 1994 by the Association of Roma in Poland with the presence of the Prime Minister.\footnote{139 Then: Waldemar Pawlak.}

Just as active in the political field is the vice president of the IRU,\footnote{140 Stanisław Stankiewicz who is Polish.} a member of some important international committees, who advises on Rromani ministerial affairs. As Bartosz [1994, p.160] appreciates: 'Thanks to the enthusiastic support of these Rromani representatives society speaks even more loudly about the Rroma as a nation'. In his opinion, a place for the Rroma within the European nation is being defined by a group of experts from the IRU working with the European Safety and Collaboration Committee. They stress that the Rromani culture has an essential contribution to make to European heritage. It is an example of an interesting identity. Every Rrom/Rromni knows at least two languages and can identify with two backbones of culture.
Their search for an identity is not an example of joining or leaving a certain society, but an example of coexistence. For the Rroma the idea of not having a specific territory distinguishes them from the hierarchy of the nation and from the minority ethnic groups. They are an example of a non territorial or dispersed nation. It is from this that they derive their individual identity. Identifying with their own scattered groups gives them an open door in the world and identifying with the local community gives them a wide cultural outlook.

As with other ethnic minority groups, there is also a need for serious initiatives which will increase participation by Rroma at all levels of the education service. This requires structured co-ordination of all concerned organisations on regional, national, and European level.

It was noticed by Mary Waterson [1993, p.136] who wrote in her proceedings of a Conference held in France, in 1989.141 "It becomes increasingly clear that the best hope for the advancement of human rights in the years to come lies in the influence that can be brought to bear by Europe and the legislation which will affect us all".

In order that the nation can develop there are certain fundamental objectives such as the development of common goals and qualities within a specific group which will allow them to relate to one another and to outsiders. The criteria which can determine the collection of qualities to make the process of identification easier include: history, language, an awareness of folklore and culture, and the existence of institutions. As has been shown the Rroma fulfil these criteria.

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141 Organised by the Centre for Gypsy Research with the assistance of the French Ministry for Education and the Commission of the European Communities.
3.3 Interaction between the Rroma/Travellers and the Gadže

3.3.1 Stereotypes and prejudices

The Rroma and Traveller communities are the object of extreme levels of hostility and prejudice. Press articles and surveys over recent years have indicated an increasing hostility towards them, one survey published by the European [1991; also Bartosz, 1994, p.61] concluded that Europe’s most hated ethnic group are the Rroma. The Rroma are misunderstood, most people who come into contact with the Rroma know nothing of where they come from, misjudge their customs and in their ignorance, project their own anxieties and desires on to them.

As a result two aspects of racism arise: individual prejudice and institutional racism. Prejudice is described [The Commission for Racial Equality, 1985, p.2]: ‘as a preconceived and irrational evaluation of a person or group based on assumed rather than actual characteristics. Prejudice derives from ignorance and is fuelled by the existence of racial stereotypes’. Institutional racism is described as a ‘range of long established systems, practices and procedures which have the effect, if not the intention, of depriving ethnic minority groups of equality of opportunity and access to society’s resources’.

Therefore, the role of education in relation to prejudice should be to equip each pupil with knowledge and understanding in place of ignorance, and to develop the ability of formulating attitudes based on this knowledge.

However the false image of the Rroma is established in children from an early age. According to Kenrick and Bakewell [1995] many books for the primary school reinforce the stereotype of the Rroma like books Gypsies and Nomads, Tales and Legends of the Serbians, or a

142 According to Naylor [1993, p.129] many local councillors and some MPs allegedly attract votes by publicly supporting prejudice.
song The Raggle Taggle Gypsies. Standard works on history, geography and social studies for the secondary school rarely mention the Rroma. The standard classics for older children and adults like: Notre Dame de Paris by Hugo, La Gitanilla by Cervantes, The Virgin and the Gypsy filmed by Lawrence, reinforce the stereotypes.

3.3.2 The attitude of a settled community towards the Rroma and other travelling groups in the United Kingdom

A recognition of the educational needs of the Rromani and other travelling groups requires some understanding of the complex background factors which impinge on this community as a whole.

From the moment of their discovery of Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Rroma were seen as intruders. The policies adopted towards them, whether aiming at rejection or assimilation, were usually negative. The earliest response to the Rroma was rooted, generally, in a xenophobic fear and mistrust of aliens. They were thought to be inflicting their magical and devilish practices on an innocent, Christian society.

The official reaction to the Rroma incorporated the range of fears and prejudices which the majority of society show towards immigrants, nomads and other minority groups. The Rroma were unfortunate enough to fall within all of these categories.

One of the most universally adopted policies has been for governments to expel the Rroma from their country. Banishment was repeatedly prescribed by law after law and State after State over centuries. The most terrible punishments were laid down for failure to comply: confiscation of their property, forced labour, long prison sentences, deportation, whipping, branding, mutilating, hanging on scaffolds [Liégeois, 1986].
The historical catalogue of the horrors and atrocities committed against the Rroma is extensive. All the major general histories of the Rroma which have been published in recent years contain substantial sections detailing the legislative and other State actions against them.143

3.3.2.1 Rroma in the United Kingdom. A brief historical review.

From the sixteenth century through to the present the State has defined the group as a “problem”, requiring direct and indirect legislative solutions aimed at both the people and their nomadic existence. It is only with the emergence of Rromani political organisations and the campaign for ethnic minority rights in the 1960s and 1970s, that the history of official intolerance and animosity has been incorporated into Rromani studies.

Liégeois [1986, pp.101-102] confirms the above statement when he writes:

‘Even before the arrival of Gypsies in Great Britain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, an English act of 1388 shows that wanderers were already regarded as “suspicious persons living suspiciously”. This attitude helps to explain the various acts of parliament against “Egyptians” (in 1530, 1554, and 1562), [Annex 9] which enjoined them to abandon their “evil, idle, and impious life and their company” and to take up a trade. Otherwise they would have to leave the country. In 1546 the English Navy was ordered to put some “Egyptians” on a ship by force and send them to Boulogne or Calais. Between 1720 and 1765 there were regular deportations to America and Australia’ [Also: Fraser, 1995; Mirga and Mróz, 1994; Hawes and Perez, 1995].

Kenrick and Puxon [1972, p.42] say that English law imposed death for being a Gypsy in 1554, and Elizabeth I also included in the decree the death penalty for: ‘those who are or shall become of the fellowship or company of Egyptians (1562)’. Mayall [1995, p.22] gives a summary

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143 A detailed investigation of Rroma persecution can be found in the standard and essential works by Clébert and Liégeois as well as the recent published books:

of key legislation relating to Rroma, vagrants, rogues and vagabonds in England and Wales between 1530 and 1914. It shows the State’s antipathy to nomadism, in whatever form.

The Rroma have been a part of the United Kingdom for centuries, stopping on private, public and common land. It is important to recognise that national legislation in this country has increasingly intruded on the traditional lifestyle of travelling communities. It continues to change their family situations and work opportunities as well as severely restricting their nomadic way of life.

Most people still expect them to be as they used to be - exotically dressed, racially pure, whiling away their time in step-dancing and fortune-telling. The reality is less romantic. According to Sandford [1973] the Rroma in Britain today are the victims of general trends and events taking place without regard to or for them. There are certain patterns for understanding this particular group of people. These models are based on the different perceptions of travelling people which the dominant population have. Sometimes these perceptions are implicit in what people say or write about the Rroma. A statement or slogan sums up assumptions, for instance a young female Rromni is portrayed as a seductive, sexually provocative dancer and a young handsome male Rroma as a dirty thief and a potential threat to Gadže women. The theory that an old Rromni female is possessed by supernatural powers is also common. They also become visible in the often fractious relations between sedentary people and Travellers or in the interventions of the State.

The movement of Central Government policy and the remarkable continuity in Local Government hostility is more clearly illustrated if we look at the State’s response to the Rroma and other nomadic groups in its recent historical context. Since travelling became recently a serious offence, the aim was to persuade those Rroma who would not quit the country to settle in houses.

It is a persistent belief amongst the settled population that the Rroma belong nowhere. It is truer to say that they have attachments everywhere. The Rroma return time and time again to the
same areas attracted by work opportunities. They will remain as long as they are allowed to, and can make a living [NGC, no date].

Camp sites have tended, over the years, to be located on parish or district or county boundaries. The practical reason for choosing boundary encampments has been the greater likelihood of being allowed a longer stopping time in places where Local Authorities are uncertain in which precise area the camp is in fact located. These areas have, over the years, provided in many cases, possible places to settle. The need for winter quarters brought the Rroma into the poorer areas of towns and many settlements developed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when urban planning control was minimal. In many cases these areas became permanent settlements accommodating the vans of the Rroma all the year round [WMEASFTC, 1993].

The National Gypsy Council [NGC] indicates that since the 1960s the greater concentration of the population, coupled with a major extension of planning controls has meant that more and more Rroma have been forced to camp illegally. In Sandford’s opinion [1973, p.1]: ‘The Public Health Act 1936, the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, the Highways Act 1959 and the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960 are the principal instruments of destruction’.

Hawes and Perez [1995] agree strongly with this statement saying that all those Acts were used to prevent the Rroma from stopping and at the same time exempting Local Authorities from providing education or any other services for these people. The purpose of the 1936 Public Health Act, for example, was basically to attack overcrowding in slum dwellings, but ‘included a clause enabling tents, vans and similar structures to be classed as a statutory nuisance if prejudicial to the health of inmates or giving rise to nuisance’ [p.14].

There is discrimination against the Rroma in England even in the law of the land. They are consequently, in law, a class of persons and not members of a particular race or ethnic group. The discriminatory section of the 1959 Highways Act makes it a criminal offence if ‘a hawker or
itinerant trader or a Gypsy (...) encamps on a highway'. Rroma are prosecuted under this, and
sometimes have paid fines or gone to prison for it [Adams et al, 1975; Fraser, 1995].

In addition, Cripps [1977, p.5] argues in his study: ‘Section 127 of the Highways Act 1959,
which was directed particularly against Gypsies as a named class of persons, has also diminished
their freedom to stop in places which otherwise might have offered fresh possibilities following
motorway construction and road improvements’.

According to Liégeois [1986, pp.125-130]: ‘The prohibition was directed explicitly and
solely against Gypsies: if two caravans, one belonging to a Gypsy and the other to a non-Gypsy,
encamped side by side, only the Gypsy was in breach of the law’. He also acknowledged [p.130]:
‘In March 1967 the High Court, ruling on an appeal against the racist and discriminatory character
of section 127, found that parliament had in fact made no reference to Gypsies in drafting the law’.

The High Court in 1967 not only decided that [Forrester, 1985, p.97]: ‘a “gypsy” was a
person “leading a nomadic way of life with no fixed employment and no fixed abode”’, but also:
‘that a person could be a “gypsy” one day, but not the next’.

The 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act gave Local Authorities the
power to provide and run sites for the Rroma and laid down minimum standards for facilities.
Hundreds of Rroma were driven off private sites including farm sites under this legislation and it is
believed many more were driven off by Local Council harassment of Gadie landowners, forcing
them to move Rroma off their land [Holmes, 1993].

The passing of the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act of 1960 had the effect of
forcing the Rroma to abandon their traditional stopping places. This was ironic, since the Act was
not aimed at Rroma sites, but was intended as legislation to halt the, as then uncontrolled, spread of
private holiday caravan sites. However, the wording of the Act was such that all caravan sites were
affected, and anyone wishing to operate a caravan site on his/her land had to obtain a site licence.
Unfortunately, the conditions imposed upon prospective site licensees were so strict that it was not financially possible for the Rroma to comply with them, and so it became impossible for Rroma to use the places they had so often camped on [NGC, no date].

Many Rroma who had earlier bought their own land and established a site found themselves unable to get a licence without valid planning consent, and therefore faced eviction from their own land [Hawes and Perez, 1995; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

Ultimately the provisions of the Act, which had power to regulate and prohibit encampment, gave a legal stamp to acts of expulsion. One member of parliament understood this and took an interest in the rejection of nomads. He even moved into a trailer in 1962 to share the eviction with the Rroma [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

Liégeois [1986, p.130] points out that in December 1961 Norman Dodds gave a five-hour speech in the House of Commons during which he described the facilities provided for the Rroma in England and Wales as "the worst in the world" and argued that the 1960 law was making them even worse. Dodds said that the House of Commons library contained information on the most obscure of African tribes but nothing at all about the situation of the Rroma in England. Such was the concern at the damage done by the 1960 Act that the government of the day attempted to provide a solution to the problem. On 26 July 1968, the Caravan Sites Act passed onto the Statute Book. Part II of the Act laid a duty on Local Authorities to provide residential caravan sites for the Rroma [Adams et al, 1975].

The Act defined Rroma as ‘persons of nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin’, other than travelling Showmen or Circus people. As Fraser [1995, p.3] points out: ‘Whether or not someone was to be considered a Gypsy was to depend expressly on way of life, and not on cultural

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144 In 1991, the Planning and Compensation Act strengthened the power of Local Authorities so that the Rroma occupying a caravan on land without planning permission could be fined up to 20,000 pounds for failing to comply with a stop notice [Town and Country Planning Act 1991].

or ethnic origins. That definition is today the only one extant in English statute law, since the phrase “or a Gypsy” was finally expunged from the highways legislation as being discriminatory.

The recognition of a nomadic lifestyle is also mentioned by Liégeois [1986, p.130]:

‘In the Caravan Sites Act of 1968 Gypsies are defined by their “nomadic way of life”. The “nomadic life” has itself never been defined by any national court, but two local courts ruled that a Gypsy who purchases a site is no longer a nomad and therefore no longer a Gypsy. By contrast, an individual who purchases a caravan and installs it without permission thereby becomes a Gypsy, since she or he knows that this illegal act will lead to expulsion and therefore to a nomadic life’.

This Act required all Local Authorities in England and Wales to provide adequate accommodation for Rroma “residing in and resorting to” their area. When a Local Authority had provided sites (for at least fifteen trailers) then those Authorities could become “designated”. After designation any travelling person not on a legal site would be classed as a trespasser and be subject to criminal law. Designation was intended to indicate adequate provision but, in fact, limited the number of Travellers who had right to parking places in the Authority because there were too few places for the total population of English Rroma [Adams et al, 1975].

Designation was provided for those Local Authorities who satisfied the Secretary of State that adequate accommodation had been provided for the Rroma and other travelling groups or that no provision was necessary, with additional criminal law powers to control unauthorised camping. Under designation then, the act of trespass becomes a criminal rather than a civil offence. Designation gives Local Authorities power, through the Courts, to evict Rroma from the area. The granting of designation depends upon the provision of adequate Rroma site accommodation in the area of the Local Authority [Annex 10].

As Marion Allport [1988, p.24] points out in her study: “Unfortunately, designation is often seen as a panacea to the “Gypsy problem”, and in consequence Local Authorities are tempted to try to obtain designation with the minimum possible site provision. This is usually based on the twice
yearly count of Gypsies, by the various district councils, and takes no account of the real Gypsy
needs'.

Unfortunately, after Local Government reorganisation in 1974 (when the load of the Act
was laid on the shoulders of the County Councils and London Boroughs), those Local Authorities
who had planned to provide sites became remarkably loathe to do so. Even the availability of
100% grant aid from Central Government funds did nothing to solve the problem. Instead
Councils opted for the easy alternative of eviction and harassment of Rromani families in the face of
harsh opposition to sites. This often leads to hardship, since the families concerned have nowhere
to go, and they risk damage to their health and livelihood. The failure of the 1968 Act must also be
laid on the shoulders of successive Secretaries of State who have failed to use the powers granted
them under Section 9 of the Act to direct Local Authorities to provide sites [NGC, no date].

In 1976 the Cripps Report\textsuperscript{146} compared the number of Rroma families with the number of
places on designated campsites and found that three-quarters of all families had no lawful place in
England and Wales. Cripps writes [1977, p.9]:

'\textit{Three-quarters of them are still without the possibility of finding a legal abode, unless on
the relatively few sites provided by other gypsies, on the dwindling number of farm sites,
or on sites provided for non-gypsy caravans where they are rarely welcome. Only when
they are travelling on the road can they remain within the law: when they stop for the
night they have no alternative but to break the law}'.

According to the Criminal Law Act of 1977 [Liégeois, 1986], if the Rroma stop on a
private road serving a dwelling, they can be arrested without a warrant.

Mayall [1992] recalls that some districts did not have a permanent site for the Rroma (at
the time the Sheffield City Council was blocking access to unofficial stopping places). Others
obtained pardon by claiming, often without explanation, that they did not have a Rromani

\textsuperscript{146} The Government commissioned John Cripps in 1977 to make a rapid one-person study of the workings of the 1968 Act. Following his
impressive document the Labour Government introduced a new Caravan Sites Bill. Unfortunately for the Rroma this Labour Government
was to fall before all stages of the Bill could get through Parliament. Some of Cripps' suggestions were later to be included in the 1980
Local Government Act.
population requiring accommodation and facilities. Even in places where sites were provided there has been an evident, if not stated, intention to make them unacceptable to the Rroma. According to him [pp.6-7):

‘Sites were often too small, expensive to rent, inadequately provisioned, and located in the poorest physical environment, such as under motorway flyovers or on waste sites and toxic dumps. Sheffield City Council was even accused of running two campaigns to rid the city of Gypsies. In 1980 they set the weekly site rent at 12.80 pounds per pitch, higher than for many council properties and significantly more than the figure set by other Authorities’.147

The count, taken in July 1982, also shows that, at best, there is accommodation on official sites for only 37% of the Traveller population, with a further 14% living on private authorised sites148 for which planning permission is needed.149 Despite the Caravan Sites Act 1968 which requires County Councils and London Boroughs to provide adequate accommodation in the form of caravan sites for the Rroma and other Travellers residing in or resorting to their area, the rate of site provision has for a number of reasons been slow. Many of them have no option but to camp illegally or by the roadside, where they may be vulnerable to eviction at any time [HMI, 1983].

According to the NGC the 1968 Act does not apply to the 1000+ families in Scotland, although the Local Authorities have a policy of non-harassment, and encouragement to build sites has been given through grant aid from the Scottish Office.

This Act is illustrative of the ambiguity in the present relationship between the Rroma and the State. At one level it appeared to mark an enlightened change of heart in State policy by recognising the obligation of Councils to provide sites. However beneath such a policy lay a hidden agenda. Site provision was equated with settlement and in turn equated with assimilation. It was hoped that in the long term nomads in Great Britain would become completely integrated among the settled population.

147 National Gypsy Council 1992 compares the cost of an average council house, estimated @ 50,000 pounds to a typical Romani pitch @ 25,000 pounds.
148 According to DOE count [1994] there are some 3,169 private sites in England and Wales, which makes around 35% of total provision.
It is quite a common opinion that the ultimate objective, to be achieved by a staged process of control and supervision, is the settlement and then absorption of the Rroma into the ways of the dominant society. To assist in this direction Councils were given even greater powers under the 1986 Act.

The Public Order Act 1986 (Section 39) gave the Police discretionary powers to deal with “aggravated trespass”. Section 39 makes it a new criminal offence for a trespasser on land not to leave the land (or return to it within three months) after being ordered to leave by a police officer.

The offence is committed if [Public Order Act 1986]:

‘The senior police officer reasonably believes that two or more persons have entered land as trespassers and are present there with the common purpose of residing there for any period, that reasonable steps have been taken by or on behalf of the occupier to ask them to leave and

a) that any of those persons has caused damage to property on the land or used threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour towards the occupier, a member of his family or an employee or agent of his, or

b) that those persons have between them brought twelve or more vehicles on to the land, he may direct those persons, or any of them, to leave the land’.

However, a defence can be put forward if the person shows that his/her original entry on the land was not as a trespasser or that there is a reasonable excuse for failing to leave the land as soon as reasonably practicable (It is an arrestable offence with a maximum penalty of three months imprisonment or a fine of 1000 pounds) [NATT, 1993].

149 In Waverley, Surrey there have already been five planning inquiries to decide whether a group of Rroma can remain on the land they have owned and illegally occupied for twelve years. The Council decided in favour of granting lawful residence but the Environment Minister has intervened, on behalf of local residents, to establish a sixth inquiry [The Times, 6 February 1995].

150 An examination of the Consultation Paper [DOE 1993] will reveal at once a desire to persuade the Rroma to adopt a settled lifestyle: ‘The Government believes that it may be necessary to provide advice on education, health and housing which encourages gypsies and other travellers to settle and, in time, to transfer into traditional housing’. 

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The Act was rushed through Parliament to assist in dealing with the Hippy/Convoy/New Age groups as a result of their alleged mass trespass at the Stonehenge site and elsewhere. But it also gave the Police powers to move the Rroma on at short notice. It was not intended for use against traditional Travellers but despite guidance from the Home Office and Chief of Police it continues to be used in this way and the threat of it continues to be used against Rroma and other Travellers\textsuperscript{151} [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

However, according to the NGC, they received a report at 9.27 a.m. on 1 April 1987 (the day the Act came into force) that Section 39 was being used against the Rroma by the Avon and Somerset Police and since then the NGC has received a number of similar complaints [NATT, 1993].

As can be seen, continuous evictions only succeed in moving Rroma around from one area to another, causing problems not only for the Rroma so affected, but for those Authorities who have tried to comply with the Act by providing sites. Those who do get on to sites are often effectively stopped from earning their living in the traditional way if they do not want to lose their pitch on site. This is effectively creating Welfare dependency for many families and often with it a loss of independence and dignity.\textsuperscript{152}

The Rroma may be forcibly moved on with or without a court order, or taken to court and fined. They could and often were prosecuted under a Highways Act dating from 1835. As stated: ‘Penalties for Gypsies and others camping on the highway. Liable to a fine of 40s’. Under this legislation Rroma were committing an offence while, in theory, another camper would be able to park a caravan next to them without being summoned. This Act was finally repealed in 1980 [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995; Mayall, 1995].

\textsuperscript{151} Mrs Marion Allport is working as a Traveller Liaison Officer in Leicester. An interview with her was conducted on the 23rd of May 1995.

\textsuperscript{152} Working means earning money while staying independent. Independence, in turn, requires adaptability and mobility. In order to stay mobile their traditional trades usually require minimum equipment, they usually do not employ anyone other than family members, they seek to avoid fixed employment. Sedentarisation occurs when they become too prosperous and need to employ other people, therefore need a fixed abode. The other danger comes from being tied to a site with no work area.
Eventually many examples of Local Authority intolerance led Grattan Puxon\textsuperscript{153} to conclude, in the 1987 edition of his report for the Minority Rights Group, that the situation of the Roma population in the United Kingdom was worsening rather than improving [Mayall, 1992].

One of the first steps after the 1991 General Election was the issuing of a joint press release by the Home Office and the DOE announcing the intention to reform the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. A consultation document was then issued and over a thousand replies were received, mostly opposing the idea of repealing the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. The Government pressed ahead however and - in spite of the opposition of the Labour and Liberal Democrats in the House of Commons and all party opposition in the House of Lords - new measures were enacted [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

In 1991, a leaflet \textit{Trespass on land: A guide to the law} was produced for the Home Office by the Central Office of Information. The purpose of this leaflet was to give landowners (including Local Authorities) guidance about the law relating to trespass on land. It covers:

- civil law relating to trespass;
- powers available to local authorities under the Caravan Sites Act 1968;
- powers available to the police under Section 39 of the Public Order Act 1986

In 1991, over 40\% of the Travelling community still had no legal place to stay despite the obligations of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act on Local Councils, and despite the powers of the Secretary of State for the Environment. As a consequence travelling families face frequent eviction, lack of access to or continuity of healthcare, welfare support and education.\textsuperscript{154} Inadequate site provision creates problems particularly over children's school attendance. They also have no

\textsuperscript{153} Grattan Puxon - a radical journalist and activist whose work with Irish Travellers led to the foundation of the Gypsy Council (11.12.1966), of which he was the first secretary. Also general Secretary of the World Romani Congress. The first of his reviews appeared in 1973 and then, after two further editions in 1975 and 1980, his survey was republished by the Minority Rights Group in 1987 following revisions and updated.

\textsuperscript{154} Europe-wide studies have shown that this problem is repeated elsewhere and UNESCO is conducting a pilot project, in conjunction with Greece and Spain, to improve the literacy problem [see generally Interface 1991-1995].
access to running water or sanitation nor safe living space for themselves and their children.\textsuperscript{155} Under Section 17 of the Children Act 1989, it is the Council’s duty to: ‘safeguard and promote the welfare of children in the area who are in need by providing a range and level of services appropriate to those children’s needs’. Children living without water or sanitation are children in need.

On 31 March 1993 the Government announced a package of measures\textsuperscript{156} to be introduced when parliamentary time allows, to tackle illegal camping. Some measures proposed in the consultation paper, for example that the Rroma and other Travellers should be “encouraged” into housing and that education should play a key role in promoting “settlement”, were eliminated in the revision of the paper following the consultation process. Although it has not been publicly announced by the Government, it is widely believed that over 90\% of those bodies and councils receiving the consultation document opposed the Government proposals. In fact the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act was defeated by the House of Lords three times. [NATT,1993; Travis, 1994]

Nevertheless, in spite of the opposition,\textsuperscript{157} the Government pressed ahead and new laws were introduced to control the mass camping of New Age Travellers. According to the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act the number of vehicles needed to commit criminal trespass was reduced from twelve to six. This means that a maximum of two families (two caravans and two towing vehicles) can stop together on roadside sites. The powers given by “designation” under the 1968 Act to Councils that had provided enough sites were made nation-wide [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{155} A survey of sixty-five sites in 1974 revealed that while 12\% were adjacent to rubbish dumping grounds, 28\% were situated in close proximity to industrial development [Sibely, 1974].

\textsuperscript{156} The DOE and Home Office announced that day a “Crackdown on illegal camping and raves”.

\textsuperscript{157} Labour Campaign for Travellers’ Rights published in 1993: The right to sites. An alternative to the Government’s review of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. Also in 1993 initiated by Gypsies and Traveller organisations Alternative proposals for the constructive reform of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act was published.}
Not moving within a reasonable time after being asked to do so by Local Council became a further criminal offence. This means that, according to Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, the Rroma and other nomads on any land (other than the few legal sites) are subject to criminal law and can be moved on immediately. 158

The greatest blow for the Rroma in the new 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act is the repeal of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. This does not just mean that Councils no longer need to build sites. It also means that they can close the sites they have already built, and with the disappearance of the duty on Councils to provide sites, the absence of a pitch will be of less weight in a defence against an accusation of trespass or an application for planning permission for a private site [Monbiot, 1995].

The Rroma have also obtained an unenviable reputation for being untidy and dirty. This is undeserved, especially when the conditions under which they live are taken into account. Of the sites provided by Local Authorities, these can be divided into two types: the full facility site (with all amenities provided) and the basic facility site. The full facility site offers Rroma the same comforts as housedwellers, whereas the basic facility site is usually difficult to manage, ill-equipped and very uncomfortable to live on. The Authorities who provide this type of site often point to the financial constraints imposed upon their budgets, but at the same time they do not build houses without electricity, or with shared water sources or chemical toilets.

About two-thirds of all Rroma have no place on a permanent site with proper facilities. They are forced to occupy land which has few or no basic amenities (such as piped water, sewage or refuse disposal). Even if a Rrom buys his/her own land he/she is often refused planning permission to work and settle on it. 159 Planning permission for sites is turned down in over 90% of

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158 Regulations made under s 67 (3) Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 which deals with the confiscation of vehicles failing to leave the scene of a public order offence state that: 'If the authority are satisfied that the person on whom they have served or attempted to serve the removal notice is the owner of the vehicle, they may dispose of or destroy the vehicle at any time (…)’ [SI 1995 No 723 The Police Retention and Disposal of Vehicles regulations 1995 10 March 1995 para 6(2)].

159 The legislation must also be viewed in the light of the recent decision of the European Commission in Buckley v UK (App 20348/92 11.1.95). The Commission heard the evidence of June Buckley, a Rromani, who had been residing on privately owned land without planning permission and who subsequently been evicted by the Local Authority. Despite the existence of an authorised site nearby, the Commission
cases [Sir David Mitchell, HC Deb 1994]. The Rroma are obliged to camp illegally and so are regularly evicted. All this makes properly organised life virtually impossible. Imagine the filth there would be if housedwellers had no plumbing or no rubbish collection.\(^{160}\) The Rroma cope very well in the circumstances [NGC, no date; Monbiot, 1995]

When the unsightly basic sites and illegal encampments are replaced by properly managed sites (permanent and transit) with full facilities then, local opposition to Rroma settlements usually diminish. Experience has shown in Leicester that once established, Rromani sites are accepted by the community, if well managed. All complaints arise mainly in connection with the site being left dirty and untidy [Allport, 1988].

The Rroma’s right to camp on the roadsides is as good as most Gadže’s right to houses. They have been harassed so much that they are suspicious of all Gadže and also, sadly, are divided amongst themselves. Therefore, it was very encouraging and stimulating when the National Gypsy Council was formed in 1966. It is the only all-Rroma organisation in Britain [Refer to the Section 3.2 Rromani organisations].

The Executive Committee Members liaise with Local Authorities on behalf of all Rroma, seeking to ensure stopping time and to prevent evictions, improving relations with the settled community, helping Rroma with planning applications and giving advice on site design and management. Good relations have been established with both Central and Local Government, and the NGC is usually consulted when problems arise or advice is required [NGC, no date].

The NGC regularly produces authoritative reports on such subjects as site provision, education and discrimination. These reports are generally recognised as the most accurate

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\(^{160}\) Although The Environmental Protection (Duty of Care) Act 1991 makes Councils responsible for all rubbish collection and proper disposal in their area.
available. In order to deal more efficiently with the ever increasing workload in Scotland the NGC has opened a Scottish Branch in Perth. This reflects the high level of activity of the organisation throughout England, Scotland and Wales.

3.3.2.2 Discrimination

At this point it is important to ask whether the Roma and other Travellers are protected against discrimination in the United Kingdom.

The laws of almost all the Member States of the EC contain general clauses, in principle of a constitutional nature, prohibiting discrimination based on race. To meet this need, legislators in the countries of Europe have adopted a series of legislative Acts. In the United Kingdom it was the Race Relations Act in 1976 (in fact this followed the first and second Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968) [European Parliament, 1985].

In addition to legislative measures, specialised national institutions have been created specifically to cope with the problem of race relations. The most important example is the Commission for Racial Equality,\(^1\) created in 1976 in the United Kingdom under the 1976 Race Relations Act. It is stated [European Parliament, 1985] that the task of this Commission is to work towards eliminating discrimination, promote equal opportunities and the establishment of good relations between people of different racial groups, monitor application of the Race Relations Act and, where necessary, propose amendments to that Act.

The Race Relations Act makes racial discrimination unlawful in employment, training, education and the provision of goods, facilities and services. It has to be stressed, however, that

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\(1\) The Race Relations Board (set up under the 1965 Act)
- The Community Relations Commission (set up under the 1968 Act)
- The Commission for Racial Equality (set up under the 1976 Act) [Forrester, 1985]
the status of Travellers under the Act, other than as Irish or Scottish minorities is still unclear\textsuperscript{162} [NATT, 1993].

On the other hand it is reported by the European Parliament [1985, p.52] that the 1984 report of the CRE cited the most recent Policy Studies Institute study demonstrating that, though there had been some improvements, 'serious inequalities, to which discrimination on racial grounds has contributed, persist in employment, housing, education and other services'.

Increasingly frequent signs "No Travellers" put up by some publicans raised the question whether such a denial of access to goods and services was discrimination "on racial grounds" [Forrester, 1985; Fraser, 1995].\textsuperscript{163} The judges agreed that Traveller was not synonymous with Gypsy and that the class of persons excluded by the sign was not confined to Gypsies: therefore there had been no direct discrimination. However, it was confirmed that for the purposes of the Act, Gypsies were a racial group. A sign "No Gypsies" would be unlawful, on the other hand a "No Travellers" sign constituted indirect discrimination (of not being a Traveller) which fell more heavily on them than on other racial groups.

According to Fraser [1994]\textsuperscript{164} the Rroma may find themselves excluded from all sorts of public places, e.g. bars and clubs, even if, technically, this is illegal as racial discrimination. Similarly, as Fraser stated [1994], there are more than isolated instances of employment agencies (including state agencies) openly adding "No Gypsies" to job advertisements, in order to meet the wishes of employers. The above statement is extremely alarming since it is unlawful discrimination under Section 29 of the 1976 Race Relations Act. The Rroma have as much right to be in Great

\textsuperscript{162} However, the Race Relations Board Report stated in 1967/1968 [Forrester, 1985, p.98]: "The Board has been advised that gypsies should, in general, be regarded as being within the terms of the Race Relations Act"

\textsuperscript{163} The UNESCO General Conference of 27 November 1978 adopted the Declaration on 'Race and Racial Prejudice'. The principles of racism are described and evaluated in Article 2 of the declaration [European Parliament, 1985, p.22]: 'Any theory which involves the claim that racial or ethnic groups are inherently superior or inferior, thus implying that some would be entitled to dominate or eliminate others, presumed to be inferior, or which bases value judgements on racial differentiation, has no scientific foundation and is contrary to the moral and ethical principles of humanity. Racism includes racist ideologies, prejudiced attitudes, discriminatory behaviour, structural arrangements and institutionalised practices resulting in racial inequality as well as the fallacious notion that discriminatory relations between groups are morally and scientifically justifiable (...)'. It should also be added that Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adds to the customary definition of discrimination as being on the grounds of race or colour, discrimination on the grounds of 'birth', 'national origins' and 'ethnic origins'.

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Britain as any other British person. Therefore the discriminatory law towards them is shocking and should be amended. It is much harder to persuade pubs to take down their "No Gypsies Served" notices when it can be seen that the Government is itself discriminating in a similar way at present.165

Eventually, in 1980, the CRE stated in its report [Forrester, 1985, p.100]: ‘We take the view that Gypsies in the UK, who number about 50 000, constitute an ethnic minority group and as such are protected against discrimination under the Race Relations Act 1976’. This official recognition [Fraser, 1995; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995] emphasised that the Rroma constitute a distinct ethnic minority group, with the right to self-determination and to maintain in tact their traditions and culture. In fact, after many years,166 eventually in 1989 the Rroma were recognised in the High Court (case CRE v Dutton) as an ethnic minority group entitled to protection under the Act [NATT, 1993].

A judgement in the House of Lords in 1983 (case Mandla v Dowell Lee)167 laid two important characteristics possessed by an ethnic group: one was “a long shared history, of which the group is conscious as distinguishing it from other groups, and the memory of which it keeps alive”, and the second was “a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners, often but not necessarily associated with religious observance”. Other characteristics which could help to distinguish an ethnic group were: a common geographical origin, or descent from a number of common ancestors, a common language, a common literature peculiar to the group, a common religion different from that of the neighbouring groups or the general community, or being a minority or an oppressed group within a larger community.

164 Paper for the Seminar organised by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg 3-4 March 1994).
165 Kenrick and Bakewell [1995, p.51] report that during the 1987 election Conservative Party officials in Bradford were seen handing out stickers for cars with message: ‘Keep the Gypsies out - Vote Conservative’. After protests the stickers were withdrawn.
166 From 1976 when Race Relations Act was adopted
167 A clear example of indirect discrimination is a requirement to wear a cap as part of a school uniform. Although this requirement was applied equally to all pupils, it had the effect of excluding Sikh boys, whose religion required them to wear a turban, and it was held not to be justifiable on educational grounds (The Race Relations Act 1976)
A more enlightened attitude on the part of Central and Local Government has become evident only in the last few years. Despite the difficulties in securing prosecutions under the Race Relations Act, the Court of Appeal Ruling on 27 of July 1988 (case CRE v Dutton)\textsuperscript{168} signifies a major advance in protecting the Rroma from discrimination. The above stated criteria were applied to the Rroma then [Annex 11].

There are many examples of intolerance towards the Rroma, which can be documented in a variety of European sources. Sometimes the media portray them as criminals and black marketers. Graffiti can be seen announcing “Rroma free zone”, “Rroma to gas chambers”, “Rroma out”, “Kill the Rroma” etc.\cite{Bartosz, 1994}. Parents may object to sending their children to schools which have taken in Rromani children. In some countries, a high proportion of Rromani children are allocated to special schools [e.g. for handicapped children].\textsuperscript{169} There is often as much aversion to seeing the Rroma in houses or apartments among the general population as there is elsewhere to seeing camping sites for the Rroma set up locally [Fraser, 1994].

It also is alleged that many of the Rroma are accused of crimes they did not commit. What often happens, so it seems, is that the arrival of Rroma in an area is a signal for local criminals to “get to work”, knowing that the Rroma will become scapegoats. This theory assumes that anger, once caused, is displaced upon some relevant (rather than logical) victim. The Rroma are often “available” \cite{Hawes and Perez, 1995}.

As Fraser points out \cite[1994, p.5]{Fraser}:

\begin{quote}
Most of the old stereotypes still appear to thrive, leading to a widespread assumption that, by definition, Gypsies are dirty and lazy, parasites and spongers, untrustworthy and criminal. The stereotypes have often permeated the language, with phrases such as “steal like a Gypsy” or “lie like a Gypsy” in common use. Where nationalism, economic
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{168} Direct discrimination consists of treating a person, on racial grounds, less favourably than others are or would be treated in the same or similar circumstances. Racial grounds are grounds of race, colour, nationality - including citizenship - or ethnic or national origins, and groups defined by reference to these grounds are referred to as racial groups. (The Race Relations Act 1976)
\item \textsuperscript{169} In England and Wales under Section 1 (4) of the Education Act 1981 children are not to be taken as having difficulty and assessed as being in need of special education solely because the language or form of language of the home is different from that used in school. DES Circular 22/89 recommends that SEN assessments and statements should be in a language familiar to the parents and child.
\end{itemize}
hardship and unfamiliar levels of unemployment create a need for scapegoats, Gypsies, if numerous, can be blamed for many of the social and economic problems; the few who make good are then objects of resentment, while the rest are condemned as work-shy and shiftless, idle and stupid'.

Accusations of theft are rife when the Rroma reside in a new area, although again, they tend to be unsubstantiated. A survey in the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1968 found that recorded incidents of theft by the Rroma community were only 0.46% higher than that for the settled community; although many more crimes were alleged; including cannibalism and murder [Adams et al 1975, p.163]. The Association of Chief Police Officers have also recently confirmed in a letter to the DOE that the Rroma community cause no major policing problems [The Association of Chief Police Officers, Letter to the DOE 1992].

Since the Rroma are entitled to all rights and protection under the Race Relations legislation, many Councils also take seriously the need to monitor policies and actions affecting them and have even appointed Rroma Liaison Officers to secure the more effective implementation of jointly-agreed policies. According to Mayall [1992, pp.6-7]:

'The growing media attention accorded the continental Gypsies, and the consequent public awareness of past and present official persecution, is scarcely in evidence in relation to Britain's indigenous Gypsy population. This is despite the fact that the history of the British state's response to Gypsies, although lacking the extremes of attempted genocide, nevertheless compares unfavourably with that of any other nation'.

It was noted [Hawes and Perez, 1995] that with the appearance of the Criminal Justice and public Order Act 1994, the discrimination has become wider and more forcefully expressed. They quoted Lloyd saying that [p.132] the new measures represent a discriminatory and oppressive attitude: 'a scapegoating of Travellers and a denial of civil and human rights'.

As previously stated in this chapter the word Rroma meant, in the late 1950s, no more than 'a person leading a nomadic life with no fixed employment and with no fixed abode'. It was

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stripped of all racial or ethnic meaning. This concept was renewed when the Caravan Sites Act 1968 was passed. The Act defined Rroma as ‘persons of nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin’ [Fraser, 1995, pp.2-3].

So, according to Kenrick and Bakewell [1995], although for the purposes of the Race Relations Act the Rroma are an ethnic group, for the 1968 Caravan Sites Act they are a social group.

Other researchers [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.139] sum up this controversy:

‘Essentially the debate about definition relates to who qualifies to get on sites provided under the 1968 Act. The same issue does not arise over questions of providing education, social welfare services and health care. In these services universal access is part of the law, and whether one is itinerant for any discernible purpose or not, makes no difference to one’s right to the service. It is, however, easy to see that rejection or exclusion from the right to a pitch makes every difference to the possibility of being able to avail oneself of the other services’.

The policy of assimilation [Refer to the Section 3.2 Rromani organisations] is not so controversial if Travellers and Rroma are wandering “inadequates”. If, on the other hand, they are recognised as an ethnic minority group, then it should be acknowledged that they have a right to retain their identity. Therefore, the role of international organisations is very important. Several international bodies have, in fact, produced a variety of documents relating to the Rroma [Annex 12].

3.3.2.3 Evictions and education of Rromani children

The situation of Travellers’ children was described in the Plowden Report [1967, pp.59-60] as: ‘(...) probably the most severely deprived children in the country’. It was also pointed out that: ‘Improved education alone cannot solve the problems of these children. Simultaneous action is needed by the authorities responsible for employment, industrial training, housing and planning’.
And yet the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act has effectively made the whole country “designated”. It is estimated [Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Centre, 1995, p.7] that in Nottinghamshire there are only sufficient sites for 46% of the Rroma and other travelling groups. This may result in a Rromani child being removed from school with little or no advance notice. It was formally laid down only in 1981 (Education Act 1981) that the LEAs have the responsibility for providing education for all children residing in their area, whether permanently or temporarily, including Traveller children. It is put forward by Fraser [1995, p.285] that without security from eviction there could be little continuity in education.

In December 1989 the CRE published Code of Practice. For the elimination of racial discrimination in education. The purpose of this Code is [CRE, 1991] to give guidance to those with a responsibility for education which will help them to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination. In particular, it is designed to help LEAs, governors, schools, colleges and universities ensure that education is provided without discrimination. At the same time the CRE has published very few reports on complaints involving travelling groups. It also failed, as Forrester points out [1985, p.99]: ‘to take any action over the London Borough of Croydon’s illegal refusal to provide schooling to a Gypsy child not living on their official site’.171

Circular 1/81 of the Department of Education and Science declared explicitly the right of Rromani children to attend school. It says [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.68]: ‘The reference to children “in the area” of the authority means that each authority’s duty extends to all children residing in their area, whether permanently or temporarily. The duty thus embraces in particular travelling children, including Gypsies’.

171 It is important to remember that the CRE’s report on the Croydon community council case does not have the same legal status as a court decision.
The Rroma constitute a recognisable ethnic minority group, and the experiences of their children, within the education system, were found by the Swann Report\textsuperscript{172} to parallel those of other groups considered within its brief. Although levels of awareness have generally increased, it remains the case, unfortunately, that many of the issues raised by Swann, continue to be of concern. In many respects the situation in which Travellers’ children find themselves also reflects to an extreme degree the experience of prejudice and alienation which faces many other ethnic minority children. Swann writes [1985, p.740]: ‘Many of the particular educational needs of travellers’ children arise because of difficulties in gaining access to the education system at all’.

The Rroma and other Travellers experience both personal prejudice and institutionalised racism. The law is such that, even in cases where travelling families are willing to settle for a time so that a child may have some continuity of education, they may be forced to move on. There are not enough authorised sites to accommodate the nomadic population, so very often families live on unauthorised sites and risk prosecution under Criminal Law and can have their homes and vehicles confined, if they refuse to move on when asked. Such requests could mean a family has to be on the road again in a matter of days, and this undoubtedly has implications for a child’s education. The Police act quickly during evictions: caravans are attached to a tractor or Land Rover and towed away. Serious accidents sometimes occur as, although it is illegal to tow a caravan with children inside, this fact is often not verified, and children that remain inside can be and are severely injured or burned [Kenrick and Puxon, 1972; Adams et al, 1975; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

For families and individuals who have been subjected to abuse and hostility their group name has often been prefixed by dirty Gyppo or dirty Tinker by people from the settled community. Repeated time and time again this creates a negative attitude towards themselves and their group name. Indeed in many publications and articles when writing Traveller or Gypsy a capital initial is often not used. Irish Tinkers whose work practices have changed over the years are no longer described by the term Tinker and have turned to Traveller as a group name. The Rroma have also favoured the term Traveller as a broad group identity giving them some security and solidarity.

Although the possibility of discrimination by schools or the LEA are often mentioned, much more common is discrimination against children in school. This may take the form of name-calling, but Forrester [1985] has met instances much worse, involving physical bullying and intimidation. It is important that teachers and head-teachers are aware of the possibility of this arising, and of Traveller children keeping quiet about it through fear.

It is indicated [NTEC, 1995; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995] that schools should be aware of general hostility towards the Rroma and other travelling groups from the local settled community and work actively against the stereotyping which is largely responsible for such prejudice. This could be done in a variety of ways (e.g. displays). Nomadic children need to feel as valued and supported as children from the settled community, and racist name calling in the playground should be responded to in the same way as that directed at any other ethnic minority group. These are concerns which are already incorporated into Equal Opportunities and Multi-Cultural Education Policies.

In 1985 the National Union of Teachers responded to the final Swann report Education for All through its publication Education for Equality. In another earlier pamphlet Combating Racism in Schools (1981), which has been widely circulated, the Union gave guidance on how schools can ensure that all pupils, whatever their skin colour, ethnic origin or cultural grouping, feel valued and secure in the school community. In March 1989 the Union circulated to all school representatives the booklet Anti-Racism in Education to be used for guidance by Union members.

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173 A survey in Sheffield found that "racist name calling" was what the Traveller children most hated about going to school. Kenrick [1995, p.69] reports that: "In 1994 in a school in the Greater London area Gypsy children were subject to name calling and attacks. Gorgio children blocked the school gate and prevented them having school and going home until the police were called. On another occasion the provoked Gypsy children retaliated. Three Gypsy children were suspended but no Gorgio children were punished'.

