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Master thesis:

**“Past perfect or unbereable present”
The framework of doctrine of sustainable development through
architecture as cultural heritage**

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Résumé

Les stéréotypes dominants régnant en Serbie sur les Rroms sont qu'ils vivent au compte des autres, qu'ils ne sont pas éduqués, qu'ils sont sales et qu'ils doivent être déplacés du noyau urbain.

Je ne dis pas que je n'ai pas de préjugés mais, en écrivant ce travail, j'ai connu mieux leur culture et tradition. Les stéréotypes sur les Rroms sont loin de la vérité. Certains ont adapté leurs besoins au lieu d'habitat et se sont perfectionnés dans les travaux de construction, dans le recyclage et dans la vente des fleurs. Un grand nombre de professions attire aussi bien la population rrome que la population non rrome comme le vol, la prostitution, la prédiction du destin... bien que cela soit mis seulement sur le compte des Rroms.

Mon travail commence avec des explications pourquoi je m'intéresse à ce sujet, pourquoi j'ai choisi les Rroms pour les étudier et pourquoi j'ai choisi la question de la conservation de leur langue et de son interprétation.

Les Rroms présente pour moi un modèle idéal du développement durable. Comme un des groupes sociaux le plus étendu, les Rroms ont réussi à survivre et à conserver leur culture et leur identité d'une manière particulière malgré une très longue isolation et une marginalisation sociale.

Le problème de complexité et de dynamique de la communauté a influé de choisir les Rroms pour les étudier comme un cas. Comme de nombreuses recherches le montrent, les Rroms sont la communauté la plus étendue de tous les groupes ethniques/ culturels en Europe du sud-est. Beaucoup les considèrent comme un groupe homogène et comme des étrangers.

J'ai voulu rechercher ce que l'Etat avait fait sur le plan culturel, comment est leur position politique, si la complexité et la dynamique de ce groupe social marginalisé avait été pris en considération ou l'approche paternaliste avait été appliquée comme dans d'autres pays.

De même, j'ai eu envie d'apprendre leur vraie identité puisqu'ils vivent sur bien des territoires sans leur propre pays. Les critères pour présenter ce groupe ethnique sont : leur mode de vie généralement nomade, l'appartenance à la tribu, le métier, la langue, la religion et le pays où ils vivent.

Comme je suis philologue, je me suis intéressée spécialement à leur langue et à la manière de la conservation de celle-ci.

Je me suis occupée particulièrement des dialectes et de la répartition des Roms par rapport aux pays d'habitat, de la conservation de leur langue et de leur patrimoine immatériel.

Par suite, des changements socio-politiques au niveau global, les compréhensions de l'importance du patrimoine culturel ont beaucoup changé. Ce patrimoine fait actuellement la ressource des revenus.

La compréhension du développement de l'importance du patrimoine a été approfondie par la question du développement social et par le domaine immatériel comme la fierté et l'identité sociale. Moi-même, j'estime que le patrimoine culturel immatériel est très complexe et très simple en même temps. Le patrimoine immatériel présente des choses que nous ne pouvons pas voir, toucher, mais sentir. Certes, cela inclut les souvenirs. Il est très important comment les gens se souviennent des choses et comment ils réfléchissent au passé ainsi que des choses qui les conditionnent actuellement soit les choses sans présence physique. Elles sont relatives en général au système de connaissance. Il existe bien des choses comme la langue qu'on ne peut pas vivre visuellement mais qui exigent beaucoup d'attention pour leur valorisation, la conservation et l'interprétation.

La thèse donne un bref résumé des politiques d'action sur les Balkans qui ont l'influence directe ou indirecte sur la culture des communautés minoritaires, combien la Serbie a du succès concernant le management des différences culturelles, la soutenance des cultures des minorités et les modèles et la tendance de ce sujet.

Plus précisément dit, on pose la question du management des différences culturelles concernant les gens appartenant au groupe rom vivant sur les Balkans.

L'objectif de cette thèse est de rechercher et d'identifier des potentiels, des obstacles et la perspective pour le développement de la stratégie en vue d'augmenter la connaissance concernant le patrimoine immatériel ainsi que la stratégie et la politique concernant sa conservation au niveau national et régional.