174 Also within schools, prejudice against Rroma continues in many subtle and unsuitable ways. Children told the researchers during the European Commission project that they had been left to draw at the back of the class, of exclusion from Christmas Parties, even of not getting a commemorative spoon on the occasion of Prince Charles' marriage in 1981 [Kenrick, 1995].

175 The "home corner" in the class room does not always have to be a typical house living/cooking space, it could be made to look like the interior of a trailer. Resources should also include play equipment of trailers, campers, caravans, photographs from the Travellers and as many books describing their way of life, as possible [Illustration 1].
Education Services for Travelling Children have been established to assist LEAs in meeting their duties under the various Education Acts to make school and the uptake of the curriculum accessible to Rromani and other travelling children. Many of those families try, and work hard, to incorporate schooling for their children into their everyday lives. This is not easy if a family is being evicted on a regular basis. It is one of the reasons why it is essential for each member of the Traveller Education Service staff in the United Kingdom to have close links with the family in order to support continuity through evictions. On the other hand, it has to be noted that the legislations, lack of provision, and social antipathy which harasses the travelling community, also impacts negatively on the work of the Service.

At the same time another department in the Local Authority is partly engaged in evicting the Rroma from the area. Elected members are conscious of their electorate and their attitudes towards nomads who they see as disrupting their living space by camping illegally wherever they can. Officers have no wish to come into conflict with elected members or members of “the public”. A great deal of money is spent each year evicting families and cleaning up after some of them.¹⁷⁶ The cost rarely seems to be questioned nor the need for more sites pursued in earnest. However, the illegal camping and rubbish issue understandably inflames public opinion regarding travelling groups.¹⁷⁷

The pattern of similar developments had been noticed in most other Western European countries. Liégeois (1987) dealt with the member states of the European Communities. From 1977 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights turned its attention to discrimination against the Rroma.


¹⁷⁷ Oral evidence presented by Mr David Mayall from Sheffield Hallam University, School of Cultural Studies on 16th of March 1996 - a Seminar organised and hosted by University of Hertfordshire on the occasion of the launch of the Interface Collection (new Series on the history and culture of Europe’s Rroma).
According to Fraser [1994] in the institutions of the EC, from 1984 onwards, the relevant work has been mainly concerned with education and has led to a number of projects aimed at helping and developing Gypsy culture and language and providing suitable pedagogic aids. He also adds [p.7]:

'The Council of Europe, while also focusing on education and organising seminars for teachers, has ranged more widely. The Committee of Ministers’ resolution of 1975 on the social situation of nomads in Europe specified a variety of measures to be pursued with regard to general policy, camping and housing, education and vocational training, health and social welfare, and social security. The Ministers asked governments of member states to report on follow-up. Almost 20 years later not a single report appears to have been made'.

As Fraser writes [1995, pp.288-289]: ‘The Ministerial Council addressed itself to this aspect in a resolution of May 1989 which called for “a global structural approach helping to overcome the major obstacles to the access of gypsy and traveller children to schooling”, founded on respect for their culture, additional resources, and special training for teachers’.

Let us hope that the statement used in 1988 (on the Burnage Report) by Kenneth Baker Secretary of State Education, will be a fact in a near future. He said [NUT, March 1989]: ‘I want to make it absolutely clear there is no place for racial prejudice or discrimination in our schools’.

3.3.3 The views of Polish society regarding the Rromani community

In 1992 Rozprawki Tadeusza Czackiego was published. It was the inaugural booklet of the Polish Rroma Studies Library series designed by the Association of Roma in Poland and the Galician Bookshop. The purpose of that Series was to make up for the lack of publication of materials concerning the Rroma. According to Mirga [1992a] the Association’s task is to systematically provide authoritative information that will enrich knowledge regarding that ethnic community, a community of which still little is known and which is often seen through a prism of stereotypes and prejudices.
The works and customs of the Rromani people have aroused the interest of many Polish researchers. One of the earliest of these researchers was Jerzy Ficowski who is an outstanding authority on Rromani history and culture in Poland. His most important books on the subject of the Rroma are the fundamental material for all those interested in Rromani culture. In addition, Ficowski introduced Polish society to the creativity of the well known Rromani poet: Bronisława Wajs-Papusza [Annex 13]. Another author of several noteworthy books about the Rroma is Prof. Lech Mróz an ethnologist from the University of Warszawa. Together with Andrzej Mirga he wrote the book Gypsies. Differentness and Intolerance published in 1994.

For many years Mr Adam Bartosz, director of the Regional Museum in Tarnów has researched, documented and popularised the culture of Rroma in Poland. In 1979 he created a Rromani collection in the museum that, in 1990, was transformed into the first permanent exhibition devoted to their history and culture. During the summer folklore events, organised jointly by the museum management and the Centre of Romani Culture in Tarnów, take place in the Tarnów museum. In 1994, Adam Bartosz published a book on the subject of the Rroma entitled Do not fear a Gypsy.

Since the 1970s efforts have been made to organise a religious ministry among the Rroma. The national Minister of the Rroma is the Jesuit Priest Edward Wesolek, who publishes, amongst other titles, a religious newsletter for the Rroma, and has translated several prayers into the Rromani language. The well respected Minister of Rroma - holding considerable authority among them - is the Priest Stanisław Opocki, from the Podhale region.

Nevertheless, the publications and printed materials do not seem to have overcome the existing stereotypes and prejudices. The social and to a certain extent the economic status of some Rromani tribes locates this minority group as the least privileged within Polish society.

178 (1965) Gypsies on Polish roads, Warszawa
(1986) Demons of miraculous fear, Warszawa
(1989) Gypsies in Poland. History and customs, Warszawa

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The Rroma have always been on the margins of Polish society, the majority of them have never undertaken regular employment, so many families do not have the right to receive pensions or retirement insurance. Similarly, due to the problem of the lack of permanent employment, many families have no right to receive family allowances or social insurance. State assistance is necessary especially for the group of the Highland Rroma, who are most severely affected by unemployment, difficult living conditions and lack of social insurance [OFNM, 1994a].

The primary threat to the Rroma appears to be the difficulty in adapting to new social and economic situations. Many educated and informed individuals in this field feel that government institutions should assist the Rroma in solving their educational and social problems. However it is debatable to what extent the government can intervene in the daily life of Rromani communities, and thought must also be given to the question of in what way public education could serve to maintain the cultural identity of the Rroma. In order to solve these problems, the OFNM [1994b] suggested that much closer co-operation is required between the three parties involved: the representatives of government institutions, Rromani Associations and social and charitable institutions.

The move to settle the Rroma in the 1950s and 1960s was not accompanied by activities aimed at better mutual understanding and deeper appreciation of a different culture. Consequently, the historical stereotypes and prejudices becomes evident at times of social change still prevail. In September of 1981 in Konin Rroma were assaulted and their possessions burned and destroyed. In June 1991, a group of residents from Mlawa demolished villas belonging to Rroma [O’Nions, 1995]

The following are newspaper stories describing incidents in relation to the Rromani people in some parts of Poland:
Plutowski recalled [1981, p.1]:

'09 and 10 September 1981 in Konin there occurred some serious street incidents caused by the mutual animosity felt between the local and Rroma community. Twenty white men were fighting with two Rroma. The police had to intervene detaining three whites. The Rroma ran away. They have started throwing stones at the windows of Rroma, turning over cars and burning them, stealing Rromani property. What were these incidents? Was it the work of hooligans? On the outside definitely Yes. The mood was often set by unemployed young men who had a prison record behind them. Only hooligans on their own did not have the capacity to start such serious incidents. The majority of inhabitants were passive but wished them well. They supported the cause to oust the Rroma. Is this then a conflict of nations? Judging from the reaction of the crowd one can describe it as racial conflict'.

Dudziec wrote [1991, pp.12-13]:

'In 1991 a 17 year old youth hit a young couple walking along the pavement. The culprit ran off. Witnesses noticed that he was a Rrom from the Mlawski community. The town is in an uproar. A crowd gathers. It walks towards the hospital. It is a short distance to the houses of the Rroma. The crowd plunders and destroys the Rroma houses and cars until morning. The police are frightened to intervene. Luckily the Rroma had sensed the mood and left their dwellings'.

Gazeta Wyborcza stated [1991a, p.1]:

'Over 200 Polish Rroma left Mlawa last week for Sweden with the intention of asking for political asylum - information supplied by the Swedish daily “Dagens Nyreter”. Demands for political asylum from the police in Malmoe were substantiated by the persecution they experienced from the Polish inhabitants in Mlawa. The border guards have noticed an increase in departures from the Rromani community, everyday around 50 people leave the country. The duty officer in Mlawa denies the reports that there is a massive exodus of Rroma from the town. In his words only two people have left the town'.

Gazeta Wyborcza [1991b, p.1] reported:

'Yesterday morning another group of around 70 Rroma sailed on the ferry from Poland to Sweden. None of them came from Mlawa. Around 1000 Rroma from Poland are staying in Ystad because of the immigration regulations - according to the Immigration Offices'.

In an interview conducted by Żychlińska-Konarowska with Andrzej Mirga [1991, pp.12-13], he said that in his opinion the reason for these conflicts is not the envy of the supposed wealth
of the Rroma nor the punishment due to those who caused the car crash. These are ethnic conflicts. As research carried out by sociologists shows Poles are open minded in their attitudes. In reality it has become xenophobic, they have lost the skills to build an understanding with minority groups. Polish history concerns solely Polish characters. Foreigners are portrayed as enemies to the nation and the people. The influence of minority groups is not perceived.

It was very interesting for the author to have met, in summer 1995, a Polish Gadže woman from London who was working for the Department of Social Services as a translator. She would like to remain anonymous but will for the purposes of this work be referred to as Elizabeth. Her role was to mediate between Polish Rroma and the Department of Social Services [DSS]. According to her about two years previously a Rromani emigration from Poland began, it was initiated by a few recent racial riots in Konin and Mława.

The number of immigrants has been enormous. Special Travelling Agencies were organised only for this purpose. There are no records of single people immigrating to England, but there are always cases of entire families seeking political asylum. Very few of them can speak English. When Elizabeth started working she was the only translator, however the needs had increased to such an extent that, at that time, she was educating quite a big group of new mediators. London was being flooded with Polish Rroma. During the long procedure of seeking political asylum entire families are accommodated in transient houses and supplied with some benefits. In many cases it takes months before the right to stay can be awarded, during which all those Rromani children are suspended from education in both countries.¹⁷⁹

The above information agrees with the facts enclosed in Donald Kenrick's first draft of a report on the situation of the Rroma in Poland prepared for the Association of Rromani

¹⁷⁹ The University of Greenwich was holding an open conference on Romani Studies and Work with Travellers from July 09-12 1996, based in at the University of Greenwich in Woolwich. On the 11th July the following presentations on this particular subject were to be presented:

- Donald Kenrick (Romani Institute): Romani refugees and immigrants in the UK today
- Valdemar Kalinin (translator with Camden and Hammersmith): Working with Polish Romani refugees in London

The papers are to be published by the University of Hertfordshire Press in volumes on the themes Politics and Gypsy and Traveller Identity and Culture and Rromani Identity.

‘Adults; children being beaten in school by Gadže children and attacks on houses. The police do not intervene in these attacks or, if they do, they arrest the Rroma, not the attackers. In the late Communist period there were pogroms in Oświęcim, Konin and Kęty. Houses were broken into, plundered and set on fire. Young Poles attacked Rroma in the street. Rroma were given passports to travel out but with no right to return. Since the end of Communism there has been one big pogrom in Mława where the houses of Rroma have been burnt. Many Rroma from Mława fled to Sweden’.

According to Per Saland charge d'affaires ad interim Embassy of the Swedish Kingdom in Poland [Gazeta Wyborcza, 1991a, p.1]: ‘In Poland the rights of man are strictly adhered to and there is no persecution of social groups. This is why the Polish people, regardless of which group they belong to, have no chance of obtaining political asylum in Sweden’.

A newspaper report appeared in the paper Rrom p-o drom [Jankowski, 1995, p.3] in which the Minister of Foreign affairs informed all nationals of the Polish Republic preparing for a journey to Great Britain, that from 20th November 1995 the Minister for Home affairs in Great Britain had announced new regulations for asylum. Under the new scheme, the Internal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain conducts a shortened procedure for Polish nationals, considering their petitions as quickly as possible. In the eyes of the British government this procedure is essential since during the first 10 months of 1995 around 1100 Polish nationals applied for political asylum. This is one third of the entire number of applications made.

On the other hand the Independent [1995] recalled that as the Second World War came nearer, more and more Jews tried to leave Germany and their neighbours. Some were sympathetically received, many were rebuffed. Five weeks before the German invasion of Poland trapped three million Jews (nearly all of whom were to die), a British official wrote that most of the would-be refugees were not political at all, but panickers.

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180 According to the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE [1993] this was an easy option used by the authorities to solve "the Romani problem" according to the wishes of the aggressors.
As can be seen, in Eastern Europe the new democracy is not understood by many of its citizens and as a result intolerance and xenophobia are growing stronger. In the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE [1993] it was noted that the following minority groups (in order) are the most threatened in Poland: Rroma, Jews, Belarussians, Ukrainians, Lemeks, Lithuanians, Germans, Slovaks, Tatars, Ormians, Czechs, Russians, Karaimes.

According to surveys conducted in 1991 by the Institution of Sociological Surveys (Survey conducted among 2,466 students) [OFNM, 1994b], the Rroma are the least liked national minority in Poland: 60% of those surveyed would not like to have a Rrom/Rromni in the family, and 48% of those surveyed would refuse a Rrom/Rromni the right to have a seat in Parliament. In spite of this continuing, and even increasing, negative attitude towards Rroma, the instances of aggression against them are very rare. Full results of the findings are shown in Table 3.7, Table 3.9 and Table 3.8

Table 3.7: Sympathy and aversion in: [%]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AVERSION</td>
<td>SYMPATHY</td>
<td>DIFFERENCE</td>
<td>AVERSION</td>
<td>SYMPATHY</td>
<td>DIFFERENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rroma</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-29</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechs</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>+17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>+29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>+46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarussians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In 1974 they did not ask about Belarussians

108
Table 3.8: Should not have the right: in [%]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ETHNIC GROUP</th>
<th>TO LEARN THEIR LANGUAGE IN POLISH SCHOOL</th>
<th>TO PARTicipate IN RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE</th>
<th>TO HAVE A SEAT IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES</th>
<th>TO HAVE A SEAT IN THE PARLIAMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belarusians</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3.9: I would not accept such a possibility: in [%]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEMBER OF A MINORITY GROUP</th>
<th>TO HAVE AS A COMPANION DURING MY HOLIDAY</th>
<th>TO HAVE AS A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY</th>
<th>TO HAVE AS MY SUPERIOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belarussian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom/Romni</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 4

TRAVELLERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND MINORITY GROUPS IN POLAND
4. TRAVELLERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND MINORITY GROUPS IN POLAND

4.1 Travelling Groups in the United Kingdom

4.1.1 Travellers and the Rroma

During the first of many interviews, Mrs Barker-Pugh\textsuperscript{181} contributed a new understanding of and differentiation between the terms Rroma and Traveller. From this the author was slowly able to start to establish who the Travellers are and how the Rroma fit in within this rather large "umbrella notion".

A Traveller is a member of any of the native European ethnic groups whose culture is characterised, inter alia, by self-employment, occupational flexibility, and nomadism. Following Smith's description [1975, p.3] the word Traveller is used as an umbrella term embracing everyone whose life style is dictated by the fact of being, for at least a good part of the year, on the road.

Some Travellers lead fully nomadic lives, others move only seasonally, while further groups may be settled more or less permanently in one place but forced to travel long distances to their work [HMI, 1983].

In Swann's opinion [1985, p.739]:

'The term traveller has come to include a number of different groups each with distinctive life-styles and traditions. Common to all is their nomadic life, although there are great differences in the amount and range of travelling between groups. Gypsies form the largest group in the traveller community. Other travellers are Irish and Scottish tinkers who have travelled in this country for many years and often still have close links with their country of origin. A third group are the children of fairground and circus families'.

\textsuperscript{181} Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh (Youth Worker), Traveller Education Centre in Newark; First interview was conducted in Newark on the 19 June, 1992
Christopher Reiss [1975, p.55] states in his report that:

'The Travellers in England and Wales can be divided into two main groups. The first are the Gypsies, native to England and Wales, who possess a vestigial but significant Romany heritage and who exhibit to a varying degree Romany ancestry. They speak Anglo-Romany, as a secret, “in group” language. They represent at least 80% of all the Travellers in England and Wales. Secondly, there are the Irish and Scottish Travellers or Tinkers, many of whom have been regularly journeying in England and Wales for generations, even centuries. They are probably well under 15% of the travelling population. Although they may easily be distinguished by accent and different background and although Romany heritage and ancestry have left traces in their histories, the dominant influence derives from an indigenous Celtic nomadic tradition. Shelta (or Gammon) are spoken by the Irish, and Scottish “Tinkers’ cant” are closely related and appear to have a common origin. The Scottish Travellers are 3 or 4% of the total travelling population of England and Wales'.

A word must be said at this point about the Romani languages. Most Rroma of all extractions are bilingual. Although they can speak and comprehend English and use it as a first language, their Romani tongues today serve the purpose of secret communication, a form of defence in tight situations.

Nathan Lee [1993, pp.124-125] who represents the NGEC differentiates the following languages used in Britain:

- **Romanichals** (around 61,000) speak Romanes (known as “broken tongue” - “poggadi-jib”)
- **Welsh Kale** (around 2,000) speak Welsh, English and Romanes
- **Scottish Travellers or Tinklers** (around 19,000) speak Cant, the majority of them speak some Anglo-Romanes
- **Irish Travellers** (around 15,000) speak Shelta or Gammon, some speak at least a little Anglo-Romanes

That is very similar with what Acton [1974, p.59] writes: ‘By the word Gypsy I shall simply mean anyone who would sincerely identify himself as such. By the terms English Gypsy or English Traveller I shall mean anyone who considers Anglo-Romani his native secret language, and by Irish Traveller I shall mean anyone who considers Gammon/Shelta his native secret language’.
Today's Traveller is the descendant of a series of groups whose importance to the community in the past served as protection from the abuse and discrimination which they are now forced to suffer. The NGC states: ‘The groups from which the modern Gypsy is descended are as follows: the Tinkers, the Pedlars, the Irish Tinkers (the Irish Travellers), the Scottish Tinkers, the Gypsies and Romanies’ [NGC, no date].

According to the leaflet produced by Nottinghamshire County Council there are six main groups that travel through Nottinghamshire. These are: ‘English Gypsies, Circus, Irish Travellers, English Travellers, Fairground and Bargees. These races are very different and have their own separate cultures’ [Nottinghamshire County Council, 1990].

Similarly the Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Service recognises the following groups which are usually classed as Travellers: ‘English Romany or Gypsy, Irish Gypsies (Tinkers), Showmen and Circus People, Bargees, New Age Travellers’ [NTEC, 1995].

4.1.2 The Gypsies and the Romanies (The Rroma)

4.1.2.1 General descriptions

For many years the definition of Gypsies and Romanies has been the subject of a great deal of discussion and dispute. Most modern writers on the Rroma issue have begun their studies by attempting to define precisely who is to be included in their discussion.

The physical appearance of the majority of Rroma first recorded in Britain was noticeably different from the resident population. Their dark skin, eyes and hair led to the assumption that they should be identified as a foreign and distinct race, coming from Egypt. So, the name Gypsy results from the mistaken belief that they were of Egyptian origin [Hawes and Perez, 1995].

It is interesting to note what observations led some people to persist with a theory of Egyptian origin even after it had been shown that Rroma spoke an Indian language. First and most
obviously is the issue of their names. When they first appeared in Europe, they called themselves, and were called, *Egyptians*. Their leaders often claimed to be Counts of "Egypt", or of "Little Egypt". The tales they told were of Egypt. So, in several countries they are still known by names derived from "Egypt": *Gitanos* in Spain, *Gypsies* in England, *Egyptiers* and *Gyptenaers* in the Netherlands, *Evgyii* in Albania, *Yifti* in Greece [Liégeois, 1986, p.25; Bartosz, 1994, pp.63-65].

The Rroma have been called by many different names by the natives of various European countries. The names may have arisen from short-sighted views of their history (called *Bohemians* in France and *Hungaros* in Spain), from legends and myths (*Gitanos*, *Gypsies* etc. from "Egypt"), from the distortion of some term used in their language (*Romanichals* or *Manouches* in France), sometimes linked to perceptions of physical appearance (called *Mustalainen* or *blacks* in Finland) [Liégeois, 1986, pp.46-47; Fraser, 1995, p.8].

In the middle of the eleventh century, the name *Adsincani* (*Gypsies*) appeared for the first time. This term, by which the Byzantines commonly referred to *Gypsies*, originated from Greek: *Atsinganoi* or *Atzinganoi*. *Gypsy* was the prototype for the German *Zigeuner*, Italian *Zingaro*, French *Tsigane*, Hungarian *Cigányok* or Polish *Cygan* [Fraser, 1995, p.46; Bartosz, 1994, p.65; Clébert, 1963, p.73].

As Jean-Pierre Liégeois183 [1986, p.13] emphasises: 'Gypsy is not a Gypsy word, and all these various groups distinguish themselves sharply from one another. Given this diversity, it is not easy to give a single description that embraces the multiplicity of groups and their points of view'.

4.1.2.2 English Rroma

English Rroma form the largest group in the Traveller community and have cultural origins which historically link them over a period of a thousand years to nomadic peoples of the Indian subcontinent. Evidence to date would suggest their first arrival in Britain was during the early part of the fifteenth century [Refer to the Section 2.2 Rromani migrations to Europe].

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183 Director of the Gypsy Research Centre, Paris

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It seems that by the seventeenth century: '(...) The definition of a Gypsy was not considered a problem: Gypsies were identified by their life-style and appearance if not by racial features, and no attempt seems to have been made to distinguish different types of Gypsies' [Adams et al, 1975, p.29].

On the other hand it is clear that some sort of definition about precisely who is being referred to by the term Gypsy (Roma), would be useful. To consider the Roma as a single group is incorrect. From the Rromani point of view, there is no such group as Roma. Their vocabulary has no word to designate themselves as a whole [Also refer to the Section on: Terminology].

At one time the word Gypsy (Roma) had an essentially racial connotation. The definition given in Chambers English Dictionary [Schwarz et al, 1988] is quite simplistic. It says: 'gypsy, gipsy (pl -sies) - a member of a wandering people, of Indian origin: a cunning rogue: a dark-skinned person'

Existing literature on the subject of terminology creates many terms. An example can be Thomas Acton's [1974, p.60] list of expressions, used by Roma (in the United Kingdom) to refer to themselves, that he himself has heard. Those words are:

- Gypsy
- Rom
- Romani, Romanichal
- Travellers
- English Gypsies and Irish Travellers
- Welsh Gypsy
- Posh-rat, pushcat
- Didecai, Diddicoi

184 Since providing a specific and all-embracing terminology is outside the scope of this thesis, the author suggests that the interested reader refers, for a detailed discussion on considerable anthropological and linguistic aspects of the definitional problems, to:

Needy, Nidya, Feen
Pikie
Mumper, Mumply
Hedge-crawler, hedge-mumper, can-man, tramp, dossor, slave
Mugger, Potter
Tinker, Tinkler
Kalo, Kale
“Spanish” Gypsy, foreign Gypsy
Itinerant
Showmen

On the 22 April 1995 the author travelled to Edenbridge where she was invited to an Annual Meeting of the British Rommani Union by the General Secretary Mr Tom Odley. In addition, an interview, related mainly to the genesis of the name Gypsy (Rroma), was carried out with Mr Tom Odley. During the conversation, as well as in an official invitation to a Meeting, Mr Odley was using interchangeably the following words: Gypsy, Rom, Rommani, Traveller, Nidez, Romani, “Pharon”. This needs to be pointed out because the terminology used is both confusing and confused [Annex 14].

An official invitation, which the author received from the General Secretary of the British Rommani Union, states that Gypsy corrupted from Egyptian is an offensive, racist word, comparable with e.g. Wog, Nigger, Chink, Spik, Wop, Frog, Spade, Dago, yet it is still used as a term for the Rom [Annex 14].

It is stated very strongly by Reiss [1975] that Gypsyologists and some Travellers prefer Romany, Rom, or Romanichal to Gypsy because of the popular pejorative meaning implied by the latter.

In addition Fraser [1995, p 8] writes:

‘There is, however, no single Romani word corresponding to “Gypsy”. An English Gypsy may call himself a Romanichal (Gypsy man), a word also used in the USA, Canada and Australia by Gypsies stemming from English Gypsy immigrants. On the Continent, the
old-established Gypsies have a variety of names for themselves, such as caillé (= blacks) in Spain and Southern France and kaale in Finland, Sinti in Germany, and manouches in France’.

He also adds: ‘In many countries there are numerous representatives from a more recent wave of Gypsy migration, originating in eastern Europe a hundred and more years ago, who call themselves Rom or Roma (...)’.

Liégeois [1986, p.16] pointed out that there is no single word for Gypsy used in all Rromani dialects. He says:

‘In some dialects, the word Rom is a noun meaning Gypsy, its plural being Roma. But not all Gypsies call themselves Roma, and to complicate matters there is a sub-group of Romanies who do call themselves Rom (in the singular and plural alike), but use the designation to set themselves off from other Gypsy groups (such as the Sinti, for example). This confusion, unfortunately, is inescapable, for it is both a reflection and a consequence of Gypsy diversity. Nor can the problem be surmounted by abandoning the word Gypsy in favour of Traveller, nomad, or any other “non-ethnic” generic term’.

According to Smith [1975, pp.2-3]: ‘European Gypsies are basically divided into the Rom (Eastern Europe, e.g. Kalderash) and the Romanichals (Western Europe, e.g. German Sinti, English Gypsies and similar). Both terms are, in practice, claimed as a self-description by many English Travellers, and preferred to the word Gypsy because of the stigma which is now attached to that label’.

The International Gypsy Committee organised the First World Gypsy Congress in London in 1971. The delegates at this Congress rejected the terms Gypsy, Tsigane, Zigeuner and Gitano etc, which were not their own and renamed the International Gypsy Committee the International Rom Committee. It was decided that an appeal be made to those countries in the UN to treat the Gypsies as a separate national group and to call them Roma [Bartosz, 1994, p.152; Liégeois, 1986, p.155].

In May 1981 the Third World Romany Congress took place at Göttingen in Germany - there was no objection voiced to the use of the word Gypsy (or other suitable name like Tsiganes, Zigeuner, Gypsies etc.); not until the name Gypsy was replaced by Roma in official
communications and advertisements did the German Gypsies (Sinti) object. In effect the name includes two members: Roma and Sinti [Mirga and Mróz, 1994].

4.1.2.3 New measurers in identifying the Rroma

Section 16 of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 defines the Rroma who would be covered by its provisions as follows: ‘Persons of a nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin, but does not include members of an organised group of travelling showmen, or persons engaged in travelling circuses’ [Cripps, 1977, p.2; Fraser, 1995, p.3; Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.23 and p.135].

The above definition was also used in a letter dated on 7 April 1995 which the author has obtained from the DOE [Annex 15]. This is the definition which decides which groups Local Authorities must provide sites for, and who would be affected by “designation”. It should be noted that the Act’s definition is by lifestyle, and not cultural, national or ethnic origins. It is based closely on the 1967 High Court definition in the case Mills v Cooper. In this, the Judge pointed out that: ‘Someone could be a “gipsy” one day, but not the next, as it depended on how “nomadic” they were’[Forrester, 1985, pp.1-2 and p.97]. It requires, as Hawes and Perez [1995, p.137] add: ‘moving from place to place with a purpose in mind as a necessary and characteristic part of their lives’.

It is recognised from the start that, for purposes of interpreting the 1968 Act, simply being a Rroma would not be sufficient. It would be necessary to demonstrate a Rromani way of life. So, in 1989, it was held that a Rroma who had lost his/her nomadic habit of life did not remain a Rroma for the purposes of the Act, even though he/she remained so by descent, culture, tradition or inclination [Hawes and Perez, 1995, p.136].

Many Rroma have over the centuries married into other ethnic groups. Such marriages have produced “half breeds”, frequently and derogatorily referred to as didicoi (variously spelt).

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183 Lord Diplock in (Mills v Cooper) Queen’s Bench Division 9 March 1967.
186 Case (Horsham District Council v Secretary of State)
They attach themselves to the family into which they have married, and are in general keen to become indistinguishable from that family, in terms, for example of language [Smith, 1975, p.3].

A small minority of Gadže have for centuries married into the group. Their descendants, with some Rroma parentage, have eventually been assimilated. The intermarriage may have slightly affected the racial component of the group, but not its social and ethnic distinctness.

All travelling groups have been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by ethnic groups of (predominantly) Indian origin with a similar cultural base. The term Traveller would sensu stricto cover all the multitude of ethnic groups in the category, but it has been used in conjunction with Rroma in respect to the self-ascription of those concerned.

It is worth pointing out that, while all Travellers (including those of Indian origin) see non-Traveller society as an undifferentiated whole, and label it accordingly as Gadže, they themselves do not have any single term covering all non-Gadže.

The problems of definition are in fact particularly serious in the United Kingdom, because of the very considerable non-Rromani element in the ancestry of the British Rroma population and the long history of other travelling groups which were in existence well before the Rroma came and which overlapped with them in many aspects of their social and working life.

4.1.3 The Tinkers

According to NGC, the Tinkers are the oldest of the groups, and in Roman times they were referred to as skilled metal workers and travelling ironmongers.

In 1610 Tommaso Garzoni described in detail the different groups that made up the Tinker community. His list includes [WMEASFTC, no date]:

- The Calderari
  - menders of pots and kettles; workers often in bronze; sometimes called Braziers.
- The Arruotatori
  - knife and razor grinders,

- The Stagnarini
  - tinniers, pelterers or pewter workers

In Britain, the area of working in metal was to expand very rapidly with the discovery of the use of coal and coke for smelting iron. In the early seventeenth century, the West Midlands area had already established itself as the centre of metal work for the whole country. The Tinkers were part and parcel of this early development, and were naturally keen to exploit the rapidly growing market for the metal trade. The growth of the British Empire and the new found prosperity that it brought to the country made an urgent demand on the products of the Midlands. The nails, produced by the well established but highly seasonal Cottage Industry, were in very great demand throughout the world, and the itinerant Tinker groups were quick to ensure their place as chapmen and ironmongers [WMEASFTC, no date].

By the eighteenth century the Tinker groups were becoming wealthier and some were making fortunes. They settled down into the large and luxurious houses that their hard work had made it possible for them to build. Others continued to travel and so developed the complex inter-relationship that exists to this day between the itinerant Tinker community and the settled community.

Up and until the early nineteenth century the metal working industry was a conglomeration of small and large individual firms operating in competition with each other. As the Industrial Revolution developed and the need for mass production grew, partnerships started to form and, eventually, large multi-production Companies. The Tinkers on the road were no longer needed and their way of life went into the decline [WMEASFTC, no date].

The twentieth century has been responsible for providing a new and very lucrative area of work for the Tinkers in the form of scrap metal dealing. As demand for metal progressively outpaced the resources available, re-cycling of waste metal has increased in importance. Today re-
cycled scrap accounts for over 60% of source material. It is still possible to meet with Tinkers who ply traditional crafts but these are now the exception rather than the rule [WMEASFTC, no date].

However, the Industrial Revolution and the onset of improvement in the communications system (roads, railways, canals) caused the demise of the Tinkers as tradesmen [NGC, no date].

4.1.4 The Pedlars

The Pedlars were the first travelling salesmen, and would deal in any marketable commodity. As well as travelling from village to village, they were to be seen selling their wares at fairs and festivals. They can still be found both amongst the Travellers and the settled community [NGC, no date].

From pre-Roman times the Pedlars have played an important part in the history of Britain bringing goods to isolated communities and making possible the development of retail trade. They were the first travelling salesmen and over the centuries have become known by a variety of names according to the goods they sold. Their accepted importance is best shown by the singular lack of control by legislation save for one Act in the reign of Edward VI187 and another in the reign of Elizabeth I.188 It was not until the reign of William III189 that legislation was specifically aimed at the Pedlar. This Act put a tax upon them and bound them to certify commissions for transportation detailing how they travelled and traded [WMEASFTC, no date].

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the pottery industry expanded and with it the need for the Pedlars. Markets, fairs and festivals all found the Pedlars busy earning a living. By the twentieth century they included in their ranks the Costermongers and the Higgler.190 Intermarriage between Tinker, Rroma and Pedlar are now common and the methods of the Pedlar

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187 1547-1553
188 1558-1603
189 1689-1702
190 Costermonger - a seller of apples and other fruit [costar - a large kind of apple, the human head]
Higgler - probably a form of haggle [to cut unskilfully, to mangle, to bargain contentiously or wranglingly, to cavil] [Chambers English Dictionary, 1988]
have found their way into practically every form of dealing carried out by all modern day Travellers. Successful Pedlars tended to become Merchants and even international Merchants. Yet again a complex connection is shown between the travelling Pedlar and settled community [WMEASFTC, no date].

4.1.5 The Irish Tinkers or the Irish Travellers

Probably the most historically obscure of all the groups, the Irish Tinkers are believed to be descendants of wandering Bards and Poets, later joined by those people driven from the land by eviction and famine. They have in recent years been joined by migrant Irish workers who found cheap accommodation amongst the travelling community [NGC, no date].

During pre-Christian times tin and copper smiths travelled through Ireland. The sound of hammer on metal was the origin of the word to tinker. In 1175, the tinkler or tynkere were mentioned for the first time in connection with an occupation and as a surname. In around 1500 the Tinkers were a common sight in Ireland. It has been suggested that the fact that only a few Romani families lived in Ireland through the centuries is explained by the economical competition they received from Tinkers. During the years, the occupational spectrum of the Tinkers broadened. Besides the work as smiths they worked as tailors, weavers, shoemakers, harness makers, horse and cattle breeders, chimney sweeps, musicians, storytellers and thatchers [WMEASFTC, no date].

Fraser [1995] registered that they travelled in rural areas and performed a variety of trades and services; especially tinsmithing, horse-dealing and peddling; and lived in tents and horse-drawn wagons. After Second World War, because their skills were not needed large numbers migrated to urban areas, especially Dublin, where men signed on the dole and scavenged for scrap metal and second-hand goods, while women begged.

Although Irish immigration to England began several centuries ago the first reliable report, some researchers believe [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995, p.10], of the presence of Irish Travellers dates from 1850. According to their estimations there are 8,000 of them in England.
The Irish Tinkers have a specific social system, a particular set of customs and their own folklore. They speak their own language, Shelta or Gammon, which they themselves call Cant. Shelta, like the Rromani of the Sinti and Roma, is an orally transmitted language. The poverty of the settled population during the nineteenth century increased the number of Tinkers but it was not (as some mistakenly think) the origin of Tinker culture [WMEASFTC, no date; Fraser, 1995].

For the first time in 1961 and regularly since 1975, the Irish DOE has made surveys of the numbers of Tinkers. Between 1963 and 1984 the number of Tinkers increased by 150% as compared to 22% of the majority population. This increase is primarily due to less emigration and increased return from emigration to England. Today 18,000 Tinkers live in Ireland and have Irish citizenship. Also there are between 8 and 10 Rromani families living in Ireland. Some 13,000 Irish Tinkers live in Britain where they face double discrimination: for being Tinkers and for being Irish [WMEASFTC, no date].

4.1.6 The Scottish Tinkers

The roots of this group are probably to be found in the ancient caste of itinerant metal workers. As early as the twelfth century references were made to Tinkers (or Tinklers) in Scotland. As Rroma moved through Britain after the sixteenth century they probably inter-married with the Tinkers, with whom they shared similar occupations and lifestyle. The wars of the eighteenth century and the Highland Clearances of the nineteenth century increased their numbers, as dispossessed people and fugitives took up a nomadic way of life and inter-married with the travelling people. They are most notable for the fact that many families prefer to live in wattle or “bender“ tents by the roadside, a practice which continues today in some parts of Scotland [NGC, no date; Fraser, 1995; Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

Scottish Tinkers share many of the features of lifestyle of the English Rroma in terms of family size and structure, and of occupations. Although many now live in trailer caravans, the light horse-drawn caravan, similar to that used in Ireland, was common in Scotland. The “bow“ or “bough“ tent has always been an important form of accommodation amongst Scottish Tinkers, being more easily transportable and often less easily visible. In 1969 as many as a third of the
Tinkers' families "on the road" in Scotland were still living in tents, while even as late as the turn of the last century there were still families living in caves in the extreme North of Scotland [NGC, no date; Fraser, 1995].

While the Tinkers originated as metal workers, an occupation that has continued in modified forms through to the present day, they, like the Rroma, turned their hands to a wide variety of occupations in response to the needs of time and place. Thus, they made articles of horn or bone, baskets and heather brooms or "besoms", all of which they sold door to door in towns and villages and isolated farm settlements. They also provided a valuable source of seasonal agricultural labour and during other seasons sold white heather or played the bagpipes at the roadside (much of Scotland's traditional music and songs has been collected from Tinker families). Many of these occupations still continue, the heather selling and piping being quite a feature of the tourist areas of Scotland, but, in common with Travellers elsewhere, many of them have adapted their occupations to meet new needs and opportunities [NGC, no date].

4.1.7 The Bargees

These are people who took to travelling on canals and rivers as a major means of transporting goods around the country. There are few original Bargee families left but the last few years has seen an increase in the number of people living on barges [NTEC, 1995].

In the past, the lack of schooling of the children from the canal boats caused more concern than that of the other travelling groups. There were attempts made to provide alternative schooling, e.g. the boat schools at Brendford and the floating barge classroom at Southall. But these all tended to be brief and minor experiments. Reiss [1975] pointed out in his report that the educational experience of the boat children seemed to have been insignificant due to irregular attendances in maintained schools near to the canal stopping places and loading docks. Few of them learned to read or write.
4.1.8 The Showmen (Fairground) / Circus people

Gatherings to celebrate the seasons and other important events in the year were also times to exchange news and to trade. Fairs\(^{191}\) were closely linked with religious dates and many parishes had their own annual "feast" or fair week. Medieval monarchs granted Charters to some fairs which firmly established them as trading centres or markets. By 1400 nearly 5000 Charters had been granted. Some Charter fairs, such as Barnstaple, Nottingham Goose Fair and Kings Lynn Mart are still held today [Kiddle and Thompson, 1992/1993b].

In 1889, the Showmen's Guild of Great Britain was formed.\(^{192}\) It is the trade organisation of travelling showmen and fair operatives. It is now a large and wealthy organisation, it can control its members by the threat of exclusion from dealing with other members, and from certain legal privileges, particularly as regards the stationing of caravans [Acton, 1974].

The Showmen's Guild rejoined the European Showmen's Union in 1991, as links with other European countries became closer [Kiddle and Thompson, 1992/1993b].

Showmen are self employed, self sufficient business people who are born into their occupations. Most families live in their caravans or trailers all the year so they are in close contact with each other the whole time and especially in the summer when the children are not always at school.

The permanent winter quarters' sites are subject to exactly the same planning permissions and controls as govern all caravan sites. For some winter quarters' sites which are only used for a few month each year planning permission is not required. As a nomadic group, Showmen are specifically excluded from the terms of the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. Therefore, local authorities have no duty to provide any winter sites for them [Kiddle and Thompson, 1992/1993b].

\(^{191}\) The Latin word "feria" (a holiday), gives the word "fair"

\(^{192}\) Also EFECOT was established in 1989 [Refer to the Section 2.5 Romani organisations]
Showmen do not travel as a whole group but each “attraction” has its own planned route round the country. Fairground children usually attend a regular school near their winter sites. The difficult economy in recent years has forced the Showmen to seek a longer working season. As a result, children return to winter school about the second/third week of November (some earlier) and leave late March (some earlier). In addition some families go out for Christmas Fairs. Some children of Showmen are educated in Loughborough in the winter after the fair.

Since they go back to their winter quarters usually in November it is difficult for most children to settle in and adjust to their new environment, especially for those who transfer from primary to secondary school. By this time their classmates will already have been at the school for about two months. For children from the fair, therefore, transfer is more difficult. They will have to go into the new school on their own, may already be behind with the work, and will be conscious of being different.

Returning to school also becomes more difficult as the children get older. On the fair they are increasingly treated as adults and move into an adult world. Once back in school they have to move in a children’s world again. This may cause difficulties in adjusting to school routines and demands and in relationships with their friends, who are likely to appear immature by comparison.

The fairground children are usually well motivated and mature. Their parents have the right to state which secondary school they wish their children to attend. If winter quarters are in a small town or rural area the choice of school is likely to be limited. In larger urban areas there will be more schools. Some parents might like their child to attend boarding school in order for them to have a full-time education.

When children reach secondary school age they really need to attend one school throughout the year in order to keep up with all their work. At this stage some parents make arrangements for the children to stay with settled relatives or friends during the school term [Kiddle and Thompson, 1992/1993a].
Some parents decide that their children should travel with them in the summer. The "winter" school is the most important school, this school provides the National Curriculum to all children on its register. Parents and teachers need to discuss whether work can be prepared for the children to take away [Kiddle and Thompson, 1992/1993a].

Fast learning programmes and careful recording of achievements are useful tools with this group of children. The West Midlands Education Authorities Service for Travelling Children is in the process of encouraging and supporting schools in providing Distance Learning Packs for children when they leave school for the travelling Season. The work is based on the classroom curriculum and may be supplemented with tape recordings/other work cards etc. Each month children return the work for marking and new work will be sent out. In the interim the staff visit children on Fairs [WMEASFTC, 1993].

In addition, the European Education Record (ie. record of achievement)[Annex 16], developed by the Working Group for Improvement of Education for Circus and Fairground Children, was being piloted in several countries in summer 1992. It is available in six languages. In the United Kingdom the Record is being piloted in two Authorities - the West Midlands and Norfolk. The aim was to gather views and opinions from parents and children as well as from both winter and summer school teachers [Hart, 1992].

Children are provided with Distance Learning Packs when they leave their winter schools each spring. The work is discussed with their parents who will provide support for them during the summer season. The West Midlands Authorities Service for Travelling Children and schools also include work in the pack, based on the children's own experiences. Whilst packs are produced individually by schools and the Service and are not available for purchase, the Service is keen to share ideas and to provide examples for teachers interested in developing this kind of support for Fairground families [WMEASFTC, 1992].

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193 The author attended an Annual General Meeting of NATT in Stevenage, 09 May 1992. Among other summaries "A Report from Working Group for Improvement of Education for Circus and Fairground Children" was presented by Mr Chris Hart and Mrs Chris Tyler (teachers from the South of Hertfordshire).
A really pleasing and encouraging result was that children who left with their Record in February and March 1992 had been attending schools in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, with support from the Services there, week by week as they travelled. This added a slightly different aspect to the term Distance Learning Pack. It is perhaps a shift in emphasis away from the "distance" and more towards "continuous education". Many new initiatives took place during the 1991 Season with regard to Fairground and Circus children. With the aim of making information and advice on education accessible to parents, a leaflet was developed Travelling in another country?, which tells parents how to get continuing education for their children whilst travelling\textsuperscript{194} [Refer to the Section 3.2 Romani organisations].

Early in 1991 Hart made contact several times with Andrew Millar Editor of World's Fair, with the aim of getting education issues included in his newspaper for Showmen. At that time, he did not see education as something of interest to his readers. However, by summer 1991 the atmosphere was already beginning to change, and Millar printed the Contacts List for Travelling families who want help and advice about their children's education. Since then education issues have had considerable coverage in World's Fair\textsuperscript{195} [Hart, 1992].

In an attempt to make Circus parents aware of the existence of NATT support nation-wide, contact was made with Mr Don Stacey Editor of "Motley" - the Circus section in World's Fair. Tyler\textsuperscript{196} visited two Circuses in the 1991 season. Circus Berlin at Kempton Park with three primary children in school and Gerry Cottle's Circus at Chorleywood with six primary children in school. The present situation as regards the education of children on Britain's travelling shows is worrying. The strides made in gaining access and support for Fairground children's education have not been matched in the Circus world.\textsuperscript{197}

One possible way to improve the situation might be the foundation of a Circus Skills School which would offer the joint facility of vocational, certified Circus Skills courses and a

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item \textsuperscript{194} Oral evidence presented by Mr Chris Hart on 09th of May 1992 at the Annual General Meeting of NATT in Stevenage.
  \item \textsuperscript{195} As a result of an article in World's Fair Hart became involved in a program on Radio 4 called "The Trade Rag", about five hours worth on education was recorded.
  \item \textsuperscript{196} Mr Chris Tyler, one of the NATT teachers
  \item \textsuperscript{197} Oral evidence presented by Mrs Chris Tyler on 09th of May 1992 at the Annual General Meeting of NATT in Stevenage.
\end{itemize}
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central monitoring and support service for Circus children. There could be a problem with regard to the necessary co-operation between Government, Local Authorities and Circus Proprietors. In Tyler’s opinion NATT should initiate the debate [Tyler, 1992].

4.1.9 The Hippies / New Age Travellers

New Age Travellers originated from the Hippy Festival culture in the 1960s. There was a resurgence in the number of people adopting this way of life which emerged with the Rave Movement in the late 1980s and was largely a result of homelessness. Some members of the settled community disillusioned with settled life have opted to live a mobile way of life. They usually stay put in winter and follow the Festival routes in summer.

New Age Travellers do not belong to any traditional travelling community and have become Travellers for a variety of reasons: some came off peace camps; some have made a commitment to green politics and a positive alternative lifestyle; and some have purposely chosen to reject the values of conventional society and are allegedly anarchistic and anti-social. More recently some have become Travellers because they are homeless. They are usually young individuals or couples, some with small children [NTEC, 1995; Hawes, 1995].

New Age families largely reject formal education as part of the general lifestyle they have rejected. Whilst all of the adults are culturally settled people (some are University graduates) many of their children have been born into their new lifestyle and their experiences are significantly different from those of their parents. Some New Age Travellers take responsibility for the education of their children. Those who are able, teach their own children. Some children go to school with Traveller Education Services’ support. New Age families are visited on a regular basis by teachers and Field Welfare Officers. In general this is a new issue for the Authorities for which they have no policy as yet [WMEASFTC, 1993].
In 1989 Rroma were recognised in the High Court\textsuperscript{198} as an ethnic minority group entitled to protection under the Act. The Race Relations Act makes racial discrimination unlawful in employment, training, education and the provision of goods, facilities and services.\textsuperscript{199}

Since the Rroma are entitled to all rights and protection under the Race Relations legislation from 1993 large groups of New Age Travellers started seeking court pronouncements that they too are Rroma, in order to persuade local councils that they had a right to site provision [Hawes and Perez, 1995].

Many Rroma families and the NGC reject the Hippies’ wish to identify as Rroma/Traveller. In addition, as resources for the Traveller community are so limited, the Rroma feel that New Age Travellers are unfairly increasing the competition for limited resources.

\textsuperscript{198} Case (CRE v Dutton)

\textsuperscript{199} It is explained in detail in the Section 3.2.2.: The attitude of a settled community towards the Rroma and other travelling groups in the United Kingdom.
4.2 National Minorities in Poland

4.2.1 Minorities in inter-war Poland, 1919-1939

As a result of its unfortunate location between Germany and the Russian empire, Poland has, in the modern age, been successively partitioned between these two competing and expanding powers, disappearing from the map entirely as a political entity in 1795. In 1807, with Napoleon’s help, a Duchy of Warszawa was created, followed in 1815 by the so-called Congress Poland. By 1830, however, even the pretence that Congress Poland was other than a suzerainty of the Tsar had been dropped. The avowed intent of the Allied powers at the close of World War I was to create an independent Polish state on the ethnographic principle, comprised of unquestionably Polish territories and the need to have free access to the sea [Horak, 1985].

The Thirteenth of President Woodrow Wilson’s famous Fourteen Points, became the nominal guidelines for the territorial settlements in post-war Europe. The underlying principle of the Fourteen Points was that of “national self-determination”, the radical, indeed for its time revolutionary, idea that national self-identity should be the basis for the formation of an independent state. While it was given much lip service, the principle was not really applied at the peace conference because it was essentially unworkable: its rigorous application would have led to the creation of dozens of small states, enviable economically, geopolitically, and militarily [Horak, 1985].

In Roman Dmowski’s memorandum to the Commission on Polish Problems of the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference, the Poles claimed for Poland any territory that contained Polish inhabitants [Roth, 1926]. Fully half the population of the proposed Polish state would have been non-Polish. The newly independent Polish Republic, created nominally on the basis of the principle of national self-determination, came into existence as a multinational state in which, at best, only about two-thirds of the population were Polish.

The 1921 census [Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, 1926] gave the following breakdown of the population: Poles - 69.2%; Ukrainians - 15.2%; Jews - 8.0%; Belarusians - 4.0%; and Germans -
3.0%. The remaining 0.6% comprised Lithuanians, Russians, Czechs, Tatars and Karaites. According to the register of 1931 [Mirga, 1993b, p.106] minority nationals and ethnic groups made up around 36% of the population in Poland.

Polish census figures of the 1920s and 1930s were notoriously unreliable, and estimates of the non-Polish population of inter-war Poland vary.

Included with Polish territory, therefore, have been: Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians and Jews - to mention only the major ones. These large nationality groups had arrived in Poland at different times and under varying circumstances, including military campaigns, escape from religious persecution and the search for economic advantages.

There have also been numerous numerically smaller ethnographic groups such as: Rroma, Kashubs, Karaims-Karaïtes, Tatars and Goralen. Those were not separately enumerated, being classified in the census as “others” or “locals”. Because of their small size these groups did not present a serious political challenge to the Polish government.

According to Horak [1985] it was the Treaty of St.Germain-en-Laye with Austria, of September 10, 1919,200 by which the independent Republic of Austria recognised the independence of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary - states which had come into existence toward the end of 1918. Some states, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, were obliged to sign agreements explicitly protecting the rights of their national minorities. At the Paris Peace Conference “Minorities Treaties” were signed. Among others: a treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland was signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919.

The Riga Treaty of March 18, 1921 significantly limited Polish sovereignty, in so far as its provisions were stated to be fundamental principles of the state, and were in fact to be guaranteed by the League of Nations [Heit, 1980].

\[\text{200 Same year as Versailles Peace Treaty with Germany}\]
Protection of national minorities became a precondition for recognition of Poland and for its admission to the League of Nations. The treaty, consisting of twelve articles, guaranteed equality to non-Polish citizens in political, cultural, economic and religious life [Horak, 1985, p.37].

Any member state of the League of Nations could formally charge Poland with infractions of the treaty. Until Hitler's accession to power in 1933, Germany rarely missed an opportunity to embarrass Poland through charges in the League of Nations of minority abuses [Horak, 1985]. Truhart points out [1931] that Germany was not the only state to charge Poland with abuses. During 1920-1931, there were 247 petitions: the Germans filed - 104, Ukrainians - 85, Jews - 33, Lithuanians - 19 and Belarusians - 6.

Poland in the twentieth century has had a troubled history of minority nationality relations, all of it complex and much violent. Part of the problem throughout history has been the difficulty of defining the location of the Polish state; as with much of Eastern Europe, there are no unambiguous geographical frontiers, and the villages and settlements have been mixed, so that there have been no distinct ethnic boundaries either.

Inter-war Poland was not a multinational federation of nationalities living together on the basis of equality; rather a nation-state mentality dominated the thinking of the Poles, and Poland was a Polish Republic with a large number of minorities. This attitude fostered constant hostility and strife between Poles and non-Poles.

4.2.2 Condemned to extermination in 1939-1945

The outbreak of World War II marked the end of the Polish state; once again its territory was divided between the two voracious powers to the East and the West. Under the terms of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939, the Eastern third of the country was assigned to the Soviet Union, under whose control it remained until the Nazi invasion of June 1941. The population under Soviet control included, in addition to Poles, some Jews, a few Germans and
nearly all of Poland’s Ukrainians and Belarusians. Most of the Poles, Jews and ethnic Germans fell under German control.

The Germans divided their territory into two separate administrative districts. Northern and Western Poland (surrounding Gdańsk, Poznań and Górný Śląsk) were incorporated into the Reich. The remainder (including Warszawa, Lublin and Kraków) became the General Government, administered separately by a “governor general” who reported directly to Hitler [Piotrowski, 1961].

Wynot states [1979] that the General Government was envisioned as a dumping ground for Poles and Jews who were to be deported from the incorporated regions; the latter would then provide a home for ethnic German “repatriates” from other areas of Europe.

In the East, nearly all the Belarusians and most of the Ukrainians came under Soviet control. Belarusians in German Poland were allowed to move to the Soviet zone, in exchange for the resettlement of Germans from the Soviet zone in the Reich. In the first weeks of their occupation, Soviet authorities conscientiously avoided policies that would antagonise Belarusian national pride. Thus, the Belarusians euphorically voted for incorporation into the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR], believing that the dream of a united, sovereign and democratic Belarusian nation was being realised. Stalinization was not long in coming and soon all areas of the lives of the disillusioned Belarusians were methodically and forcibly Sovietised and Russianised.

Piotrowski [1961] recalls that there was some disagreement in the Nazi hierarchy over how to handle the half a million Ukrainians who remained under German control. Himmler and the police establishment argued obsessively that all non-Germans to the East be treated brutally as Untermenschen. A more moderate position was reflected in the views of Hitler’s early deputy, Alfred Rosenberg, who saw the non-Russian subjects of the USSR as natural allies in the struggle against the hated Bolsheviks and that in return they should be promised autonomy in Hitler’s new territorial reorganisation of Europe. Himmler’s racist views were ultimately to prevail, but in the
first years of the war German policy favoured the Ukrainians, especially in contrast to the brutal policy toward the Poles. Ukrainian cultural, political and educational institutions were supported and even upgraded. In contrast to the Belarusians, large numbers of Ukrainians poured into the General Government and later into the Reich from the Soviet zone. Early in 1940, Governor General Frank warned his subordinates that the Ukrainians should be considered subjects of the Reich, not as the representatives of any future independent Ukraine; tolerance of their cultural and social autonomy was to be contingent upon their loyalty to Hitler.

In spite of Berlin’s worries that Ukrainian nationalism might complicate German-Soviet relations, special detachments of Ukrainian combat troops trained for use against the Soviet Union were formed in 1940 and transferred to the General Government in early 1941 [Bierschenk, 1954].

In Ficowski’s opinion [1989] the Nazi plans of genocide placed the Rroma along with the Jews on the list of those to be completely exterminated. The Notorious Nuremberg Laws designed to protect “the purity of German blood”, classified the Rroma, together with Jews and Negroes, as an element posing a threat to racial purity.

Ficowski notes that on 17 October 1939, Himmler sent out regulations to all police and gendarme posts, forbidding the Rroma to leave their place of permanent residence, and ordering the police to supply full lists of the Rroma population within three days. Six months later, on 27 April 1940, Himmler ordered the organisation of the first transports of the Rroma into Polish territory, to what was known as the General Government, mainly straight to concentration camps, but also to Jewish ghettos. The Nazis decided to get rid of the Rroma, bolstering up this decision with the theory that the Rroma were endogenetically criminal. It was therefore “proved” that the Rroma were marked by anti-social behaviour and criminality as an inborn racial characteristic that could not be extirpated. The practical consequences were obvious: the complete extermination of the Romani race.

The first groups of Rroma were placed temporarily in Block 18 in the general Brzezinka camp in January 1943. The Romani blocks - a group of 32 barracks - were surrounded in July
1943 by an electrified wire fence, and thus separated from the other parts of the Brzezinka camp. Soon there were about 20,000 people in the Rromani camp [p.46].

On 1 August 1944 the Nazis began the extermination of all the inhabitants of the Rromani camp. The whole programme was completed in about four hours. More than 20,000 Rroma died [Ficowski, 1989, p.48].

A concentration camp register - preserved and published in 1993 [Bartosz, 1994, p.40] - mentions 20,943 people, registering their personal details. To this number we can add the Rroma, without any identification, sent to the gas chambers.

Young stated in his article [1995a, p.8] that there were those who knew the full truth. In June 1944 details of the massacres had been given to the British and American governments from messages sent to Switzerland by four Jews who had escaped from Oświęcim. They appealed to the Allies to bomb the railway lines leading to the camp. Churchill thought something should be done, but the Air Ministry demurred, arguing that the lives of British airmen should not be risked “for no purpose”. Nothing was done until January 27, 1945, when shocked Soviet troops entered the compound.

At an international convention organised in Warszawa in April 1983 by the Commission for Investigating Hitler’s atrocities in Poland [Bartosz, 1994], the extinction of the Rromani race was discussed for the first time. The Warszawa session was called “Hitler’s genocide in Poland and Europe 1939 - 1945” and was mostly devoted to the genocide of the Rroma in Poland. For the first time an attempt was made to count the number of the Rroma who died in the Holocaust and a claim for compensation was made to the German government. This claim was unsuccessful.

The first account of the Rromani holocaust was produced by Kenrick and Puxton [1972, pp.183-184] Its emphasisied that the given numbers were approximate figures and were likely to be under rather than overestimates. Before the war there were in Europe around 900,000 to 1 million

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202 On the 02 of August 1997 for the first time it was celebrated as a Remembrance Day of Rromas’ extermination [PAP, 02.08.1997].
Rroma (number of victims is estimated from 250,000 to 500,000 persons). Under Nazism this race lost about 30-50% of its people.

Boyes recalls that [1995b] in January 1995 death camp survivors, three kings and a cluster of Nobel laureates marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Oświęcim concentration camp. Elie Wiesel [The Guardian, 1995, p.1], Nobel Peace laureate and an Oświęcim survivor has pointed out in his speech: 'In this kingdom of darkness there were many people. People who came from all the occupied lands of Europe. And then there were the Gypsies and the Poles and the Czechs (...) It is true that not all the victims were Jews. But all the Jews were victims'.

About 1.5 million people died at Oświęcim, according to Franciszek Piper, chief historian at the Oświęcim State Museum. About 90% of the dead were Jews, including 438,000 from Hungary; 300,000 from Poland; 69,000 from France; 60,000 from the Netherlands; 55,000 from Greece; 46,000 from Czechoslovakia. The remaining victims included about 75,000 Poles, more than 20,000 Rroma, 15,000 Soviet PoWs and 25,000 people of other nationalities. Young [1995b] pointed out that Hitler was determined on the extermination of the Jewish people completely and he also wished to annihilate others whom he considered inferior, the Slavs and the Rroma.

As The Guardian states [Brzeziński, 1995, p.10] along with the Jews, those killed at Oświęcim included at least 70,000 non-Jewish Poles, including many Catholic priests and about 20,000 Rroma, also viewed by the Nazis as an inferior people. In Brzezinka, the largest and cruellest of Oświęcim's sub-camps Jews and Rroma were singled out for systematic extermination. On the first day of official commemorations, the Polish president said that Oświęcim had destroyed whole nations - Rroma and Jews. 

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203 A handful of Rroma joined the procession of 15,000 on the route to the camp to commemorate those who died in Oświęcim including the 21,000 Rroma [Boyes, 1995a].

204 Detailed information about this subject can be found in new publications:

The Polish President Lech Wałęsa spoke [Bridge, 1995, p.7], at nearby Brzezinka where most gassings took place, of “whole nations” condemned to extermination by the Nazis, singling out “the Jews and the Gypsies”, but also seeing fit to refer to “others - above all the Poles”.

4.2.3 National minorities in the Polish People’s Republic, 1945-1989

After the war Communist regimes were established in all the East European countries that were liberated and occupied by the Red Army, with the sole exception of Austria. This included Poland. Post-war territorial and population shifts dramatically changed the ethnic make-up of Poland [Staar, 1977].

In his article Stanislaw Mauersberg [1970, p.193] argues that the situation concerning the nationality of Poland in the years after the war changed completely. In between the wars, ethnic minorities formed one third of the total population.

Post-war changes in the make-up of the population resulted from four factors:

- Deaths during the war
- The retention by the USSR of the Eastern territories inhabited by Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians
- The repatriation of Poles from the Eastern territories, the USSR and other countries
- The evacuation from Poland of many of the remaining non-Poles

Most of the latter were Germans. According to Kwilecki [1968, p.145]:

'Nearly 6 million Germans emigrated or were evicted in 1944-1945. During 1946-1949, an additional 3 million people of various nationalities left Poland as a result of the Potsdam Treaty (August 16, 1945). In 1957-1958, there was a new wave of emigration of indeterminate size, arranged by the West German and Polish Red Cross to reunite families. Finally, by 1958, 500,000 Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians had moved to the USSR and 200,000 Jews had emigrated to Israel'.

The extinction of the Jews, carried out by the German invaders, left towns and villages in Poland free of many minority Jewish groups. Changing the Eastern boundary along the course of the river Bug and the Western to follow the rivers Odra and Nysa Łużycka, resettling the Polish
people from lands belonging to USSR to reclaimed areas and removing the Germans from land annexed to Poland, gave the new Polish state a sense of uniformity. The number of people belonging to minority groups does not exceed - according to the nearest count - 2% of the total population of Poland [Mauersberg, 1970, p.193].

In addition to the movement of some 3 million Poles from the Eastern marshes to the newly acquired Western lands, between 1946 and 1949 about 2.5 million Germans, Ukrainians, Russians and Belarusians left Poland. The total population of Poland fell from 34,849,000 in 1939 to 25,505,000 in 1951, while the ethnic composition by the latter date was more than 98% Polish and 94% Catholic. Dziewanowski states [1977, p.147] that as a result of the wartime as well as post-war changes, Poland became ethnically and religiously homogeneous as never before in its history.

Mauersberg relies on the data collected by Sław and Kwilecki representing the latest number of residents in each specific nationality (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Number of residents of each specific nationality in Poland in 1960s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>around 220,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarusians</td>
<td>around 200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>around 25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>around 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>around 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>around 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechs</td>
<td>around 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>around 2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sław, 1958, p.29; Kwilecki, 1963, pp.87-88

Mossakowska-Mazary [1966, p.297] in her article also stressed that around 2% of the Polish population was made up of minority nationals. In addition to the nationals named by Mauersberg, she also mentions the Rroma.
There is no question that the population transfers after World War II reduced the non-Polish population of Poland dramatically. By Polish assertion, only about 450,000 people or 1.5% of the population were non-Polish in 1950. A later report by a Polish sociologist placed the number in 1965-1966 at 440,000, based on estimates by administrative authorities and minority organisations, broken down as stated in Table 4.2 (approximately) [Mendelsohn, 1981, p.146].

**Table 4.2: Ethnic national minorities in Poland 1965-1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarusians</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechs</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rroma</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks and Macedonians</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>440,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Mendelsohn, 1981, p.146*

Much of the difficulty lies in the fact that, while the government at least nominally respects nationality rights, it does not officially recognise nationality as a demographic category: all citizens of the Polish People’s Republic are officially regarded as Poles and this pertains especially to census data.

In spite of Poland’s self-definition as a national state and despite the pretence that Polish state citizenship obliterates nationality, the party and government began in the 1950s to pay attention in a haphazard way to the needs and problems of national communities. After 1950, school systems for minorities were established and Jewish emigration to Israel was liberalised, but
serious attention to the German problem had to wait until 1957. Article 69 of the 1952 constitution bestowed equal rights on national minorities:

- The citizens of the People’s Republic of Poland possess, independently of nationality, race or religion, equal rights in all spheres of governmental, political, economic, social and cultural life. The violation of these principles through direct or indirect expansion or restriction of the law with regard to nationality, race or religion is punishable.
- The dissemination of hatred or indifference, the instigation of discord, or the humiliation of any person of different nationality, race or religion is forbidden [Kwilecki, 1968, pp.35-36].

There have been some noteworthy governmental initiatives on behalf of national minorities: a 1952 Politburo Resolution on education in the Ukrainian language; a 1955 letter of the Central Committee Secretariat on Ukrainian problems; a 1957 Secretariat resolution encouraging aid for Germans and Ukrainians, German emigration and the return of some Ukrainians from the Western Territories to take over unoccupied farms in the South-East; a 1952 government resolution on aid for the Rroma and the Rromani settlement; and a 1957 Central Committee letter on anti-Semitism.

4.2.4 National minorities and the Polish state policy towards them, 1989-1993

The information below contains basic data on the situation and activities of national minorities in Poland collected by and presented to the author during her visit on August 8, 1993 to (all based in Warszawa):

- The Ministry of Education
- (Interview with Melania Sobańska -Bondaruk)
- Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights
- (Interview with Lucja Wierzycka)
- Office for National Minorities at the Ministry of Culture and Arts
- The Television Broadcasting Centre (TV Polonia)
The Polish state policy towards national minorities underwent basic transformation between 1989 and 1993. These changes became possible due to the overall political transformations which were the outcome of the Round Table Debate which changed the political face of Poland in 1989. The end of communism brought, amongst other things, some important changes for the minority groups living in Poland. Their existence was, for the first time after the Second World War, publicly and politically acknowledged.

The changes in the country’s international policy exerted a substantial influence on the position of national minorities in Poland. The opening of diplomatic contacts with Poland’s new Eastern neighbours (Lithuania, Belarusia and Ukraine) and with Israel, as well as the normalising of relations with Germany enabled contacts to be made between national minorities in Poland and their cultural homelands.

It also has to be highlighted that Poland’s efforts to integrate with Europe meant that Poland had to accept and respect specific standards of protecting the rights of national minorities which emerged in the CSCE process and in the work of the Council of Europe, related - inter alia - to the international convention on protecting the rights of minorities [Annex 17].

The Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities was established in August 1989. For the first time in almost 40 years the issues of minorities were granted a place in the work of the Polish Parliament. The Committee includes deputies who are members of national minorities. According to an Information paper [1993], initially, this Committee was to have worked on a Bill on national minorities; in the final account it was accepted that the interest of minorities could best be protected by including inserts on these issues in specialist existing Acts of Parliament. When the new Parliament was elected in 1991, the Committee recognised that the issue of an Act on

\[\text{\footnotesize Footnotes:}\]
\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item In comparison: eventually, in 1980, the CRE stated in its report that the Roma in the UK constitute an ethnic minority group and, as such, are protected against discrimination under the Race Relations Act 1976. This official recognition emphasized that the Roma have the right to self-determination and to maintain in tact their traditions and culture. In fact, after many years, eventually in 1989 the Roma in UK were recognized in the High Court (case CRE v Dutton) as an ethnic minority group entitled to protection under the Act 1976.
\item Talks between representatives of Solidarity and members of the contemporary government.
\item After several meetings (in December 1991 and, in March and May 1992) between the representatives of the minority groups and the Helsinki Committee, the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE was published in 1993.
\end{enumerate}
minorities should be tackled once again together with the need to insert a reference in the Constitution.

The fundamental change in the national minority situation in Poland, which took place shortly after the creation of the first non-communist government, involved the lifting of Ministry of Internal Affairs supervision over national minorities. The problems related to national minorities were transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Arts in 1989.

That meant that the financing of the cultural activities was taken over from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This had been one of the major demands presented by national minorities during the Communist period. The money earmarked for national minorities activities are strongly dependent on the state of the national budget.

In 1990 enhanced subsidies allowed the various National Organisations to finance the construction of buildings which are now the property of the Minorities’ Associations and which constitute a durable foundation for their activities. Such large investments as the construction of a House of Lithuanian Culture in Puńsk and a Museum of Relicts of Belarusian Culture in Hajnówka were partly financed by this sum. A building was purchased to house the Ukrainian Centre in Warszawa and for the Society of Czechs and Slovaks in Kraków. The change in the manner of financing minorities was more than symbolic. It signified a break with the Communist licensing of their activities and with the nationalisation of social institutions [Information paper, 1993].

An important aspect of the state’s policy towards minorities is the protection of national monuments related to the culture and religion of these groups. In the case of Poland this mainly concerns monuments of Orthodox Church art and of synagogues and cemeteries. According to the State Service for Protecting Monuments, 700 Orthodox Churches and chapels are under constant care. The relative documentation is being drafted and conservation and maintenance work is being pursued. The money to finance the repairs of these monuments comes from the budget of the Ministry of Culture and the Arts and the Department for Denominations at the Council of Ministers Office. Certain sums are also granted by provincial budgets [Information paper, 1993].
Initially in 1989, a Commission on National Minority Issues was created within one of the Ministry of Culture and Arts Departments. In April 1992 it was raised to the level of the Office for National Minorities. The OFNM is authorised to subsidise press and cultural organisational activities of national minorities and subsidise publications connected with national minority issues in Poland.

National minorities publish their own periodicals, with there currently being a huge upsurge in the number of minority publications. Fifteen periodicals are sponsored by the Minister of Culture and the Arts, these being publications in national languages and also bilingual, with articles in Polish as well. The Office also undertakes efforts to influence the Rromani situation in other areas through the intra-governmental Commission on National Minority Issues [OFNM, 1994b].

In addition, the Office provides information, publishes materials concerning national minorities and intervenes in cases of infringement of national minority rights [Lewkowicz, 1995].

All minorities boast their own Associations. There were only five national minority Associations in the Communist times. The right to associate was guaranteed under the 1989 Act - Law on Associations. In 1993 there were some 70 National Minority Organisations, including several umbrella Organisations. Examples of these include: the Council of Belarusian Organisations and the Union of German Social and Cultural Associations in Poland. Various organisational forms also exist within the structure of the Union of Ukrainians in Poland, including the Union of Lemeks (Lemeks of Ukrainian orientation) [Information paper, 1993].

Political activity is pursued alongside the social activity of national minorities in Poland. The Belarusians in Poland have their own political party: the Belarusian Democratic Association. There are eight representatives of the German minority in Parliament and one Belarusian deputy [Document of the Copenhagen Meeting, 1993].

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208 In order to represent the Rromani minority Marga took part in Parliamentary elections in 1993, but did not obtain enough votes. Despite his defeat, this was a historic moment which should be considered as being very symbolic in the political involvement of this particular minority group in Poland.
Minorities also enjoy certain privileges guaranteed by the Electoral Law passed in 1993, which allows their candidates to enter Parliament. The Law on Associations, introduced under the Act of April 7, 1989, presently ensures full freedom to associate and also allows associations to keep their own income. The money granted by the state has the primary purpose to maintain cultural and national identity among the minorities. This is served by supporting the press and publications of the minorities, thus allowing them to remain in continual contact with their national language. National cultures are offered the possibility to develop by supporting cultural events [Information paper, 1993].

In 1990, for the first time since the war, programmes appeared in TV about various national minorities. The issue of national minorities never existed in communist propaganda. A weekly programme is presently broadcast on the problems of national minorities, entitled “Those near and far”.

To date no private stations broadcast in minority languages as the recently (1993) approved Act on Radio and Television Broadcasting, which allows private broadcasting concessions to be granted, has yet to grant any concessions even to Polish broadcasting stations. National minority issues are treated on TV by a separate programme. National minorities presently also have access to state radio programmes. Programmes are broadcast in minority languages by local radio stations in regions where individual minorities reside. German language programmes are broadcast in Opole and Katowice, the programmes in Ukrainian are broadcast in Białystok, Koszalin, Olsztyn, Rzeszów, and Szczecin. There are Belarusian and Lithuanian programmes transmitted from Białystok.

A particularly important aspect of state policy towards minorities is the development of the school system for minorities as well as the legal solution accepted in the Polish educational system with regard to teaching a minority’s native language and holding lessons in this language [Refer to the Section 5.2 Governmental policies in implementing education for ethnic minorities in Poland].
When reviewing state policy on minorities over the years 1989-1993, primary stress must be given to the fundamental change in the way these groups are treated. Poland has recognised minorities as being a part of society enjoying equal rights, and has respected their right to uphold their identity, culture, and social and political aspirations.

The basic legal changes over recent years to construct a state for the people are of great importance for national minorities as well. The move away from the totalitarian system is already reflected in Polish legislation, though the construction of a democratic legal system in Poland will still take time. To the same extent, the shaping of legislation concerning national minorities is still to be concluded. Even so, political practice and legislation already approved clearly demarcate the changes which have occurred in the relation of the Polish state to national minorities [Information paper, 1993].

For the last few years Jerzy Szeliga MP has been involved in the functioning of the OFNM. In his opinion, the biggest problem is a lack of finances for carrying out statutes'. At present the Government is unable to subsidise this area of the Office's activity. The financial problems also have general nature. The Parliamentary commission is fighting for funds which could be allocated for various activities with/for national minorities in Poland. Lack of clarity of a law and ignorance of people involved directly with minority groups are causing other problems. In addition, crumbling of the organisation is also producing difficulties in forming an authentic representative group of each particular minority group [Lewkowicz, 1995].

4.2.5 The four Rromani tribes in Poland

Of all the ethnic groups that live in Poland the Rroma are the most exotic and intriguing, and are at the same time the least well known to folklore experts and other citizens. The inaccessibility of the Rromani way of life, guarded by a system of taboos practised by the members of the community, as well as the language barrier, have effectively prevented Polish ethnographers

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209 Since 1989 Poland has signed a number of treaties with neighbouring countries which have contained provisions on national minorities' rights to protection. On the other hand, according to Mirga [1998] Poland is the only country in the Central Europe which has not succeeded in passing a parliamentary Act on national and ethnic minorities.

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from working in and with this group. The relatively small number of Polish studies of the Rroma published over the past two centuries have, on the whole, been limited to historical information and some attempts to describe this people from the outside, without real familiarity with their life and customs. Only the latest studies have attempted to go deeper and penetrate previously unfamiliar areas of their life and work. Ficowski first started to investigate living folklore by taking part in Rroma life, and by going along with the Rroma on their travels, for the Rroma still maintained their nomadic lifestyle in Poland for almost twenty years after the war. The information given below is mainly based on Ficowski’s latest publication [1989]. The Rroma in Poland can basically be divided into four tribes, which differ in the dialect of Rromani that they speak, in their way of life and in their customs. These are: the Lowland Rroma, the Highland Rroma, the Kalderash and the Lovari.

4.2.5.1 The Lowland Rroma

The Polish Lowland Rroma, were until recently nomads who had travelled in the Polish territory for many generations, and whose travel routes did not usually cross Polish frontiers. They are therefore natives of Polish soil and treat the Kalderash and Lovari as foreigners. Their language contains a great many borrowings from the German language, which appears to suggest that the forebears of these Rroma came to Poland from Germany.

This tribe has Polish surnames, usually ending in -ski. The first stereotypical question asked by one Rrom to another when they meet for the first time, is: “Savey Romendyr san?” This is not a question about surname or about tribe, for the surname is not a fundamental method of differentiation, and members of different tribes recognise this fact without asking questions. The question concerns the name of the clan or group, which is distinguished territorially: the Warmians, the Jaglantians, the Bosakians, the Tonakians, the Bernikians, the Plunakians, the Servians and so on. These groups are sub-divisions of clans, or result from the different times when the groups arrived in Poland, or later local inter-Rromani patterns of relationships and territorial distribution of groups.
The Polish *Lowland Rroma* called the Russian Rroma who travelled in Poland Tshamobyltsy, and Galician Rroma, Galitsyaki. These are also groups of Polish *Lowland Rroma*, but are distinguished from those which lived in the former Kingdom of Poland. One fundamental unifying factor is the preservation of tribal solidarity within the framework of Polish *Lowland Rroma*, and their acceptance of the customary law, and the authority of the Baro Shero (Great Head - the chief judge of the *Lowland Rroma*). This has often, in practice, played the role of defender of the interests of "better and more influential" groups and individuals, making Rroma lower in the social hierarchy dependent upon them. All quarrels and conflicts are usually settled within the Rromani community, without recourse to outside authorities.

The majority of Rrom men do not have any profession, and the whole burden of maintaining the family falls on Rromni women, who earn their livelihood above all by means of fortune-telling. The relations between the *Lowland Rroma* and other Rromani groups in Poland are marked by strong awareness of difference and can even be antagonistic. It sometimes however happens that a man will take a wife from a *Kalderash* tribe, for these women are supposed to be exceptionally good fortune-tellers and therefore can sometimes make a lot of money with their skills. Marriages of this kind are made by kidnapping the girl.

### 4.2.5.2 The Kalderash

In the 1860s a new wave of Rroma suddenly began to enter the Southern territories of the former Polish Commonwealth. These were mainly two great tribes: the *Kalderash* from Romania and Hungary, and the *Lowari* from Transylvania.

The *Kalderash* also tend to kidnap girls from the Polish lowland tribe, for they are considered thriftier than the *Kalderash* women. However, in the main part, the *Kalderash* treat the *Lowland Rroma* with a good deal of contempt and some feeling of their own superiority. One element in this is the fact that the *Kalderash*, as an exceptionally mobile and enterprising tribe, who
set out on their Great Travel less than a century and a half ago, feel entitled to look down upon Rroma who have always wandered within the frontiers of one state.210

Moreover, the Kalderash, even within the confines of their own tribe or even sub-sections of it, are not particularly loyal and often make complaints to the Polish authorities with false witness against their kinsmen with whom they are quarrelling. The name of this tribe comes from the Romanian language.211 Since this is an exceptionally wealthy, resourceful and enterprising group, which has tried to keep “royal” power over all the Rroma in Poland in its hands, the Kalderash have swallowed up smaller Rromani groupings which arrived in Poland at the same time as they did. They are divided into many clans, whose names are usually taken from the first names of the original clan leaders. After the Second World War the Kalderash and the related Lovari began to follow a similar style of nomadic life to that of the Polish Lowland Rroma, of necessity confining their travels to Polish territory. It was difficult for Rroma who were Polish citizens to emigrate, and their travels could not therefore continue on the earlier basis. However, the desire for long-distance wanderings did not die out in many of the groups, and this inevitably led to sporadic attempts to cross the Polish frontiers illegally.

4.2.5.3 The Lovari

The Lovari, who now also often work in tinsmithing, and organise song and dance groups, are today undoubtedly closer to the Kalderash than was the case a few decades ago, although they probably do not have such rich folklore. The name of their tribe comes from the Hungarian word for horse,212 but horse trading is dying out and can no longer provide them with a living. Nonetheless, their trading skills and abilities have not deserted the Lovari. They are not a uniform group: as well as the groups which arrived in Poland many years ago and whose present members were born in the country, there are also groups which arrived in Poland after the Second World

210 More about the Kalderash social organization can be found in the following:
- Office for National Minorities (08.09.1994) Romanies (Gypsies) in Poland, Ministry of Culture and Arts in Warsaw, p.1

211 calderar - which means a tinsmith.

212 Łó
War from the Soviet Union. The Michaił Łakatosz and Kopacz clans, who live mainly in the Lublin, Wrocław, Poznań, Szczecin and Kraków provinces, are the most important Lovari groupings in Poland. They, like the Kalderash, have their clan hierarchies, power structures and occasionally leaders who pretend to authority over a larger number of clans. Their leaders call themselves “headmen” or even “kings”. One of these “kings”, after the Second World War, was Jeluszka Łakatosz, and after his death his widow Zerfi exercised “royal authority” until her death in 1980. The Lovari consider themselves the Rroma aristocracy, being on the whole wealthier than the other groups, and they like to surround themselves with their property - both in life and death.

4.2.5.4 The Highland Rroma

The fourth group, the Polish Highland Rroma, who are almost certainly descendants of the first Rroma to inhabit Poland, do not maintain any contact with the tribes discussed above. Owing to their way of life, and because some of the age-old Rromani skills, for example fortune-telling, have largely died out among them, they are not taken very seriously by the other Rroma, or are even regarded with contempt. They have for centuries lived a settled life, and live in the sub-Carpathian belt or in the Tatra mountains, in the area which is called the “Wallachian route”. The provinces of Nowy Targ and Nowy Sącz are the places where they mainly live. In earlier periods they eked out an existence in dug-outs and sheds, while now they mainly live in wooden cottages, chiefly in Nowy Targ, Harklowa, Maniowy, Zakopane, Rabka, Biała Woda, Krościenko, Jurgów, Czorsztyn, Bukowina Tatrzańska, Czarna Wieś and Szafary. These are the poorest Rroma in Poland. They have replaced fortune-telling with begging, to which they are accustomed from earliest childhood, and their main occupation, which is totally unskilled, is stone-breaking for roadworks and more rarely, black-smithery - which a few decades ago was still in great demand and provided a livelihood for some of these groups. The surnames of the Highland Rroma are either of Hungarian origin, or, unlike the “gentrified” names of the Lowland Rroma, are highland peasant names. These are the Rromani proletariat and it was people from this tribe that were employed in the building of the Nowa Huta steel works. Their language is a dialect which differs considerably from that of the Lowland Rroma, and has none of the German borrowings to be found among the Lowland Rroma, whereas there are many traces of Hungarian influence. In spite of their
settled way of life, they have not assimilated into the host society, marrying mainly among themselves - although the number of mixed marriages has been rising over the last few decades.

This then, in very abbreviated form, is a picture of the four main Rromani groupings in Poland, with a summary of the most important features that divide them. The Rroma leaders, who decide on conflicts and quarrels, do not operate outside their own tribe. Thus the Baro Shero has authority only over the Lowland Roma, while the Kris has jurisdiction only over the Kalderash. The dialects spoken by these four main groupings sometimes differ radically. In view of these differences and the deep divisions among the Rroma in Poland, the attempt by the Kalderash in the inter-war period to usurp royal powers over all the Rroma in Poland was a self-evident nonsense.

According to an Information paper [1993] the largest Rromani groups (Bergitka) in Poland are in Nowy Sącz province and also in Zgierz, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Mława, Żyrardów, Olsztyn, Andrychów, Oświęcim and Kielce.

4.2.5.5 The Romanian Rroma

The Information paper [1993] stated that there are also some 60,000 Romanian Rroma in Poland who form their own enclaves. The presence of these Romanian Rroma negatively colours the reception of all Rroma by the Poles.

Since the second half of 1990, Rroma from Romania and Bulgaria have been coming to Poland. It is difficult to determine the size of this migration, since official statistics supply citizenship and not nationality of foreign residents. According to the OFNM [1994b], it is clear that in the years 1990-1993 in attempts to illegally cross the border, 39,000 Romanian citizens were turned back (the most in 1992 - about 23,000) and about 6,000 citizens of Bulgaria (in 1992 about 4,000). It is assumed that 90% of the Romanian citizens in Poland have Rromani origins. Poland is a country of transit in the migration of Rroma to Western Europe. The decision to travel through Poland is determined by the lack of a visa requirement between Poland and Romania and Bulgaria.

213 The suzerain of Rroma in Poland is the Sierro Roma who, at this moment, is Henryk Kozłowski [Information paper, 1993].
relative ease of crossing the border between Poland and Germany, and the relatively tolerant attitude of authorities and Polish society towards foreigners. Migration of Rroma through Poland declined starting in 1993 due to the more strict policy of the German authorities against illegal immigrants, including such steps as expulsion to Romania, and as a result of the increased effectiveness of the Polish Border Guards.

Along with transit migration, some migration to Poland as the destination country is taking place. It is difficult to define its size, the number of illegal Rroma staying in Poland probably approaches several thousand and is subject to constant change depending on the season of the year and ability to find sources of income. These Rroma, in principle, do not commit offences (other than breaking a law prohibiting harassing begging and using children to collect money), and do not comprise a criminal problem. In principle, the police do not take any steps against them. On the basis of currently applicable regulations the expulsion from Poland of unwanted foreigners is practically impossible. Romanian Rroma, with the exception of extreme situations (sickness, death of a family member), do not look for contacts with government and self-government authorities. Neither do they try to seek refugee status.

The attitude of Poles as well as Polish Rroma, to groups of Romanian Rroma, has evolved from initial friendliness to indifference and antipathy. Thus there is both an absence of hostility and also a disinclination to assist Romanian Rroma. Outright acts of aggression against them are rare and, when they do occur, are usually provoked by groups of skinheads. Equally rare, however, are efforts to give practical and financial assistance to the Rroma (some were undertaken e.g. in Warszawa, Kraków and Tarnów).

4.2.6 The Rroma in the post-war years in Poland

In his publication Ficowski [1989, p.49] indicated that initial activities in the campaign designed to settle the Rroma and make them productive began late in 1949, with the carrying out of a Rromani population census. By that time about 25% of Rroma were already leading a settled way of life; the great majority of these lived in the sub-Carpathian region and were from groups which had given up a nomadic existence long since. The state authorities began their campaign by
offering material assistance to settled Rroma in order to encourage the nomads to change their way of life. Unfortunately, however, while intentions were good, there was insufficient awareness of the realities of the situation. The nomadic Rroma still, as formerly, despised the settled mountain Rroma as an inferior and foreign people, with whom they maintained no connections. For this reason, material assistance rendered to the Rroma inhabitants of the sub-Carpathian region could in no way influence the behaviour of the remaining groups or provide an inducement for them.

Something which frequently happened and misled the authorities was that fairly large numbers of Rroma would report, declaring that they wished to settle down. This usually happened in the autumn, and a few months later, in the spring, it was found that what they had wanted was simply safe winter quarters, always intending to set off again on their travels in the spring when the weather got warmer outside, deserting their place of residence and employment, sometimes disappearing in the night.214

The kind of work that was offered to the Rroma - unskilled, poorly paid and physically demanding - did not hold much attraction for them. However, employment was a necessary precondition for the allocation of a flat. Therefore, frequently, the Rroma would accept an offer of work, only to give up the job when they had already been allotted a flat. After a short period of sitting out the storm, the caravans again set off. Just as centuries before, government decisions remained largely ineffectual.

By 1951-1952 there was no longer serious pressure on the Rroma to give up their nomadic life, and they gradually came to understand that they could continue to travel without too much difficulty. The more successful attempts at that time to employ Rroma were made with the settled families in the mountains, where the nomadic habit did not have to be broken, for it had long since died away. The poverty - often extreme - in which they lived meant that the offer of better-paid work was an inducement that they could not bring themselves to refuse. However here, too, those

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214 In the Zielona Góra region, a group of nomadic tinsmiths was employed by a co-operative, and to tin the boilers in the town slaughterhouse and the diary at Skwierzyna. When it was suggested that they settle permanently, the Rromani headman said that he would discuss the matter with the king, and a few days later the whole caravan disappeared, no one knew where [Ficowski, 1989, p.49].

In the autumn of 1951, in the Bydgoszcz region, a large group of Rroma settled down; their children were placed in schools, and kindergarten facilities were made available. Attempts to persuade them to take work however failed, for the Rroma stated that they did not need to work, since they had resources sufficient to last two years; later, at the end of March 1952 they disappeared unnoticed [p.49].

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who were implementing the decisions of the central authorities made many mistakes which might have been avoided. They failed to take into consideration the completely different nature of the Rroma customs, social organisation and ethics, and, as in the distant past, they tried to change at a swift pace all the habits and traditions that were deeply rooted in the Rromani [See society examples in Annex 18].

The concrete effects of the first stage of the settlement campaign were therefore the employment of a certain number of settled Rroma, and the registration in places of permanent residence of a part of the nomadic Rroma population, mainly in the cities and towns of the regained Western territories of Poland. Registration of this kind did not always mean that the Rroma had settled; more often, the allocation of a roof over their heads simply gave a Rromani family a permanent point from which they could set out for the travelling season, and to which they would return when winter began to set in [Ficowski, 1989].

Opposition to the travelling of the Rromani craftsmen, who had taken their tinsmithing or blacksmithing crafts into the uttermost corners of the country, began gradually to bring about the disappearance of the traditional Rromani skills in these professions. The attempt to introduce settlement as an aim in itself, inevitably brought undesired side effects. In some groups [Ficowski, 1989], after the loss of opportunities to practise traditional professions, the main source of livelihood became preying on the rest of society. New experiences brought about the reinforcement and consolidation of pre-existing tendencies and habits in certain Rromani circles, whose only real contact with the host society in a situation of mutual distrust and antagonism, was limited to links with the local criminal element and social outcasts. In addition often, even when the Rroma did not turn to definite lawbreaking, tradition forced them to accept this kind of method of earning a living, or at least to acknowledge that it was a necessity and norm sanctioned by the Rromani tradition. The disappearance of most of the crafts that they had previously practised led to a form of social degeneration of many of the groups.

Once again a vicious circle could be seen: the isolation of the Rroma fostered and increased the animosity of the host society, and was at the same time reinforced by the behavioural consequences of this isolation: the preying by the Rroma on those around them. To change this
state of affairs requires a very long period and a great deal of effort. Above all it requires an awareness of Rromani society, the Rroma traditions and psycho-social conditioning, their social hierarchy and behavioural patterns - awareness that at the moment is almost entirely lacking.

The Rroma are totally defenceless against all exploitation on the part of government officials. The shadow of discrimination in opinion, which is so deeply embedded in social prejudices, falls equally often on those groups of the Rroma who never break the law. This gives rise to feelings of discrimination and being wronged which, if not new, are always painful, and effectively hamper their social emancipation.

A resolution of the Government Presidium of 24 May 1952 [Ficowski, 1989] on aid to the Rroma population entering a settled way of life is the basic legislation on further relations with the Rromani community. This resolution enjoins the Presidia of National Councils to undertake a “broadly-based campaign of educational influence”, and also obliges particular official bodies to cooperate in providing comprehensive aid to the Rromani population:

- The Minister of Education:
  Was under this resolution to exercise supervision over “allocating the Rroma children to schools”, to provide material assistance, school-books, clothes and shoes, and also to undertake the teaching of all illiterates.
- The Minister of Health:
  Was to pay particular attention to their state of health and sanitation.
- The Minister of Culture and the Arts:
  Was instructed to supervise the artistic and musical work of the Rromani community, and to send talented young Rroma to art schools.
- The Minister of State Farms:
  Was to aid the settlement of the Rroma on state farms.
- The Minister of Agriculture:
  Was to begin a campaign to facilitate agricultural training for the Rroma, and to provide credit for those who wished to settle on private farms.

This decree also established an Office for Gypsy Affairs. This Office was under the rule of the Department of Social Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The agency ceased operation in 1989 [Mirga, 1993a].
• The Minister for Small-Scale Industry and Handicrafts:
  Was obliged to support Rroma manufacturing co-operatives and to help in setting them up.

• The Minister for Social Security:
  Was to provide care for those who were not able to work.\(^{216}\)

The implementation of this resolution was hindered by the complete ignorance of Rromani society demonstrated by the greater part of the executive. Moreover, as Ficowski writes [1989], both those who drew up the resolution and those who were to put it into effect seem to have assumed that its provisions would be eagerly seized upon by the Rroma themselves as a blessing, while in fact it was simply a plan thought up by the authorities which the Rromani population bitterly opposed. At the lowest, local levels of administration, the provisions of the resolution often merely gave rise to formal review activities, and sometimes even led to abuse of the system.

It is now clear many years later that these plans led only in a minute degree to observable changes in the Rromani society, and entailed additional difficulties and hindrances as side-effects. On the surface, the changes that have been produced are obvious, indeed conspicuous; the Rroma no longer lead a nomadic life, and the number of illiterates among them has fallen considerably. It would, however, be worth looking a little more closely at these two examples of change among the Rroma.