Dans ce travail, je recherche comment les conditions économiques influent sur l'inclusion sociale et comment est son effet sur l'inclusion culturelle, sur le développement culturel des Roms. Sous la pression du public mondial, l'augmentation actuelle de conscience sur l'importance de l'inclusion sociale des Roms en Europe centrale et de l'est, selon Timea Junghaus « elle serait impossible sans reconnaissance culturelle et sans inclusion. L'espace, l'équipement et le soutien ne sont pas le luxe mais un droit fondamental de l'homme. » La reconnaissance du pluralisme culturel de tous les groupes culturels existants et de toutes les identités, le développement culturel de toutes les communautés ethniques, linguistiques et culturelles, font un dialogue interculturel fructueux dans l'Etat même et entre les autres Etats qui est indubitablement significatif pour la paix et la stabilité dans toute la région.

Un doute théorique s'imposant est la question de la diversité culturelle.

De nos jours, il existe une opinion communément reçue que la majorité de la société moderne est culturellement hétérogène mais dans les différentes dimensions. Comme le souligne Bhikhu Parekh, l'hétérogénéité culturelle moderne ou le multiculturalisme, comme Parekh l'appelle, est en fait une partie importante du processus dialectique très lié aux forces économiques et politiques globales. La discussion principale concernant le management de la diversité culturelle est très liée au concept de culture et de société et des différences entre la culture individuelle et la communauté ; les questions d'identités (l'aspect individuel et collectif) ; le processus de la reproduction culturelle et sociale ainsi que la reproduction du type d'identité se produisant dans une culture et une société (l'interculturalisme, la socialisation) ; le processus de la colonisation avec les principes du monoculturalisme conservée jusqu'à nos jours par les processus de

reproduction. Ce problème est étroitement lié à l'idée des droits de l'homme dans le sens individuel et collectif.

Par conséquent, les groupes sociaux qui ne sont pas tellement réussis pour créer leur propre pays, comme c'est le cas avec les Roms, et qui appartiennent à un pays des autres, représentent les minorités ethniques et nationales. Selon Gherorghe et Acton, ils tendent à avoir des plus grands droits ou la défense de la liberté globale et des droits de l'homme concernant leurs traits caractéristiques culturels qui deviennent alors « la culture ethnique ». Ces cultures ethniques utilisent des instruments semblables (comme les festivals, les écoles traditionnelles et les publications en leur langue) afin de mettre en relief et de conserver leur culture spécifique en luttant avec la nation dominante pour les ressources assurées par l'Etat.

La diversité culturelle est devenue une partie des droits de l'homme : en assurant l'existence des communautés minoritaires, par la conservation de leur identité culturelle et le respect des droits au développement des minorités nationales, ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques, elle est devenue une partie constitutive de la protection internationale des droits de l'homme.

2005 UNESCO Convention sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles dans sa préambule souligne l'importance de la diversité culturelle concernant l'accomplissement total des droits de l'homme et de la liberté proclamés dans la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et dans d'autres instruments universellement reconnus et met en relief la nécessité de l'incorporation de la culture comme un élément stratégique dans le développement national et international des politiques, ainsi que le développement de la coopération internationale en prenant en considération aussi la Déclaration millenium des Nations Unies (2000) avec un accent sur la diminution de la pauvreté.

Malgré le petit territoire, les Balkans se caractérisaient et se caractérisent encore par ses diversités ethniques et religieuses.

Les troubles, l'agression et les mauvaises relations voisines caractérisent depuis longtemps ces espaces. La population locale a des problèmes pour définir son identité

de sorte que les minorités apparaissent comme une espèce menacée. En Bulgarie, en Grèce et en Serbie se sont déroulées et se déroulent encore de grandes persécutions des Roms, l'agression et la violence et un comportement indéfini de l'Etat concernant leur intégration et les mesures prises pour leur inclusion. J'ai choisi ces trois pays parce que les Roms ne sont pas la plus grande minorité nationale dans les pays cités et que j'ai assisté personnellement aux troubles et à la mauvaise protection de leurs droits dans tous les trois pays. Le comportement envers cette minorité nationale et les problèmes non résolus de l'urbanisme aux conditions de vie élémentaires sont très semblables. J'estime que l'intégration des Roms peut être accélérée par les activités culturelles et elle peut présenter un aspect de l'intégration sociale.

Dans ce travail, j'ai décrit précisément les politiques culturelles des pays cités et les droits culturels des minorités nationales en me dirigeant particulièrement vers le système politique avec l'influence directe ou indirecte sur la vie culturelle des Roms.