In 1964, without the passing of any special resolution or orders, the Polish Rroma were forbidden to travel in caravans; and in practice this meant that nomadic travelling was made almost completely impossible. This did not, however, mean that social changes in the desired direction had taken place. The horse-drawn Rromani carts disappeared from the scene, but after all, there are trains and motor cars.\(^{217}\)

In fact, it is only their music-making, their playing of instruments, their dancing and singing, that has really received proper recognition, offering these self-taught artists the possibility of


\(^{217}\) In Bartosz [1994, pp.189-195]: Problems of the Rromani population in Poland. For the internal use. Confidential.
following their favoured traditional profession and offering them an adequate livelihood. However, even this field of Rromani activity operates without control or organisation - it has become commercialised and receives none of the care and protection provided for in the 1952 resolution.

While policies of forced assimilation did not achieve their goals, they were successful in a purely negative sense: they destroyed traditional social structures, occupational skills and values without providing replacements. The traditional legal occupations of the Rroma were seasonal and sporadic, in accordance with the nomadic life-style of the Rroma. Those trades with the highest prestige among the Rroma - horse-trading, music and smithing - were also valued by the host populations. However, the Communist regimes put an end to the capitalist enterprise of horse-trading, while orchestras and smithing were forbidden as private businesses. With their old trades gone, the Rroma were relegated to the ranks of unskilled labour [PER, 1992].

Ironically, the collapse of Communism and the advent of democracy has been, in several respects, a negative development for the Rroma. In Romania and Poland, the Rroma are now characterised as the group most heavily involved in black market activities and are frequently blamed for the lack of consumer goods or for high prices.

Relations between the Rroma and their Gadže neighbours are often poor. The old antagonisms grow and strengthen in new circumstances, and the fact that the old nomads now have a permanent residence rarely leads to integration, but more often to conflicts. Sharp economic differences which sometimes occur between the natives who live in modest circumstances and the comfortably-off Kalderash, who often receive considerable assistance from their relations abroad, additionally sharpen the animosities which develop, leading to quarrels and increasing the Rroma’s feeling of isolation [Refer to the Section 3.3.3 The views of Polish society regarding the Rromani community]
According to the OFNM [1994b], the Rroma minority in Poland is treated as a national minority. On the other hand, as Plutowski [1981] stated in his article, Poland is one of the few countries where Rroma are not recognised as a nation.218

Also Bartosz emphasised [1994, p.151]: 'Rroma were never treated as nationals. They are regarded as a mixed race of nomads without a fixed country of origin'. In his opinion, up until recently, the right to acknowledge any ethnic peculiarities deserved a reprimand, often in fear of the political consequences of such a statement. It was possible to regard oneself in Poland as a Cygan or Lemek, but this did not mean that it was possible to include this description in an identity card. However, life itself overtook any official stabilisation, since for some time the Rroma had been treated informally as an ethnic group.219 This spontaneous action was first started by the Press.

According to Mirga [PER, 1992], the Rroma were recognised as people of Gypsy origin, but the Gypsies were considered an “ethnographic category” rather than an ethnic group until 1989 in Poland. After 1989, the Rroma were recognised as an ethnic group but not as a nationality group, which would have entitled them to certain rights not available to ethnic groups. The greatest positive change in 1989 was the removal of the Rroma from the control of the Ministry of the Interior, where the police had collected data on them, which were considered secret, to be used in implementing the policies of assimilation. Now, the Rroma are the concern of the Ministry of Culture, which has adopted a much more supportive role and has established a genuine dialogue with the Rroma.

It was not until 1st February 1995 [Rrom-po-drom, 1995] that 21 nations signed the European Convention to protect ethnic minorities. Among them was Poland. The Convention was the first international document to protect the rights of ethnic minorities carrying with it the might of the Law, i.e. the countries which signed the document are bound to uphold its laws and regulations. The recommendations of the European Convention do not refer to the protection of

218 In USSR the Rroma have been officially recognised as a nation since 1920. An alphabet was created for them, school textbooks were produced, schools were developed as well as a theatre, newspaper, and collective farm. A Rrom/Rromni became a citizen of the state, like every Czakuz, Ewank, Gold, Buriat or other [Bartosz, 1994].

219 A great significance was marked by their acceptance in the year 1979 into UN as a member of the Domestic and Social Committee. A little earlier on the sub committee of UN for the Legal Rights of Man awarded the Rroma the status of Ethnic Minority [Wojecki, 1993, p.7].
the minority group as a whole, but to protecting the legal rights of individuals within these groups. As an example of this radical change one must quote from the article of Convention 3 which says: 'Everyone belonging to an Ethnic Minority group has the right to a free choice as to whether they are treated as a member, or not a member, of that group and this choice or the profit gained from this right will not draw any unfavourable consequences'.

The general conception of a national policy with respect to the problems of the Rroma community is only beginning to crystallise in the beginning of 1990s. This is due to two factors. On one hand, in the middle of 1989 a general change in the approach of authorities towards national minorities took place. It is a change from supervision to support of cultural identity of these minorities [Refer to the Section 4.2.4 National minorities and the Polish state policy towards them, 1989-1993].

At the same time the Rroma community is only now starting to organise itself and come up with representatives, representing it in contacts with official institutions. For the first time postulates are being set forth regarding changes in the Rroma situation at a national level [Refer to the Section 3.2 Rromani organisations].

In the new realities after 1989, the problems of the Rroma minority became for the first time a subject of interest to the Polish parliament. On May 5, 1994 [OFNM, 1994b] members of the Parliamentary Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities met with representatives of the Rroma press and organisations. The Rromani representatives pointed out the difficult social situation of many Rromani families. It was agreed, that the activities of different government authorities dealing with the Rroma should be co-ordinated. As a result of the Parliamentary Commission meeting with Rroma, an intragovernmental Commission on National Minority Issues meeting was held devoted to Rromani problems on June 14, 1994. At the meeting a need to survey the social situation of Rromani families was stressed.

The most important annual cultural events of the Rroma in Poland is the International Review of Rroma Ensembles held in Gorzów Wielkopolski and the inauguration of the Rroma season organised and held by the Centre of Rroma Culture in Tarnów. A Festival of Rroma Music
Groups has been organised every year since 1989. The Festival's mastermind and co-organiser is the composer and Rromani poet Edward Dębicki. The Festival also features film performances, exhibitions and book promotions related to Rroma culture. Edward Dębicki is also the director of the Rroma music group TERNO and author of the volume of poetry *Under the naked sky* published in 1993 in both Polish and Rromani. These two, mentioned above, main cultural events as well as activities of the Roma Association in Poland are subsidised by the Office for National Minority Affairs [OFNM, 1994b].

Since 1990, edited in Polish and Rromani dialects, the periodical (monthly) *Rrom p-o drom* has been published in Białystok by Stanisław Stankiewicz. Rrom *p-o drom* has been sponsored since its start-up along with the publication of some books by the OFNM.

The 50th anniversary of the massacre of the Rroma in Oświęcim is the most important event organised by the Roma Association in recent years. In December 1995 this Association started publishing the first periodical (quarterly) *Dialog-Pheniben* [Information paper, 1993].

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220 Also vice-president of the IRU which cooperates with UNESCO.
4.3 Travellers’ own identity - nomadism

There are natural dangers in attempting to classify an individual as part of a cultural group or in trying to describe the values, beliefs and behaviours of a group of individuals in a few words. Therefore, the information below should be seen only as the basic introduction to the knowledge and understanding of groups within the Traveller community. Many groups, including Rroma, class themselves as Travellers.

Individual differences distinguish Travellers from each other as deeply as from the settled community. Many adhere to dialects and living patterns which distinguish them from the settled community. Rejection by housedwellers is still prevalent. Some Travellers are caught between the two cultures and have a sense of belonging to neither. Many problems stem from this confusion of identity which can enforce their isolation and separation.

Misconceptions can arise when referring to mobility and ethnic identity. Members of the settled community often assume that being a Traveller is always directly related to mobility. In practice many Travellers move seasonally, within a small radius or not at all - according to their work opportunities. A part of the travelling community known as the “long distance” Travellers do cover great distances, as their name suggests. These journeys can extend to continental travel, particularly in the case of the wealthier antique dealers. Although it is economically essential for Travellers to have the freedom to move when necessary to pursue work, there are so few sites at present that they are often unwilling to do so because they have nowhere to go but the roadside. The identity of the Traveller is determined by birthright and not by domicile and they do not cease to be Travellers because they move onto an authority/private site or into a house and appear to “settle”.

Travellers in Britain are united by their experiences on the road. Within the Traveller community there is great diversity. In the same way as English Travellers are an ethnic group

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221 The term Traveller is used as a collective term to cover a range of groups, each with their own distinctive lifestyle and traditions, whose cultural roots emanate from the nomadic way of life [Refer to the Section 2.7. Travellers in the United Kingdom].

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within English society, Irish Travellers are an ethnic group within Irish society. In travelling to England, Irish Travellers become an ethnic group within an ethnic group. The distinctions between groups are not always clearly defined (for example, because of generations of inter-marriage).

Still some sort of generalised assessment based on sociological observations should be made. Not all Rroma are nomads, and not all nomads are Rroma. Nomadism is an important feature of Rromani being, but not in the usual dictionary sense of nomads as people who are continually on the move from place to place. The mistaken idea that Rroma is synonymous with wanderer arose partly from the large-scale Rroma migrations into Western Europe and the Americas, especially in the late nineteenth century migrations from the East, in particular when Rroma were freed from slavery in Romania [Refer to the Section 2.2 Rromani migrations to Europe].

All those mobile populations present a whole spectrum of situations. Some stop for the winter and move on in the spring; living lives of two seasons, one for travelling, one for stopping. Some stay in the same spot for several years before moving on to another town or abroad. Some leave a place hoping to settle elsewhere but come back, disappointed by living conditions in the new area, or are ill-received by the Rroma already living there, or are reluctant to mix with them. Some leave for a few weeks or months, either at regular intervals or occasionally, then return to their place of departure. Some move about in nomadic occupations: groups of coppersmiths and tinkers, hawkers and showmen have regular customers or areas, and nomadism then becomes regular [Liégeois, 1986].

There is a variety of means of transport, ranging from the fastest to the slowest, from the aeroplane to the horse-drawn caravan, each existing within a single country, and among people living side by side, sometimes in the very same stopping place. However, whether living in a tent, a mud hut, a caravan, a house, a cave, hotel or lorry without wheels; it is always done in a style that is Rromani.
On the 25th of April 1995 the author (and Mr Adam Bartosz) travelled to Leicester in order to conduct an interview with Mr David Smith. He was very helpful and gave some information about a Horse Sale which takes place every three weeks on Tuesdays or Wednesdays in Newark, as well as about a Fair that is held on 18th of May in Stow-on-the-Wold (Oxfordshire). The biggest Horse Fair takes place in Ballinasloe which is 120 miles from Dublin starting on the first Sunday of October and lasting for a week. When talking about the popular and well known Appleby Horse Fair, which always takes place on the second Wednesday in June, Mr Smith mentioned Mr Gordon Boswell and his Romany Museum in Spalding. A leaflet about The Romany Folklore Museum & Workshop in Selborne, Hampshire was also obtained.

All these Fairs are very popular and very well attended. There are other traditional travelling fairs such as Appleby, Stow and the Goose Fair, which generate income for many Rroma. Okely [1983] claims that they are constantly under threat which in itself may shortly lead to the Rroma being forced to turn to social security.

According to Liégeois [1986] just as settled people remain settled even when they travel, so the Rroma are nomads even when not travelling. A Roma at rest still remains a Traveller. Nomadism is a state of mind more than a state of reality. Its existence and importance are more psychological than geographical for Travellers. Nomadism is part of their identity. It fulfils several functions: it makes for adaptability, flexibility, and social solidarity - three inseparable features of this life-style. As an element of identity, being Travellers allows the Rroma to distinguish themselves from those who are not, the Gadže.

Outsiders' attempts to identify Rroma or other Travellers, by seemingly objective criteria, such as country of origin, race, language, occupation, or general culture, have been mistaken. They have failed to account for such factors as social and economic change and the incidence of marriage with Gadže. How they identify themselves has not been considered as being of primary

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222 Mr David Smith is a co-writer of Gypsies and Government Policy in England [Adams et al. 1975]. This book has an established reputation among other publications on this subject in England. He provides various seminars and conferences with illustrated lectures and training as well as being actively involved in Traveller research and projects. Mr Smith has also visited Poland, the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary in order to collect data about East European Rroma.

223 In 1998 this largest Europe's travelling fair was in its 704th year.
importance. Among Rroma or other Travellers the most socially relevant condition for being a Rroma involves the principle of descent. Their status is ascribed at birth.

There are subsidiary ways in which Travellers assert their identity and recognise each other. Included amongst these are [Adams et al, 1975, p.42]: self-employment, knowledge of the group's languages, an ideology of travelling, habitat, speech, dress, rituals of cleanliness, and a general ideological separation between themselves and Gadže.

Whilst it is largely true that the Rroma are rarely seen to be engaged in full-time wage labour, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Rroma are by their nature, work-shy. In fact, they resent the restrictions imposed by the wage-labour system preferring to find loopholes in the Gadže economy. Women and children contribute to the finances of the family unit and their skills are considered to be more valuable than academic excellence by many Rroma [Okely, 1983].

Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh224 was very helpful, during a second interview which was conducted on the 8th of September 1994, and shed some more light on the current Travellers' situation. The information is based on her own experience, as a Traveller-Showman.

Despite the Rromas' existence as separate ethnic groups, there is an interdependence between the travelling and settled communities that has always existed. For the most part it has been based on work. Most Travellers are self-employed. The whole family have a responsibility to the family economy. The eldest daughter is expected to assist a great deal with cleaning, washing and child minding from an early age. The children are used to assisting. They sort and clean metals where the family interest is in scrap and many accompany their parents out hawking to learn to work first hand. Traveller parents feel that this form of education gives the child life skills towards independence and the ability to remain self-employed. The children earn money which they handle

224 Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh worked as an Outreach Worker in the Youth & Community Office at Newark. Her project, involving work with English and Irish Travellers in Newark, started in March 1989. The aim was to provide a Youth Service relevant to the needs of young men and women who use sites in Newark.
independently from an early age. They do “deals” often with valuable possessions and may “deal” for their own pony. This is considered by adult Travellers as a vital part of growing up.

Cultural ties are strong amongst the Rroma community. They continue to make return visits to areas in order to maintain extensive family connections, and follow the same occupations as their ancestors before them. Some trades allow them to be self-employed and mobile, e.g. roofing and tarmacking [NGC, no date].

Seasonal work also provides an ideal source of income e.g. fruit and vegetable picking. They rarely have one single occupation but practise a combination of trades, such as scrap collecting, tarmacking, hawking, fortune-telling. Because these trades require a minimum of equipment they enable Travellers to stay mobile [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

The economic changes of this century have led more and more Rroma to seek work in the towns. Many Rroma now salvage and sell the waste products of industry, such as scrap metal. By doing so, they contribute hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of scrap metal to English factories - metals which would otherwise have to be imported. It is estimated [GCECWR, 1995] that over 85% of redundant metals in Britain are collected, processed and transported to scrapyards for re-cycling by Travelling people. The Gadže usually do not realise how much the Rroma contribute to the English economy in salvaging scrap iron. In fact, they play a major role in “keeping Britain tidy”.

Travellers conform in many respects to Gadže standards of a hundred years ago. They marry young, die young, have large families, and the rate of infant mortality is high. Extended family life is common amongst Traveller groups and children spend a great deal of time with close

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225 The Rroma have always been involved in horse-keeping including breeding and rearing, breaking and schooling, and more recently livery. A by-product of the horse trade is in demand as an organic compost. Since the 1970s a revival in traditional horse-drawn vehicles has created a demand for the workmanship of Romani wagon builders and restorers [GCECWR, 1995].

226 Also: hedging and ditching, mucking-out, tree work and woodland maintenance, grouse-beating, flower growing and floristry work, including wreath making, landscape gardening and garden maintenance, decorating and building maintenance, various trading and craft works [GCECWR, 1995].

227 The Environmental Protection Act 1990, which expressly prohibits the occupation of scrap-metal collection (Schedule 1, part b), strikes at the heart of the Rroma employment traditions [Okely, 1983]. It also can be perceived as attempting to assimilate the Rroma.
relations. Because of the extended family traditions, mutual support is usually available and vital to the well being of the group.

In almost every locality where the Rroma now camp there can be found sufficient evidence of a long standing link with previous visitations and settlements. In the urban areas evidence of their presence is indicated through a number of terms. Romany, Gypsy and Tinker appear in the naming of roads and lanes. In the countryside, place names affiliated to these terms identify the old camping places. In some cases it is the surname of some long established local Rroma family which has been used to name a road or lane.

As previously stated, their financial circumstances vary as much as they do in the settled community. Sometimes observers from the settled community interpret Travellers’ gold, china, cut glass or flash car as an indication of wealth. This is not always the case. They often represent savings put into the purchase of these items, knowing that they can always be converted into cash quite quickly.

Most Travellers live in trailer-caravans. The trailer and the vehicles are vital to the Travellers, particularly the mobile groups. Not only do they represent their domicile but also their ability to remain self-employed. Living in a trailer is complex, finely planned and organised and requires some strict observances on the part of all the occupants. Many families now have two trailers. One is often called the “kitchen trailer”, which is used during the day to cook in, and the other is for “best”. Many Travellers feel sick or claustrophobic when in a house and most of those on the road hold that the open air is healthy and “indoors” is unhealthy.

There are many things about the Rromani lifestyle which are misunderstood, Travellers have standards of cleanliness and hygiene which often differ from those of the settled community. This is largely in the area of how cleanliness and hygiene are observed rather than whether or not they should be observed at all. For instance, Travellers prefer a series of bowls used for different

\[228\] In Nottingham for example: Gipsy Lane, Tinker Way.
tasks, rather than one sink, e.g. for food preparation, washing clothes, personal washing, washing crockery.

Most trailers do not have a toilet inside them because Travellers consider this to be unclean. If not on site, Travellers have to buy their water from garages, farms or wherever possible. They use bottled gas, paraffin, solid fuel or generators for heating, lighting and cooking purposes. Some families live on sites in mobile homes which are often luxurious and plumbed in or with mains electricity.

The restricted space in the trailer dictates that a good deal of Traveller life takes place outside. It is interesting to see that outside the trailer children have absolute freedom around the camp, but inside they are expected to exercise self-discipline. It is expected that they will take part in involved conversations with adults from whom they have a great deal of attention. It is fairly usual that children do not go to bed before the rest of the family. This can cause problems for the child when tied to a school day.

Traveller families attach great importance to the events of birth, marriage and death. Hundreds or thousands of them move for the great meetings, the pilgrimages and the fairs. On occasions like these, many “sedentaries” temporarily take to the road again. They will often travel far for these events and celebrations may well last several days. Traveller children are directly involved in these events and schooling will almost certainly be of secondary consideration for the duration of the event. Therefore the term Traveller is also used sometimes to describe children whose regular attendance at school is made much more difficult by reason of their parents’ mobility.

Likewise, the family livelihood is of paramount importance and even where parents positively support school attendance in the normal way, their children may be kept away to perform duties essential to the family economy, e.g. boys being required to help with the workload and girls child minding while mother works or is hospitalised. Parents are often unable to deliver children to school because of having to start work very early.
Some parents fear the effects of education on their children if there is no recognition, understanding, acceptance of or accommodation to their lifestyle. They value the alternative education patterns they use with their children and require our respect for them also. They are extremely protective towards their children and often fear school attendance, because it takes children away from them for a greater part of the day. Usually the children are allowed to stray from the camp only very rarely.

Since the Second World War, however, travel has become difficult, both for economic reasons and because of the excessive number of rules and regulations. The industrialisation of all Western lands has plugged the holes through which nomads used to pass and overhauled their opportunities for economic adaptation. Urbanisation makes it more difficult to set up camps and provides more excuses for eviction. Evictions are increasingly common since nomadism, real or imagined, is a feature of Rroma life that Gadže find worrying and upsetting [Liégeois, 1986].

Whilst nomadism is still central to the lives of many Rroma in Great Britain, equally important to all Rroma is their travelling tradition. Those who have adopted settled residence are still keen to stress the ancestral pattern of nomadism, and many say that one day they may return to the road [Thomas and Campbell, 1992; Liégeois, 1987a]. The NGC [1992] emphasises the importance of the nomadic tradition in their definition of the Rroma, in contrast to the definition in the Caravan Sites Act 1968, which concentrated on the nomadic habit of life.

However well intentioned, according to Liégeois [1986] such labels have the effect of characterising the Rroma by some particular feature of their life-style; precisely by avoiding any "ethnic" content, these labels effectively deny the existence of a specifically Rromani culture.

Most of Europe's Rroma came under communist regimes after the Second World War. In Marxist-Leninist theory, it was recognised that national minorities could have certain rights. However, in every communist country the willingness to apply such principles to Rroma varied. According to Fraser [1995] in the Soviet Union a law passed in 1956 outlawed nomadism. In the early 1950s Poland tried to secure integration of nomadic Rroma by offering housing and
employment. Nomads persisted in their migrations until about 1964 when the government turned to coercion. Rroma were forbidden from travelling in caravans, they were compulsorily registered, and regulations on meetings and gatherings were strictly applied. In 1958 in Czechoslovakia a law was enacted to enforce settlement of nomadic people. From the early 1970s, in Romania, they were forced into ghettos in towns or tented settlements in the countryside. Also a Bulgarian decree of 1958 prohibited Rroma from travelling. These are just a few examples of Eastern European policy. Nomadism in the Western European countries was not prohibited, but legislative systems designed for settled societies had a similar effect. Travellers were evicted or ordered to move on [Refer to the Section 3.3.2 The attitude of a settled community towards the Rroma and other travelling groups in the United Kingdom].

The settled population of almost every European country has in the past regarded the Rroma as outcasts. The Rroma who wished to retain their independence linked to a nomadic lifestyle faced many difficulties in a highly planned industrial society. Still, few people at the present time have any sympathy for them or any regard for their problems.

Since 1989, the Rroma have been recognised by the judiciary as constituting a racial group for the purposes of the Race Relations Act 1976. Despite this they have persistently suffered discrimination and prejudice from the rest of society. The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 contains provisions which will reduce the number of authorised Rromani sites available in an attempt to discourage the nomadic way of life which has been central to the lives of many Rroma for over five-hundred years. The effect of this legislation will be to worsen the hostility shown towards the Rromani community. It is also likely to have severe implications for the welfare of the Rromani family unit. Ultimately however, a comparison with other European jurisdictions will illustrate that this legislation will not succeed in persuading the Rroma to abandon their traditions because it is founded on a myth, namely that the Rroma are simply a social bonding of nomads with no distinctive culture or group identity [Refer to the Section 3.3.2.2 Discrimination].

229 Case: CRE v Dutton
Based primarily on descent and a tradition of travelling, Rroma qualify as an ethnic group. Yet they received no protection under the Race Relations Act until September 1981. Then the CRE [Swann, 1985, p.740] stated that they: ‘constitute an ethnic minority group and as such are protected against discrimination under the Race Relations Act 1976’.

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Human Rights [1967] reads: ‘In the States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language’.

Rroma are to be found in almost every country in the world, and will claim the nationality and language of the host country. The characteristics and appearance of the Rroma differ according to the country of their birth. They will, however, retain a separate identity from the host community by maintaining strong family ties and by generally refusing to adopt the social structure, beliefs and attitudes towards life held by the settled population. The kind of occupations they are engaged in also vary choosing as they do those kinds most suited to their survival in any particular country [NGC, no date].
Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS FOR THE RROMA IN POLAND AND THE UNITED KINGDOM
5. ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS FOR THE RROMA IN POLAND AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

5.1 An outline of the educational systems in both countries

5.1.1 The current educational situation in Poland

While visiting the Ministry of Education in Warszawa on 6 August 1993, an interview was conducted with Mrs Melania Sobańska-Bondaruk who was representing the Department of General Education. She shared some basic information regarding current education in Poland.

It is hard to imagine but, since 1989, with every newly appointed Education Minister the education system has gone through radical changes and the system is still not fully established in 1998. Currently the Education and Health Services are being prepared to be eventually reformed. It is estimated that the new Curriculum should be introduced from January 1999.

Education in Poland is free and compulsory for eight years between the ages of seven and fourteen. Before the age of seven pupils may attend creches and kindergartens. In 1990, 46% of pupils between the ages of three and six years attended kindergarten, and 90% of six years old attended pre-school educational establishments. Basic schooling begins at seven years of age with the eight-year school. The curriculum is uniform throughout Poland. There are a small number of private schools, administered under state supervision. In 1989 the Roman Catholic Church was granted the right to operate its own schools.

Secondary education is provided free of charge to candidates who are successful in the entrance examination, and in 1990 about 75% attended vocational and technical schools, or basic vocational schools. Vocational technical schools provide five-year courses of general education...
and vocational training together, and can lead to qualifications for entering higher educational establishments.

Pupils who leave the eight-years school to continue with their education enter general secondary schools, where four-year courses lead to college or university entrance. In 1990/1991 there were 96 higher education establishments in Poland, including 11 universities and 18 technical universities. Expenditure from the government budget on education for 1990 was 14.6% of total budgetary-expenditure.

In 1993, Polish higher education was provided by 110 institutions for around 495,000 people, three quarters of those were full-time students. Women constitute half of the studying population. Most young people study at universities (around 160,000) and technical colleges (around 80,000), less popular are teacher training colleges, agricultural and medical schools.

According to the OFNM [1994b] the primary threat to the Rroma in Poland appears to be the difficulty in adapting to new social and economic situations. Government institutions should assist Rroma in solving their educational and social problems. A disputable issue is to what extent the Government can intervene in the daily life of these communities. Thought should also be given to the question of the way public education can serve to maintain the cultural identity of the Rroma. In order to solve these problems much closer co-operation is required between the representatives of government institutions, Rromani associations and social and charitable institutions.

As a preparatory step towards the adoption of the state’s education policy towards the Rroma, the Ministry of Education undertook nation-wide research in the Rromani community. The research started in Spring 1996 and ended in Autumn 1997. At the end of 1997 “Report. Rroma about the education of their children (Based on Bergitka Rroma group example)” written by Mr Marian Gerlich was published by the Roma Association in Poland. However, it is not a very impressive and conclusive piece of work. The end result of this research indicated a need to establish a ‘working group’ which would work on drawing up a Curriculum for the Rromani

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children in the future. As a result the detail of the education system for the Rroma in Poland is not available.

5.1.2 The National Curriculum in the United Kingdom

All state schools in England and Wales follow the National Curriculum which was introduced in the 1988 Education Reform Act. It requires pupils from the age of five to study the following subjects: Mathematics, Technology, Physical Education, English, Geography, Art, Science, History, Music. From the age of eleven pupils begin to study a foreign language as well. Of these, English, Mathematics and Science are defined as core subjects. The remaining subjects are defined as foundation subjects. Any remaining time available can be used for Religious Education and other subjects, for example pupils aged from 14 to 16 may study a second foreign language. Schools also give advice about health and careers.

The National Curriculum also includes attainment targets which outline what pupils are expected to understand, know and do at four Key Stages at the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16:

- Key Stage 1 5 - 7 years
- Key Stage 2 7 - 11 years
- Key Stage 3 11 - 14 years
- Key Stage 4 14 - 16 years

It also sets out what teachers must teach in each subject. Each subject is divided into 10 levels. Pupils will gradually make progress through these levels as they go through their school life. As the pupil gets older and learns more the levels naturally get more demanding. Only a few pupils will reach level 10 by the age of 16. Teachers are always checking pupil’s progress against the targets.

All pupils start at 5 years old working towards level 1. Pupils who are making normal progress will go up one level approximately every two years:

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Pupils can be at different levels in different subjects. Different pupils will also move at different speeds.
• The majority of 7 year old will be at levels 1 to 4 (Most of them will be at Level 2)
• The majority of 11 year old will be at levels 2 to 5 (Most of them will be at Level 4)
• The majority of 14 year old will be at levels 3 to 7 (Most of them will be at Level 5 or 6)
• The majority of 16 year old will be at levels 4 to 10 (Most of them will be at Level 7)

National tests at the end of every Key Stage, when the pupil is 7, 11, 14 and 16, also check his/her progress. The results of these tests are published so parents can compare the success of schools. Children with Special Educational Needs also follow the National Curriculum although it is possible to make some adjustments in terms of what they learn and the tests they take.232

The National Curriculum has not been universally popular and has been criticised by the public and teacher’s organisations. The National Union of Teachers [NUT] boycotted some of the testing procedures, and as a result the Government ordered Sir Ron Dearing to propose reforms. In 1994 the “Dearing Report” was accepted which meant that the testing was greatly simplified. The National Curriculum has also been criticised as a disadvantage to the minority groups. For example, Mc Neil argues that [Haralambos and Holborn, 1995]:

• In history, there is an emphasis on British history, Asian, Afro-Caribbean and African history are neglected.
• In language, there is an emphasis on the European languages
• In religion, it is specifically said that the Christian religious traditions dominate

Equally in many schools where there is a majority of white pupils the white majority are not seen as an ethnic or cultural group but as the norm by which all other groups are judged. It is important to be aware of these issues in planning support strategies with classroom colleagues and others and in planning curriculum content [WMEASFTC, 1993].

The issue of broadening the school curriculum to reflect the culture and heritage of black groups has been on the agenda for some time, particularly in schools with high proportions of black

232 Education Reform Act 1988, Chapter 40, Section 18 and 19
pupils. This is not the case for Traveller children. Hostility and prejudice, always arise from ignorance - a lack of knowledge and accurate information. According to Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Centre, very few members of the settled population have any knowledge of Travellers beyond often inaccurate, stereotypical information shown in the media.

Therefore, even where some schools have developed multi-cultural practices they have sometimes restricted them to recognition and inclusion based on skin colour, religion or language. Often it does not extend to an understanding of racism and discrimination towards whites (Irish, Travellers, Rroma) and other cultural minority groups.

The Rroma and other Travellers coming into schools may find little in the curriculum that has direct links with their background, culture and lifestyle. The Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Centre feels that it is valuable for schools (whether they have Traveller pupils or not) to consider areas within the National Curriculum where it is possible to present more accurate information. The inclusion of Traveller perspectives within the curriculum and the acknowledgement of Travellers as a part of British collective culture and history helps Traveller pupils to feel a connection with schools, a sense of belonging, and can promote dignity and self respect. It helps the settled children to broaden their knowledge and understanding of Travellers and therefore to reduce prejudice [NTEC, 1995].

The curriculum for all children should be multi-cultural and should present the culture and history and socio-economic position of Travellers as an integral part of study of society. In fact, because the present curriculum is mono-cultural, it ignores other ethnic groups.

In Kenny’s\textsuperscript{233} opinion [1993, p.74]:

\begin{quote}
In an integrated, multi-cultural curricular context, fuller treatment of areas of Traveller culture and experience could be engaged in when Travellers are in the class. It would no longer be a matter of Travellers vanishing from the curriculum when they are absent from the classroom or of offensive material about Travellers, such as one gets in some
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{233} She is a member of the Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group [DTEDG]. It is a voluntary group formatted in 1983.
children’s rhymes, being taught if Travellers are not present and becoming problematic only when Travellers are present’.

The most common reason for the Rroma and other Traveller children attending school is to learn the 3 Rs, although that restricts the school’s understanding of their role. There is often a lack of literacy experience at home and activities such as painting, music and drama can be considered by parents to be irrelevant. There is also a reluctance to take up PE, swimming and school visits in some families. The reason could be associated with traditional modesty codes governing the use of very limited space in the trailer and personal awareness issues. Children are often embarrassed by their state of undress in PE and swimming. An overwhelming issue is the general belief that children are only safe with the family or where they know they can find them. In addition, the family might be travelling quite often which influences their attendance.

It is suggested that schools should be flexible and if there is no Traveller liaison teacher than the responsibility should be taken by the Special Needs teacher. It is also possible, if the teacher makes a conscious effort, to incorporate the Travellers’ way of life as an integral part of the curriculum. For example a project on electricity can include generators used in trailers, a project on wheels can include a trailer as well as a car [Travellers & School, No date].

All children are entitled to take up the National Curriculum. The West Midlands Education Authorities Service for Travelling Children [WMEASFTC] staff need to be familiar and confident with Maths, English and Science in particular so that children and class teachers have confidence in their support. The staff are encouraged to make themselves familiar with the materials at the Centre to support the National curriculum and to have their National Curriculum files readily at hand to refer to as needed. They are urged to ensure that the schools understand and ensure that children’s work is submitted to the Service with the child’s Record Card when a child leaves school so that Teacher Evidence is available and children have the opportunity to operate successfully within the National Curriculum. [WMEASFTC, 1993]

234 For example: My mother said I never should play with the Gypsies in the wood
5.2 Governmental policies in implementing education for ethnic minorities in Poland

The people belonging to minority national groups\textsuperscript{235} in Poland have been resident for many generations, have developed within a Polish environment and have amalgamated their course of life with the fate of the Polish people. Many Polish inhabitants joined together through marriage with other minority national groups co-habitat on an everyday basis with the Polish people. The non-Polish population on the whole communicate in their mother tongue and some of them still maintain family traditions, customs, songs, dances and costumes.

5.2.1 Schooling for the minority national groups

Żołędowski [1989] noted in his article that analysis of the functioning of the native schools in the post-war period showed two fundamental tendencies:

- An overall systematic fall in the numbers of non-Polish speaking pupils benefiting from lessons in their mother tongue
- A constant fall in the numbers of pupils in non-Polish speaking schools compensated by, until 1970, the growth in numbers of young people studying their native language in Polish speaking schools

On the whole, the help received from the central authorities for the native speaking educational system in the second half of the 1950s was very positive. In 1957 the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, with the co-operation of Ministry of Education, drew up a list of conclusions in the name of the central and area authorities, relating to matters concerning nationality. This obligated the party authorities and the national councils to take responsibility for the education of ethnic minorities, as well as emphasising the importance of the Ministry of Education preparing a long term plan for the development of skills needed to implement this teaching within the teaching staff; the preparation of new plans of work; and the supplying of much needed text books [Żołędowski, 1989].

\textsuperscript{235} Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians and Jews - to mention only the major ones. There are also numerous numerically smaller ethnographic groups such as: Roma, Kashubs, Karaims-Karaites, Tatars and Goralen.
Mauersberg [1970] stated that education authorities demand that the schools, where Polish is not the spoken language for teaching, should also follow the general compulsory learning programme.236

This learning programme encompasses the complete range of subjects which are compulsory in Polish speaking schools, in addition to lessons in their native tongue and information about native historical events, to be taught as one subject. The learning of their native language starts in the first class while Polish starts in the second year. The hours given to both these subjects are the same [Zołędowski, 1989].

According to Zołędowski [1989], there are two kinds of schools available for the non-Polish youth:

- Polish schools or sections with non-Polish speaking lessons.
- Polish schools or sections with lessons taught in Polish and an extra lesson in their mother tongue.

According to the Information paper [1993] submitted for the CSCE seminar, the Polish system of education is adapted to the needs and possibilities of national minorities, though the number of pupils learning minority languages is far from astounding. A mother tongue language is presently taught to 7,840 pupils in 139 schools, with teaching of a mother tongue language being undertaken for the Belarussian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Slovak and German minorities, with teaching for the Czech minority currently being in the stage of organisation. Several forms of teaching exist for children of national minorities who want to learn their mother tongue language.

The following function at present [Information paper, 1993]:

- Schools in which all lessons are in the national language, attended by 1,339 pupils (among these 467 pupils of secondary grammar schools)
- Schools in which a national language is additionally taught, where 6,106 pupils are taught (including 652 grammar school pupils)

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236 This same article [Mauersberg, 1970] indicated that the 18,000 Rroma living in Poland were not included as ethnic minorities in the 1970s. [Refer to the Section 2.4. Statistics]
• Inter-school groups where a national language is taught, in which 396 primary school pupils learn the language. These are groups teaching Ukrainian, operating in several provinces

According to an Information paper [1993] the legal basis regarding education is the Education System Act of 1991237 and the Ordinance of the Ministry of National Education of March 24, 1992238 on organising schooling, which allows the identity of national minorities to be upheld: ‘To enable the pupils to maintain their feelings of national, ethnic, language and religious identity, and in particular to learn their mother tongue and their history and culture’. 239

To achieve this the following subjects are required: language, literature, and aspects of Polish history, as well as activities outside of the classroom which deepen the knowledge they have gained in their lessons. The education of the minority national groups was organised and financed by the government reflecting the “education for all” policy of the government at that time. The Ministry of Education240 secured, as Zoledowski [1989] indicated in his article, the teachers, the location, the materials and text books as well as preparing the learning programme.

The most important goal of these schools was to educate the youth in their mother culture as well as strengthening their ties within their family background. They looked favourably towards cultivating an interest in their regional and national folklore, art and culture.

The existence of these schools for national groups or perhaps the teaching of Polish to non-Polish speaking children in Polish schools, created a natural opportunity for Polish children to be influenced by them producing positive attitudes towards minorities. The Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE [1993] listed the difficulties which appear for the minority groups in Poland due to schooling. It admits that many problems are still not being solved and the government should grant more financial help to the education authorities to enable them to provide additional appropriate support.

237 Act of 07 September 1991 - O systemie obwisty
238 The basis of how to teach in these non-Polish schools was decided by the Ministry for National Education on 24.03.1992 [Dz.U. nr 34, poz.150].
239 This is also enclosed within the Code of Practice of these schools - The Aims and Tasks of the School - §6.
One of the major criticisms received by the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Warszawa from all minority groups is the lack of basic information about them in textbooks, sometimes there is no information at all about their history and culture. Therefore, in 1992 the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights demanded that the Ministry of Education revise textbooks to include the history and culture of minorities. The demand was reinforced by the 1994 Parliamentary Commission of National and Ethnic Minorities. However, according to Mirga, by 2 January 1996 nothing substantial had resulted from these demands.

A positive and promising innovation occurred in Opole in 1990 when a non-State financed primary school “the Community Primary School Associated with Alternative Teaching” was created. In the 1992/1993 school year the curriculum included teaching on minorities amongst them the Rroma. The programme was under the title “Let’s meet with others”. Based on that experience, in 1995, a group of teachers from the school developed a booklet containing support materials for teachers of Multicultural education at primary school level. In 1998, a book Let’s meet with others based on the Multicultural programme was published [Weigl and Maliszkiewicz, 1998].

5.2.2 Schooling for the Rromani population

If the Rroma conducted a stable way of life and were recognised as a nation then maybe they would experience the considerable protection of the communist system regarding the education of their children. Owing to assimilationist policies of the Communist government it became necessary for the Rroma to be recognised to a limited extent, as a minority group rather than the “social” population they had be seen as previously. Mirga recalls [1993a] that the 1952 decree, which was the first official document which recognised them, referred to them as a “population of Gypsy origin”. As they had previously been seen as a social group they had not been allowed to have Rromani teachers for their children, nor could their language be used in classrooms. The school has been treated as a major means of Polonization.

240 Social and education problems of national minorities are within the competence of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy as well as the Ministry of National Education [OFNM, 1994].
241 In an interview conducted on 2 January 1996.
The Polish state did not issue any special measures regarding the schooling of Rromani children as it did for other minority groups for which the Ministry of Education decrees of 1952 and 1956 allowed the establishment of ethnic schools or classes taught in mother tongue. On the other hand, the 1952 decree requested that the local administration provide, where needed, necessary provisions to enable Rromani children to fulfil their schooling obligation and combat illiteracy amongst them. Practically, a lot depended on the local authorities response to that request and on the Rroma families in their area. According to the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Dane, 1971] only 25% of the Rromani children attended schools during 1950s and 1960s.

In 1952 the Government’s Presidium undertook the decision, based on the grounds put forward by the co-ordinated team of provinces to settle and encourage the productivity of the Rroma people. This decision, however, lay dormant until 1964. Eventually it was resurrected. Thus began the compelling of the Rromani community (often employing unlawful means) to a settled way of life [Plutowski, 1981].

The Rroma’s nomadism was, in the socialist structure, viewed as an unacceptable way of life. This opinion, according to Mróz [1966] was commonly held by the authorities and by social scientists. Nomadism was associated with: parasitism, criminality, cultural backwardness, threat to social order, horrifying health and sanitation conditions etc. On the other hand, nomadism for the Rroma was the most important feature of their identity. However, together with growing State pressure for settlement, the number of children attending schools increased with time. Eventually, after 1964, more rigid sanctions were explicitly demanded to stop the wandering of the Rroma. Gradually the number of those who travelled diminished, until the end of 1980s when they totally disappeared. However, [Informacja, 1984] between 1980 and 1983 the Rroma changed their places of residence, migrating throughout Poland as well as to other countries.

242 The Rroma in Polish People’s Republic were forcibly settled on the grounds of Resolution of Government’s Presidium from 24.03.1952 [Rokonzowa, 1989, p.27].

243 A specially published collection of rules was published for the police, listing the huge variety of punishments applicable to nomadic groups. More rigid sanctions were used to stop Rromani wandering. For example: A gatherings/meetings decree dated 6 April 1962; A fight against infectious diseases decree dated 18 November 1963; A school obligation decree dated 23 March 1956; A census and control of population’s movement decree dated 14 July 1961; Identity cards decree dated 22 October 1951; Fire protection decree dated 13 April 1960; Maintenance of cleanliness in the cities dated 2 May 1959; Liability to military service dated 30 January 1959; Safety and order on public roads dated 27 November 1961 [Bartosz, 1994].

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It was observed [Mirga, 1993a] that with the loss of mobility and self-employment, the Rroma became dependent on permanent wage-work. Due to a high level of illiteracy they were usually employed as low-paid unskilled labourers. Therefore, what seemed to be assistance and support of the state was, in fact, leading to deprivation.

Zywert [1968] held that in 1964 in Poland the Rroma who did not possess a permanent place to stay, transferred to a settled way of life. This action had a very beneficial effect on the Rromani children, whose way of life did not offer opportunities to participate in a general education.

In order that the process of settling the Rroma and increasing their productivity might be hastened, certain steps were undertaken in 1964, among them the setting up of a Interdepartmental Committee at a national level to co-ordinate matters regarding the settling and productiveness of the Rroma people. The results of various undertakings within the area of education produced the following results [Bartosz, 1994]:

- A great improvement occurred in the responsibility for educating the children. Among the 2,094 children from newly settled Rromani families 1,784 children enrolled at school, of which 1,254 attend regularly. Those who did not participate numbered 597. These are the children of parents who had not yet acquired a permanent home, older children for whom it would be necessary to organise an intensive introductory course, and those of parent’s who neglected their responsibility for educating their children.

- In 1964 the Education Departments organised a wide spectrum of help for the Rromani children, who received free textbooks and learning aids, as well as clothes, shoes and linen.

- The parents’ committees in every school where meals were organised allocated the Rromani children free meals. Teachers gave their help to these children in clubs where they did their homework. In the counties of Białystok and Rzeszów teachers visited the Rromani children at home, giving them help with their work. In Mielec and Dębica (County of Rzeszów) they organised two classes at primary school level for older children. The scouting movement in schools also took responsibility for the welfare of the Rromani children.

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• Education Departments of People’s Council Presidium went to great lengths to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population and the youngsters of the newly settled families, but they came up against a reluctance and lack of interest among the Rroma.

According to Bukalowa [1967, p.9] in the school year 1965/1966 in general around 3,833 Rromani children attended school, by 1967/1968 the number had risen to 4,157 i.e. around 80.6% being subject to school rules. In her view, the reason for this was the abandoning of the nomadic way of life by increasing numbers of the Rroma people. Children between the ages of 14 and 16 outweighed all other groups who did not frequent the schools as they were regarded as adults within the Rromani community. However, good results were recorded regarding the younger children who on the whole were achieving well in their education. Forecasts for the future predict that from 67% to 89.3% of the pupils will be educated.

According to Mirga [1998] in the 1966/1967 school year there were 4,710 Rromani children who were obligatory school age, of that number 3,808 were attending schools, 711 were not registered at all and the rest were attending irregularly. Among those not registered, 87 children should have been placed in special schools for mentally handicapped children. An additional 83 Rromani children were directed by state authorities to States Children Homes. In the 1966/1967 year 224 Rromani parents were penalised for not sending their children to school. In 1970 82% of all school aged Rromani children attended school. In the 1983/1984 school year of the 4,420 Rromani children of school age, 3,652 attended schools (82.6%). In that year 111 Rromani parents were penalised for not fulfilling the schooling obligation.

It is stated [Informacja, 1984] that the schooling results of Rromani children, despite the high percentage of school attendance, were insignificant. In the school year 1966/1967 only 21 children were attending VIII grade class, and 27 children in 1967/1968. Only 50 to 60 children attended high schools. Due to the high rate of absence and lack of progress in learning, nearly 30% of all Rromani children attending school did not achieve their grade level. In 1983 this figure reached 32%.

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The enrolment of nomadic Rromani children has always been a difficult issue for the school authorities. Rroma families were constantly changing their place of encampments which made permanent education of their children impossible. After 1964, enrolment of their children became possible although the rate of Rroma mobility still remained high. 245

The state understood education as a part of socialisation and integration into Polish society. Education was supposed to give them better opportunities for skilled professions and waged-work. The rate of employment has shown that there was no direct relation between the schooling and employment levels. In 1970, the rate of employment of Rroma was 26% [Dane, 1971], in 1983 it was 26.9% [Informacja, 1984]. It is important to note that this rate of employment was given due to Bergitka Rroma group, which traditionally was dependent on wage-labour. This group represents 25% of the total Rromani population in Poland, which means, according to Mirga [1998], that the majority of previously nomadic Rroma continued to make their living by traditional means and were not dependent on education and professional skills gained at school.

There were also other cultural and socio-economic factors interfering with schooling, specially for girls. A Rromni girl of twelve or thirteen is ready to marry and have children. And therefore elementary education has to end early - much too early to give the younger generation an opportunity to obtain a proper education. In the very few cases where individuals are properly educated, they usually leave the Rromani community. For the Rromani community the school remains an external institution, viewed as a threat to their identity and therefore avoided [Ficowski, 1989].

Socio-economic factors, which diminish their chances of successful education, include: irregular and often seasonal income, insufficient housing (extended families often living together in one room), lack of basic furniture, lack of clothing and shoes for children. In

245 According to Bartosz [1994] in 1950 15,000 Rroma lived in Poland and 75% of them were nomads. Until 1960, 3,000 to 4,000 of the total Rromani population was settled, the other 4,000 were semi-nomadic, the remaining 5,000 to 6,000 were still nomadic. In Spring 1964 the government registered about 10,000 nomadic persons (1,146 families). In 1970 there were only 1,069 persons (205 nomadic families). In 1976, 453 persons (85 families). In 1983, police registered 34 nomadic families, 388 persons, but this number is not reliable. According to Mirga [1992] in the beginning of 1960, there were 2,938 Rroma families (16,640 persons) and of these 1,146 families were still nomadic in 1964. However, in 1968 there were only 200 nomadic families.
addition, often for the Rromani parents, the fulfilment of the schooling obligation was equated with children’s presence in school, but not with grades and progress in learning. While the attendance grew significantly over time, the results achieved by these children were insignificant.

After 1964, local social-administrative departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs designated a person to help, mediate and control the Rromani community in localities with a Rromani population. Often this person, through personal relations, helped to enrol Rromani children in school. Sometimes this person also took children to/from school. At the end of the 1980s this “service” ceased to exist.246

The Rromani children usually experienced problems on entering school related to cultural differences. Both representatives of the Rromani organisations and the Ministry of Education acknowledge that the Rromani children do not complete their primary education, one of the reasons being insufficient knowledge of the Polish language. It is presumed that this situation has worsened since 1989, as a result of liberalisation of social life. Until 1989 parents were penalised for not sending their children to school, at present there is less weight given to this by the administration [OFNM, 1994a]. These problems often led to decision made by school authorities to direct such children to schools for the mentally handicapped children. According to Mirga [1998] in Poland their presence in such schools was not so numerous until the end of communism.

In Article 13 of the Education System Act of 1991, it was stated that provision would be made for minority groups: ‘To enable the pupils to maintain their feelings of national, ethnic, language and religious identity, and in particular to learn their mother tongue and their history and culture’. Unfortunately all these provisions, which can be beneficial for other national minorities, are not accessible for the Rromani community. The reasons are as follows [Mirga, 1998]:

- The Rromani language is spoken rather than written (in addition it differs because of various dialects that are spoken in Poland)

246 Based on an interview with Andrzej Mirga conducted on 2 January 1996
• There are no manuals available for teaching the Rromani language
• There are no teachers who can speak that language
• The Rroma themselves do not claim such provisions for themselves and their children
• The Ministry of Education has made no attempt to include in the curriculum teaching on history and culture of minority groups living in Poland

Naturally the organisation of a specific school system resulting from the particular needs of the minority groups, has as its main aim the raising in standard and continuation of language skills. In the case of the Rroma where there is no traditional written language, there is no need for this.

The Fourth Romany Congress took place under the patronage of UNESCO in 1990 in Poland. The instigator and sponsor of the Congress, Marcel Cortiade (Director of the Rromani Cultural Foundation) presented the proposal of a universal handbook of the alphabet in the Rromani mother tongue for children, as well as putting forward his idea of a standardised written text. Despite the differences in opinion as to the effectiveness of his proposals, all the language experts who were present signed a declaration accepting M.Cortiade propositions [Bartosz, 1994].

The Rroma delegate from the UN, Ian Hancock, declared in one of the interviews that the International Association of Rroma had standardised the Rromani alphabet and was now working on the grammar and vocabulary [Rrom-po-drom, 1993, p.5].

According to Bukalowa [1967] the greatest difficulty found by the Rromani children is the mastering of the Polish language. The reason for this is that outside of school they do not use this language.

Another aspect of the redefinition of Rroma identity was the transformation of ethnic and cultural differences into social deviance. Rroma children who did not speak the host language very well were treated as mentally deficient and put into special classes within which they could advance
only to the fourth grade. Young Rroma thus became increasingly alienated and isolated from the host society, experiencing an enforced “social retardation” which led to withdrawal, aggression and other forms of antisocial behaviour [PER, 1992, p.13].

Head-teachers and staff organise various ways to help the Rromani children, they give free private lessons, for those behind in their studies they plan beginner’s and intermediate lessons to enable the youth to pass into the elementary schools for workers. In Sławno, for example, there was a class III organised solely for Rroma children too old to attend a normal school [Bukalowa, 1967].

Encouraging children to speak the Polish language through summer and winter camps can be as beneficial as joining the Scout movement or taking part in an activity where they are forced to mix with Polish children.

In an article called School Report which appeared in the last edition of Rrom-po-drom [STS, 1996, p.9], it was stated among other items that it is necessary to realise that from the moment the Rromani children attend school they are not familiar enough with the Polish language and therefore their performance is that of children from different countries who have difficulties in learning. During the school years 1990/1991 - 1993/1994 a definite majority of Rromani children continued to attend mixed Polish/Rromani classes even though, as some examples from various regions have shown, there exists the possibility of segregating them into Rroma only sections.

Children should not be denied education because their culture or religion differs from the culture of the country in which they live. This task, though, may be more difficult in schools that are mono-cultural.

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247 In England, the law of special education for those with learning problems of one sort or another was reconditioned by the Education Act 1981. The best guide to the 1981 Act, which only came into force in Autumn 1982, is the Special Education Handbook. The new procedures under the Act are designed:
- to reduce the need for separate special schools
- to enable ordinary schools to assess children with minor learning problems and deal with them
- to give parents full rights of challenge of assessments of their children’s “special needs” along the way.
The children's weakness in the Polish language is the basis of the idea of Rev. Opocki for forming classes solely for the Rroma [Refer to the Section 5.4.1 Investigation into the current educational provisions for the Rroma in Poland]. A simple conclusion can be drawn. One solution would be the organisation of separate classes based on language differences. In places where these classes have emerged the Rroma have stopped their wanderings and become assimilated into the Polish community.

Just as the Belarussian school system is organised in three structures so it can be argued that the Rromani education system can be centred around three kinds of schools [Mauersberg, 1970]:

- A primary school with lessons in the Rromani language - apart from Polish language lessons and physical education. To this group would belong one teacher schools whose duty it would be to deliver the programme of work for classes I-IV. (Possibly, with time, schools whose language is primarily Rromani will gradually change to teaching in the Polish language, keeping the Rromani language as part of their curriculum.)

- A school frequented mainly by Rromani youth, with lessons in the Rromani language only in the early years with Polish taking over as the main language higher up the school.

- A school which carries the Rromani language as an extra subject which Rromani, or Rromani and Polish children would frequent. Rromani children at these schools would be obliged to learn the Polish language starting in class II.

Implementing any one of these strategies demands the setting up of a suitable teaching staff who would need a good knowledge of languages (in this case Rromani) as well as the appropriate teaching qualifications. The task is difficult but not necessarily impossible. Since 1983 at the School of Further Studies in Teaching in Kraków, a two year course has started to train graduate teachers in further teaching subjects like biology, history, and physical education. It may then be possible to organise a course in the Rromani language.

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24 According to Thomas [1990] the society in England consists of many ethnic groups which represent division of various cultures and religions. It was reported that by 1985 the children attending ILEA schools spoke, between them, 147 different languages. Amongst 50 surveyed schools 16% of the children did not use English as their first language.
However, as Żołędowski noticed [1989] the effects produced as a result of opening the philology of the Ukraine and Belarusia language at the University of Warszawa, as well as the Slovak language at the Jagiellonian University, were not favourable. Only a small number of graduates pursued employment in the village schools.

On the other hand, despite the fact that education does not rank highly in the Rroma community, there are a few members who not only finish the primary school but go on to complete secondary school and continue into higher education.

As Bukalowa wrote [1967, p.9]:

‘There are also those among the youth who have completed their secondary education and acquired a trade. In the school year 1966/1967 one Rromani girl graduated from Teacher Training, another - a general secondary school, and a boy - a basic vocational school. Also in that year 202 adults attended elementary schools for the employed, and courses on general studies adapted from the primary school programme’.

One strategy would be to encourage them to work with Rromani children or even work on a casual basis. As an example of this work let us take Jan Mirga, who was the first Rromani student at the Teacher Training college in Zakopane and who also finished as an external student at the Academy of Physical Education in Kraków, and who for the last 28 years has been a teacher in one of the mountain villages, Bukowina Tatrzańska [Bartuś, 1995].

As far as the Rroma are concerned they do not need to be taught their language in school, they are more interested in receiving an education in other subjects in their language.

There are known to be ethnic groups with a strong sense of national unity, who have partially forgotten or abandoned their native language. The Irish are an example [Rokoszowa, 1989] of an ethnic group whose national unity does not depend on their language but on their religion (Catholicism). This is also true of the Jews whose position in the community is determined by religion, background and history. The language is also important but stands further apart from these other factors.
The Slovak Minister of Education advocated the education of Rromani students in their mother tongue because it made learning easier and allowed children to learn more quickly. Until the Rromani language is standardised, the local dialect could be used as the language of instruction if teachers are available. The Rromani language should be used at the pre-school level and again in the upper grades of primary school, but not in the lower grades, in order to ensure a good knowledge of both Rromani and the national language. Also a pre-school should be introduced where children can learn to adapt to the school situation. Specially trained teachers of Rromani children who are aware of the problems that Rromani children are apt to face, including high proportions of failure in the upper grades, unemployment of parents and problems related to the source of family income, are needed.

Looking into the future strategy of social development, the Rroma could choose total assimilation or total separation. Total assimilation would imply the abandonment of anything like a strong Rroma identity for the sake of being incorporated into the dominant society. Total separation implies complete withdrawal from the main community, including language, schools and even territory [PER, 1992].

It needs to be established whether integration can begin in the schools of the dominant population, or whether it is imperative that schooling be separate; whether the mother tongue should be used in primary schools only or also used in higher education.

The transition to democratic forms of government in Eastern and Central Europe has led to changes in policies that directly affect the traditional livelihoods of the Rromani people and in some cases, has also reduced their access to educational and other opportunities. For example, as these societies continue applying the principles of merit and open competition to the sphere of employment, the Rroma suffer a greater degree of de facto exclusion than they had under the former Communist regimes. Formerly, the Rroma were not only permitted to enter secondary schools, but were even forcibly pressured to do so. Under current conditions, most officials feel that guarantees of equality and the equitable distribution of resources among ethnic groups are sufficient to deal with the problem and should mark the limits of their efforts. However, this approach neglects the handicaps that the Rroma have traditionally suffered in competing with more
favoured groups or in taking advantage of existing possibilities without some outside assistance [PER, 1993].

The working group on education and opportunity noted the strong relationship between education and economic possibilities and between education and the development of a trained workforce. The working group recommended [PER, 1993]:

- Establishment of an international school for young Rromani teachers that would enable them to return to their home countries and train other Rromani teachers.
- The provision of additional instruction in the Rromani language in already existing schools. (In Romania, for example, such additional instruction would be provided in both Rromani-language and Hungarian-language schools.)
- Establishment of schools specifically for the study of the Rromani language.
- Establishment of schools in which instruction, aside from majority language and literature courses, would be in the Rromani language.
- Establishment of mobile schools for nomadic and semi-nomadic Rromani communities.
- Establishment of vocational and trade schools for the Rroma.
- Revival of the traditional trades of the Rroma.
- Creation of small Rroma-owned and Rroma-operated factories - for example, brick-making factories.

The working group also noted that creating opportunities for education was only half the battle; incentives and other measures would be needed to persuade some Rromani communities to send their children to educational institutions. It was, therefore, recommended that governments provide subsidies for children to encourage attendance.

Until 1989, despite strong and continuous involvement of the State in solving the Rromani illiteracy and schooling issues, the results were virtually insignificant. From among
all the Rromani community, only a few people reached university level.\textsuperscript{249} Thirty years on, while illiteracy is of course somewhat less universal than used to be the case, it still exists, and the schools have only been able to teach the bare elements of reading or writing to a few Rromani children.

\textsuperscript{249} Majority of them represent Bergitka Rroma.
5.3 Governmental policies in implementing education for the Rroma in the United Kingdom

The development of education policy in Britain can be divided into three stages:

1. The early years with the Children Acts from 1902 to 1944 which were intended for all children, and with other social legislation which affected Travellers’ way of life. 250

2. The voluntary initiatives which started (on regional and national level) in the 1960s and 1970s.


After the English Education Act of 1902 extended compulsory schooling to the whole population, there was a need to regularise the position of the Rroma. This was done in the Children’s Act of 1908 by which children of nomadic parents were only required to attend for 200 half-days (instead of the normal 400). This provision was rarely enforced and few children attended school [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

If a Traveller parent does get prosecuted for failure to send a child to school, under the 1933 Act, 251 then they may defend themselves with Section 56 of the Education Act 1944, which effectively says that children of parents whose work requires them to travel from place to place are not required to attend school full-time [Forrester, 1985, p.75]. 252

Section 36 of the Education Act 1944, as amended by Section 17, Education Act 1981, requires the parent of every child of compulsory school age to [Forrester, 1985, p.74]: ‘cause (the child) to receive efficient full-time education suitable to (the child’s) age, ability and aptitude, either

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251 Section 10 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 is aimed at ‘persons habitually wandering from place to place’ who prevent children receiving ‘efficient full-time education’ [Forrester, 1985, p.74]
by regular attendance at school or otherwise’. This section does not absolutely force the parent to send the child to school, but it does require ‘efficient full-time education’ to be provided. If parents do not send their child to school, or begin to and then the child plays truant, in theory the same law applies to them as anyone else.

Lee [1993] indicates that the 1944 Education Act made Local Authorities responsible for the education of all children and parents responsible for sending their children to school. However, this law did not help Travellers to benefit from their educational rights. Often children were refused places in schools and then their parents would be threatened with prosecution for not sending their children to school. Often the Education Act became a tool to be used by those who wanted families to move out of the area.

In 1967 the Government published a report Gypsies and other Travellers by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government based on a national survey of the Rroma. It showed [Hawes and Perez, 1995]: ‘(...) the extremely low numbers of children attending school and described the hardship faced by Gypsies’.

The most recent officially published estimate of numbers is contained in HMI Discussion Paper The Education of Travellers’ Children [1983, p.7]: ‘(...) evidence gathered by HM Inspectors suggested that as few as 40-50% of primary age children of Travelling families attend school and those attending regularly are but a small proportion of the total’. This estimate almost certainly refers to the situation in 1980. It is stated, in a report from the Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools [1996], that although the number of travelling children registered with schools has increased since 1986, there is still a difference between the total number of travelling pupil registrations and those who attend schools on a regular basis.

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253 The 1944 Act was never amended. However, in May 1994 the Department for Education produced a booklet School attendance: Policy and practice on categorisation of absence. Paragraphs 44-48 deal with Traveller children [DFE, 1994].

254 Until a Traveller wins a court case which decides that “education” for a Traveller child can include learning his father’s trade as a major part of it, it is unlikely that any non-British Traveller parent is going to be able to provide alternative education which satisfies an LEA.

255 Proceedings may be brought in the Juvenile Court; which has the power to make a “care order” if it is satisfied that the child is in need of care and control. Or the LEA could ask for a school attendance order, requiring the child goes to a specified school, and that the matter comes back to court if attendance is not maintained.
In 1967, the Ministry of Education published the Plowden Report - Children and their school [pp.59-60] which described Rromani children as: '(...) probably the most severely deprived children in the country'. The Report also pointed out that: 'Improved education alone cannot solve the problems of these children. Simultaneous action is needed by the authorities responsible for employment, industrial training, housing and planning'.

In addition, the Plowden Report recommended the identification of deprived areas where the children had special educational needs. The Rroma were qualified as having special needs. The criteria which could be used in identification were [Thomas, 1990, p.9]: 'The proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers; the presence of large families; the numbers in receipt of State benefits, including free school meals; overcrowding and sharing of houses; poor attendance and truancy; proportions of retarded, disturbed or handicapped children; incomplete families; and the number of children unable to speak English'.

The most important initiatives for the Rroma and other travelling groups began in the 1960s. Acton [1996] recalls that after the founding of the Gypsy Council in December 1966 (in Kent), in the summer of 1967 the first caravan school in Britain was established on an old airfield in East London. The school was run by volunteers who for six weeks did pre-literacy and general teaching. In September some of the children attended a state school for the first time. At the same time a fierce struggle went on to ensure that the Rroma were not evicted from the airfield. Following this, a number of short-lived Romany Road schools were started in England and Wales.

In the early 1960s education was not seen as the greatest priority as it was felt that until adequate site provision was available there was no chance of nomads staying in any one place long enough to attend school. The 1968 Caravan Sites Act made it a duty for local authorities to provide stopping places for Travellers, this Act was not implemented until 1970. The 1968 Act

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255 The Education Act 1981 gave parents of children with special educational needs the right to ask for and be involved in the assessment of their children under Section 3 of the Act, so that suitable educational support can be provided by the local education authority if necessary [Nottinghamshire County Council, 1990b].

256 One of them was Thomas Acton, then a student, now Reader in Romani Studies at the University of Greenwich.

257 According to Lee [1993, p.126]: 'more than 20 years later, at least 40% of Travellers have no legal place to stay'. The DOE estimates that in 1988, 33% of caravans in England have no authorised stopping places. It is accepted that this is an underestimate. This 33% is a national average. In some areas up to 90% of the children to be catered for may live on unauthorised sites [Naylor, 1993, p.130].
granted Designation Orders to all local authorities, which have satisfied the Government that they have made enough sites. These Orders gave them the right to evict all families which did not have places on authorised sites. In this way local authority areas, one after another, acquired no-go status. Some authorities were actually granted designation with no site provision whatsoever. This law changed camping on unauthorised sites from a civil offence to a criminal one. The lack of authorised caravan sites adds to difficulties in obtaining access to schools thereby adding to the problems caused by lack of continuity and sometimes making any schooling impossible [Refer to the Section 3.3.2 The attitude of a settled community towards the Rroma and other travelling groups in the United Kingdom].

In 1968 the NGEC was set up, with a committee of Rroma activists and educationalists. Lady Plowden (chair of the committee which produced the report) was invited to head this new body and the NGEC with its respectable image was able to gain more grants from charitable funds than had the Gypsy Council's own education committee. An independent voluntary project was set up in the Midlands, which continued until 1976. Overlapping this was the Joint Service for Travelling Children created by eleven LEAs in the West Midlands [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

Until the mid-1970s volunteers were the driving force of the Rroma Education movement. Volunteers tried to pave the way into the state school system which used to keep the Rromani children out, but also insisted that respect be paid to the culture of the Travellers even in the classroom. Gradually voluntary schemes have been replaced by LEA provision. After its foundation, the NGEC pressed the government and LEAs to make better provision, and run a nation-wide summer school campaign. From 1973, ACERT competed with a similar campaign.

In 1977 Croydon's Education Committee caused a furore when it refused in a test case to admit a certain Mary Delaney to its schools on the ground that she was on an illegal site. Joint

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258 In 1988 the NGEC split and there were then two organisations, the NGEC and the Advisory Council for the Education of Romanies and other Travellers (ACERT), both engaged in furthering the cause of Rroma education. The NGEC recently recognised its wider brief by changing its name to the Gypsy Council for Education, Culture, Welfare and Civil Rights.

259 This was found to be legal under the 1944 Education Act. Under Section 8 each of local education authorities has a duty:

'to secure that there shall be available for their area sufficient schools
(a) for providing primary education (…); and

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protests by NGEC and ACERT, together with a threat to take the British Government to the European Court, persuaded the Government to insert a clause in the 1980 Education Act\textsuperscript{260} to block the loophole by which Croydon might legally have been able to exclude children from illegal sites\textsuperscript{261} [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].

National co-ordination of educational provision began in 1970. According to Waterson [1993] for the first time a member of HMI was given responsibility for the overseeing of Rroma/Traveller education in that year. The Department of Education and Science began to hold regular short courses for teachers who might have met the Rromani children in school. Unfortunately, most of these children still did not attend a school. In 1973, the Department of Education and Science ran the first official course on the education of Travelling Children, organised by Donald Buckland HMI and Chris Reiss (23 teachers attended). This course lasted for five days and took place every other year. Places could be requested by anyone involved in the education of Rroma and Travellers - teachers, administrators, social workers and health workers, members of voluntary organisations and on occasion, there were individual police officers and bailiffs. A limited number of Rroma/Travellers were invited. It was an opportunity to exchange ideas on strategies, methods and resources. This course was repeated every year until 1976 when, as part of government cuts, it was changed to being held every two years. In 1988, the course took place in Nottingham and drew over 100 participants. These courses have now been cut completely [Kenrick and Bakewell, 1995].\textsuperscript{262}

During the 1986 [Hawes and Perez, 1993] at a short course in Chester a group of 35 teachers discussed professional needs and proposals for the future. This resulted in a document, the

(b) (...) secondary education (...) and the schools available for an area shall not be deemed to be sufficient unless they are sufficient in number, character and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs' [Forrester, 1985, pp.71-72].

\textsuperscript{260} Unfortunately, the duty of an LEA to children not "belonging to its area" was not made clear until the Education Act 1980 [Forrester, 1985].

\textsuperscript{261} The Department of Education and Science wrote [Forrester, 1985, p.72]: 'In determining whether a family has established residence in its area for the local education authority to have an obligation to make educational provision for the children, an authority may take account of the likely duration of their stay in the area, which could be influenced by the legality of the parents' residence'.

\textsuperscript{262} One of the most precious and long lasting resources obtained was the list of all those who participated in the course, their roles and their addresses. Another benefit of such courses was the series of lectures on topics of current importance.
Post Chester Proposals (1986) which was published jointly by the NATT and the ACERT. This document was circulated to: all members of NATT, all LEAs, all concerned government departments, all political parties, all professional associations of teachers, the CRE, religious bodies and other interested organisations. Despite nation-wide circulation there was little response.

The position seems to have been defined by Section 6 of the Education Act 1980, which obliged LEAs to make arrangements enabling parents of children in their area to express a “preference” as to the school they wished those children to attend [Forrester, 1985; Hawes and Perez, 1995]. The 1980 Act took effect at the beginning of the Autumn term 1982. The HMI discussion paper [1983] confirmed that the duty applied to all parents of all children in that LEA area regardless of where they were living.264

By the late 1980s the emphasis had shifted firmly from voluntary provision to provision within the state education system. According to Waterson [1993] meetings have taken place from time to time between different government departments and HMI, the results of these meetings are not made known. From time to time meetings have taken place at the DES with civil servants responsible for multi-cultural education, one or two Education Inspectors (HMI), representatives of the ACERT, the NATT, the NGEC, and the Save the Children Fund [SCF], UK Department (SCF Travellers’ Information Unit).265 At one of these meetings the idea of a national or regional record system for Roma/Traveller education was discussed. A pilot scheme has been proposed for a single region.266

263 The National Union of Teachers produced a policy document The Education of Travellers’ Children (1987) and a press statement. It is unfortunate that the principal education journal accorded it only five lines of comment [Waterson, 1993].
264 Every child has the right to full time education. This is guaranteed under the Education Acts. The Department of Education and Science Circular 1/81 states that local education authorities have a duty to provide education for: “all children residing in their area. The duty thus embraces in particular travelling children including gypsies...”.
265 The NATT, the NGEC, ACERT, SCF, UK Department (SCF Travellers’ Information Unit), all these organisations provide information and support to their own members and answer enquiries from countless sources.
266 Contacts existed between HMI in England and Wales and those in Scotland (personal rather than official). Education was administered separately in Scotland and in Northern Ireland. Information which circulated between England and the other countries of the United Kingdom was limited [Waterson, 1993].
The number of teachers grew greatly. According to Acton [1996], by the mid 1990s there were around 500 specialist teachers besides many more who had Rromani children in their mainstream classes. On the other hand, during the 1980s, Travellers have also become aware of an increasing need for education. The main reasons appeared to be [Lee, 1993, p.127]:

- the lack of traditional opportunities such as agricultural work or the old trades such as tin smithing and lace and peg making
- the newer trades of building and motor repairs required the ability to read plans and manuals and to write estimates and receipts
- increased mechanisation, the change from horses to motor vehicles required literacy skills for the driving licence and the completing of tax and insurance forms
- the need for everyone to read and write in order to deal with printed matter of all kinds (In the 1980s forms had to be completed to obtain all public services, health, employment, social security, education)
- there was also the desire to protect the privacy of personal letters and documents

Forrester [1985] wrote of special financing arrangements which existed for Rroma and other travelling children being educated inside or outside ordinary schools. The most important part of these special financial arrangements was the “no area pool”. This was a pool of money to pay for the education of children for whom “no area” (that is, no LEA) is responsible. Every LEA in the country had to pay into this pool for the cost of educating “no area” children. This was done by adjusting rate support grant from central government to each local authority. But what the “no area pool” really meant was that those LEAs which provided education for Traveller children used it, and those who did not provide education still had to pay towards the costs of those who did.

Originally, the pool was organised under the Education Acts, 1948 and 1953, but with the Education Act 1980 it was regulated by Section 32 of this Act. The existence of the pool meant that head-teachers who admitted Traveller children to their schools could remind the LEA which employed them that the following could be claimed from the pool [Forrester, 1985, p.73]:

- The cost of educating in ordinary classes those Traveller children, at the full primary or secondary Inter Authority Payments Committee [IAPC] rate. The total amount depended on how many weeks each pupil attended the school.
- Special provision for these children while they were in school. This could be extra remedial teaching help, perhaps from a peripatetic teacher of Traveller children. Everything could be charged to the pool at 75% of the recurrent costs actually
spent while it was being used for the Traveller children, or at the current IAPC rate, if that should have been greater.

- Other costs actually spent on Traveller children’s education (such as boarding fees) could have been charged in full to the pool.

The DES Circular 1/81, paragraph 5, explains that the LEA’s duty extends to all children residing in their area, whether permanently or temporarily. A similar duty to secure adequate provision for all those over compulsory age is contained in the Education Reform Act 1988.

Up until the Education Reform Act 1988 responsibility for the aims, objectives, content and organisation of education was delegated to LEAs guided and monitored by central government. In Inner London boroughs, the whole area was covered by the Inner London Education Authority [ILEA]. In outer London boroughs, each borough council runs the education within its boundaries. In metropolitan counties such as Tyne and Wear, Merseyside, Greater Manchester, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and the West Midlands, each metropolitan borough council was the education authority. In shire counties, the county council was the education authority [Forrester, 1985].

There are 104 LEAs in England and Wales. According to Naylor [1993, p.128]:

'No publication gives detailed information on the extent and type of differently organised provision for supporting the education of Traveller children, or guidance on the advantages and disadvantages of different types of provision in differing circumstances, or any evaluation of quality or effectiveness. There is a wide variety in the details of educational provision for all children and an even greater variety in specific provision to support the education of Traveller children. Educational structures, conditions of work and teachers’ positions on the pay scales vary according to LEAs. Local authority levels of commitment range from teams of teachers working from resource centres to no specific provision at all'.

According to the HMI Discussion Paper The Education of Travellers’ Children [1983] a further help has been the establishment of a new fund to which local authorities can apply for educational work with Rroma children or adults. Money from this fund has been available from
April 1st 1990 but because a fixed sum has been allocated nationally many projects have been
turned down or given less than they asked for.

Nevertheless, a 1983 HMI report *The Education of Travellers' Children* suggested that as
many as 10,000 Romani children were still not getting any educational provision, especially at
secondary level. The need for better educational provision, respecting the nomadic culture, was
endorsed again in 1985 by the Swann report on the education of ethnic minorities. It pointed out
that the situation of Rroma and Traveller children [p.740]: ‘(...) illustrates to an extreme degree the
experience of prejudice and alienation which faces many other ethnic minority children’.

It also says that [Swann, p.756]: ‘The degree of hostility towards Gypsies and other
Travellers’ children if they do enter school is quite remarkable even when set alongside the racism
encountered by children from other ethnic minority groups’.

In July 1989, the DES issued a draft Circular on Traveller education explaining the
administrative arrangements for the grant and indicating the sorts of provision which could attract a
grant.267 The circular made it clear that any additional provision must be aimed at securing the
access of Travellers to mainstream education [Circular 10/90].

With effect from April 1990, the “no-area pool” was replaced, in England and Wales, by a
specific grant administered through the Department of Education and Science under Section 210 of
the Education Reform Act 1988.268 Circular 11/92269 offered guidance on the provisions of
Section 210 of the Education Reform Act 1988 and the Education (Grants for Travellers and
Displaced Persons) Regulations 1990. It also invited applications for grants to support expenditure

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267 DES Draft Circular No.10/90
268 This specific grant (special pool of money) was provided by the DES from 1988 (The Education Reform Act 1988, Section 210) and supplied only
successful projects from England and Wales. Money is for each year so it starts all the time for three years (financial year is from 1 April to 31 March).
Education Committee in each County has to provide 1/4 of the sum
269 DFE. Circular No. 11/92 The Education Reform Act 1988: Specific Grant for the Education of Travellers and of Displaced Persons.
The source of financing particular provision for children of no fixed abode is based on the specific grant. All authorities pay into this Pool and those actually providing education for these groups are entitled to claim on it. Bids, supported by detailed plans, have to be made in advance. Expenditure relates to fields of work not covered in the past, such as specific in-service education of teachers and school personnel, adult and pre-school provision. An example of such an application for 1994/1997 can be seen in Annex 19. This document was produced by Mrs Jenny Price, Assistant Director of Education in Nottinghamshire County Council, in order to obtain funds from the Department of Education and Science. Her new proposed project was accepted by the Education Committee just prior to an interview being conducted with her, by the author, on 9 June 1994.

According to Naylor [1993] there has, since 1983, been an absence of an official national picture of Traveller education. An increasing number of local authorities are becoming aware of the need to take positive steps to overcome the difficulties Traveller children may encounter. There are at least 15 teams of teachers (three or more people) employed by LEAs. In the years 1986-1989, three new local authority teams were set up by different LEAs.

There are very encouraging initiatives in recent years showing the continuing process of development in the United Kingdom. For example:

- Agencies: Save the Children, the West Midlands Education Service for Travelling Children, Walsall District Health Authority and the National Gypsy Council together organised a National Conference in April 1991 in order to raise awareness of the needs of Rroma and other Traveller communities.

- The UK Department of Education and Science and the Commission of the European Communities jointly sponsored a seminar on the education of Traveller children in December 1991 in Poole, Dorset. It was the first European seminar held in the UK [Department for Education, 1992].

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270 Since 1992 Department for Education
271 The first Seminar, entitled “The Training of Teachers of Gypsy Children”, was held in 1983 in Germany
   The second Seminar, entitled “Schooling for Gypsies and Travellers’ Children: Evaluating Innovation”, was held in 1987 in Germany
   The third Seminar, entitled “Towards Multicultural Education: Training for Teachers of Gypsy Pupils”, was held in 1989 in Spain
   The fourth Seminar, entitled “Distance Teaching and Pedagogical Follow-Up”, was held in 1990 in France

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In March 1996, a report from the Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools *The Education of Travelling Children* was produced. It was based on a survey of educational provision for Travelling children and summarises the evidence from a series of visits conducted by the Office for Standards in Education [OFSTED] between 1992 to 1996.

The Education Reform Act 1988 had major and far-reaching effects on all aspects of education. It clearly stated that every child was entitled to an education. However, it was written for the majority of children and there are large areas of concern for many children. Individual schools and their governors had more autonomy, LEAs less power. There was greater parental influence in the governing of schools, and it was possible, that this could have resulted in more rejections of Roma/Traveller applications for admission.
5.4 Data Collection

5.4.1 Investigation into the current educational provisions for the Rroma in Poland

The Rroma from the *Bergitka Rroma* group form the most compact conglomerations, traditionally located in villages or the periphery of villages in Southern Poland in the Nowy Sącz province. After the Second World War some of them moved to other regions, for example to the industrial neighbourhoods of Kraków-Nowa Huta [Refer to the Section 4.2.6. The Rroma in the post-war years in Poland]. The *Bergitka Rroma* is the group which is historically the poorest and least esteemed by other Rromani groups in Poland. It has the loosest internal structure (lack of a traditional leader), the richest contacts with Gadže, the largest number of mixed marriages and the largest number of adult Rroma employed in government and co-operative institutions. The three remaining groups are strongly internally integrated. The relationships with Gadže are few, and the leaders of the families have been able to maintain their authority [Refer to the Section 4.2.5 The four Rromani tribes in Poland].

In 1991, amongst those Rroma, Rev Stanisław Opocki initiated the creation the separate Rromani classes. In an interview conducted with Rev Opocki on the 10 August 1993, he recalled that the new educational foundation for Rromani children in Poland began, in fact in Łososina Górna, as a so called *Sunday school* in 1985. The initiative came from Rev Stanisław Opocki, nominated as a Diocesan Rroma Priest. He has been working in Łososina Górna

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272 Also referred to as Carpathian Rroma.
273 Podkarpacie, Ciężkow, Spisz, Gorce regions.
274 According to the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting [1993] and Office for National Minorities [1994] since 1992 in some places separate classes for the Rromani children have come into existence. The authorities did not consult the Rromani organisations concerned on this decision.
275 Which includes Tarnów province, part of Nowy Sącz province and part of Rzeszów province.
276 Nowy Sącz voivodship
(Southern Poland) since 1983. In order to receive Catholic sacraments e.g. First Communion, Confirmation, The Sacrament of Matrimony, a group of Rroma started preparation with Rev Opocki and that led to his observation of their illiteracy and lack of education. That was the beginning of the adult education. His theory/assumption is: “Education through religious ministry”. He started campaign to gain acceptance for the idea of separate schools for the Rroma.

The curriculum included: reading, writing, basic hygiene, pubescence problems, preparation for family/domestic life. Lessons were carried on the presbytery grounds by Mrs Marta Lebda-Król at twice a week in the afternoon for about four hours a week. About ten to twelve children aged between 6 and 16/17 years old attended those lessons for two years (until 1987).

In 1990 Rev Opocki was allowed by the School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz to open two classes:

- In Nowy Sącz, in January 1990, for about seventeen children aged between 8 and 15, based in a catechetical room.
- In Maszkowice, in February 1990, for about eighteen children aged between 8 and 14, based in the local Primary school after 1 p.m.

In 1991, in Łososina Górna, the class was opened for about nine children aged between 8 and 14. In addition, a course of elementary learning for pupils aged over 16 existed in Łososina Górna for a year 1991/1992. The course was based on primary school level (class 1-5 / 7-11 y.o.) - reading and writing. Fifteen pupils finished this course, run by Mrs Marta Lebda-Król, which was treated more or less as an elementary level course.

In 1992/93 in Łososina Górna Podstawowe Studium Zawodowe was established which provided one year’s initial technical training in cookery. It was for pupils aged over 15.

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277 szkółki
278 Kurs Nauczania Początkowego
279 Pierwszy Stopień
Thirteen pupils finished this course which was treated as post elementary course. Classes were mixed and four teaching staff were involved: trade teacher, priest, mathematician and year tutor (Mrs Marta Lebda-Królík). The syllabus included finishing off primary school and training for a profession:

- Compulsory subjects taught: Polish language, Mathematics.
- Optional subjects taught: History, Geography, Nature study, Social study.

Such one year's initial technical trainings were also active in the following places:

- Łososina Górna: specialization - cook
- Tarnów: specialization - waiter/cook
- Mielec: specialization - mechanic

Rev Opocki has been a National Initiator of Rromani Schooling empowered by the Ministry of National Education since 1992. That means that the Ministry of National Education has given him authority to initiate a countrywide educational experiment for the Rroma. According to the Ministry of Education [OFNM, 1994b] classes do not form an alternative to existing forms of education and will not solve long term educational problems of this minority group.

According to Mrs Marta Lebda-Królík, she has been working very closely with Rev Opocki since the beginning of these educational projects for the Rromani community. She was involved in setting up schools for the Rroma as well as teaching in some of them. The idea of establishing those schools came, in her opinion from poverty, lack of acceptance by teachers and Gadže children, reluctance of some teachers to be involved directly in teaching the Rroma children in primary schools. On the other hand, she was motivated by simple

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280 Drugi Stopień
281 Mrs Marta Lebda-Królík is a recent prize-winner awarded by Papal Foundation for outstanding accomplishment in the field of religion and activity in difficult environment. She graduated as sociologist at the Catholic University of Lublin.
282 According to the Office for National Minorities [1994] the experiment with special Rromani classes was approved by the Ministry of Education for a period of three years 1992-1995. During the school year 1994/1995 there were about 25 Rromani classes in which schooling was provided for about 200 children and youths.
283 Information translated from an interview conducted with her on 10 August 1993.
kindness and willingness to get these children out of the isolation which a lack of education certainly intensified. She was teaching according to her own remedial-therapeutic method which consists of frequent changes of forms and methods in teaching. Clearly one problem occurred from the start and that was language problem, as children spoke among themselves in Rromani. Very often teachers were not aware of what was happening in the classroom.

Current education is organised for children in four forms in Southern Poland:

- Integrated classes (for Rroma and Gadže)
- Experimental classes (only for Rroma)
- Special classes (for Rroma and for Rroma + Gadže mixed together)
- Initial technical training

The experimental classes for the Rroma were established because of the language and environmental difficulties experienced by the pupils and teachers. These factors included:

- Separate culture
- Lack of family support e.g. not helping with homework
- Bad living conditions
- Lack of regularity/orderliness
- Absence of school value

Separate remedial classes were organised for mixed age groups, for children who had not previously attended school. After three years in the remedial classes following levels 1-3 of the Rroma syllabus (normally taken by 7 to 9 year olds) those children should be absorbed

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284 Podstawowe Studium Zawodowe
285 Self-improvement teams of head-teachers and teachers of schools which took up teaching Rroma (Zespoly Samokształceniowe Dyrekторów i Nauczycieli Szkół zajmujących się nauczaniem Romów) were formed. Rev Opocki was the main organiser. One day meetings for the whole Province take place once a year. All difficulties and problems are discussed then.

The following assemblies were held from 1991-1994:

- In Lososina Góra - 1991
- In Nowy Sącz - Primary School No 9 - 25.05.1992
- In 1992 School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz organised National Symposium in Lososina Góra entitled “Ministry and Education” - Mrs Sobanska - Bondaruk from the Ministry of Education was present
- In Nowy Sącz - Primary School No 3 - 28.04.1993 Conference in which Mr Witold Kozłowski - Director of Primary Schooling Department of School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz and Rev Opocki were present as well.
back into mainstream primary schools. The idea of establishing separate “schools” had at the beginning a purpose in giving the Rromani children an opportunity for a good start in school. A curriculum was compiled considering the character of this particular cultural group and adapted to their developmental abilities. Cultural elements were taken into account and attention was paid to manual development and language exercises. Grammar and phonetics were also taken into consideration. According to Mrs Marta Lebda-Królik psychological tests should not be used for these children as they are not adapted for e.g. Slovaks and Rroma. The Rromani children very often do not understand very simple tasks and questions, and therefore the results would be unreliable. So, since about 1990 in a Clinic where Mrs Marta Lebda-Królik works this kind of tests have been stopped.

The curriculum, “Initial Teaching Programme for Rroma”, worked out by the group of involved teachers was approved by the Ministry of National Education in 1992. However, the Ministry of Education, did not consult with the Rromani leaders or Rromani organisations on this decision, nor was a public debate held with experts, teachers or Rromani families. Since 1991 such segregated Rromani classes have appeared in many schools of the Nowy Sącz province, and gradually in other provinces as well. In 1992/1993 there were already fourteen of them. In October 1993 the Roma Association in Poland officially questioned the idea and development of “Rromani classes” in a letter addressed to Mrs Janina Gościej, then School Superintendent in the Nowy Sącz province.

The criticism of the Roma Association was directed both against its promises, and its practice. Initially, Rev Opocki tried to find a solution for those Rromani children who, due to their particular family situation and educational problems, drop out of school at an early age and remain illiterate. No one objected to his attempts at that time. However, in a short period

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286 Poradnia
287 Under Section 1(4) of the Education Act 1981 children are not to be taken as having a learning difficulty and assessed as being in need of special education solely because the language or form of language of the home is different from that used in school. DES Circular 22/89 recommends that special education needs (SEN) assessments and statements should be in a language familiar to the parents and child [Code of Practice, 1991].
289 Mrs Maria Królik, Mrs Ewa Golinska, Mrs Maria Gądek, Mrs Barbara Arondarczyk, Mr Stanisław Kwietniowski, Mr Andrzej Burkat
290 A small number of pupils can be a reason for formatting joined classes. Minimum seven members of a minority group commissions authorities to establish a separate class.
of time, the majority of the Rromani children were directed to those classes and therefore “segregated Rromani classes” soon appeared in a number of schools in Southern Poland.

According to Mirga\textsuperscript{291} the Programme approved by the Ministry of Education did not attach any formal criteria for recruitment to such classes, there was also no demand for testing children’s school abilities in psychological clinics, which would be a routine procedure for other children. Eventually, nearly all Rromani children were enrolled into those classes, irrespective of their age. In contrary to what was initially said i.e. that the Programme was set up for children who had educational problems, children as young as seven were placed together with older children in the same classes. As a result, all the standards and requirements became lower than for children attending “normal classes”. As a consequence, the classes for the Rromani children became commonly called “special classes”.\textsuperscript{292}

The authors of the curriculum, “Initial Teaching Programme for Rroma”, worked out a “minimum” programme adapted to the Rromani children’s abilities. It covered only three initial school classes (grades), with no plan for the future. In the Roma Association’s view [Mirga, 1998] this curriculum, approved by the Ministry of Education, was in fact, a special needs curriculum which diminishes their chances of getting normal education and deprives them of equal opportunities in schooling. Therefore, since 1993, the Roma Association in Poland has entered a debate about this experiment with the Ministry, Rev Opocki, some Rromani leaders and teachers involved in working in “Rromani classes”. The dispute was partly publicised in the media. As a result, in 1995 the Roma Association proposed to the Ministry of Education [A letter, 7 March, 1996] to undertake nation-wide research in the Rromani community aimed at specifying the educational situation of the Rromani children and the background of socio-cultural and economic conditions in the whole country. This was meant to be a preparatory step towards the adoption of the state’s education policy towards the Rroma. The Roma Association in collaboration with the University of Silesia started the research in Spring 1996 and it ended in Autumn 1997. At the end of 1997 “Report. Rroma about the education of their

\textsuperscript{291}In an interview conducted with him on 2 January 1996 in Kraków, Poland.

\textsuperscript{292}In the Czech Republic children who fail tests are sent to “low intelligence schools”. Since many Rroma speak Czech language poorly or are illiterate, therefore most of the pupils in the special schools are Rroma [Frenner et al, 1997]

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children (Based on Bergitka Rroma group example\textsuperscript{293})" written by Mr Marian Gerlich was published by the Roma Association in Poland.

On 20 October 1997 the Ministry of Education\textsuperscript{294} addressed a letter to European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest, in which the approved previously Programme was justified. It states that Rromani children attend mainly integrated classes\textsuperscript{295} The most important problem in her opinion is a poor understanding of the Polish language.\textsuperscript{296} The aim of the creation of Rromani classes was to allow Rromani children to overcome more easily the educational problems and social barriers, as well as preparing children to continue education from class IV in the integrated system of Polish public schools.

From September 1997 till June 1998 the Romani Social-Cultural Association in Tarnów\textsuperscript{297} started an education project in Maszkowice (Nowy Sącz province) where there was a Rromani class in a local public school. This small Rromani community is mostly marginallised, isolated and rejected by the settled people in the Nowy Sącz area. Extremely poor living conditions are associated with nearly total unemployment [Mirga, 1998].

According to Mirga [1998] all the Rromani children of school age (42) were to attend local school, but they were segregated into one class-room which was established by Rev Opocki in February 1990.\textsuperscript{298} The room is 20 sq.m. All children aged from seven and fourteen are in this same room together, working according to a Programme with one appointed teacher. In 1997, the Roma Association revealed, after few visits to this class and short examination of what had been accomplished so far, that the majority of children could not even read basic letters or do a simple counting. In their opinion [Mirga, 1998] the Rromani community, specially the children, face inequality and discrimination, they are excluded from the school life and the teacher's competence to teach in that class was questionable. The

\textsuperscript{293} The research was carried out in: Czarna Góra, Szafary, Maszkowice, Lososina Góra, Ochotnica, Nowy Sącz.
\textsuperscript{294} Signed by Deputy Director of the Bureau for European Integration and International Cooperation, Mrs Magdalena Mazifinska.
\textsuperscript{295} Together with Polish children.
\textsuperscript{296} It would be unlawful to refuse admission to children of foreign nationality in the UK on racial grounds [Code of Practice, 1991]
\textsuperscript{297} Społeczno-Kulturalne Stowarzyszenie Rombów w Tarnowie.
\textsuperscript{298} According to Rev Opocki (1994) for seventeen children aged between eight and fifteen.
Association entered into a debate with the school authority, voivodship educational council and the Ministry of Education aimed at dissolving the Rromani class, allowing Rromani children to enter integrated classes, or at least changing the teacher and dividing Rromani children into several age groups. The Association itself [Szewczyk, 1998] provided the Rromani children with material help (school materials, shoes, clothes, school bags etc.), a guardian was appointed to escort children to school and from school and children were also taken for a trip to Tarnów. These actions unexpectedly caused some further tension with the Gadże. The Association was accused through their action and financial support for the Rromani children of discriminating against Gadże children. In addition the common view of the local Polish Gadże community is that Rromani children should remain in separate classes. At the moment the situation remains unchanged. The Rromani class exists, this same teacher is teaching this group. However, the local Gadże community are even more hostile towards the Rroma then previously. On 25 June 1998, so called Polish-Rroma Round Table Debate in Łącko took place, where representatives of the Rromani population, teachers from Maszkowice and voivodship council discussed the outcome of the experimental educational Programme for Rromani children in Maszkowice. For this purpose, at the beginning of 1997, thirty four Rromani children were tested psychologically in Stary Sącz, the results will be available soon.