En vue de connaître le mieux possible la culture des Roms, j'ai étudié leur histoire sur les Balkans et leurs coutumes et traditions collectives. Etant donné que l'examen précis de l'histoire et du mode de vie des Roms n'est pas le sujet de la thèse, j'ai pensé qu'une présentation courte de certaines coutumes et des événements clés de leur histoire pourraient contribuer beaucoup à la compréhension du contexte de la proposition que j'ai donnée en conclusion.

En étudiant et en comparant les Roms, leur vie et leur tradition, on peut dire que leur langue et la conservation de leur patrimoine immatériel est justement ce qui les lie et ce qui a duré et a créé leur identité pendant des siècles.

Le problème s'imposant est le problème de séparation entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel et comment matérialiser l'immatériel.

Le patrimoine matériel sans celui immatériel est seulement une matière morte. Plus précisément dit, le patrimoine matériel ne serait pas possible sans celui immatériel à l'intérieur en premier lieu ou bien, il ne deviendrait même pas le patrimoine.

C'est presque la même situation avec le patrimoine immatériel qui est non seulement personnifié dans celui matériel mais aussi inséparable des mots matériels et sociaux de l'individu. Le patrimoine culturel est une relation synchronisée, y compris le système social d'interaction, la coordination des gens, des normes, des valeurs présentant les idées et le système de convictions. Elles créent une symbiose entre le matériel et l'immatériel.

Le patrimoine immatériel doit être observé comme un cadre plus large où le patrimoine matériel obtient sa forme et son importance.

Dans la conclusion, j'ai fait une étude de cas avec le quartier rom Deponija afin d'éprouver ma proposition d'inclusion des Roms à travers la culture ce qui pourrait être la solution / la provocation dans tous les trois pays.

Selon l'étude de cas dans l'espace, on peut voir les indications de tous les problèmes socio-politiques de cette communauté, dans le cadre des ensembles urbains où il se sont trouvés.

Une vue sur ce quartier est suffisante pour présenter en plastique tous les problèmes analysés dans ce travail.

Le musée de langue est une institution présentant et interprétant la culture immatérielle, en premier lieu leur langue et leurs coutumes. En fait, il est représenté par une équipe des gens visitant constamment des quartiers roms en enregistrant et en notant les spécificités de cette culture. Donc, c'est un musée nomade d'informations qui ne peut pas être lié à un endroit concret. Les Roms non plus n'étaient jamais liés à un endroit concret.

Le musée est donc déplacé d'un endroit à un autre en laissant ses traces de culture et en portant une partie de l'endroit quitté.

Le musée a été conçu comme une des institutions culturelles primaires de Roms et par suite, il a une obligation de s'inclure activement dans les processus d'intégration culturelle, sociale et politique et dans le développement de ce groupe social.

Le concept du musée nomade.

L'organisation du musée peut être absolument flexible. Vu que leurs seuls « objets » sont les informations et les pistes son et vidéo documentaires, son contenu complet peut se trouver sur un disque dur ou dans le réseau global informatique. Par conséquent, il est possible d'aborder au program complet du musée en utilisant tout ordinateur dans le monde entier.

A vrai dire, la nécessité fonctionnelle essentielle de créer l'espace de ce musée qui serait durable dans le sens financier, n'existe pas.

Cependant, nous devons prendre en considération le fait que l'espace physique concrète est le meilleur indicateur de tous les processus politiques, sociaux et culturels se déroulant dans la société. Tout ouvrage construit a son histoire sur les gens qui l'utilisent et sur leur place dans le système social général. Pour cette raison, je crois que le Musée de langue, conçu comme une institution principale et culturelle de Rroms, doit réaliser une provocation d'espace qui parlera, d'une manière particulière et affirmative, sur ce groupe en initiant la réflexion sur sa vie et ses problèmes.

La caractéristique principale actuelle des quartiers rroms est la marginalisation et la situation terrible des conditions de vie. La provocation du Musée doit en quelque sorte ouvrir le dialogue concernant ce sujet.

Lorsque nous avons une flexibilité absolue pour l'organisation et la nécessité d'ouvrir la question d'intégration et d'amélioration de la qualité de vie dans les quartiers de Rroms, nous avons la base pour organiser le fonctionnement du Musée.