Following the request of the Roma Association in Tarnów, the Ministry of Education and voivodship council of province Nowy Sącz will be visiting villages where such “Rromani classes” exist.

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299 Which was possible owing to the American Consulate in Kraków and Batory Foundation who contributed the sum of 10,500$ for helping the Rromani population settled in Maszkowice. The project started in September 1997 and lasted until June 1998.

300 Information based on telephone conversation with A.Mirga on 15 July 1998.

301 It is necessary to add that local Gadże community is also very poor in this region.
Continued - Table 5.1: Distribution of schools for the Rroma in Poland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Since</th>
<th>Class Type</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Syllabus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czarny Dunajec</td>
<td>second semester of 1991</td>
<td>One class</td>
<td>Between 8 and 14 years old</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Syllabus of level 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Extra-mural course*</td>
<td>Between 14 and 17 years old</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarnów Primary School</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Two-level course which continued for 2 years</td>
<td>Between 8 and 14 years old</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Elementary education based on syllabus of level 1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarnów Rromani Restaurant</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Three times a week in the morning with apprenticeship</td>
<td>Between 14 and 17 years old</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>One year's initial technical training, speciality: cook, waiter. Successful pupils received certificates on completion of Primary Education with occupational training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limanowa Primary School No 1</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Joined class</td>
<td>Between 8 and 13 years old</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Syllabus 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maruszyna k/Szaflar Primary School</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Joined class</td>
<td>Between 8 and 14 years old</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Syllabus 1-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table continued on next page
Table 5.1: Distribution of schools for the Rroma in Poland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>KIND OF CLASS</th>
<th>PUPILS’ AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>SYLLABUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nowy Sącz, Primary School No 9</td>
<td>In 1990</td>
<td>One class</td>
<td>For over 17 years old</td>
<td>About 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>They completed a 2 year course with an examination at the end. Sessions took place 4 days a week, 3-4 hours a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowy Sącz, Primary School No 3</td>
<td>In 1991</td>
<td>Two classes - only for Rromani pupils</td>
<td>For below 17 years old</td>
<td>About 33</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lessons every day - Different syllabus than in a main-stream school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maszkowice, Primary School</td>
<td>Since 1990</td>
<td>One class</td>
<td>Between 8 and 15 years old</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limanowa (Lososina Góra), Primary School No 4</td>
<td>Since 1991</td>
<td>Three units were joined in one class (united class)</td>
<td>One year’s course</td>
<td>For adults</td>
<td>13 adults</td>
<td>4 (including priest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mielec, Primary School</td>
<td>Since 1992</td>
<td>Primary class</td>
<td>Between 7 and 10 years old</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Homogeneous syllabus for all those pupils regarding the age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One year’s course</td>
<td>For over 16 years old</td>
<td>15 started (only 8 finished)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Initial technical training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table continued on next page
Continued - Table 5.1: Distribution of schools for the Rroma in Poland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Location</th>
<th>Since 1993</th>
<th>Joined class</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Syllabus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stalowa Wola (Tarnobrzeskie province)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Between 8 and 14 years old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulawy (Lubelskie province)</td>
<td>Since 1993</td>
<td>Joined class</td>
<td>Below 14 years old</td>
<td>Syllabus 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zabrze (Katowickie province)</td>
<td>Since 1993</td>
<td>Joined class</td>
<td></td>
<td>Syllabus 1-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information obtained during an interview conducted with Rev Stanislaw Opoczt and Mrs Marta Lebda-Królik on 10 August 1993 (data was sent back to Poland to be checked by both of them and received back on 2 March 1994)

- Candidate for an examination from outside the school
Table 5.2: The schools for the Rroma planned in near future. (The author of this work does not know if the below courses exist in 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>FROM YEAR</th>
<th>KIND OF CLASS</th>
<th>PUPIL’S AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>SYLLABUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puławy Primary School</td>
<td>From September 1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One year’s Initial technical training, speciality: cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zabrze</td>
<td>From September 1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One year’s Initial technical training, speciality: cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czarny Dunajec</td>
<td>From 1994</td>
<td></td>
<td>Over 17 years old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>One year’s Initial technical training, speciality: ironwork, mechanics, embroidery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.2 An enquiry into the current situation for providing education for the Rroma and other travelling groups in the United Kingdom with particular reference to Nottinghamshire

A caravan school has existed in Newark for about twenty years. Since the early 1990s it has no longer been a separate provision, but part of a primary School, so it is formally linked with the Thomas Magnez school where the Traveller Education Service is also based.

The author visited the newly established Traveller Education Service based in Newark on the 18 December 1991, April 1994, 6 of September 1994 and on the 24 April 1995. In addition, an interview was conducted in Nottingham with Mrs Jenny Price - Assistant Director of Education in Nottinghamshire County Council - on the 9 June 1994 and 5 September 1994. Some of the information given below is based on the report [1990/1991] and the remainder on interviews. This section gives details of proposed special educational provision for Travellers’ children in Nottinghamshire from 1990-1991 onwards.

5.4.2.1 Numbers of Travellers children in Nottinghamshire Schools

Until 1990 LEAs were able to claim the cost of educational provision for Travellers against the “no area pool” at a standard rate in proportion to the weeks of their actual attendance.

This expenditure was in respect of the pupil numbers detailed below and the costs arising from the provision of a Caravan School for pre-school children in the town of Newark. Details of the pupil population on which this cost was based are set out in Table 5.3.

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302 The report of the Traveller Education Service was submitted in respect of new specific grant arrangements operative from April 1990 replacing the “no area pool”. This project embraces the Traveller, Fairground, Circus and Rromani children who at some time each year reside temporarily or permanently in Nottinghamshire.

303 “no area pool”: approximately since 1973 until 1990, money from DES which was not allocated just for Travellers but for all children, it was not linked to specific areas, it was for each year and Counties had to just write and ask for it.

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Table 5.3: Numbers of individual Travellers’ children in Nottinghamshire schools in the financial years 1987/1988 and 1988/1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashfield</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassetlaw</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broxtowe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedling</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansfield</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark Caravan School</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>223</strong></td>
<td><strong>191</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Precise figures on the size of the Travelling Community in the County are difficult to obtain, as many families move from place to place on a seasonal or fully nomadic basis. Returns from schools reveal that Travellers’ children may attend a school for periods running from a number of days to up to six months.

An overwhelming majority of Travellers’ children attending school in Nottinghamshire are residing on official caravan sites in Hucknall, Worksop, Ollerton and Newark. The largest gathering of Traveller families is on the Tolney Lane Caravan Site in Newark.

5.4.2.2 Provision in Nottinghamshire - Pre-school, Primary and Secondary Education

The primary level of education was available principally through pre-school provision at the Caravan School on the Tolney Lane site and the Mount Primary School situated in the centre of Newark. The pre-school provision was situated on a site in Newark and was staffed by a Head
Teacher and part-time nursery nurse. It was viewed by Travellers as a valuable resource for children usually aged between 2 and 6 years.

County wide it is estimated that between 15 and 20 primary schools within Nottinghamshire have Traveller children at some time during a school year. The statistics from secondary schools across the County are less encouraging, revealing that few Traveller children appear to attend school after the age of eleven. Only five secondary schools reported having Traveller children on roll. Reports from schools and the Education Welfare Service supported the Swann Report [1985] which noted the Travellers reluctance to send their children to secondary schools.

Educational provision for Travellers’ children was made primarily through mainstream schools. Due to the significant number of Travellers’ children in Newark, specific provision was made for pre-school children at the Caravan School and in the Primary School. At The Mount Primary School, a Community Teacher was provided by the Education Committee together with a part-time teacher, to assist with special educational needs.

Relationships between the caravan school, the primary school and the Traveller Community have been very positive. There is, however, no immediate support available by other schools who may without prior warning receive a number of Traveller children and may require immediate advice on how to best meet the children’s educational needs. The LEA is also continuously committed to meeting the needs of secondary age children, initially through the improvement of attendance levels and mainstream provision within schools.

There were support teachers (Peripatetic Teachers) responsible for advising primary, secondary and special schools on how best to meet the needs of Travellers’ children. Their work was flexible, and involved working alongside class teachers to assist integration; acting as a resource on culturally relevant materials; providing an input through In-service training for teachers [INSET] courses; promoting Travellers culture and positive images of Travellers in the authority area; working alongside the Education Welfare Officer [EWO] in schools to foster and maintaining
good home school links through regular liaison with families on sites. Each teacher was responsible for a geographical area of the authority.

The Traveller Education also requested funding for an additional EWO who would be responsible for working specifically with Traveller families and schools. The funding was granted and the role particularly involved locating Travellers, forming relationships and promoting school attendance particularly amongst the Secondary age children. If required, the EWO assisted in any welfare concerns that families had, in particular, those relating to welfare benefits i.e. school clothing, school meals, home to school transport.

A further important role was to liaise with other agencies who may have been able to assist Traveller children and their families through access to Primary health care and assistance from statutory agencies. It was envisaged that the Education Welfare Officer would work in co-operation with the Peripatetic teachers.

In addition, it was intended that the classroom ancillary posts (Classroom Ancillaries) would be used to provide additional support to class teachers to assist them in meeting the needs of Traveller children who had special educational needs. The posts were developed flexibly in schools as and when need arose. Furthermore, a clerical assistant was appointed to provide the peripatetic teachers and the EWO with the Clerical and Administrative support necessary to operate flexibly across the County in response to the demand and need.

Evidence collected since the commencement of the project was used to formulate ongoing policy and strategies for a longer term response to the needs of Travellers’ children. From this, it should be possible to secure more solid data on the numbers of Traveller children in Nottinghamshire and to establish a clearer understanding of the educational needs of this disadvantaged community. It is envisaged that effective liaison and co-operation between East Midland LEAs could contribute towards an improved educational service to Traveller families.
According to the information received from Mrs Jenny Price during a visit to the County Council on the 9 June 1994, there were in 1994 two Traveller Education Projects, both of which were funded until 31 March 1994 and which operated as a single provision:

- A three year project (1991-1994), with two teachers, one EWO and 0.5 clerical support.\(^{304}\)
- A one year supplementary project (1993-1994), with one teacher and one classroom assistant.

The project was time-limited and, as with other projects, there was no guarantee that the authority would continue to fund a service along the same lines as that developed by the project. This emphasised the concept, expressed in the objectives, that any service provided by the project would develop and support existing services, rather than replace them. According to Simons [1991], the project 1991-1994 was based in Newark, but with a county-wide brief, and run until March 1993. The objective was to look at the quality of education received by the children of Travelling families.

This project was overseen by a management group consisting of the Assistant Director (Special Needs), Head of the Special Needs Service and the Principal Education Welfare Officer. At a local level the Head of the Special Needs Service (Dave Headley) and the S.E.W.O. (Shaun Smith) gave day-to-day support to the project team members. The group consisted of Wendy Harding and Ruth Gidlow - Support Teachers and Mark Simons - Education Welfare Officer.

The project workers aimed to develop a level of understanding of the nature of, and the needs and aspirations of, the Travelling community with regard to education and they were able to provide support to schools, in helping to promote and maintain school attendance and ensure a positive experience of education for the children.

\(^{304}\) The three year project was established when the "no area pool" arrangements ceased, and the staffing was based on a somewhat patchy database of members of Traveller children in the County.
According to a letter written to Special Needs Support Service by one of the Education Welfare Officer, there were a number of clear objectives stated in introducing this initiative [Simons, 1991]:

- 'To compile statistics concerning the numbers of Traveller children within the county, from settled and Traveller families, who are of statutory school age.'
- 'To work with schools where there is a transient population of Travellers to develop strategies which encourage regular attendance.'
- 'To work collaboratively with mainstream secondary schools and the Traveller community to improve the school attendance of secondary age pupils.'
- 'To provide a consultative/advice service to the Education Welfare Service about the needs of Traveller children.'
- 'To visit other LEAs in the region to gain an understanding of the arrangements already in operation for supporting the education of Traveller children and making and maintaining links with the Traveller community.'
- 'To be involved in appropriate INSET programmes for mainstream teachers and appropriate training for the Education Welfare Service and other Support Services.'
- 'To develop positive relationship with the Traveller community in order to improve their understanding of the educational opportunities available to their children and to encourage them to become more involved in their children’s education.'
- 'To support schools in developing their skills in working with the Traveller community and their understanding of the culture and aspirations of Traveller parents.'
- 'To liaise closely with other agencies who work with the Traveller community.'

The immediate task focused on collecting information about the Travelling community. This is where the Education Welfare Officers’ local knowledge was very useful, for example: the location of Travelling families, when they move on, which schools they attend, what sort of issues arise in schools. The project also aimed to identify issues that arose in actually placing a Travelling child in a school.

One of the main objectives of this project during the first year was to collect data. This revealed that the number of school-age children was higher than had been anticipated. The data related to the Traveller population, sites and numbers of children of school-age. As a result it was project did not have the resources to provide a service to all of those children and the highly mobile
(and most vulnerable) group was rarely supported by the project. A supplementary bid was therefore made (for 1993/1994) specifically to target the highly mobile Travellers residing in the County.

5.4.2.3 Achievements accomplished from September 1991 until August 1993

By the time the staff from the original project had been in post for two years, effective working relationships had been established with the various schools and many of the targets set had been achieved. The additional teacher post attached to the Supplementary one year project had been filled which enhanced the provision and the team’s ability to provide support to families, children and schools.

In the first year of the project the staff established themselves with the Traveller community and were able to extend their contact with Traveller families on the one Local Authority site and the private sites. The number of visits to unauthorised sites was increased as a result of the knowledge they had developed of the County and better local contacts. On occasions Travellers had also made contact with the team, giving their location and asking for support.

During the second year work was concentrated on supporting children from authorised sites and the project team worked closely with staff in 11 schools, providing individual support for 82 targeted children. The number of schools enrolling Traveller children increased from 27 in the first year to 42 in the second. Each of those schools received support and advice from the team at some time during that year.

In order to increase the numbers of children attending Secondary schools, a Primary/Secondary Liaison and Transfer programme in Newark, where concentrated numbers of Travellers reside, was initiated and supported. Although numbers transferring to Secondary schools showed an increase on the previous years (21 to 28), this still remained a focus for future work.
The partnership between the project team and schools was positive. The team provided In-Service professional development for mainstream staff, advised on, and loaned appropriate curriculum resources and supported individual pupils.

Work with parents was a key feature of the project, enhancing their understanding of the educational aims of mainstream schools, in order to empower them to become more effective partners in the education of their children.

Liaison work with Traveller Education Services in neighbouring counties enabled the mobile groups to be located more promptly and thus accelerated the enrolment of many children into schools.

5.4.2.4 Estimated progress for the Rroma and other Traveller education between 1994 and 1997

As a result of the three year project previously mentioned it was easier to establish a firm foundation for future work. Progress was achieved slowly and steadily with a group that historically had been suspicious and apprehensive of educational establishments, and with schools that had not previously had support or guidance on addressing the needs of this cultural group.

A continuation of the project, with a staffing level appropriate to the Traveller population of the County, would have enabled the work to be consolidated and developed (During the period from September 1993 to March 1994, 417 children were enrolled in 55 schools).

From April 1st, 1994 significant staffing changes occurred within Nottinghamshire Traveller Education Service. A new Team Leader (Mrs Helen Blauu) and two new Team Members were appointed. The two teachers who had worked in the service since it began moved to other jobs. Once the new team had become established, attention started to be given to further development. The whole team was involved in reviewing practice and establishing direction, targets and strategies for future work. Work continued in schools with a regular, sizeable intake of Travellers from established sites. Staff moved away from withdrawal and one to one support teaching into
providing in class support and working in partnership with class teachers on curriculum development and differentiation. In-service training was offered to schools on an informal basis, largely to groups of staff receiving Traveller pupils for the first time. This area was identified for considerable work in future. INSET packages were developed and in 1994 the intention was to make the formal delivery of INSET a priority in the following years.

It was estimated that an increasing number of Traveller children would be attending schools. This would necessitate a great deal of direct work with families and the staff of mainstream schools to raise confidence and work towards a shared understanding of expectations on both parts.

Direct support work with children in schools was expected to be provided by classroom assistants in the majority of cases and on a time limited basis for longer-term admissions.

Expectations were that teacher-time would be used far more in supporting and working with teachers and schools to enable them to provide appropriately for the Traveller children in their care and to accept responsibility for them. Project Teachers were to continue to provide individual pupil support in cases where Traveller children had Special Education Needs [SEN] and where a school had no previous experience of Traveller children.

The work of the team was to be reviewed and evaluated periodically by the Education Officer (Special Needs) and the Principal Education Welfare Officer who would have an overview of the provision offered. It was envisaged that the aim of evaluation would primarily be to determine if the provision was having a marked effect on attendance and attainment.

It was indicated that in future schools would have access to informed support in the classroom through the peripatetic teachers and classroom ancillaries, and curriculum resources to assist them in meeting the needs of Travellers children. An increased number of secondary aged Travellers children in Nottinghamshire schools was expected. It was hoped that the provision of INSET aimed at developing teacher awareness of Traveller culture and educational needs would contribute towards greater understanding of Travellers children and their families.
Travellers families should find schools welcoming and positive; displaying an understanding of their culture and educational aspirations. It was hoped that if this were the case they would feel more disposed to sending their secondary aged children to local schools and have a clearer understanding of the educational provision available and how it would benefit their children. In addition, they would have access to support from the Education Welfare Officer and Peripatetic Support Teachers when required. This would encourage better home/school liaison and mutual understanding. Through experiencing close liaison with the teachers and Education Welfare Officers it was hoped parents would eventually be encouraged to communicate to the LEA their views of the provision available in schools for their children.

5.4.2.5 Proposed educational provision for Traveller children for 1997 onwards

In 1997, Nottinghamshire LEA made a number of policy decisions regarding their commitment to the development of the provision of education for Traveller children in the future. At the time of writing this thesis as a result of financial constraints very little of this will have been achieved. However the ongoing commitment to the improvement of the education provision for such children remains.

In 1997, in line with the LEA’s multicultural policy and the Equal Opportunities policy, the Education Committee aims were to ensure that mainstream schools welcomed Travellers and could offer pupil-centred learning using materials and a curriculum which positively reflects their way of life and cultural diversity. To achieve this end, it is necessary to recognise the aspirations and concerns of Traveller parents and to establish and maintain links to help eliminate doubts, discuss initiatives such as the National Curriculum and accordingly provide positive educational experiences for their children. It was felt that a number of flexible strategies will be needed if this end is to be achieved.

It was felt that future provision needs to enable schools to offer an appropriate and realistic experience for Travellers children during their stay in the school. The strategies will need to reflect that some children will have had little formal education and what they have had, may not have been continuous or, in any sense regular.
The school may appear to the parents and children to be a somewhat strange environment. To engage these children successfully there will obviously be a need to equip staff in school with an awareness and understanding of the possible needs of Travellers’ children - based on a clear appreciation of Travellers’ culture and lifestyle and access to appropriate curriculum materials.

Regular and sustained contact with Travellers families on sites will be necessary to assist in the take up of places and the promotion of school attendance.

In devising strategies to provide a stimulating educational experience for Travellers’ children, it will be necessary to acknowledge the variety of needs in the Travellers population. For example mention was made earlier of the small number of such children engaged in Secondary education in Nottinghamshire. This issue will need addressing through dialogue with parents in a sensitive and non-authoritarian manner to secure an understanding of the benefits of continuing education.

Clearly one avenue for exploration would be an investigation into the ways of making the transition from primary to secondary school easier. Equal sensitivity will be necessary in ensuring the implication of such issues as special school provision, records of Achievement and the National Curriculum for Travellers children is understood.

Nottinghamshire’s neighbouring LEAs have considerable experience in meeting the needs of Travellers’ children. It will therefore be beneficial to engage with other East Midland LEAs in sharing good practice, resources and information on families moving between Authorities.

It is the Education Committee’s policy that as far as is possible Travellers children should be in education within the mainstream classroom. This policy was endorsed by the HMI document on Travellers education 1983 and the Swann Report Education for All 1985.

As a consequence therefore, future provision using grant support will initially be focused on maintaining the Newark Caravan School and the primary and secondary schools identified as being most in need of support through school returns. Assistance in the classroom will be a
principal aim underpinned by curriculum development and regular, effective home/school liaison. To this end grant aid is sought to meet 75% of the expenditure involved in the following special provision.

There are three regions where regional co-ordination operated by Local Authorities has existed over very many years, the structure differing in each case. These are: East Anglia, Inner London and the West Midlands. A brief outline is presented in Annex 20. There is a need to evaluate these different structures and make recommendations for the future.
5.5 Sources of Information

5.5.1 Visits, interviews with officials and teachers, conferences, seminars

Throughout the period of research, the author was invited by various educational officials, teachers and writers to attend private meetings, conferences and seminars. All the information in the section on contemporary provision for the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom is based on this diary of visits, interviews etc.

In order to collect a lot of the data for this thesis extended travelling in the United Kingdom and in Poland was necessary. Appropriate maps are included [Annex 21, 22 and 23].

- November 1991
  The Section 11 Support Centre in Nottingham (Nottinghamshire) was contacted and information about a new Project at Newark was obtained from Mr David Headley.\(^{305}\)

- 18 December 1991
  During the first visit to Newark (Nottinghamshire) a Circular was obtained and there was a very brief visit to the sites on Tolney Lane. The address of Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh was obtained.

- 20 April 1992
  Mr and Mrs Males in Skirwith (Cumbria) who were engaged in teaching and travelling for the last twenty years with Rroma throughout the country were visited. From them information about the National Association of Teachers of Travellers was obtained.

- 9 May 1992
  An Annual General Meeting of the National Association of Teachers of Travellers, which took place at Stevenage (Hertfordshire), was attended. Amongst the many people directly involved in working with Travellers, the author also met Mr Arthur Ivatts HMI and Mrs Pat Holmes (WMEASTC).

\(^{305}\) The Head of Special Needs Support Service.
• 18 June 1992

The author was invited to Stevenage by Mrs Pat Holmes (a co-ordinator of WMEAESFTC and a vice-chair of EFECOT) and visited West Midlands Education Authorities, Education Service For Travelling Children in Bilston, Birmingham (Regional Centre of EFECOT in England). An interview with Mrs Pat Holmes was conducted during this visit.

• 19 June 1992

Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh\textsuperscript{306} was visited and interviewed in Newark (Nottinghamshire). She worked at that time as an Outreach Worker in the Youth & Community Office at Newark. This project, involving work with English and Irish Travellers started in March 1989. The aim was to provide a Youth Service relevant to the needs of young men and women who use sites in Newark.

• 1 July 1992

The author was invited by Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh to watch the video "Square Wheels" at Intermedia in Nottingham. This unique 20 minute video was originally the idea of a small group of young Rroma in 1990 who at the time lived on one of the sites on Tolney Lane, Newark and met as a group every Thursday at their own Youth Club. The overall aim was to create a video that would help to develop a greater awareness of the Rromani culture, the racism they face in everyday life and the great changes that have taken place over the past few years especially for the young Rroma of Tolney Lane.

• 29 July 1993 (From July 1993 to September 1993 research was conducted in Poland)

A meeting was arranged with Mr Andrzej Mirga\textsuperscript{307} in Kraków. Following his suggestions certain organisations and individuals were contacted within a relatively short period of time throughout the whole of Poland.

• 03 August 1993

A School Superintendent's Office for the Province of Nowy Sącz in Nowy Sącz was visited and the author met Mr Witold Kozłowski and Mr Władysław Ścianek.\textsuperscript{308}

\textsuperscript{306} Mrs Barker-Pugh is the only Traveller-Showman in the United Kingdom employed by education authorities to work with Travellers.

\textsuperscript{307} Chairman of the Roma Association in Poland.

\textsuperscript{308} Deputy Director of the Department of Primary Schools in the Province of Nowy Sącz.
03 August 1993
During a visit to Lososina Górna a short interview with the Parish priest was conducted. (Unfortunately Rev. Opocki was away on that day)

06 August 1993
During a visit to the Ministry of National Education in Warszawa a short interview was conducted with Mrs Melania Sobanska-Bondaruk.

06 August 1993
During a visit to the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Warszawa an informal conversation was held with Mrs Łucja Wierzycka.

06 August 1993
TV Polonia in Warszawa was visited to gain information on minority programming.

08 August 1993
A meeting was held with Mr Mirga in Kraków, who gave access to some statistical information.

10 August 1993
Mr and Mrs Szewczyk were visited in Laskowa. They supplied some information about a non-State financed primary school “the Community Primary School Associated with Alternative Teaching” which was created in Opole in 1990.

10 August 1993
Rev. Stanisław Opocki was visited in Lososina Górna.

10 August 1993
A meeting was held with Mrs Marta Królik.

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309 Diocesan Priest of Rroma. National Initiator of Rromani Schooling empowered by Ministry of National Education
310 Head of the Department of General Education
311 Teachers
312 Mrs Marta Lebda-Królik is a recent winner of a prize awarded by Papal Foundation for outstanding accomplishment in the field of religion and activity in a difficult environment. She graduated as a sociologist from the Catholic University of Lublin.
• 11 August 1993

The Centre of Roma Culture in Tarnów was visited and a meeting was held with Mr Adam Bartosz\(^{313}\) and Mr Jonathan Webber\(^{314}\) from Oxford with a group of students working on a Minority Groups project in Poland. A video about European Roma was shown, a presentation by Mr Bartosz about Romani situation in Poland in connection with current migrations from Romania was attended and an exhibition at the museum was seen. There was also the opportunity to work in the archive and photocopy some articles.

• 14 August 1993

The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Warszawa was contacted by telephone in relation to some materials.

• 19 August 1993

The Provincial Administration Office in Opole was visited and an interview was carried out with Mr Andrzej Popiolek.\(^{315}\)

• 20 August 1993

The author travelled to Gorzów Wielkopolski where the International Romani Music Festival was held from 19 until 22 August.

• 02 September 1993

The School Superintendent's Office for the Province of Nowy Sącz was visited as well as Primary School No3. Along with a representative of the School Superintendent's Office Mrs Teresa Bugaj and School's Headteacher Mrs Halina Węgrzyn two lessons of different classes were inspected. There was a chance to meet two teachers: Mrs Maria Gałdek and Mrs Anna Legutko, and gain access to registers.

Primary School No4 in Limanowa - Łososina Góra was visited and the Headteacher Mr Stefan Kwientniowski was interviewed.

Primary School No9 in Limanowa - Łososina Góra was visited and the Headteacher Mr Andrzej Balas and Mr Andrzej Burkat\(^{316}\) were interviewed.

\(\footnote{313\text{ Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Tarnów. He also is a member of Inquiry Committee of Romani Union.}}\)

\(\footnote{314\text{ Working for the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies.}}\)

\(\footnote{315\text{ Responsible for minority schools in Province of Opole.}}\)

\(\footnote{316\text{ Tutor of two classes.}}\)
There was a brief visit to two Romani sites located near Primary School No9 with Mr Andrzej Burkat and Mrs Teresa Bugaj.

- 03 September 1993
  An interview was conducted with Mr Mirga in Kraków and some documents obtained.

- August 1993
  The author worked in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków.

- April 1994
  During a second visit to Newark (Nottinghamshire) an interview was conducted with the new team leader Mrs Helen Blouu.

  A Traveller Information Pack published by Leicestershire Traveller Education Service was obtained.

- 9 June 1994
  An interview was conducted in Nottingham with Mrs Jenny Price - Assistant Director of Education in Nottinghamshire County Council.

- 5 September 1994
  Another interview was conducted in Nottingham with Mrs Jenny Price - Assistant Director of Education in Nottinghamshire County Council.

- 6 September 1994
  Another visit to Newark (Nottinghamshire) took place.

- 8 September 1994
  Mrs Florence Barker-Pugh was visited and interviewed in Sutton-in-Ashfield (Nottinghamshire).
• November 1994
The Nottinghamshire County Council - Special Needs Department in Nottingham was contacted and some information was obtained.

• 22 April 1995
The Annual Meeting of the British Rommani Union led by Mr Tom Odley\(^\text{317}\) was attended in Edenbridge (Kent). Afterwards he gave an short interview to a small group of people and the author was invited to the office and British Rommani Union’s publishing centre.

• 23 April 1995
Mr Adam Bartosz\(^\text{318}\) arrived in Nottingham. His visit to the United Kingdom gave the author an opportunity to discuss some of the points he made in his book published in 1994 (\textit{Do not be afraid of a Gypsy}) as well as to find out more about racial problems in Eastern Europe, about the organisation Rommani Union, and linguistic problems in connection with terminology.

• 24 April 1995
Mrs Helen Blouu was revisited in the company of Mr Adam Bartosz. Trespass on Land: A guide to the law, Effective Distance Learning-an independent learning module for teachers, Schools Information Pack and Catalogue of Teaching Resources-NATT 1993 was obtained.
An additional interview was conducted during this visit.

• 25 April 1995
The author travelled with Mr Adam Bartosz to Leicester-Cosby (Leicestershire) to meet Mr David Smith.\(^\text{319}\) An interview was conducted with him on a variety of subjects including the distinction between education and schooling, the reality of racism, the history of legislations and even references to a few legislations from XVIth century.
Mr Smith gave us some information about Horse Sales.

\(^{317}\) A chairman of the Union.

\(^{318}\) Member of Inquiry Committee of Rommani Unia, Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Tamôw, Poland.

\(^{319}\) Editor of the Gypsy Lore Society, Co-writer of \textit{Gypsies and Government Policy in England: A Study of the Travellers’ Way of Life in Relation to the Policies and Practices of Central and Local Government} (First published 1975). He provides various seminars and conferences with illustrated lectures and training as well as being actively involved in Traveller research and projects.

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• 23 May 1995
Mr Smith provided an introduction to Mrs Marion Allport\(^\text{320}\) by Mr Smith. An interview was carried out with her in Leicester (Leicestershire). In addition, documents *A Policy Document For The Provision Of Sites For Travellers* by Leicestershire County Council, 1992 and *Travellers and Gypsies in Leicester, 1987/1988*\(^\text{321}\) were obtained.

• 27 May 1995
The author and Mr Adam Bartosz visited the Romany Museum in Spalding (Lincolnshire) mentioned earlier by Mr David Smith.
A meeting was held with a Polish Gadżo woman from London who was working for the Department of Social Services as a translator. Her role was to mediate between Polish Rroma and the DSS.

• August 1995
The School Superintendent’s Office in Kraków was visited.

• August 1995
A telephone interview was held with Mr Mirga.
At last it was possible to purchase an extensive study written by Mr Andrzej Mirga and Mr Lech Mróz: *Odmienność i tolerancja. Przypadek Cyganów*.

• December 1995
The School Superintendent’s Office in Kraków was revisited.
An interview was carried out with Mr Józef Winiarski\(^\text{322}\) who promised to provide a report on education for minority groups in the County.

• 02 January 1996
An telephone interview was held with Mr Andrzej Mirga.

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\(^{320}\) Since 1991 she has been working at Leicestershire County Council as a Traveller Liaison Officer.

\(^{321}\) Based on Mrs Allport’s research.

\(^{322}\) Head of the Pedagogical Department.
The author attended a seminar on the occasion of the launch of the "Interface Collection." The event was organised and hosted by the University of Hertfordshire.

5.5.2 Correspondence with Educational Officials

The author wrote and posted standard letters to various organisations, societies, associations and private persons concerned with Rromani education and their welfare in the United Kingdom and in Poland. In the correspondence the purpose of the research was explained and for resources /contacts /references /opinion on the education for the Rroma were requested. This process took place between October 1994 and February 1995. Following this 10 replies were received in response to the 21 letters sent to UK contacts and 5 replies received from 9 letters sent to contacts in Poland. This is shown in Table 5.4.

Some of the answers were very useful, some organisations suggested what they felt to be more appropriate contacts, some English institutions asked for information about the Polish situation, some never answered. Although the initial expectations were different, the outcome was worthwhile.

Table 5.4: Correspondence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>ORGANISATION</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>REPLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 October 1994</td>
<td>The National Gypsy Council - UK</td>
<td>Mr Charles Smith</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>The National Gypsy Council (different address) - UK</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 October 1994</td>
<td>Save the Children - UK</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>National Gypsy Education Council - UK</td>
<td>Dr. Thomas Acton</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>Department for Education, Pupils &amp; Parents Branch - UK</td>
<td>Miss L E Bowyer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>University of Liverpool - UK</td>
<td>Dr. Carrington</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Mr David Smith</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

323 New Series on the history and culture of Europe's Rroma.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Contact Person</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>Romany Guild - UK</td>
<td>Mr Lee</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>Romany Guild (different address) - UK</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 November 1994</td>
<td>Romany Rights Association - UK</td>
<td>Mrs Frankham</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>National Romani Rights Association (different address) - UK</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>East Anglian Gypsy Council - UK</td>
<td>Mr Mercer</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>East Anglia Gypsy Council (different address) - UK</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>Advisory Committee for the Education of Romany and other Travellers - UK</td>
<td>Mrs Whiffin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>Institute of Race Relations - UK</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>Romani Institute - UK</td>
<td>Dr. Kenrick</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>West European Council of Gypsies - Spain</td>
<td>Mrs Agnes Vrancx</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November 1994</td>
<td>European Centre for Travellers - UK</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1994</td>
<td>Department of Education and Science (telephone) - UK</td>
<td>Mr Arthur Ivatts H.M.I.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>National Association of Teachers of Travellers - UK</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>Romaniestan Publications - UK</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>National Council for Civil Liberties - UK</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>Labour Campaign for Travellers’ Rights - UK</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>Department of the Environment, Gypsy Sites Branch - UK</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 March 1995</td>
<td>British Romani Union - UK</td>
<td>Mr Tom Odley</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1995</td>
<td>Kent Traveller Support Education Team - UK</td>
<td>Mrs Jenny Robson</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1995</td>
<td>Romani Baxt - France</td>
<td>Mr Marcel Cortiade</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 January 1994</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Rev. Stanislaw Opocki</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 January 1994</td>
<td>Romani teacher in Łososina Górska - Poland</td>
<td>Mrs Marta Królík</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November 1994</td>
<td>Diocesan Rroma Priest, National Initiator of Rromani Schooling empowered by the Ministry of National Education - Poland</td>
<td>Rev. Stanislaw Opocki</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Contact Person</td>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 December 1993</td>
<td>School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz - Poland</td>
<td>Mrs Teresa Bugaj</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November 1994</td>
<td>School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz - Poland</td>
<td>Mrs Teresa Bugaj</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>06 December 1995</td>
<td>School Superintendent’s Office in Nowy Sącz - Poland</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>February 1995</td>
<td>Regional Museum in Tarnów - Poland</td>
<td>Mr Adam Bartosz</td>
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<td>February 1995</td>
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<td>Piotr Aszyk SJ</td>
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<td>Co-ordinator of National Association of Teachers of Travellers - UK</td>
<td>Mrs Sally Ambrose</td>
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<td>15 December 1995</td>
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<td>15 December 1995</td>
<td>School Superintendent’s Office in Kraków - Poland</td>
<td>Mr Józef Winiarski</td>
<td>No</td>
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All other additional materials such as: leaflets, letters, official documents, newspapers, reports, TV programmes, information obtained through the Internet, are listed in References.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS & FUTURE WORK
6. CONCLUSIONS & FUTURE WORK

6.1 Conclusions

The main task of this study was the collection of data for the analysis and evaluation of the different educational provisions and systems for the Rroma in Poland (Province of Nowy Sącz) and different parts of the United Kingdom (in particular Nottinghamshire County). This provided essential information for the critical discussion of this research.

This research involved extensive travelling in both countries due to the requirement for up-to-date data. The application of ethnographic interviewing methods, which considers the social and economical environment to a greater extent than conventional methods, has improved the quality of the obtained data considerably.

It was necessary to meet representatives of different groups involved in educational issues for minorities. These meetings were used to verify the data obtained from the survey, and to clarify some remaining issues. It was hoped the discussions would confirm the interpretation of the data and give valuable opinions on the evaluations and conclusions drawn from the survey. They also had an impact on the author’s ideas on future educational projects and policies for minority groups in Poland and in the United Kingdom. Some restrictions appeared whilst conducting interviews in the United Kingdom when a few respondents spoke quickly and with very heavy accent. This made the language difficult to understand immediately, as English is not the author’s mother tongue.

Due to the specific culture of the Rroma a women interviewing them formally is at a disadvantage. If a male Găţăo tried to gain information on his own he would have a problem, but still they would talk with some respect. If a female Găţăo researcher tried to gain information on her own she would be treated with less respect. If a researcher wanted to be ‘talked to’ he/she (better if it is ‘he’) would need a contact person who is known by the Rroma and respected.
Throughout the period of research, the author was invited by various educational officials, teachers and writers to attend private meetings, conferences and seminars. It was recognised, along the way, that frequent travels involving the collection of data represented a very heavy commitment of time, effort and finances. Unfortunately, due to the fact that this research was self financed and the author had very young children, not all the potential opportunities were used.

An extensive correspondence was undertaken with various organisations, societies, associations and private persons concerned with Rromani education and their welfare in the United Kingdom and in Poland. Among very valuable answers, some were conventional and did not relate to specific questions asked.

Furthermore, investigations were conducted into the origins of the Rroma, their historical background, and the interface between the Rroma and indigenous populations (e.g. stereotypes and prejudices) in the past and at present. These provided a valuable basis for the better understanding of the educational problems of the Rroma.

Some information presented in this thesis may not at first sight relate directly to the educational objectives of this study. However, the investigation undertaken shows a very strong relationship between education and cultural background, and way of life of the examined ethnic minority group. Although some data seem to be eminently ethnographical it is essential for the study.

For a fuller picture of the education provisions in the United Kingdom, other minority groups education should be shown. However, this is beyond the scope of the current work.

6.1.1 Terminology

The name Gypsy/Cygan, apart from describing racial origins has certain distasteful connotations, for example dishonesty, theft, a parasitic and a tramp-like existence: in other words everything for which they are blamed, whether rightly or wrongly. Therefore, many activists and Gypsies/Cygarie themselves are trying to introduce into the European language their own name of
Rom to describe themselves. Also Gypsies/Cyganie have a desire to possess their own symbols of nationality e.g. an anthem and a flag.

It was not until the early nineteenth century that scholars and philanthropists developed an increased interest in the Gypsy population. At the same time linguists became engaged in studying the Gypsy language, which until recently, had not possessed a written form. In order to address this, linguists have been trying to perfect the most universal method of writing which could be understood and read by all Gypsies in the world irrespective of their language. It was discovered [Bartosz, 1990] that in the praromani language there were two different sounds for $\gamma$. With time one of the $\gamma$, developed into a long sounding $\gamma\gamma$. At the Fourth Romany Congress organised in Poland under the patronage of UNESCO, the Linguistic Committee recommended spelling Rom with the usage of $\gamma\gamma$.

Detailed study shows great inconsistency about the name used for this particular ethnic group, therefore, the author decided to introduce and use throughout this thesis a new term: Rrom(m), Rromni(f), Rroma(pl), Rromani (adjective).

6.1.2 Origins

Since this minority group has no written language, many different theories regarding its origins have been advanced, often based purely on imagination. There are quite a few legends concerning the origins of the Rroma. Some of them seem to have been created by the Rroma themselves, others by their antagonists.

In the late eighteenth century, purely by accident, it was realised that the Rroma must be of Indian origin. This discovery led to an increased interest in Romani population and provided the basis for philological studies carried out initially by Rüdiger, and then Grellmann, Graffunder, Pott, Miklosich, Turner, Sampson and others [Mirga and Mróz, 1994]. Since then history, anthropology, and linguistics have retraced part of the Rromas' history. This is an achievement that seemed improbable not so long ago since this minority group has no written language. In
comparison with Western countries, in Poland knowledge of the Rroma was extremely scant before the year 1800.

6.1.3 Rromani migrations to Europe

The Rromani presence in Europe was initially documented in the middle of the eleventh century. Since then they have been slowly spreading as dispersed groups throughout all the European countries. Attitudes to them differ significantly in different countries and at different times. Their arrival in Poland was noted in the fifteenth century and in England in the sixteenth century. Although they performed many useful services and entertainments, hostility was soon aroused towards them and their travels were restricted by persecution. The fact is that this unique group has always been stateless and subject to enforced assimilation. In fact, they have always been and still are the most disadvantaged population in terms of education, employment and social status.

The collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe has liberated numerous ethnic and national conflicts. Violence against the Rroma, has become primarily an urban phenomenon since 1989, even in places where they had long been legally settled and seemingly accepted. The new Governments in Eastern Europe failed to treat the problem with the seriousness it deserved or to devote sufficient resources to its resolution.

Racist and neo-fascist violence resulted in new migrations. In turn, new measures were introduced by Western European governments in order to diminish the number of Rromani immigrants.

6.1.4 Statistics

Establishing the exact number of Rroma gives rise to serious difficulties, since the public registers in many countries do not include members of ethnic groups. Sometimes the Rroma, for reasons known only to themselves, do not declare their origins. As a result many countries rely to a
great extent on estimates in order to determine the number of Rroma. For this reason, too, data contained in various publications should be viewed with certain reservations.

Some countries minimise the number of Rroma or even deny their existence (so as to facilitate a policy of assimilation and deny cultural problems). Others inflate the numbers in an effort to exaggerate the alleged difficulties caused by the Rroma as an excuse for keeping them out. Even where deliberate political manipulation of the numbers was not suspected, the quality of statistics relating to the Rroma depended heavily on the organisation that collected them, the purpose for which they were collected, and the methods of collection.

One of the estimations indicates that up to 1,800,000 Rroma and Travellers are living within the twelve countries of the EU and over half of them are children. However, only 30% to 40% of the Rromani population within the EU attend school with any regularity, over half have never been to school and only a very small percentage ever get into secondary education. Therefore, encouraging school attendance and developing literacy is a prime objective.

The best current estimated size of the Rromani population in the United Kingdom comes from the DOE caravan counts. The last set of figures was published on 20 July 1994 and suggested that there were 12,595 Rromani families in England making up an overall population of about 56,677. In Poland, statistics about the number of Rroma are still uncertain. The figures vary from 20,000 - 40,000 to 50,000 - 60,000.

6.1.5 Rromani organisations

Rroma are to be found in almost every country in the world. A particularly striking problem is that they are a people without an ethnic territory of their own and without a national State. This has contributed greatly to the long lasting neglect of their rights and has widely given grounds to their persecution and discrimination. At present, their lack of a territorial base is the reason for a growing need for political recognition. This has led to the formation of many Rroma organisations across the Europe.
However, it is also noticed, that with the new organisational and political methods used by some of the Rromani organisations, a new problem of “Rroma nationalism” has arisen. Instead of “integration not assimilation”, certain individuals and groups propagate “separation not assimilation”, and thus the idea of Rromanistan has come about.

There is, in the United Kingdom, a close co-ordination between the national organisations. It started in the late 1960s, especially in the organisation of summer schools which emphasised the educational deprivation of the Rroma and other Traveller children and provided a motivation for LEA provision. All these national organisations encourage health, education and welfare authorities to provide accessible and appropriate services for Rroma and Travellers. They fight against prejudice and ignorance about Rroma and Travellers and promote mutual tolerance and respect between them and the settled population.

In Poland, in the 1960s Rromani organisations were also forming, but their characteristics were based purely on educational and cultural matters. At that time, in the view of the Polish state, they represented neither a nation nor a nationality. Therefore, the legal and political status of Rroma was not clear.

In 1991 the Association of Roma in Poland was registered. It was the first Rromani organisation in Poland with political tendencies. Since violence against Rroma increased drastically in the late 1980s, many local and national organisations have been working to identify and resolve local conflict, often acting as mediators.

6.1.6 Travellers’ own identity - nomadism

Many nomadic groups in the United Kingdom, including Rroma, class themselves as Travellers. Individual differences distinguish Travellers from each other as deeply as from the settled community. The term *Traveller* is used as a collective term to cover a range of groups, each with its own distinctive lifestyle and traditions, whose cultural roots emanate from the nomadic way of life. Nomadism is part of their identity which is determined by birthright and not by residence. It fulfils three inseparable features of this life-style: adaptability, flexibility, and social
solidarity. Members of the settled community often assume that being a Traveller is always directly related to mobility. In practice, just as settled people remain settled even when they travel, so the Rroma are nomads even when not travelling.

Travellers resent the restrictions imposed by the wage-labour system preferring to find loopholes in the Gadzo economy. In fact, most of them are self-employed. They rarely have one single occupation but practise a combination of trades which allow them to be self-employed and mobile. Occupations of their ancestors are often followed e.g. roofing and tarmacking. In addition, seasonal work provides an ideal source of income e.g. fruit and vegetable picking.

The whole family have a responsibility for the family economy. Women and children contribute to the finances of the family unit and many Rroma view their skills as being more valuable than academic excellence. The children earn money which they handle independently from an early age, because it is considered to be a vital part of growing up. Traveller parents feel that this form of education gives the child life skills towards independence and the ability to remain self-employed. Therefore, even where parents positively support school attendance in the normal way their children may be kept away to perform duties essential to the family economy.

Cultural ties are strong amongst the Rroma community. Extended family life is common amongst Traveller groups and children spend a great deal of time with close relations. They continue to make return visits to areas in order to maintain extensive family connections. The events of births, marriages and deaths are of great importance. They will often travel far for these events (as well as for the great meetings, the pilgrimages, the fairs) and celebrations may well last several days.

Nomadism, which has been part of their identity for over five-hundred years, was forbidden in most Eastern European countries after the Second World War. In Western European countries nomadism was not prohibited, but excessive number of rules and regulations designed for settled societies had a similar effect. All these Acts were used to prevent the Rroma from stopping (they were evicted or ordered to move on) and at the same time exempting Local Authorities from providing education or any other services for these people.
Defining their status in relation to race relations legislation is difficult. Until 1989 the word *Rroma* was stripped of all racial or ethnic meaning, they were considered an ‘ethnographic category’ rather than an ethnic group. Eventually in 1989, based primarily on descent and a tradition of travelling, the Rroma in Poland and the United Kingdom were recognised as an ethnic minority group (but still not as a nationality group, which would have entitled them to certain rights not available to ethnic groups) and were therefore entitled to protection under the Race Relations Act 1976. Despite this, they still persistently suffer discrimination and prejudice from the rest of society.

6.1.7 Governmental policies in implementing education for ethnic minorities in Poland

6.1.7.1 Schooling for minority groups in Poland.

In the late 1950s, the education of minority groups was organised and financed by the government reflecting the ‘education for all’ policy of the government at that time. The groups referred to were major groups like: Belarussians, Czechs, Germans, Jews, Lithuanians, Russians, Slovaks and Ukrainians (at that time the Rroma were not recognised as an ethnic minority).

There were two kinds of schooling available for the minority children: Polish schools or sections with non-Polish speaking lessons; Polish schools or sections with lessons taught in Polish and an extra lesson in the children’s mother tongue about their history and culture. The education authorities demanded that the schools where Polish was not the spoken language for teaching should follow the general compulsory Curriculum.

In the 1990s, the legal basis for this education is the Education System Act of 1991 and the Ordinance of the Ministry of National Education of March 24, 1992 on organising schooling, which allows the identity of national minorities to be upheld: ‘To enable the pupils to maintain their feelings of national, ethnic, language and religious identity, and in particular to learn their mother
tongue and their history and culture'. However, education for the Rroma is still not included under this legislation.

It was hoped that the existence of these schools for national groups, would produce positive attitudes towards minorities amongst Polish children and their families. However, one of the recent major criticisms from all minority groups is the lack of basic information about them in textbooks, sometimes there is no information at all about their history and culture. Therefore, in 1992 the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights demanded that the Ministry of Education revise textbooks to include the history and culture of minorities. The demand was reinforced by the 1994 Parliamentary Commission of National and Ethnic Minorities. However, by the beginning of 1996 nothing substantial had resulted from these demands.

On a national scale, the only example of a positive and promising innovation occurred in Opole in 1990, when a primary school "the Community Primary School Associated with Alternative Teaching" was created. In the 1992/1993 school year the curriculum included teaching on minorities, amongst them the Rroma. Based on that experience, in 1995, a group of teachers from the school developed a booklet containing support materials for teachers of Multicultural education at a primary school level. In 1998, a book Let's meet with others based on the Multicultural programme was published [Weigl and Maliszkiewicz, 1998].

6.1.7.2 Schooling for the Rromani population in Poland.

The 1952 decree, referred to the Rroma as a "population of Gypsy origin". They were seen as a social group rather than recognised as a nation. Therefore the state did not issue any special measures regarding the schooling of Rromani children as it did for other minority groups. The Rroma were not allowed to have Rromani teachers for their children nor could their language be used in classrooms.

Unfortunately all of the previously mentioned provisions which are beneficial for other national minorities, are not accessible for the Rromani community. The reasons are as follows:
The Rromani language is spoken rather than written (in addition it differs throughout the country because of the various dialects that are spoken in Poland)

- There are no manuals available for teaching the Rromani language
- There are no teachers who can speak that language
- The Rroma themselves do not claim such provisions for themselves and their children
- The Ministry of Education has made no attempt to include in the curriculum any teaching on the history and culture of minority groups living in Poland

The Rroma's nomadism was viewed as an unacceptable way of life. In the early 1950s the government tried to secure integration of nomadic Rroma by offering housing and employment. In addition, the 1952 decree requested that the local administration provide, where needed, necessary provisions to enable Rromani children to fulfil their schooling obligation and combat illiteracy amongst them. Practically, a lot depended on the local authorities response to that request and on the Rroma families in their area.

Nevertheless, the settlement was seen as beneficial for the Rromani children's education. In 1964 the Education Departments organised a wide spectrum of help for the Rromani children, who received free textbooks and learning aids, as well as clothes, shoes and linen. The parents' committees in every school where meals were organised allocated the Rromani children free meals. Teachers gave their help to these children in clubs where they did their homework. In some counties, teachers visited the Rromani children at home, giving them help with their work. In two cities (County of Rzeszów) two classes at a primary school level for older children were organised. The scouting movement in schools also took responsibility for the welfare of the Rromani children. In addition, after 1964, local social-administrative departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs designated a person to help, mediate and control the Rromani community in localities with a Rromani population. Often this person, through personal relations, helped to enrol Rromani children in school. Sometimes this person also took children to/from school. At the end of the 1980s this "service" ceased to exist.

According to the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, only 25% of Rromani children attended schools during the 1950s and 1960s. In the late 1960s, it was predicted that in the future
from 67% to 89.3% of the Rromani pupils would be educated. In 1970, 82% of all school aged Rromani children attended school. In the 1983/1984 year the figure grew to 82.6%. It is presumed that this situation has worsened since 1989, as a result of liberalisation of social life. Until 1989, parents were penalised for not sending their children to school, at present there is less weight given to this by the administration.

It is important to note that the schooling results of Rromani children, despite the high percentage of school attendance, were insignificant. Due to the high rate of absence and lack of progress in learning, nearly 30% of all Rromani children attending school did not achieve their grade level. In 1983 this figure reached 32%. Until 1989, from among all the Rromani population only a handful of people reached university level. At present, illiteracy still exists, and the schools have only been able to teach the bare elements of reading or writing to a few Rromani children.

The state understood education as a part of socialisation and integration into Polish society. Education was supposed to give the Roma better opportunities for skilled professions and waged-work. The rate of Roma employment has shown that there was no direct relation between schooling and employment levels. In 1970, the rate of employment of Roma was 26%, in 1983 it was 26.9%. This rate of employment primarily comprises the Bergitka Roma group, which was traditionally dependent on wage-labour. This group represents 25% of the total Roma population in Poland, which means, that the majority of previously nomadic Roma continued to make their living by traditional means and were not dependent on education and professional skills gained at school.

The problems associated with the education for the Roma relate to a number of factors:

- The implication is that there is some sort of achievement for everyone to reach. There is no doubt that settled people attach real importance to the criterion of academic ability. It seems to be the one quality which is taken seriously. This may be because it is the only one that can be measured statistically to nearly everyone’s satisfaction. It is easy to count the number of children who go on to get a university
degree or other high level qualification. So the emphasis has been put on the academic end product. However, “success” for the Rroma is not measured in academic terms. Education does not have the same value for the Rroma as it does for the Gadže.

• For the Rromani community the school remains an external institution, viewed as a threat to their identity and therefore avoided. Consequently, efforts to eliminate illiteracy among the adult population and the youngsters of the newly settled families, are met with reluctance and lack of interest among the Rroma. Creating opportunities for education is one thing, but new encouraging measures would be needed to persuade some Rromani families to send their children to educational institutions. It would, therefore, be recommended that the government provides grants for clothing and equipment to encourage attendance.

• Different ethnic and cultural backgrounds are an important influence on how children are raised and educated. Rromani children usually experience problems on entering school related to cultural differences. In comparison, there are at present about three million immigrants and their descendants in Britain. While some of these people have been assimilated, others have remained culturally distinct. A strong requirement for a pluralistic approach to society is needed, to acknowledge the diversity of race, colour and belief which exists in every country, and to appreciate the contributions that each distinct group can offer to society. Studies have indicated that attitudes are forming by the age of three [Dowling, 1988]. Thus, the onus is on any educator of young children to provide a model of tolerance based on interest in and understanding of differences between people. In Poland, which is not yet as multi-ethnic in composition as England, the need is perhaps even greater to prepare children in nurseries for future living in a pluralistic society.

• Socio-economic factors, which diminish their chances of successful education, include: irregular and often seasonal income, insufficient housing (extended families often living together in one room), lack of basic furniture, lack of clothing and shoes for children. In addition, often for the Rromani parents, the fulfilment of the schooling obligation was equated solely with children’s presence in school, and not with grades and progress in learning. While the attendance grew significantly over time, the results achieved by these children were insignificant. There were also other cultural and socio-economic factors interfering with schooling, specially for girls. A Rromni girl of twelve or thirteen is ready to marry and have children. And therefore elementary education has to end early for them.

• The transition to democratic forms of government has led to changes in policies that directly affect the traditional livelihoods of the Rromani people and in some cases, also reduce their access to educational and other opportunities. For example, as
these societies continue applying the principles of merit and open competition to the sphere of employment, the Rroma suffer a greater degree of *de facto* exclusion than they had under the former Communist regimes. Formerly, the Rroma were not only permitted to enter secondary schools, but were even forcibly pressured to do so. Under current conditions, most officials feel that guarantees of equality and the equitable distribution of resources among ethnic groups are sufficient to deal with the problem and should mark the limits of their efforts. However, this approach neglects the handicaps that the Rroma have traditionally suffered in competing with more favoured groups or in taking advantage of existing possibilities without some outside assistance.

- Every parent has a right to be informed and involved in their child’s education. Any reports on a school or other information regarding the education of their child should be accessible for each parent. However, a difficulty is that most of the Rromani parents are themselves illiterate.

- The organisation of a specific school system has as its main aim the raising in standard of language skills and their continuation amongst the particular minority group. In the case of the Rroma where there is no traditional written language, there was no incentive for it. However, at the Fourth Romany Congress in 1990, the proposal of a universal handbook of the alphabet in the Romani mother tongue for children was presented, also an idea of a standardised written text was put forward. In 1993, it was declared that the International Association of Rroma had standardised the Rromani alphabet and was continuing to work on the grammar and vocabulary.

- Representatives of the Rromani organisations and the Ministry of Education acknowledge that one of the reasons for the Rromani children not completing their primary education, is insufficient knowledge of the Polish language. Rroma children who did not speak the host language very well were treated as mentally deficient or mentally handicapped and put into special schools within which they could advance only to the fourth grade. Their presence in such schools became increasingly common following the end of communism. As a consequence young Rroma became increasingly alienated from the host society, experiencing an enforced “social retardation” which led to withdrawal, aggression and other forms

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324 In England, the law of special education for those with learning problems of one sort or another was reconditioned by the Education Act 1981. The best guide to the 1981 Act, which only came into force in Autumn 1982, is the Special Education Handbook. The new procedures under the Act are designed:

- to reduce the need for separate special schools
- to enable ordinary schools to assess children with minor learning problems and deal with them
- to give parents full rights of challenge of assessments of their children’s “special needs” along the way
of antisocial behaviour. In addition, it is not known if parents of those children are kept informed about diagnosing and assessing the degree of disability.

- Overall, it is necessary to realise from the moment the Rromani children start attending school that they are not familiar enough with the Polish language, and therefore their performance is that of children from different countries as they are learning in a culture which is not their own and using a language which is not their mother tongue. Children should not be denied education because their language, culture or religion differs from the culture of the country in which they live. However, this task may be more difficult in schools that are mono-cultural. In comparison, British society consists of many ethnic groups with an associated diversity of cultures and religions. It was reported that by 1985 the children attending ILEA schools spoke, between them, 147 different languages. Amongst 50 surveyed schools 16% of the children did not use English as their first language. It is perfectly possible to teach a child to read and write the host language even if they do not speak it very well and are addressed in another tongue at home, because at an early age children have a remarkable ear for languages. For instance, non-English speaking immigrant children below about seven or eight years old take only a few months to become fluent in English.

- There is a strong relationship between education and economic possibilities and between education and the development of a trained workforce. Implementing any new strategies demands the setting up of a suitable teaching staff who need a good knowledge of the Rromani language as well as the appropriate teaching qualifications. They would also need to be aware of the problems that Rromani children are apt to face, including high proportions of failure in the upper grades, unemployment of parents and problems related to the source of family income. The task is difficult but not necessarily impossible. Despite the fact that education does not rank highly in the Rroma community, there are a few members who not only finish the primary school but go on to complete secondary school and continue into higher education. Unfortunately they usually leave the Rromani community. One strategy would be to encourage them to work with Rromani children even if only on a casual basis.

- Assuming that early learning experiences can and do affect subsequent achievement and the development of attitudes in later life, it is essential that all children are offered, as far as possible, equal learning opportunities. Therefore, a pre-school should be introduced where children can learn to adapt to the school situation. In addition, the Rromani language should be used at the pre-school level. Apart from the need to develop sound attitudes in the nursery the teacher has the task of providing for those who are either unable to speak any Polish or are without sufficient knowledge of Polish as a second language. In these circumstances skilful
assessment is required to identify particular gifts and abilities as well as any need for special help, apart from language development.

- As children are individuals each will possess his/her own particular route to learning. Usually, it is the skill of the teacher to identify that route, to discover exactly how she/he can help that child to be motivated to learn. In addition to this, the teacher must be aware of children’s personal, social and physical requirements. If children are truly seen as individuals, every one can be regarded as having “special needs”. It has to be stressed it is not only the intellect that should be educated but the child as a whole person. Interestingly enough, with Rromani children this approach seems to be somehow forgotten. The Rromani children are treated more as a group than individuals, a group for whom a teacher feels responsible for teaching basic literacy and numeracy.

During the school years 1990/1991 - 1993/1994 a definite majority of Rromani children continued to attend mixed Polish/Rromani classes even though, as examples from various regions have shown, the possibility of segregating them into Rroma only sections existed. The children’s weakness in the Polish language was the basis of this idea.

In Poland, in 1991, Rev Opocki initiated the creation of the separate Rromani classes amongst the Rroma living in the Province of Nowy Sącz. Soon he started a campaign to gain acceptance for the idea of “Education through religious ministry” which resulted in separate schools for the Rroma. According to official sources of information, since 1992 in some places separate classes for the Rromani children have come into existence and nobody, not even the Rromani organisations, were consulted on this decision.

The experimental classes for the Rroma were established because of the language and environmental difficulties experienced by the pupils and teachers. The aim was to allow Rromani children to overcome more easily the educational problems and social barriers, as well as preparing children to continue education in the integrated system of public schools.

Elementary level classes and one year’s technical training which provided education in a chosen specialisation (for example in cookery, waiter’s occupation and mechanics) were set up. However, the choice of technical training was severely limited and in some cases only one
specialisation was available in a particular geographic location. This, therefore, greatly restricted the students’ career prospects.

Rev Opocki has been a National Initiator of Rromani Schooling empowered by the Ministry of National Education since 1992. That means that the Ministry of National Education has given him authority to initiate a countrywide educational experiment for the Rroma. According to the Office for National Minorities [1994] the experiment with special Rromani classes was approved by the Ministry of Education for a period of three years 1992-1995. During the school year 1994/1995 there were about 25 Rromani classes in which schooling was provided for about 200 children and youths.

The curriculum, “Initial Teaching Programme for Rroma”, worked out by the group of involved teachers was approved by the Ministry of National Education in 1992. It was compiled considering the character of the Rroma and adapted to their developmental abilities. Cultural elements were taken into account and attention was paid to manual development and language exercises. However, the Ministry of Education, did not consult with the Rromani leaders or Rromani organisations on this decision, nor was a public debate held with experts, teachers or Rromani families.

In the Roma Association’s view this curriculum, was in fact, a special needs curriculum which diminishes their chances of getting normal education and deprives them of equal opportunities in schooling. It did not attach any formal criteria for recruitment to such classes and there was also no demand for testing children’s school abilities in psychological clinics which would be a routine procedure for other children. Eventually, nearly all Rromani children were enrolled into those classes, irrespective of their age. As a result, all the standards and requirements became lower than for children attending “normal classes”. As a consequence, the classes for the Rromani children became commonly called “special classes”.

In 1993 the Roma Association officially questioned the idea and development of “Rromani classes”. Initially, Rev Opocki developed Rromani classes to find a solution for those Rromani children who, due to their particular family situation and educational problems,
drop out of school at an early age and remain illiterate. No one objected to his attempts at that time. However, in a short period of time, the majority of the Rromani children were directed to those classes and therefore “segregated Rromani classes” soon appeared in a number of schools.

6.1.8 Governmental policies in implementing education for ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, as early as 1908, under the Children’s Act (1908) children of nomadic parents were only required to attend school for 200 half-days (instead of the normal 400).

The 1944 Education Act places LEAs under a duty to provide education for all school age children in their area, appropriate to their age, abilities and aptitudes. This duty extends to all children residing in their area, whether permanently or temporarily. Consequently it includes Traveller and refugee children. The policy does not distinguish between the various groups of Travellers (although the Rroma are recognised as a distinct ethnic group) but supports equality of opportunity and free access to, and full integration in, the mainstream educational system.

The most important initiatives in education for the Rroma and other travelling groups began in the 1960s when voluntary initiatives started at a regional and national level. Until the mid-1970s, volunteers were the driving force of the Rroma Education movement. Gradually voluntary schemes have been replaced by LEA provision. National co-ordination of educational provision began in 1970. By the late 1980s the emphasis had shifted firmly from voluntary provision to multi-cultural education and a co-ordinated service within the state education system.

In the United Kingdom it is government policy that all children should be given the same opportunities to profit from what schools can offer them, by meeting their particular educational needs. However, in 1967 the Plowden Report Children and their school described Rromani children as: ‘(...) probably the most severely deprived children in the country’ [pp.59-60]. The Rroma were qualified as having special needs. The Education Act 1981 gave parents of
children with special educational needs the right to ask for and be involved in the assessment of their children, so that suitable educational support can be provided by the local education authority, if necessary. It was formally laid down in this Act that the LEAs have the responsibility for providing education for all children residing in their area, whether permanently or temporarily, including Traveller children. It is believed that without security from eviction there could be little continuity in education. It is clear that there has been a failure to meet the educational needs of Rromani children.

An HMI Discussion Paper The Education of Travellers’ Children [1983] suggested that in 1980 as few as 40-50% of primary age children of Travelling families attended school. A report from the Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools [1996] indicated that although the number of travelling children registered with schools has increased since 1986, there is still a difference between the total number of travelling pupil registrations and those who attend schools on a regular basis.

By the mid 1990s there were around 500 specialist teachers besides many more who had Rromani children in their mainstream classes. Short courses for teachers who might meet Travelling children were established. Furthermore, during the 1980s, Travellers also became aware of an increasing need for education. Some of the reasons were:

- the newer trades required the ability to read and to write
- increased automation required literacy skills for the driving licence and the completing of tax and insurance forms
- the need for everyone to read and write in order to deal with printed forms of all kinds which had to be completed to obtain all public services, health, employment, social security and education

Special financing arrangements, the “no area pool”, were made for the Rroma and other travelling children being educated inside or outside ordinary schools. This was a pool of money to pay for the education of children for whom “no area” (that is, no LEA) was responsible. With effect from April 1990, the “no-area pool” was replaced, in England and Wales, by a specific grant administered through the Department of Education and Science under Section 210 of the Education Reform Act 1988. Specialist teaching staff, classroom support, educational welfare
officers and additional classroom resources are examples of the kinds of support funded by the grant.

In 1991, about two-thirds of all Rroma had no legal place on a permanent site with proper facilities in the United Kingdom. It is estimated that in Nottinghamshire there are only sufficient sites for 46% of the Rroma and other travelling groups. This may result in a Rromani child being removed from school with little or no advance notice.

A recognition of the educational needs of the Rromani and other travelling groups requires some understanding of the complex background factors which impinge on this community as a whole.

The education of Rromani children is linked with some specific issues and problems. Large numbers of Rromani children do not receive formal education at all, some attend school sporadically. It also is clear that educational provision for the Rroma is a political matter. As a consequence of travelling families frequent evictions, they face a lack of access to or continuity of healthcare, welfare support and education. Inadequate site provision creates problems particularly over children's school attendance.

Rromani children's experience of schooling is on the whole unsatisfactory. It can be associated with prejudice and hostility which they experience from both teachers and other pupils. Their spasmodic attendance is caused by family mobility, eviction from unofficial sites or general unconcern for education. When they do attend school, their set of cultural norms and skills are often at variance with school ones, leading eventually to hostility.

There is an ambivalence within a Rromani community about the appropriateness of the curriculum for their children and the necessity of education in general. Primary schooling is acceptable because it provides the basic 3Rs, secondary schooling is held in low regard due to some problematic parts of the curriculum: sex education, physical education and vocational training. The extended nomadic family fulfils many functions, including educative functions that would prepare a
child for the nomadic way of life. In schools and other institutions these educative functions are geared towards a settled society.

There is a mismatch between Romani needs and what schools offer them, in fact often irrelevant or even dysfunctional skills are provided for the Romani way of life. Therefore, an educational system and provision is not going to win much support in the Romani community unless it takes into account their values and lifestyle. In conclusion, unless the appropriate curriculum is able to combine an effective mainstream schooling which includes the cultural heritage of the Roma, it will fail. Improved education alone cannot solve the problems of these children. Simultaneous action is needed by the authorities responsible for employment, industrial training, housing and planning.

The West Midlands Education Authorities Service for Travelling Children in Bilston is a good example of the development of educational provision in the United Kingdom. After a two year research programme, the Service became fully operational in 1975. In the early years the focus of support was entirely on the children and they were transported to spare classrooms in schools or mobile classrooms (erected by the Service in school grounds) and taught by teachers from the Service. In some situations Traveller children joined their peers from the settled community for singing, PE, playtime and other non-academic areas of the day. In other situations interaction was limited even further, although in a minority of cases Traveller children were received into mainstream classes and withdrawn for intensive work in reading and writing by the Service’s teachers.

Close liaison between the Service’s teachers, the Field Officer and parents (more particularly Traveller women) was, and still is, an essential factor in successfully introducing and maintaining Traveller children in schools. The majority of the parent group had had little opportunity to access education. Those who had, had often had negative experiences because of the degree of hostility they met and/or indifference from teachers who felt that working with children who had no established patterns of attendance and in any case may have only been in the area for two to three weeks was a waste of time.
Some schools actively refused to register children because they were Rroma/Travellers with no fixed abode. Other Headteachers were faced with settled parents threatening to withdraw their children from schools if Rromani children were registered. Some Authorities spoke of quotas which needed operating in small village schools servicing local communities including Local Authority sites or private sites and dispersal practices were devised.

Withdrawal from class or separate provision was the practice of Support work right across education at this time. It was common for “Remedial” teachers to be working at one end of a corridor, store room or spare classroom with children with ‘learning difficulties’ whilst the teacher from this Service worked at the other end with Traveller children. It was not uncommon in inner city areas to also find the “ESL” teacher sharing the same “out of classroom” space, to drill non English speaking children in English language exercises. However, as a result of their association with the Rroma and Traveller children, the teachers from the Service personally experienced a good deal of hostility, abuse and rejection from some Headteachers, classroom teachers, settled parents and children.

Within a developing climate of research and reassessment of these policies and practices of exclusion and marginalisation and the way in which they negatively impacted on children’s ability and enthusiasm to learn, the Service’s teachers also observed that in fact their collusion in removing or keeping children away from the classroom, rather than remedying the situation which was its main claim and justification, compounded children’s isolation. In addition the classroom teacher’s/Headteacher’s hostility and lack of awareness about the children’s learning needs and their family and cultural experiences was frequently marked by a blanket rejection of the Rroma children because they were not like the rest of the school community.

“We treat all children the same here” and “if they can’t behave normally then we can’t be expected to have them in our schools, we have our children to think about” were (and sometimes still are) the sort of statements used to justify the hostility and lack of assessment, programming and teaching effort. At times, the hostility was born not just out of racism but out of a total lack of awareness and openness in classroom teachers to any cultural experiences and perspectives other than their own. Traveller children were seen as empty receptacles into which school skills had to be
poured in order to 'civilise' them. Family taught skills were not recognised, valued or used in these closed classroom situations.

Whilst for most minority groups the Swann Report (1985) examined the negative experiences the children had once in school, with Rromani children they received a great deal of evidence of the impact of children not even managing to get into schools, such was the hostility. As part of that developing awareness the Service shifted its mode of operation to include INSET work with teachers and the whole school staff (remember the School Secretary is often the first person Travellers meet in the school) at a school, Authority or regional level. Much of the INSET work was devoted to developing awareness about the make-up of the Travelling communities, their histories, common and unique experiences, the impact of legislation on their lives, the absence of a history and tradition of education in their communities and the implications for schools. It supported classroom teachers in redefining Traveller children as late learners in the formal school system rather than children with learning difficulties.

The need for appropriate programmes of work rather than slow learning programmes were explored. Children’s reactions to different aspects of the school day which teachers found difficult and threatening to handle were examined e.g. children spend their days at home outside the trailer. They only go inside to relax, eat and sleep. At school the situation is reversed, they work within the confines of a classroom and are sent out to relax and play. As family education has for generations been based on the child as a trainee adult the settled community’s concept of play is relatively new to the Traveller experience. Children have been raised from an early age to learn on the job - assisting mother/relatives with baby, cleaning, fetching, carrying, working on the lorry with dad/relatives, stripping items for scrap, learning to “call” house to house selling or collecting, market work and host of other skills necessary to support the family economy.

The community traditionally live and operate as extended families so children are used to communicating and operating with a range of adults.

Many children have not experienced the confines of a building, hot water on tap, flush toilets, the social mores of the settlement population. Large areas (out of the trailer) are for large
movements and where the child has relative freedom over his/her own actions. Life inside the trailer is a finely disciplined operation which the child strictly observes.

The impact of corridors, and open plan schools etc. can have the same effect as “space” on a child, encouraging boisterous behaviour or, at another level, utter confusion about how to respond because of the mixed messages from this environment. These examples are just some of those used to demonstrate to teachers the need for being explicit with children, of not assuming anything about their experience and understanding of school so that setting up obstacles over which the child will surely stumble are avoided.

The first achievements of the child at school, therefore, may be social ones where a child’s knowledge and positive responses to different cultural situations broadens his/her own cultural experiences and develops greater social harmony. This is not to say that academic expectations have to be lowered, quite the contrary. If the child feels socially comfortable and valued he/she will be a more open and effective learner. A good class teacher will want to reflect and project the experiences of all his/her pupils in the open curriculum, as well as include and respond sensitively to them via the hidden curriculum.

Some teachers need support to help them develop their skills further to include this section of the community frequently unknown to them, other than through years of conditioning, labelling and negative stereotyping.

There have been a number of very encouraging initiatives in recent years showing the continuing process of development in awareness of the needs of the Rroma and other Traveller communities in the United Kingdom. For example:

- In April 1991, several agencies worked together to organise a National Conference.
- In December 1991, the Department of Education and Science and the Commission of the European Communities jointly sponsored the first European seminar held in the UK on the education of Traveller children.
- In March 1996, a report from the Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools The Education of Travelling Children was produced. It was based on a survey of educational provision for Travelling children between 1992 to 1996.
In the United Kingdom, many organisations have been formed which act as a national support network for teachers of Travellers. Teachers expressed a desire to break the isolation of their work, to have regular meetings with colleagues working with Traveller children and to exchange ideas, practice and learning materials. At the meetings such items as good practice in education, the development of resources and other educational items are discussed. The NATT, which has over 280 members, actively seeks to promote improvements in Traveller education and its place within a pluralist mainstream education.

In Poland, however, the situation is less promising. In contrast to the UK initiatives and the very active NATT, in Poland there is just one self-improvement team which was formed by the Rev. Opocki. This small team of less than 20 Headteachers and teachers from schools in the South of Poland which have the special Rroma classes meets just once a year. Their aim is to support each other through discussion and sharing problems rather than through sharing good practice and information on new developments.

6.1.9 Final Conclusion

There is a significant difference in the implementation of education in Poland, which had a communist regime for over 40 years and the United Kingdom which has a long imperial tradition. Through tracing the history of the education provision for the Rroma in the two countries, it is clear that it is a political matter. Some politicians return to assimilation as the only solution, and in their opinion education should play a key role in promoting “settlement”. They believe that the Rroma and other Travellers should be “encouraged” into housing.

The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe has led to an increase in the frequency and severity of racist attacks on ethnic groups and has revealed inadequate educational provision for them. There is also the controversy over caravan sites in West European countries. About two-thirds of all Rroma in the United Kingdom have no legal place on a permanent site with proper facilities. It is believed that without security from constant eviction there can be little continuity in education.
Nomadism, which has been part of Rroma identity for over five-hundred years, was forbidden in most Eastern European countries after the WW2. In Western European countries, nomadism has been affected by legislative systems designed for settled societies. Nomadism, by its very nature has a strong impact on educational provision. In the UK the provision of education for Rromani children is connected with site provision. In Poland, a high proportion of Rromani children have recently been allocated to separate Rromani classes.

Owing to their unique culture and tradition, the education of Rromani children is linked with some specific issues and problems. It is clear that there has been a failure to meet their educational needs. Large numbers of them do not receive any formal education at all. Some of them attend school only sporadically, because of family mobility, eviction from unofficial sites or general lack of interest in imposed education.

Rromani children’s experience of schooling is on the whole unsatisfactory. It is often associated with prejudice and hostility which they experience from both teachers and other pupils. Furthermore, when they do attend school, their set of cultural norms and skills are often at variance with school ones which leads to increased hostility.

There is an ambivalence within the Rromani community about the appropriateness of the curriculum for their children and the necessity of education in general. The extended nomadic family fulfils many functions, including educative ones, which prepare a child for the nomadic way of life. Usually for settled society educative functions are implemented by schools and other institutions alone. Therefore primary schooling is usually acceptable, but secondary schools are held in low regard. Some parts of the curriculum are problematic, and consequently difficult to accept, e.g. sex education, PE and vocational training.

There is a mismatch between Rromani needs and what schools offer them. In fact what they are taught is often irrelevant to the Rromani way of life. An appropriate curriculum should be established to combine effective mainstream schooling with the cultural heritage of the Rroma. Otherwise Rromani communities will not support provisions which do not consider their values and lifestyle. Here, the arrogance of Gadže is evident, because their view that the Gadže way of life...
and system of education is the only ‘true and right way’ is very widely believed. Furthermore, the system the Gadžë have for educating their own children will not become suitable for fully functioning and valued members of the Romani community by the mere fact of repetition. What is required is something altogether more radical for this most persecuted of minority groups.
6.2 Future Work

On 22 May 1989, the European Council and the Ministers of Education of the twelve member states of the European Community adopted a Resolution concerning the education of the Rroma and Traveller children. This Resolution provided a framework for action. The next stage must be to develop a working programme that addresses needs according to their priority, as clearly some needs are more urgent than others and since, for reasons both financial and organisational, not everything can be done at once.

There is a need to set up a project which works with the Rromani families, the Rromani children and the school itself. The families should be told about what can be gained through schooling, particularly in the highly bureaucratic late 20th/early 21st century. The school should be an interesting place for the children. So, on arriving at school a Rromani child has a great shock as he/she receives education which is totally different from that one received at home. Rromani children should be integrated into the education system but at the same time the education system should be adapted to Rromani culture. In order to increase the perceived importance of schooling with Rromani communities there is a need, for example, the promotion of innovative teaching methods, the dissemination of lessons and the training of specialist teachers, especially those of Rroma origin. This approach should be based on respect for their culture and tradition. Unfortunately schools do not provide information about Rromani culture, customs and history or their way of life.

There is a need for contact, co-ordination and communication at a local, national and international level. Therefore:

- all essential documents based on recent research in Western Europe should be translated into East European languages
- the current situation should be evaluated and a constructive plan for the future established, including all the countries within Europe

Another step would be to consider different ‘source of information’ and to start collecting data from the Rroma themselves, not from educationalists and teachers involved in
working with them. On the other hand lots of research has been already done and it is time for action.

Mrs Barker-Pugh is the only Traveller-Showman in the United Kingdom employed by education authorities to work with Travellers. This is very significant. Her experience and knowledge of the Travellers way of life has helped many Organisations and Services. Nearly all new employees who work with Travellers seek her advice in many ways. She introduces them to Traveller communities and helps to establish new connections. Would it not be easier to employ a few Travellers who already have the cultural background, instead of introducing new non-Travellers who usually work for a short period of time and after that are moved to take care of other minority groups or deal with different matters completely unrelated to Travellers. The importance of her role in the training of people who work with Travellers and Traveller communities raises the question of why people from a non- Traveller background are employed in such a capacity. There are many Travellers who would be keen to fulfil these roles if they were given the opportunity. This would in turn lead to a financial saving as they would not themselves need to be trained in gaining an understanding of the Traveller culture and way of life. It may also lead to a reduced turnover in staff and provide the very necessary positive impression of education and training for children and their parents.

Schools should be aware of the general hostility towards the Rroma and other travelling groups from the local settled community and work actively against the stereotyping which is largely responsible for such prejudice. The possibility of discrimination by schools is often mentioned, much more common is discrimination against children in school. This takes the form of name-calling, physical bullying and intimidation. The role of education in relation to prejudice should be to equip each pupil with knowledge and understanding in place of ignorance, and to develop the ability to formulate attitudes based on this knowledge. However the false image of the Rroma is established in children from a very early age. If Rromani children were introduced into the educational system at a pre-school age many of these difficulties could be overcome.
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Romnews.

Source of information:
An information service of the Roma National Congress. No.34, 16 April 1994
German police raided Romani women

39 Romani women taken into police custody - enforced medical inspections in search of the mother of an abandoned child found in the neighborhood

Cologne (RNC) - Some 150 police officers raided a residence for Romani refugees in Cologne early Thursday morning. Eyewitnesses say the police forced their way into the apartments at 06:00 a.m., waking the inhabitants and immediately separating all adult women, but also girls between the ages of 12 and 15. They were brought together with several others, of whom mainly Romani women, were taken into the building at 08:00, after the police had forced their way into the courtyard, and the Romani women waited for four hours. Eventually they were taken into the building and forced to undergo blood tests. Their pictures were taken and their fingerprints were registered. Four of the women were taken to the University Hospital, where they were forced to undergo an inspection by gynecologists. They were brought back to the refugee residence around 12:00 a.m.

The Cologne police justified their action by referring to an anonymous source which it claimed suggested that the mother of an abandoned baby found in the neighborhood was living at the refugee residence. But the Romani community and the Cologne-based association Rom e.V. called the raid an act of collective punishment and compared it with Nazi measures against Gypsies. At no point during the action were the women informed of the purpose of the humiliating procedure, and no attempt was made to single out potential suspects. Among those arrested were a number of 12-year-old girls, a Roma girl who is an Austrian citizen and who had a baby just that day, a number of pregnant women as well as women who had recently given birth. Rom e.V has instructed its lawyers to take legal action against those responsible for the raid. The organization also intends to present a full report on the incident to European officials.

Romani language teaching in Bulgaria to be abolished

Sofia (RNC) - Bulgaria's new education minister, the historian Prof. Iacho Dimirov, has announced that Romani language education in Bulgaria will be abolished. The minister justified his decision saying that "Romani language education is an obstacle to the acquisition of the Bulgarian language". Turkish and Romani were introduced as minority languages into Bulgarian schools three years ago. Dr. Hristo Kyuchukov, former adviser to the Bulgarian ministry of education and now researcher in psycholinguistics at the University of Amsterdam, said the minister's arguments were not supported by any research.

Czech Skinheads convicted of attacking Romani

Prague (RNC/Agencepresse) - Four Czech Skinheads were sentenced to between 18 and 22 months in prison after being found guilty of carrying out a violent attack against a Romani home last year. They had thrown molotov cocktails at the house, injuring two women severely. Two of the defendants said they would appeal against the court decision.
Cologne, 18/4/95

Dear friends,

how you can see from the information of ROM NEWS 39 Romani women were taken by 150 policemen in police arrest to take blood tests in Cologne/Germany on Thursday, 13. April 1995. The supposed reason for this police action was an attempted infanticide. A just born child was found in the near of the refugee residence. A neighbor reported to the police that he saw a woman going away from the place where the child was found in the direction of the refugee residence. This single information was enough reason for the police to act in this racist way. The public prosecutor who was responsible for this action justified this racist form with the special way of life of this ethnic minority. The women who were arrested for four hours didn't understand the reasons of this action. They thought that they were deported to Bosnia.

Through the massive crowd of policemen and their hard behaviour many of the older women and men were reminded of the methods of the nazis. The action reminds of similar actions in the nazi-time when gypsy women were sterilized against their consent and in the presence of nazi-policemen (SS) in the nazi-concentration camps.

Our organization is shocked about the unbelievable continuity of racism in acting with the Rom people. Rom e.V. and the women will take legal action against the responsible persons. Besides we will present a full report on the incident.

We want to ask you and your organization to protest against the racist behaviour of the police and the public prosecutor which is in the tradition of the nazis.

Please send protest notes to

Innenminister (Minister of the interior)
Dr. Herbert Schnoor
Heroldstr. 5
40211 Düsseldorf
Fax: 0049-211-8713355

Justizminister (Minister of justice)
Dr. Kramnisk
Martin-Luther-Platz
40212 Düsseldorf
Fax: 0049-211-8792456

Oberstaatsanwalt Weber
(Public prosecutor)
Am Justizzentrum 13
50939 Köln
Fax: 0049-221-4774050

Polizeipräsident Roters
Waidmarkt
50676 Köln
Fax: 0049-221-2292002

Yours sincerely

Ute Moschner

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Spenderkonto Nr.: 10 442 682 BLZ 37 051 781 · Stadtsparkasse Köln
Verein zur Förderung der Rom e.V.
ANNEX 2


Source of information:
A letter from the Department of the Environment dated on 7th of April 1995
## Count of Gypsy Caravans: 20 July 1994

### Regional Totals

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3 authorities did not return, and the July 1993 return for caravans on Council sites has been used, and is identified by an &.
ANNEX 3


Source of information:
A letter from the Department of the Environment dated on 7th of April 1995
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* - Designated Authority
ANNEX 4

Rromani organizations in Western Europe

Source of information:
Rromani organisations in Western Europe

IN FRANCE:

In 1970 - the National Gypsy Education Council
In 1962 - the National Association of Gypsies
In 1972 - the National Committee of Travellers
In 1973 - the Gypsy Bureau
In 1980 - the Union of Gypsies and Travellers
In 1981 - the Gypsy Federation

IN FINLAND:

In 1967 - the Association of Gypsies of Finland

IN SWEDEN:

In 1972 - the Association of Finnish Gypsies in Stockholm
In 1973 - the Nordic Rom Council

IN WEST GERMANY:

In 1952 - the Association of Sinti (at present German Sinti League)

In 1982 following an agreement among several regional organizations, a national body was founded (the Central Council of Sinti and Roma) which now has a corresponding association in each state of the former West Germany.

IN SWITZERLAND:

In 1974 - the Association of Travellers
IN ITALY:

In 1978 - the National Gypsy Committee

IN IRELAND:

In 1962 - the Irish Traveller Community
In 1981 - the Committee for the Rights of Travellers

IN ENGLAND:

1. In 1966 - the Gypsy Council (in Kent)


2. In 1973 - the Advisory Committee on the Education of Romanies and other Travellers

3. The Romany Guild

4. The National Association of Teachers of Travellers

5. The National Association of Health Workers with Travellers

6. The National Federation of Irish Travelling People

7. Save the Children Fund

8. Showmen's Guild of Great Britain

9. Her Majesty's Inspectorate
ANNEX 5

The Rromani emblems
The Rromani Anthem:

“Gypsies Arise”

We travel on, travel on
Along the eternal road
Everywhere meeting happy Gypsies.
...Oh men of the Gypsies and young men of the Gypsies
Once I had a great family
But the Jackboot Brigade took them away
Listen Romanies, the time has come
To rise up and break
With our dark past.
...Oh men of the Gypsies and young men of the Gypsies

“Upre Roma”

Djelem, djelem
Lungone dromenca
Maladilem bahtale
E carenca bahtale
A Romale, a chavale.
Vi mansa e kali legija
Ake vjama usti Rom akana
Men hudasa mishto kaj kerasa
A Romale, a chavale.

A flag: blue and green with a red wheel
ANNEX 6

Information for parents.

Source of information:
Information for Parents

Parents should:

- Let the school know in time when their child is leaving;
- Ask directly or via the school for help at the EFECOT regional centre in their country for the preparation of a learning pack which is to be used abroad;
- Ensure they have all necessary school books;
- Make sure they take along sufficient reading/textbooks;
- Ask for help from EFECOT in Brussels if necessary;

It also reminds parents that:

- Their children are under the compulsory education law of the country in which they are travelling;
- School times are usually different from those in the country from which they have travelled;
- They should bring their child to the new school themselves and show the teacher the materials brought along;
- Often there are different rules in different schools;
- The teacher often speaks another language than they do at home;
- They should contact regularly the teacher of the school of origin;
- If necessary, they should contact the EFECOT regional centre in the country they are travelling in.
ANNEX 7

Information about Andrzej Mirga

Sources of information:


Information about Andrzej Mirga

Andrzej Mirga completed his studies in Slavonic Ethnography at the school of History and Philosophy at the Jagiellonian University, after which he obtained a position at the University. In 1993, he formed the Rroma Association, the strongest Rroma organisation in Poland, which engaged itself in the tracking down and dismissing of any cases of discrimination, striving for equal opportunities, reducing the tension between Rroma and Gadže, and quashing any immediate conflicts. Thanks to the endeavours of the Association a remembrance meeting was held at Oświęcim to mark the extermination of the Rroma people 50 years ago.

During the last few years Mirga has been active in forming a lobby group which aims to pursue the Rromani question in the international arena. He manages a group of Rroma advisors supported by the Americans, for whom he is preparing an extensive report on the Rroma situation in Europe. He has given a presentation and answered questions on this topic at the Senate’s Committee for People’s Rights in Washington. It was thanks to this that the gathering was devoted solely to the Rromani question for the first time in the history of the ESCC session.

Since the beginning of 1995, he has been active in Warszawa at the offices of the Democratic Institute for the Rights of the People which has proposed by his group as the place of contact for European Rroma. Here information is gathered together about the situation of the Rroma in different countries, the signs of discrimination and superiority, and the Institute is engaged in reviving their cultural background. Mirga is also instructing future Rromani political activists [Bartuś, 1995, p.15].

He has also been working for the Project on Ethnic Relations, which was founded in 1991, to encourage the peaceful resolution of ethnic conflicts in the new democracies of central and Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation. The Project conducts programmes of action, education and research. Andrzej Mirga represents PER’s Rromani Advisory Council [Leaflet of PER, 1993].

As a collaborator on the European Advise committee he is involved in a project dedicated to the education of Rromani children [Mirga and Mróz, 1994].
ANNEX 8

Other Rromani organisations which were active in Poland in 1996

Sources of information:
Office for National Minorities, Ministry of Culture and Arts in Warszawa (20 March 1996)
Romowie - Organizacje i Adresy
Other Rromani organisations which were active in Poland in 1996

- In 1963
  The Romani Cultural-Education Association in Tarnów
  Cygańskie Stowarzyszenie Kulturalno-Oświatowe
  (now: Społeczno-Kulturalne Stowarzyszenie Romów w Tarnowie)

- In 1981
  Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Cyganów
  (Andrychów)

- 23 December 1991
  The Association of Roma in Poland
  Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce (Oświęcim)

- 30 November 1992
  Stowarzyszenie Mniejszości Narodowościowej Cyganów Rzeczpospolitej
  Polskiej “Solidarność” w Kielcach

- 16 July 1993
  Międzynarodowa Fundacja Romów (Olsztyn)

- 8 November 1994
  Fundacja Mniejszości Roma w Polsce (Radom)

- 7 February 1995
  Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Romów
  (Kędzierzyn Koźle)

- January 1996
  Stowarzyszenie Romów Kraków-Nowa Huta
ANNEX 9

Early legislations in England

Source of information:
From Mr David Smith
1530

I. Egyptians identified variously as outlandish, deceitful, felonious and fortune-tellers.

II. Banned from entering England/Wales on pain of forfeiture of goods and required to leave within 15 days.

III. Egyptians standing trial denied benefit of Mediatates Linguae.

IV. Egyptians in England/Wales to leave within 16 days of proclamation of Act.

V. Half goods seized of Egyptians to be retained by Justices or similar officers, other half to be delivered to the Crown.

VI. Persons aiding and abetting Egyptians to stay beyond respite period to forfeit £ 40. All licences, letters and passports previously used by Egyptians travelling in England declared void.

VII. Egyptians revoking their "...idle and ungodly life..." to be placed in the service of an "...Honest and Reliable Inhabitant."

VIII. This legislation not to apply to any child under age 13.

1534

I. Synopsis of sections I - V

II. Egyptians to be treated as Felons, i.e., "...shall suffer...Pains of Death, Loss of Lands and Goods..."

III. Egyptians denied benefits of Sanctuary and Clergy.

IV. Egyptians in England/Wales given 20 days to leave Realm.

V. Persons proving loss of goods to Egyptians able to sue for restitution from whoever seized them.

VI. Persons aiding and abetting Egyptians to stay beyond respite period to forfeit £ 40.

VII. Egyptians revoking their "...idle and ungodly life..." to be placed in the service of an "...Honest and Reliable Inhabitant."