Après avoir choisi l'endroit pour les recherches scientifiques, l'équipe d'employés du Musée étudie des problèmes de base culturels et politiques concernant l'espace et les défauts du quartier où on construira un ouvrage de musée temporaire. Suivant cette analyse, on fait une définition architecturale de program de l'ouvrage ou d'un groupe d'ouvrages publics, qui satisferont certaines nécessités et qui, par sa présence, initieront les processus afin de résoudre de grands problèmes.

Par exemple, le quartier Deponija (sauf l'infrastructure fondamentale) a besoin d'une école primaire, d'un terrain de basket, d'un restaurant et de l'Internet. L'équipe de musée construit des ouvrages qui, par leurs capacités d'espace, satisfont certaines de ces nécessités. C'est à dire que le program d'espace de l'organistion (qui est totalement flexible à cause de la nature de ce qu'on présente) doit être adapté à ce que le bâtiment sera lorsque le musée déménage.

Puisque toute activité publique d'espace est en même temps politique, cet ouvrage public restant après le Musée de langue, sauf le rôle dans la vie quotidienne de communauté, présente un témoignage / un monument des victoires politiques, sociales et culturelles avec un combat pour améliorer et promouvoir les processus des intégrations et des soins de la diversité dans la société totale.

Introduction

I grew up in a neighborhood that is near one of the Gypsy communities. My parents and neighbors told me never to go there since dangers would come my way. Still, a few times I dared to cross the village and nothing happened except for a few strange looks from Gypsy children. There were some conflicts between the Serbs and their Gypsy neighbors during the nineties and some of them I saw it in person.

From the mansard of the building I've lived in, I could see the entire Gypsy village, and I watched a few of their weddings and funerals. Those were impressive shows involving hundreds of Gypsy guests promenading in the street, and hundreds of Serbs watching them from their windows.

I moved on from that part of the city, but still I have some strong feelings about Gypsies and their way of life.

The Gypsy "island" is still there and for me it is a model of adaptability, sustainable development, business savvy and hard work. The only negative impression I acquired was about the way they built and decorated their houses.

The dominant stereotype among Serbs is that Gypsies prefer to live without working, but this stereotype is far from the truth. Some of them adjusted to the needs of the city and specialized in selling flowers, construction work and recycling paper. Some illegal occupations attracted both Gypsies and non Gypsies – stealing, fortune telling, black market currency exchange and prostitution networks.

One of my old neighbors, a teacher, believes in the Gypsy curse or "bad eye", and once I had watched her being stripped of a large amount of money by an old Gypsy woman just because she had her son with, and she feared that the Gypsy woman might throw a curse on the baby.



The wall decoration inside one of the Roma houses

I do not claim to be a stereotype free, but some research that I have done has brought me closer to their culture than I was, when living across the street from them. I am aware that my knowledge about Roma can help and jeopardize the purpose of this interpretation at the same time, and I can only hope that it will help it more than jeopardize it.

I believe that Gypsies represent a perfect model and a metaphor for sustainable development¹. They live all over the world with all sorts of different cultures and yet they

¹ Sustainable Development stands for meeting the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of futures generations to meet their own needs – in other words, a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come. It offers a vision of progress that integrates immediate and longer-term objectives, local and global action, and regards social, economic and environmental issues as inseparable and interdependent components of human progress. It means diversity and plurality. The first association that I have for diversity is Roma. Roma people are a highly diverse group, the most diversified if all ethnic/cultural groups in South East Europe. They are people who managed to survive and keep their culture and unique spirit in spite of century's long estrangement and isolation. Over the centuries the

have managed to preserve their specific identity for centuries. The main recognizable features of their culture are non-material: their language and their customs. They don't have urban plan for building their houses and they don't have any material cultural heritage preserved. So, I will try to explore all possibilities for preservation of their immaterial cultural heritage; I will try to turn their immaterial heritage into material by giving proposal for mobile language museum that will correspond with their customs and tradition. I strongly believe that culture can be the best "tool" for a social inclusion or at least can speed it up.

Finally, I need to clarify a few elements of terminology that I will use in this paper. After the fall of communism, the Gypsy activists protested against the wide use of the word Gypsy with pejorative connotations in the media, Roma has become the preferred term for a numerous group of Gypsies that live mostly in Central and Eastern Europe (Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Russia, Romania, Czech Republic, former Yugoslavia etc.) The word Rom means man in the Romani language that has Hindu Indic roots. Romani is the adjective of the noun Roma, as in Romani traditions. In this paper I use the words Gypsies and Roma interchangeably, with capital letters and full respect for this culture.