VIII. This legislation not to apply to any child under age 13.

1562

I. Doubts concerning the legality of 1554 legislation in relation to Egyptians born within England/Wales.

II. Confirms 1554 legislation still relevant for foreign Egyptians.

III. Persons conspiring with or counterfeiting to be Egyptians to be judged Felons.

IV. This legislation not to apply to any child under age 16.

V. No person "...born within any of the Queen's Majesty's Dominions..." to be compelled to depart the Realm but be constrained,"...to leave their said naughty, idle and ungodly Life and Company...and to place themselves in some honest Service..."
ANNEX 10

Extract from Circular 8/81 (DOE)

Source of information:

APPENDIX V

EXTRACT FROM CIRCULAR 8/81 (DOE)

ANNEX 2: GYPSY SITES: DESIGNATION CRITERIA

1. To meet the terms of the new Section 12 of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 substituted by the 1990 Act, the appropriate Secretary of State needs to be satisfied that the sites provided are sufficiently diverse and suitably designed and managed to meet the accommodation needs, within reason, of gypsies residing in or resorting to a county or to a relevant part of that county, or to a London borough. Once designated, an authority should be able to handle any reasonable and foreseeable demands within its own area, as it would expect adjoining authorities. Designation may also be granted when the Secretary of State is satisfied that in the circumstances there is no need for any site provision.

Assessment of Needs

2. Half-yearly counts of gypsy caravans are now undertaken but any additional information available to a local authority could be useful in an overall assessment of the need.

3. Types of sites likely to be needed are:

   (a) Residential (long-stay sites with full facilities);

   (b) Transit (short-stay sites with minimum facilities), and

   (c) Emergency stopping-places (land with few or no facilities, to deal with unexpected incursions requiring a temporary facility. A statement of intent to provide this if necessary, rather than a detailed identification of sites, would be acceptable).

Gypsies finding their own seasonal - and perhaps traditional - accommodation and those with their own private sites relieve local authorities of any commitment, apart from the need to provide a public site should such private facilities disappear.

Consultation

4. The Department is available for consultation during any stage of development of an adequate network of sites for designation. It will be necessary for county councils and London boroughs to consult neighbouring authorities, gypsy representative organisations operating in the areas, if any, and local voluntary support groups, where these might be able to provide relevant information. County councils will also need to consult closely with district councils, particularly where designation of districts or groups of districts is in mind.
Applications

5. The Department is always ready to consider requests from local authorities for some advance assurances about designation or to give informal consideration to the final form of such an application. However, no designation can be granted until an appropriate programme of sites has been fully developed and put into effective use. At that stage formal written application for designation should be submitted, summarising the needs of the area and the ways in which they have been met and setting out the views of those consulted.

6. Authorities who have already sought designation have been able to give assurances that enforcement powers would be used with compassion and this assurance will continue to be sought. This is not to preclude such authorities from a proper use of their powers but, purely on humanitarian considerations apart, there are often distinct advantages in terms of community relationships and demands upon local resources in giving gypsies a reasonable opportunity to move voluntarily, if appropriate.

Reviews

7. Completed programmes will be expected to be sufficient, initially, for at least 5 years. The need for subsequent review by local authorities, bearing in mind their continuing statutory commitment, would depend upon local circumstances, including the degree to which the available accommodation was proving inadequate or excessive.
ANNEX 11

Court of Appeal Ruling

Source of information:
Court of Appeal Ruling.

Court of Appeal
Commission for Racial Equality v Dutton
Before Lord Justice Stocker,
Lord Justice Nicholls and
Lord Justice Taylor.

A sign in a public house saying 'Sorry, no travellers' does not amount to direct racial discrimination against gipsies, because it applies to all nomadic people. However, the sign may amount to indirect discrimination, since gipsies retain a sufficient racial identity, and among nomads there are still more gipsies than others (even though a majority of gipsies are no longer nomads).
ANNEX 12

International Institutions and Gypsies

Source of information:
APPENDIX

International institutions and Gypsies

1. Council of Europe

- Recommendation 563 (1969) of Parliamentary Assembly, 30.9.69: The situation of Gypsies and other Travellers in Europe. [Subsequently numerous questions were put to the Committee of Ministers by members of the Parliamentary Assembly.]

- Resolution (75) 13 of Committee of Ministers, 22.5.75: The social situation of nomads in Europe.

- Resolution 125 (1981) of Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities (CLRAE), 29.10.81: The cultural and social problems of populations of nomadic origin.

- Recommendation R (83) 1 of Committee of Ministers, 22.2.83: Stateless nomads and nomads of undetermined nationality.


- Hearing of CLRAE Committee on Culture, Education and Media, Strasbourg, 12-13.7.91: Gypsies and Europe.

- Report of Parliamentary Assembly's Committee on Culture and Education: Gypsies in Europe (Doc. 6733, 11.1.93).

- Recommendation 1203 (1993) of Parliamentary Assembly, 2.2.93: Gypsies in Europe.

- Resolution 249 (1993) of CLRAE, 18.3.93: Gypsies in Europe, the role and responsibilities of local and regional authorities. [With Explanatory memorandum.]
2. United Nations


- Resolution of Sub-Commission on Protection of Minorities 28.8.91: Protection of minorities. (Special reference to Roma.)

- Resolution 1992/65 of Commission on Human Rights, 4.3.92: Protection of minorities. (Special reference to Roma.) (Inter alia, charged the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Protection of Minorities to pay particular attention to Roma in preparing his study on ways of solving problems involving minorities.)

3. European Community

- Resolution of European Parliament, 24.5.84: The situation of Gypsies in the Community.


- Commission hearing, Brussels, 29.5.91: Situation of Gypsies.

4. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe

- Final document of the Copenhagen meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, June 1990: Article 40 dealt with ethnic antagonism, and specifically recognised the special problems of Roma.

- Final document of Geneva meeting of experts on national minorities, 1-19.7.91: Ch. 6 reaffirmed recognition of problems of Roma.

- Final document of Moscow conference on the Human Dimension, 10.9-4.10.91: Article 42.2 again drew attention to situation of Roma.

- Final document of Helsinki summit, mid 1992: Ch. 6 on Human Dimension reiterated need for measures to deal with problems of Roma.

- Human Dimension seminar, Warsaw, 24-28.5.93.
ANNEX 13

The story of first literate Rromni in Poland

Source of information:
The story of first literate Rromni in Poland

For more than a millennium the survival of the Rroma has depended on secrecy: on disguise and misrepresentation, on keeping customs and ambitions hidden, on burying the past.

Attempts to break down the fencee, however well meaning, can have terrible repercussions. One of the most tragic stories about cross-cultural misunderstanding occurred in Poland in the early 1950s when a woman whose real name was Bronisława Wajs but who was known by her Rromani name - Papusza (Doll), was taken up by the Gadže.

According to Fonseca [1995] and many others, Papusza was one of the greatest Rromani singers and poets of all time and, for a while, one of the most celebrated.

Papusza’s date of birth is not known precisely, and the poetess herself was not sure of the year when she was born. Years ago she told Ficowski [1989] that it was 1909, but in official documents the date 30 May 1910 is given, and also 17 January 1908.

Papusza’s family was nomadic. Whenever they stopped for a day or two - and even nomadic families usually had winter digs somewhere - she would bring a stolen chicken to a likely villager in exchange for lessons. This is how she learned to read and write. For more chickens, she acquired books, a secret library. When Papusza was growing up in the 1920s, literacy was almost unknown among the Rroma, and when she was caught reading she was beaten and her books were destroyed. At 15, Papusza was married by arrangement to an old and revered harpist, Dionizy Wajs. She was very unhappy and bore no children.

She began to sing. Drawing on the Rroma tradition of improvised storytelling and on short, simple folk songs, Papusza composed long ballads - part song, part poem, spontaneously “enacted”. Like most Rromani songs, Papusza’s were wringing laments about poverty, impossible love and later, yearning for a lost freedom.

By chance, in the summer of 1949, the Polish poet Jerzy Ficowski heard Papusza sing, and persuaded her to write her stories down. In October of 1950, several of Papusza’s poems appeared
in a magazine called Problemy, alongside an interview with Ficowski by the distinguished Polish poet Julian Tuwim.

In 1952, a wide reaching programme to force the Rroma to settle went into effect in Poland; it was known as the Great Halt (although that goal was not fully achieved until the late 1970s). The plan belonged to the feverish fashion for “productivisation”, which, despite well-intended welfare provisions, in fact imposed a new culture of dependency on the Rroma. Similar policies were adopted in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, as the vogue for forced assimilation gathered momentum.

Jerzy Ficowski became a government adviser on “the Rroma question”. The first edition of his book The Gypsies in Poland included a chapter called “The Right Way”, which - though it was omitted in subsequent editions and perhaps was included only as a condition of publication - gave his backing to the policy of settlement for the fewer than 15,000 Polish Rroma who had survived the war. Ficowski cites Papusza as an ideal and suggests that her poems might be used for propaganda purposes among the Rroma.

Soon after the publication of her poems in Problemy, Papusza had been identified among the Rroma as a culprit in the accelerating campaign to destroy their traditional way of life. She had done something unforgivable; she had collaborated with Gadže. She tried desperately to reclaim the authorship of her own ideas, her songs. She rushed to Warszawa from her home in southern Silesia, begging the Polish Writers Union to intervene. She was refused. She went to the publishing house that was preparing Ficowski’s book, in which her poems were to be included. No one could understand her. Was she unhappy about the translations? Were there final revisions to be made? Papusza returned home and burned all her work - some 300 poems. “If you print these songs, I shall be skinned alive” - she wrote to Ficowski [Fonseca, 1995, p.86].

Papusza was called before the highest authority among the Polish Rroma, the Baro Shero. She was proclaimed magerdi or marine which means defiled. The punishment was irreversible exclusion from the group. She spent 8 months in a Silesian psychiatric hospital; then for the next 34 years, until her death, she lived alone and in isolation. She was shunned by her own generation and unknown to the next. She became her name: a doll, mute and discarded.
She stopped writing for 17 years, and only in the late 1960s again spoke out for the last time, with a few splendid poems. From that time, ill and much wronged by her own people, she composed nothing; she died on 8 February 1987 [Ficowski, 1989].

In a revised edition of his book, published in 1985, Ficowski reviewed the results of the Great Halt. He wrote [Fonseca, 1995, p.87]: 'Gypsies no longer lead a nomadic life, and the number of illiterates has considerably fallen'. But even these gains were limited, because Rromni girls marry at the age of 12 or 13 and because 'in the very few cases where individuals are properly educated, they usually tend to leave the Gypsy community'. The results were disastrous: 'Opposition to the travelling of the Rroma craftsmen, who had taken their tinsmithing or blacksmithing into the uttermost corners of the country, began gradually to bring about the disappearance of most of the traditional Rromani skills'. And finally: 'After the loss of opportunities to practise traditional professions, the main source of livelihood for many Rroma were preyed on by the rest of society'.

The passionately held view of most Rroma today is still that Gadže are dangerous, not to be trusted, and except for business dealings, are to avoided. Indeed, in the most general sense, Gadže are considered to be marime. To develop unnecessary relations with them is to risk contamination. In 1991 an American director of Polish origin, Greg Kowalski, made a film entitled The history of one Rromni in which he accused Ficowski of manipulating Papusza and her work,¹ and as a consequence, in causing her abandonment by the Rromani community [Bartosz, 1994, p.117].

For real or imagined collusion with the Gadže, Papusza was condemned to a living death. The harsh law of the Rroma - so cruelly at variance with the romantic stereotype of the Rromani free spirit - prohibits emancipation of individuals in favour of preserving the group.

¹ In 1953 Ficowski published a book which contained a Polish-Rromani dictionary and that terrified Rroma who interpreted it as a revealing of their most important secret - the Rromani language. Therefore Papusza, who was friends with Ficowski and as well as writing poems herself, was accused of betrayal. She was excluded from the Rromani society, even physically beaten, at the end she became mentally ill [Bartosz, 1994].
ANNEX 14

A letter from the British Rommani Union (18th of March, 1995)
A GENERAL MEETING
will be held
at
EDENBRIDGE LEISURE CENTRE
on
SATURDAY 22 APRIL 1995
1400 – 1800 Hrs.

The new Criminal Justice & Public Order Act will have serious and detrimental effects on our People, all Full & Associate Members, along with supporters of the B. R. U., are urgently requested to attend this meeting.

THIS IS YOUR STRUGGLE!
PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ATTEND!

If you cannot attend, then PLEASE, let me know and make effort to pass on your views and feelings to my other Travellers that expects to attend.

In order to secure your right to vote on Union matters then you may join or renew your Full Membership at, or shortly after, the General Meeting.

On receiving this announcement, PLEASE spread the word to any and all Travellers that you meet. Our last General Meeting was strongly attended; let this one have even more Members present.

IT'S YOUR STRUGGLE,
COME AND HELP FIGHT IT!

Ekhipę ai ruzlipę!
(Unity is strength)

Edenbridge Leisure Centre is sited on the area of parkland alongside the road which runs through the town, just South of the railway viaduct crossing the road close to the junction with Four Elms Road.
BRITISH ROMMANI UNION

SOME TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED & DECIDED!

Is there need for UNITY among the Hiders of Britain?
If so,
How can we achieve this?

why should the British Rommani Union give support to,
the European Union Migrants' Forum?

What chances of real help from the European Union?

What benefits to our Romani children came from
The First Congress of Rom in the European Union,
at SEVILLE, Spain, during May-1994
a
The Way Ahead?

Should the British Rommani Union give its support to the newly-founded
world organisation, based in France;
"Romani Cheongiro Yekhipo"?

Criminal Justice and Public Order Act

DOE Circular (23-Nov-1994), "GIPSY SITES POLICY & UNAUTHORISED
CAMPING"

POINTS ARISING?

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MEETING?

Membership and/or further information may be obtained from Mr. Tom
Olley, st:
British Rommani Union,
The Reservation,
Never Road,
Edenbridge,
Kent, TN8 5DJ

Telephone: 01732-666139

Ust jan Opi & Romale!
THESE, make all donations payable to: British Human Union,

one of Europe's leading heart-transplant surgeons, (a pupil and assistant to the great heart-transplant pioneer, Professor Bernard of South Africa), is a Rom from Bulgaria; very proud to acknowledge his Roman heritage!

'Gypsy' music has had a major influence on music throughout the world! The great violin virtuoso, Niccolo Paganini (1782-1840) being a Rom from Italy!

The great Charlie Chaplin was of Roman descent, paternally & maternally! Eliza Doolay was of Roman descent?

'Gypsies' are the only ethnic group in Britain to have been not specifically against them. Housefield operations against 'Gypsies' here in Britain?

The British Government has recently ignored the European Parliament of 1986 which calls for the removal of discriminatory, anti-Gypsy legislation!

British share with other countries, the shame of executing the Rom, simply for being born 'Gypsy'}

Not taught in schools!

The law concerning 'fairies' is said to be based on the 'Moor's', (Rom)!

Apart from their genuine use of psychic power, via clairvoyance and related 'gifts', the 'Gypsies' are the best, cheapest and most long-serving practitioners of psychology, giving very fair return for the piece of silver in the palm. quite unlike the modern day 'track-cyclists', the 'Analysts', who charge the earth for telling their 'custoher' something like, 'You hate your father because you were deprived of your very early love'. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Many Roman words have been adopted into the English language? These include; caste, pal; knocker; hai-who; kinston; nip; who; sat; civil; dino; weaver; mud; mud; boktar; just, etc.!

According to Arabic records, 'Gypsies' introduced the Prophet Muhammad to the herb 'Rue' and saved the great man from dying of a deadly fever?

Many parents still christen their children with: 'The Gypsy will take you away if you're not good', promoting the idea that 'we carry off and eat babies'!

Thousands of 'Gypsies' have given their lives for heroically scientific whilst defending Britain!

Should you answer 'not' to any of the above questions, there are over seven, you risk being affected by prejudice & discrimination in your attitude towards 'Gypsies' in this country!

The B.H.U. appeals to help you; help us, help the Rom by furthering your own knowledge and understanding of our people, the Rom (Gypsies)!

PLEASE make use of our charitable organization for the promotion of the Rom!

O. Tom Olley, P.L.R.F. (Rom),
General Secretary British Human Union,
The Sanctuary, Never Road,
Edenbridge, Kent, TN8 5DQ.
Tel: 01732-866139 (24 hrs.)

A 'Gypsy', corrupted from 'Egyptian', is an offensive, racial word, comparable with, e.g., Nogi; Hitler; Gidid; Split; Vop! Frog! Spade! Dope, etc., yet still used (legally)! As a term for the Rom,

To give from the heart is to enrich the soul!
For information-advice-assistance on all matters relating to the Rom,
PLEASE CONTACT: D. Tom Olley, address over-leaf.

DID YOU KNOW THAT:

"Gypsies" are properly called Rom?

Though spread throughout the world, the Rom race originally from the North-West of India; are
believed to be descended from the highest warrior caste.

The Indian Government and the Punjubi State Government have acknowledged and recognised the Rom as
being of their people. We, the Rom, are grateful for their help and endeavours toward
the emancipation of our people.

Officially recognized slavery of the 'Gypsy' was abolished in Europe until an late as 1965; till then,
"Gypsies" were openly sold on the slave-blocks in parts of Europe. Not taught in school!

The Christian Church was one of the largest owners of 'Gypsy' slaves! Selling 'Gypsy' babies were
born from the area of their masters as slaves.

The Lord Jesus said: "And set the little children in thy midst!" (Except they be 'Gypsy'!)

Well over a million 'Gypsies' were tortured and cruelly exterminated under the rule of Hitler's Europe;
around 71% of the Rom within Nazi-controlled Europe, according to Nazi estimates. Not taught in school!

The FIRST extermination of racial-genres under Nazi rule was when 200-250 innocent 'Gypsy
children', mostly aged between 9-12 yrs, were taken from the Buchenwald concentration-camp and used
to prove the 'efficiency' of Zyklon B gas... this was in January, 1940; one year before the first
Holocaust murder of the Jews. Not mentioned in school, or by the media!

In 1933, Hitler's cabinet passed a law which ordered the sterilization of certain categories of
people: 'Gypsically Gypsy and most of the Germans of black colour'. Not taught in school!

From January 1934, 'Gypsies' were selected for transfer to camps. (The first Permanent Exrac-
sicre) and sterilized by injection or castration. Many thousands of Rom were forcibly sterilized
during this era, commencing in 1934: "Civilization" without, uncaring? Not taught in school!

Half a Century later. The U. K. were made well aware of the enforced sterilization of Roms
('Gypsy') women in Fascist Italy, yet did no more than make empty protest at this obscene
abominations. Never taught in school!

women of 'Gypsy' children were forcibly taken from their parents by the "Reparations" organisation in Italy;
this was done with the full knowledge and consent of the Italian government. (Some of the Roms.) These "Reparations"
children were fed upon live, state that their parents were dead or no longer wanted them: kept in mental institutions and the like until they were
adults; the practice going on until very recent years.

During the "righteous", the British authorities rounded up large numbers of Rom and abandoned them at
new without papers, preventing their return!

Now of the forgetting historical FACTS are taught in school?

Many 'Gypsies' have achieved fame in politics and high office, including a Lord Chancellor of
England, Lord Roberts, (50 yrs), as well as positions of prominence in the arts and profession;
Bob Hawke; Michael Caine; Joe Longthorne; Chris Renn; Sir Jack Stapp, etc? Not taught in school!

The Lord Rom said: "And the greatest of these my girls is 'Understanding'!"
ANNEX 15

A letter from the Department of the Environment (07th of April, 1995)
Ewa Kruczek-Steiger  
8 Gaynor Court  
Beechdale Mews  
Nottingham  
NG8 3FL

Dear Ewa Kruczek-Steiger,

Thank you for your letter of 9 March about the implementation and delivery of education for gypsies. There is a specific definition for "gipsies" in England and Wales which is "persons of nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin, but does not include members of an organised group of travelling showmen, or persons engaged in travelling circuses, travelling together as such." This definition may be different for Scotland and Northern Ireland. The definition is capable of covering not only Romany gypsies but any person with a nomadic habit who falls within it.

It is doubtful whether anyone knows the how many gypsies there are in the United Kingdom. Local authorities in England undertake a bi-annual count of gypsy caravans; the last set of figures published was in July 1994 and I enclose a copy of that count for your information. The number for Nottinghamshire is included under East Midlands.

The responsibility for the Government policy on the education of travellers in general falls to the Department for Education and I am therefore forwarding your letter to:

Mr Tom Jenkin  
Department for Education  
Sanctuary Buildings  
London SW1P 3BT

I hope you find this information useful.

Yours sincerely,

ML Persaud
Homelessness Policy Division
ANNEX 16

European Education Record for Children of Occupational Travellers
European Education Record
for Children of Occupational Travellers

This education record is available in English, German, French, Dutch, Spanish and Italian from your Regional Centre and also EFECOT in Brussels.

This booklet is produced with the cooperation of the Commission of the European Communities.
Content

This is me ............................................................................................................. 3
Guidelines for parents ......................................................................................... 4
Guidelines for teachers ......................................................................................... 4
Addresses and information ................................................................................... 5
School attendance ................................................................................................. 6
Daily work plan
List of books/ materials
Record sheet (to be copied)
This is me

My name is

My parents/guardians are

My address is

I was born on

My winter school is (address, tel. no):

My class teacher is

My contact teacher in the Education Service is (name, address, tel. no):

Chris Hart

During the school year 19../19../ I was in year group ../.

During the school year 19../19../ I was in year group ../.

During the school year 19../19../ I was in year group ../.

During the school year 19../19../ I was in year group ../.

My first language is .... I can also speak .....

Fill in this page with your teacher.
Guidelines for parents

On the move - How can you help with your child's education?

1. Let the child's teacher/school know where you are going next.

2. Use the Contacts booklet to request support from area to area - try and phone at least a week before you arrive.

3. Ask the teachers regularly about your child's progress - discuss any concerns you may have with them.

4. On those days when your child is not with a teacher/school encourage her/him to do their school work. If possible provide a nice quiet space.

5. Look through this record often and discuss it with your child. This will encourage her/him and also give you some idea of their progress.

6. Let the teacher know if your child has a medical condition they should be aware of.

Guidelines for teachers

Please try to ensure -

1. that a copy of the record sheet goes back to the winter school.

2. that the attendance sheet is signed. This will provide an overview of the child's pattern of education support.

3. that the child continues with the work provided by the winter school as well as the topic/project work you may be doing.

4. that any completed books etc. are sent back to the winter school, requesting more if necessary - discuss the best postal address with the family.

Your help and co-operation are a vital part of the success of this record system. Thank you.

If you have any queries please phone the winter school/contact teacher whenever you feel necessary.
If you have questions about education in your own country as well as abroad, the following addresses may be useful.

**EFECOT**
Nijverheidstraat 10/42 / Rue de l'Industrie 10/42
B-1040 Brussels (Belgium)
Tel.: Int. +32 2 511 82 32
nat. (02) 511 82 32
Fax: Int. +32 2 514 59 89
nat. (02) 514 59 89

**UK**
West Midlands Education Service for Travelling Children
Broad Lane, Bilston
UK - West Midlands WV14OSB
Tel.: (0)902 33 93 25

**NL**
Stichting Rijdende School
Postbus 188
NL - 4190 CD Geldermalsen
Tel.: (0)3455 / 7 26 51

**D**
Kultusministerium des Landes
Nordrhein-Westfalen
Postfach 1103
D - 4000 Düsseldorf 1
Tel.: (0)211 / 696 3463

**E**
Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia
Servicio de Apoyo a Colectivos de Atención Preferente
Los Madrazo, 15-17, planta 1a
E - 28071 Madrid
Tel.: (0)52 21 10 / 41 21

You can also get further information from your Guild.
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Note for the teacher: Please sign the dates on which the pupil was with you.
List of books/ materials

Please keep the child's rough drafts and notes in this record. They are a valuable contribution towards the winter school's assessment process.
Record sheet

Please send a copy of this page back to the child’s winter school on departure (see address on page 3).

Name

was with us from (date) to ..........................................................................

for ....... days/ mornings/ afternoons (please delete).

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Child's comments:-

How did it go?

Parents comments:-

Probable next destination:

Date: Address and tel. no:

Signed:

N.B. Please sign dates of school attendance/ contact days on the sheet provided in this record.
ANNEX 17

CSCE Information.

Source of information:
Governmental organizations (NGOs), observers and students are held in Warsaw; smaller seminars for fewer States may be organized or co-sponsored with others in Warsaw or elsewhere, according to the requests of interested States.

The first series of Human Dimension Seminars

Talents (Nov. 1992): the role of local authorities, educational and cultural institutions and media in promoting tolerance and legal issues and law enforcement.

Migration, including Refugees and Displaced Persons (April 1992); protection of involuntary migrants and promotion of voluntary migration.

Case Studies on National Minorities: Lessons Positive and Negative (May 1992); participation of national minorities in the political decision-making process, and transfrontier and regional cooperation.

Free Media (2-3 Nov. 1992); media ethics, creating legal frameworks and a political climate which encourages free media; journalist freedom and responsibility in a democratic system; free media and the free market.

ODIHR, in cooperation with another CSCE institution, the Conflict Prevention Center (Varna), is also organizing seminars on early warning and peacekeeping issues.

Program of Coordinated Support for Recently Admitted Participating States

The Office also organizes smaller meetings, some of them as part of a program of coordinated support for newly admitted CSCE States. Whenever possible, these meetings take place in the new States and are attended by civil servants, the media, and the public at large. The ODIHR's first such seminar for government officials from new States, was organized in parallel with the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting. It later sponsored seminars on the following topics:

Constitutional Law for the Islamic Republic of the Former Soviet Union.
Citizenship and Language Laws in the Newly Independent States of Europe.
Human Rights and the Reform of Law in the Republic of Moldova.

The Warsaw Office's Rule of Law expert seminars in writing conventions, modernizing judicial systems, revising fundamental laws, and coordinating with related bodies like the Council of Europe, European Commission for Democracy through Law, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, United Nations, various universities, bar associations, foundations, and ministries.

Governments interested in taking advantage of the Program of Coordinated Support for Recently Admitted States, should contact the ODIHR to explore possibilities for cooperation.

Implementation Meetings on Human Dimension Issues

Beginning in Autumn 1992, every year in which a follow-up CSCE review conference does not take place, ODIHR organizes a three-week expert-level meeting of participating States to review implementation of CSCE Human Dimension commitments and to foster an exchange of views and evaluation of activities.

The ODIHR Clearinghouse

ODIHR has expanded its clearinghouse function to include a broad range of human rights topics. It now publishes information from CSCE States for its Warsaw database, which is available to interested governments, NGOs, research institutions, and individuals: Democratic Institutions-building (government and non-governmental programs, publications and studies, points of contact), Human Rights (reports on compliance, information on programs promoting human rights), Criminal-Taking Persons of Contact), A public liaison, Handbook for Human Dimension Mechanism Experts/Representatives and Election Observers, is available to interested parties upon request. ODIHR also issues a regular quarterly Bulletin reporting current activities in the CSCE's human dimension. Those interested in receiving the Bulletin and other ODIHR publications should contact the Warsaw Office.

FUNDING

ODIHR activities are funded by the 53 participating States through an agreed upon payment scale.

OFFICE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Director: Amb. Andrzej Heberer (U.K.), Deputy Director: Prof. Szafarz (Poland)

111-12 Warsaw 10, PO BOX 10
Tel. 4-81 2 023 43 27
Fax 4-81 2 023 43 26

OFFICE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Warsaw, Poland
AN OVERVIEW

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), originated in the mid-1970s as a multilateral forum for communication and consultation between the former East and West. At that time it consisted of 35 countries in Europe and North America. At the end of the Cold War, the “Helsinki Process” was transformed into practice with the creation of CSCE Institutions: a Secretariat in Prague, a Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna, and an Office for Free Elections in Warsaw. As Europe changed since the revolution of 1989, so have the CSCE Institutions. In 1992, the CSCE States, now numbering 53, decided to transform the Office for Free Elections into the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) is the CSCE’s institution responsible for fostering human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The Helsinki Summit (1990) gave the Office a broad spectrum of responsibilities including:

- monitoring implementation of CSCE human dimension commitments;
- organizing international exercises on human dimension topics, including seminars for newly admitted participating States;
- supporting the CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities;
- serving as a clearing house for information on democracy-building programs in all CSCE countries;
- assisting democratic elections in the region through international election observers, seminars, and exchanges of experts.

"...we endeavor to build, consolidate and strengthen democracy as the only system of government of our nations...Democratic government is based on the will of the people, expressed regularly through free and fair elections. Democracy has as its foundations respect for the human person and the rule of law; democracy, with its representative and pluralistic character enjoys accountability to the electorate, the obligation of public authorities to comply with the law and justice administered impartially. No one will be above the law..." (Chairman Pariy for a New Europe, 1990)

ACTIVITIES

The CSCE began its electoral activity in the early 1990s with the monitoring of the old East-West divide. Endorsement by international observers of a democratically contested election is essential to new governmental withdrawal of support by international observers for the electoral process may be a critical test in such new governments. The procedure for compliance with election rights, as envisaged in various declarations, resulted in creation of the CSCE Office for Free Elections (OFE) in Warsaw.

The OFE began work in April 1991. Its original mandate was to assist new European democracies in establishing a tradition of free elections and assist in electoral administration. Responding quickly to the wave of elections in the new Europe, OFE co-operated with other institutions, primarily the Council of Europe, to establish assistance programs in countries holding parliamentary and presidential elections, constitutional or political referendums. The Office invited international experts from North America and Western Europe (and occasionally from Eastern Europe) to election seminars for national and local election officials. OFE also served as a channel for information between international delegations and electoral experts.

The Office has organized successful programs in Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, Romania, the Russian Federation, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the former republics of Yugoslavia and Austria. It has co-sponsored international seminars for the Helsinki Commission on Free Elections in Central and Eastern Europe, a professional electoral experts association. At the request of countries in the region, the Office has reviewed some draft electoral laws to see if they meet CSCE standards and has coordinated international expert commentary on the laws of Bulgaria, Estonia, Albania and Serbia-Montenegro.

Human Dimension Issues

Since its establishment, the OFE assumed broader responsibilities within CSCE’s “Human Dimension” mandate, broadening the Office’s eventual transformation into the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. At the direction of CSCE’s Committee of Senior Officials, the Director participated in several fact-finding missions to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Serbia— including Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The Director and Deputy Director also took part in missions to the newly admitted CSCE states: Albania, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

Human Dimension Mechanism

Among ODIHR’s most challenging new tasks is responsibility for managing the “Human Dimension Mechanism.”

The original mechanism, negotiated at the Vienna Follow-up Meeting (1989–90) and expanded at CSCE Conferences on the Human Dimension in 1995–96, mandates an effective exchange of information and extensive bilateral meetings on cases of possible human dimension conflict.

“HUMAN DIMENSION"

CSCE Human Dimension mechanisms originated in 1975 in the Principles section of Basket 1 of the Helsinki process (provisions relating to the security in Europe, and Basket 3 in cooperation in human rights and other fields). The Human Dimension was redefined and expanded in a series of meetings on the Human Dimension (Paris 1989, Copenhagen 1990 and Moscow 1991) as well as the Paris Summit of 1990 and the second Helsinki Summit of 1992. As part of the “Charter of Paris for a New Europe,” the CSCE States committed themselves to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to abide by the rule of law and to promote principles of democracy and democratic institutions, including free elections, and the protection of minorities and religious freedoms.

Drawn from an official list of experts appointed by CSCE participating States, a mission may be sent to investigate human rights cases, following activation of the Mechanism by the concerned State or other participating States. If a mission of good offices is regarded unsuccessful or, if a State refuses a mission on its territory, a mandatory mission may be dispatched with the required support from other CSCE States. If, in urgent cases, the States may dispatch an advisory mission without first employing the good offices phase. In addition, individual States may request the services of such experts to assist in establishing human rights standards in their countries.

Thus far, the Human Dimension Mechanism has been activated five times:

- East and South-East Europe by the States of the European Community and the United States via OSCE;
- several, via OSCE, of the following: Montenegro on reports of atrocities and attacks on unarmed civilians;
- third, by States to study extensive legislation and to connect with universities and human rights norms;
- fourth, by Moldova to investigate current legislation and minorities’ rights and inter-ethnic relations in Moldova;
- fifth, by the 22nd meeting of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials to investigate reports of human rights violations in Serbia-Montenegro, in particular the beating and imprisonment of human rights activists Vek and Dandu.

Human Dimension Seminars and Meetings

ODIHR organizes both large and smaller seminars on a variety of issues. The largest Human Dimension seminar — for 53 States plus international organizations (OSCE) — was

...
ANNEX 18

Examples of Rromani attitude towards settled way of life

Source of information:
Examples of Rromani attitude towards settled way of life

Thus for example the employment of the Rroma from Nowy Targ, who were the blacksmiths of the sub-Tatra region as agricultural workers in state farms in the Szczecin region was doomed to failure from the beginning. Tempted by the provisions and new clothes with which they were supplied, they agreed to move to the other end of Poland, by the sea, in order to work on the land - which neither they nor their forebears had ever had experience of before. Their reasonably good housing conditions - incomparably better than their previous accommodation - did not help: the group of more than a hundred Rroma began slowly to melt away; they missed the mountains, they missed their primitive forges, and one after another they returned to their native parts, abandoning the agricultural work that was quite unnatural for them [p.50].

An undertaking that seemed to offer greater hope of success was the employment of the Rroma at the new Nowa Huta steel mill near Kraków. However, in this case too, the venture was only partly successful, where it applied to members of the settled mountain Rroma groups, while the small groups of nomadic Rroma - for example a 40-strong caravan from Nysa - after a short stay in the new town disappeared without warning or farewells. In 1952, a group of newly-settled Rroma shortly before leaving Nowa Huta moved out of their flats into a nearby thicket, and stayed there for a time in shacks knocked together from planks. They explained that in the blocks of flats, they felt as though they were in prison. They too before long “left for freedom”, to use the Rroma expression [p.50].
ANNEX 19

Nottinghamshire L.E.A. Specific Grant
Bunclinghamshire seeks to continue to develop a quality education for all Traveller children within the Authority. The Authority seeks to offer an appropriate and available educational experience to Traveller children.

Data collected indicates that between September 1991 and April 1992 117 children from Traveller families have been educated in 35 schools. But also shows that well over 100 children, mainly from unauthorized sites who are of primary school age, have not attended any school whilst in Bunclinghamshire.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traveller’s private site</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Authority sites for Travellers’ children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal arrangements found along the beginning of the project (some of which have been used many times)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor’s Monitoring Yard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Age Traveller</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of schools who have shown Traveller children on roll since September 1991:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No of Schools</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Area A: Visiting homes and Gypsy people.
Area B: Work in schools where there are no Travellers.
Area C: Liaison with members of the Education department and representatives of other Agencies, both in and out of County.

Area B:

Here in primary schools with Gypsy Traveller children from the five private and one Local Authority site. This would be primarily focused on these schools which have an intake of approximately 100 children each year - from these whom families are quite anxious to others who travel to varying degrees.

SUMMARY 1

To standardize a more effective and efficient way of assessment and record keeping for these children are married and leave primary school.

STRATEGIES
1. By establishing an agreed procedure by which schools include the Traveller Education Project when children are admitted to or leave schools.
2. By accessing available educational records.
3. By working with the school to support initial assessment and plan a programme of work.
4. By meeting with parents.
5. By introducing the Oft Special Needs Reference cards.

SUMMARY 2

To raise the level of educational attainment and increase access to the full curriculum.

STRATEGIES
1. By providing support in class for individual children and groups of children.
2. By providing programmes of in-service training for teachers.
3. By developing suitable teaching materials.
4. By supporting home/school liaison.

SUMMARY 3

To raise awareness in schools of Traveller perspectives and for schools to show evidence of children’s work which reflects understanding of traveller life and traditions.

STRATEGIES
1. By providing and maintaining a good level of resources, both written and photographic, to reflect Traveller history, culture and literature which support areas of the curriculum.
2. By providing in-service training for teachers.
3. By developing partnership teaching.

SUMMARY 4

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To help children live and work together without challenging behaviour and conflict.

ACTION
1. By providing programmes of in-service training for teachers.
2. By working through the Personal and Social Education area of the curriculum.
3. By working with parents.

TABLE 1
To increase the understanding and confidence of parents in relation to their children’s education.

ACTION
1. By supporting head/school liaison.
2. By supporting parents at school events.
3. By enabling parents and other adults to know how to access information concerning further educational courses.

TABLE 2
Children from highly mobile Gypsy Traveller and New Age Traveller families who were not at Herts and Crouch Valley John Livingstone School or another school due to lack of information about education. The main focus is to increase the numbers of children attending schools, and the quality of education they receive. Very few parents support schools to register their children. At present it remains the responsibility of Project staff to make the initial contact.

6. By assisting with school uniforms.

TABLE 3
To encourage schools to provide children with the opportunity for educational achievement.

ACTION
1. By helping schools to understand the needs of children from highly mobile Traveller families.
2. By encouraging the inclusion of Traveller perspectives in areas of the curriculum.
3. By obtaining a basic list profile if current records are not available.
4. By planning programmes of work with teachers.
5. By providing the appropriate level of support by teachers or supporting assistants.
6. By providing support for children during unstructured times, e.g. lunch and break times.
7. By implementing the school’s resources.
8. By evaluating with schools the support provided and its effectiveness.
9. By developing Reference Learning Books for children whose length of stay in one area would make school attendance inappropriate and whose parents would be able to support their learning.

10. By meeting with parents to encourage the use of the Gypsy School Record Reference Card.
11. By associated current records and examples of children’s work to be available for the next school.
12. By developing parent held education records and encouraging parents to use them.
13. By ensuring that every family has a contact booklet to enable them to find school names and addresses in other authorities to ensure education more quickly.
14. By encouraging parents to tell schools when they are moving away, so that work can be completed and children take it with them.

TABLE 4
Secondary school attenders. The majority of Gypsy Traveller children from authorised sites in Hertfordshire do attend primary schools. Those attendances patterns are not maintained into the secondary sector. Numbers of children in secondary schools have improved from 13 in 1992 to 24 in 1995, but there are still many children who do not attend any secondary school.

TABLE 5
To encourage parents to understand the value of secondary education.

ACTION
1. By giving parents an opportunity to discuss their concerns.

TABLE 6
To develop a quick and efficient means of locating and visiting sites.

ACTION
1. By encouraging families to contact the Traveller Education Project once they visit Birmingham.
2. By using the knowledge about likely stopping places and checking on them.
3. By gaining information from Education Welfare and other education services.
4. By showing flexibility within the PROJECT TEAM, which will enable staff to visit sites without delay.

TABLE 7
To provide children with an appropriate school placement as quickly as possible.

ACTION
1. By working in partnership with parents, Area Education Officers and schools.
2. By liaising with Traveller Education Services with authorities where children have previously attended schools.
3. By providing transport if appropriate.

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2. By arranging meetings with secondary school teachers and accompanying parents.

3. By liaising with the Education Welfare Service.

**TARQUINIA**

To increase numbers of young people attending secondary schools.

**SITUATION**

1. By working with primary feeder schools to promote a positive attitude in transition.
2. By working with secondary schools to develop a positive attitude towards the needs and aspirations of Traveller families.
3. By developing relationships between secondary schools and parents.
4. By supporting the development of an appropriate curriculum which recognises the needs and skills of Travellers.
5. By working with schools to look at appropriate times in the year to set up Traveller liaison work.
6. By promoting the continuity of support staff from Year 6 to Year 7.

**AREA B**

Showcase one village in West Lothian. In this category there are at present small numbers of children. In addition it is believed that there are children who

To provide school placements, where appropriate.

**STRATEGIES**

1. By compiling a time-table of feasts and circuses in West Lothian.
2. By visiting feasts and circuses.
3. By working on an appropriate school placement and supporting as required.

**TARQUINIA**

To provide effective monitoring of Distance Learning Packs.

**STUDENTS**

1. By working with children who have programmes of work and by awareness with parents.
2. By recording work with children.

**TARQUINIA**

To provide advice and education on sites at West Lothian’s Choice Trust.

**STUDENTS**

1. By prior consultation with parents, determine an appropriate educational input.

**TARQUINIA**

To support educational assessment when children return to school in November.

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**Participants**

1. By working with schools to assess and identify the needs of the children.

**TARQUINIA**

To raise the level of academic achievement.

**STUDENTS**

1. By providing a high level of input of work in schools with children on their return by means of:
   - collaborative teaching
   - one to one

**TARQUINIA**

To support the development of Distance Learning Packs.

**STUDENTS**

1. By providing in-service training with teachers to increase their understanding of the value of Distance Learning Programmes.
2. By offering help to develop resources jointly with schools.
3. By encouraging teachers to use the value of each child having a pack designed for them.

**TARQUINIA**

To help with monitoring and continued production of work for Distance Learning Packs.
STRATEGIES

1. By encouraging parents to provide outings and educational activities, such as visits to the Traveller Education Project, with a diary for the occasion.

2. By encouraging parents to use the contact booklet.

3. By liaising with other authorities to gain support for children when they are travelling.

4. By supporting schools in their continued production of work for the Distance Learning Programme.

CHAPTER 5

To ensure that Travellers gain access to secondary school and maintain their attendance.

STRATEGIES

1. By securing appropriate access to premises.

2. By maintaining close links with parents throughout the period.

3. By delivering appropriate programmes of learning.

4. By offering educational advice and help to parents.

AREA 2

Work with schools where there are no Travellers.

CHAPTER 6

To encourage schools to examine attitudes and prejudices in relation to different life styles and cultures.

STRATEGIES

1. By providing all non-mainstream schools with a current Traveller Education Access Booklet.

2. By liaising with schools and encouraging their inclusion with schools’ own materials.

3. By providing schools with in-service training.

4. By working with schools on the preparation and delivery of lessons.

5. By encouraging staff to promote awareness and understanding of Traveller culture and life style within the curriculum, especially within PSE.

AREA 2

Liaison with members of the Education Department and representatives of other agencies within County and out of County.

CHAPTER 6

To provide a better service for Travellers by identifying needs within the Traveller community and working with other professionals to respond quicker and more effectively to the needs of Travellers.

STRATEGIES

1

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ANNEX 20

An example of regional co-ordination in the United Kingdom.
An example of regional co-ordination in the United Kingdom.

East Anglia

The Regional Consultative group for Traveller Education, based at the Cambridge Institute of Education was formed in 1978. It brought together an education officer and a teacher from each of seven Local Education Authorities. In 1989, it included eight LEAs, and all of the teachers from these LEAs also had termly meetings. These teachers planned their own programme of in-service training for the years 1988-1990. In June 1989 the East Anglian Regional Advisory Council for Further Education established a Travellers Staff Development Group for those working in adult and community education.

Inner London

The Inner London Education Authority covers thirteen Inner London Boroughs. In addition to the liaison teachers who work with families living on authorised sites and the schools where their children are enrolled, there is a team of seven teachers with two education social workers who work across the thirteen Local Authorities, arranging places in school wherever that is possible for the hundreds of children whose families are unable to obtain pitches on authorised sites. Established in 1975, this team can also provide some educational contact for children for whom there are no school places locally and for those being moved on so fast that it is impractical to offer places in school. In 1989 the team published Travellers and Education in Inner London which describes their service.

West Midlands

The West Midlands Education Service for Travelling Children started operating in 1975 and is the result of co-ordination between eleven LEAs. This service is led by a permanent co-ordinator. p.134

On the 18th of June 1992 the author visited the West Midlands Education Authorities, Education Service For Travelling Children in Bilston, (Regional Centre of EFECOT in England) at the invitation of the Co-ordinator, Mrs Pat Holmes who is also a vice-chair of EFECOT.

On behalf of the ten participating Authorities (Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley, Hereford/Worcester, Sandwell, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Walsall, Warwickshire, Wolverhampton)
the Service co-ordinate, monitor, advise, supervise and assist the educational provision for children from the Travelling communities throughout the West Midlands region.

The Service operates:

- A pupil record transfer system to ensure that the educational records of the children keep pace with the children’s movements from school to school and LEA to LEA;
- A system for monitoring records, ensuring that individual children make progress and that the schools receive advisory support;
- An advisory welfare service for the benefit of the travelling families and the Local Authority Social and Welfare Services;
- A pool of teachers experienced in teaching communication skills and who are familiar with the lifestyles of the Travelling communities;
- Four minibuses and a transport budget to provide immediate assistance to schools registering Travelling children, but experiencing transport difficulties. Assistance with extra classroom accommodation can be provided when space is at a premium if necessary;
- An advisory education service through the pool of Advisory/Teachers under the direction of the Senior Advisory Teacher, to assist schools in meeting the needs of Traveller children;
- A Resources Centre containing appropriate and tested materials for use with Travelling children;
- A library/archive for use by teachers and students;
- An in-service training programme for school staff, welfare staff and students involved with Travelling families to promote awareness of Traveller culture and lifestyles, positive attitudes towards the children and an understanding of their educational needs;

In order to assist Traveller children in being confident and successful learners the Service has concentrated on developing and providing resource materials to encourage their positive self image and also to support a better understanding of Traveller lifestyles among all children.

Attainment targets and levels of National Curriculum are taken into account when developing materials, ranging from wooden toys, matching, sequencing and jigsaw items using real photographs taken within the Traveller communities; materials for project work, wooden inset scenes for language extension, pre-literacy and numeracy booklets, projects, a phonic programme, reading books and an introductory reading and writing programme “The Literacy Trail”.

"The Literacy Trail" is intended to give some structured support and continuity to Traveller children’s early reading experiences as they move between schools, Authorities and regions. It is not intended to provide their sole reading and language experience. As with all children they should be given access to a wide variety of books, reading materials and language experiences.
ANNEX 21

Map of the United Kingdom
ANNEX 22

Map of Nottinghamshire
ANNEX 23

Map of Poland