Roma have managed to survive on their wits and their skills; horse trading, metal working, fortune telling, begging, and of course music are some of the traditional livelihoods of the various groups. They have adapted their skills according to the times.

1.1 The motive for this subject

Why taking Roma community as “case study”?

There is a variety of reasons for (re)-consideration of position of Romani culture.

First, Roma community is certainly not a specific Serbian minority; Roma live in all states in South Eastern European region. They are often perceived as “a transborder ethnic and cultural group”². However, they live under different names in the most of European countries (that’s why they are sometimes called also “European minorities”) and in the other parts of the world. Hence, the comparison of approaches towards the group might be facilitated; the trends and tendencies might be compared. As noted by Vera Klopac, the specificity of Roma community reflects the variety of approaches to the management of its legal status at the international and domestic (state) levels; Roma group is – in different context and categorizations - defined as **national, ethnic, social, or cultural group of constitutive European nation**³.

Second, the issue of complexity and dynamics of the community enforced the decision on the Roma as the “case minority”: As stated in numerous research papers, Roma are a highly diverse group, **the most diversified of all ethnic/cultural groups** in South East Europe⁴. However the perception of the group by the “outsiders” are different: Roma are perceived by a large part of majority population in unified way, as stated at the web-site of European Roma Rights Centre, as a “homogenous mass of people”⁵. Hence, it is interesting to explore government actions towards their culture; more particular to raise the question what is the “official” state policy position towards the

² See for instance: Djordjević, 2004.

³ Klopac, available at http://209.85.129.104/search?q=cache:IB2q4L2Lc5AJ:www.gov.si/dsver/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/VeraKlopac.pdf+romi+slovenija&hl=sl&ct=clnk&cd=l&gl=si&client=firefox-a

⁴ See for instance Tomova, 1995.

⁵ Roma Rights Quarterly, European Roma Rights Center, Available at: http://www.errc.org/Romarights_index.php

issue: does the policy take into consideration the group complexity and dynamics? Or has it adopted paternalistic approach, as shown in many states?

Third: as observed by Nicolae Gheorghe and Thomas Acton, developments in the former communist countries in the Eastern Europe have provided a fresh promising milieu for experiments with Roma culture since there the discussions on “ethnic specificity and ethnic rights” go beyond the academic interest. As maintained by Gheorge and Action, the geopolitics of the region is strongly connected to the ethnic policies that are fiercely promoted through persistent **group conflicts**. In this region the Romani population is concentrated and the stereotypes and prejudices about “Gypsies” tend to declare themselves violently, resulting in “pogrom-like” aggression on the members of the Roma communities, the exclusion of Roma groups from neighbors of legal residence⁶.

Also because the Gypsies are so diverse, it is unclear **what the Gypsy identity is**. Several criteria differentiate this ethnic group: lifestyle (nomadic or sedentary), tribal affiliation, occupation, language, religion and country residence. In Eastern Europe, Gypsies have been sedentary for centuries, while in Western Europe they have maintained a nomadic lifestyle, mainly for economic reasons. In many counties, the tribal identity is primarily rooted in the traditional economic activity of a group (Barany, 2002). For example in Romania and Bulgaria, one can find spoon makers (Lingurari), makers of wooden bowls (Kopanari), coal miners (Caravlahi), gold washers and makers of golden jewelry (Aurari) gold mines (Baiesi), musicians (Lautari) and others. One of the most numerous tribes in Eastern Europe is Kaldarashi, originally blacksmiths. Often several tribes live in the same area.

Various economic opportunities led to an economic diversity as well. Today, there are rich Gypsies, middle class Gypsies and poor Gypsies. As several historians noted it was mainly the rich and middle class Eastern and European Gypsies who had the means and information to travel to Western Europe in the 1990s (Fraser, 1994; Barany, 2002).

⁶ See: Gheorge&Acton <http://www.gocities.com~Patrin/multiculturality.html>

The dominant ideology in Eastern Europe has kept and still keeps Roma people at the lowest level of society through a long list of negative stereotypes and active discrimination.

Why language?

The language we speak helps us define who we are. Languages represent culturally marked opportunities for expression. They are therefore an integral part of “frontier policy” and can become both an instrument for the demarcation or exclusion of countries, cultures and individuals; an occasion for encounter, contact and co-operation. The preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity in today’s world is a major concern for many scientists, artists, writers, politicians and leaders of linguistic communities. Many factors affect the existence and usage of any given human language, including the size of the native speaking population, its use in formal communication, geographical dispersion and the socio-economic weight of its speakers.

National language policies can either mutate or exacerbate the effects of some of these factors. Policies need to foster linguistic tolerance as one of the conditions for collective creativity and development, and as a component of democratic citizenship.

The complex processes of globalization pose numerous of threats as well as new challenges. As the good example of this claim may serve the notion that only a few languages dominate in our world nowadays. While new forms of languages and dialect are evolving on the Internet, the world’s diversity of native languages is disappearing. (Cristal, D. Language and the Internet, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, pp 778-91) There are currently just over 6500 living languages, only ten of them are dominant and they are the mother tongues of almost half of the world. Of the other around 6400 living languages, 52% are spoken by fewer than 10.000 people, 28% by fewer than 1000 and 83% are restricted to single countries. At least 512 native languages are extinct: one living language dies with its last speaker about every two weeks! This means that the words with unique definitions, unique perceptions of the world, their own intimations and humor are simply disappearing, never to be replaced.

Language is another criterion for differentiation. **Romanes**, the Gypsy language, is the main tool used by historians and linguists to establish the Gypsy origin since Gypsies have maintained a **primarily oral culture**. Although this language was deeply influenced by languages of different countries where they lived, the main root apparently originated in northeastern India⁷. The Gypsies who live in Western Europe and speak a dialect of Romanes with strong German influences call themselves Sinti, while the Eastern European Gypsies call themselves Roma. It should also be noted that Gypsies in many countries (e.g. Hungary) have adopted the language of their country of residence and no longer speak Romanes. There are categories such as language that could not be perceived visually, that should be given the highest attention in terms of valorization, preservation and promotion.

Due to socio - political changes at the global level, the significant change in our thinking about heritage has occurred. Now, it possesses a resource value. Understanding of the developmental value of heritage resources has been deepening to cover issues of social and community development as well as immaterial areas such as pride and community identity. I personally consider Intangible Cultural Heritage being very complex, but in the same time rather simple. Immaterial heritage basically means those things we can't see or touch, but the things that we may feel. It certainly includes memory. The way people memorize and the way they think about the past and things that influence them at the moment (things without physical presence) is very important. These things are mostly about our system of knowledge.

I will try to answer in this paper what is Serbia's position on the issue. Have any administrative (legal), financial, social or awareness-raising measures have been provided by the state so far? If not, which measures should be necessary and desirable approaches to propose? Who are the main actors? Which are the potential problems

⁷ Many think of Gypsies in terms of physical characteristics similar to the Indian people – dark skin, dark hair and brown eyes. While many Gypsies still show these characteristics, there is a significant number of European Gypsies with blond hair, blue eyes and light skin. Therefore, a differentiation based on physical appearance would not be relevant.

regarding the issue? And finally, are there any good practices on national or regional level that could serve as model for the future actions?

1.2 The aim of the thesis

In this thesis I tried to present an overview of policy measures on the Balkans⁸ which are directly aimed at or may have impact on the culture of minority communities. The thesis's aim is to inquire how the above mentioned dilemmas are dealt with on the Balkans. How successful is Serbia in the management of cultural differences and in supporting minority cultures (and cultural minorities)? What directions, models and tendencies are followed?

The thesis briefly outlines the cultural policy framework on Balkans, I analyzing the cultural diversity-related agenda, discursive and procedural/intuitional development in the Serbian state system in order to contribute to the debate over whether there is satisfactory approach towards cultural diversity in the state; I tried to offer a multifaceted analysis of Serbian cultural directions as well as dilemmas and challenges faced.

More particular, I will focus on the issue of management of cultural differences in the case of the people belonging to Roma ethnic/cultural group living on the territory of the Balkans.

The aim of the thesis is also to explore and to identify potentials, obstacles and perspectives of the development of awareness-raising strategies regarding intangible

⁸ More precisely, in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, because Roma are not the biggest minority group, there are constant conflicts among locals and Roma (which I saw in person in each of the three counties), and because I can read in Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian language, so all the necessary data I needed for study it was much easier to find. And as Panayote Dimitras, head of the Greek Helsinki Monitor put it, "the Greek society is behaving racist while it pretends that it is not racist." I think that it is the same situation in Bulgaria and Serbia.

heritage issue, and thus, formulating policies and strategies for preservation and enhancement of intangible cultural heritage. The analysis takes into account both general and national level.

Furthermore, the paper will speak about the importance of establishing the appropriate mechanism at national level.

In the thesis I will try to explore if (and how) the preferable economic conditions delivered some of the objectives for social inclusion, and how this has an effect on **cultural** inclusion and Roma cultural development. In the light of today's raising awareness (under the pressure of international community)⁹ about the importance of social inclusion of Roma community in Central and Eastern European states – **social inclusion of Roma would be impossible**, as stated by Timea Junghaus, **“without cultural recognition and inclusion. Having the space, equipment and support for cultural practice is not a luxury. It is a basic human right”**¹⁰.

Cultural pluralism recognition of all existing cultural groups and identities, cultural development of all ethnic/ linguistic / religious / cultural communities, open and fruitful intercultural dialogue within one state as well as between states are of crucial importance for the region, for its dynamic and stability.

For better understanding of the context of language museum which concept will be exposed in the last chapter of the thesis, the fifth chapter of my work will present the brief history of Gypsies in Central and Eastern Europe. It will include three subsections: one on the history of Gypsies in medieval times, the second one on modern times, and third one on Gypsy way of life, housing, travel, traditional occupations, based on the work of several historians and ethnographers.

⁹ For instance, initiative “Dosta” was launched jointly by Council of Europe and European Commission in the program Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015). The campaign “aims at bringing non-Roma closer to Roma citizens”. See: <http://www.dosta.org/?q=>

¹⁰ Timea Junghaus at the conference, conducted under the title The Human Rights Situation of Roma: Europe's Largest Ethnic Minority in June 2006; emphasized by S.Z.

Furthermore, the paper will speak about the concept of “intangible heritage” that has been rather unknown. And yet it is so rich in prospective that it could be developed in so many directions.

Just as UNESCO recognizes the inseparability of culture and development, so it looks for the establishment of strong consensus about the intimate and mutual ties between material and immaterial heritage.

“Tangible heritage is that part of the physical inheritance of particular societies, and of mankind as whole, which is marked by special sites of moral, religious, artistic or historical significance. This dimension of heritage can be contained in monuments of huge scale or in the relic of a religious or national hero. Tangible heritage can appear in special features of the physical landscape of a group (such as a mountain or a river) or in highly crafted objects, structures or physical system. Such forms of heritage can belong equally to small groups, to entire nations or to humankind as whole. Tangible heritage is a form of congealed culture value.

Intangible heritage is best defined as a map, or a compass, through which human beings interpret, select, reproduce and disseminate their cultural heritage as a whole. So, just as tangible heritage is not the sum total of all physical possessions of a society. Intangible heritage is not merely an encyclopedia of its values and intangible treasures. Intangible heritage is a tool through which the inert landscape of objects and monuments is turned into a living archive of cultural values. Without tangible heritage, intangible heritage becomes too abstract. Without intangible heritage, tangible heritage becomes an illegible series of objects and sites”.

UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, A document for the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, 2002, pp12

1.3 Methodological Considerations: Research Design and Data Analysis

In order to provide an overview of the situation in the Republic of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece - to identify trend lines in the policies in relation to Roma culture in the state, qualitative as well as quantitative data (statistical information) will be used. However, the overall research strategy will be of qualitative nature.

Research methodology includes:

- Documentation analysis (review of the relevant legal framework; review of the relevant reports; examination of the relevant programs, development / strategic papers, governmental decisions, studies and projects etc.: review of the articles and publications on the relevant topics);
- Formal interviews (semi – structured interviews) with the relevant actors in the field (interviews with the representatives of the Roma community; interviews with competent representatives at the relevant governmental and research institutions).

The study is structured in the wider framework of cultural diversity management and minority protection. The vital issues addressed in the thesis will be: How the issue of cultural differences is addressed in the countries selected? What values regarding cultural diversity management and minority protection prevail and how are they constructed? Do the public policies follow the principles of individual or collective rights of minority communities?

Furthermore, the key questions in exploring the conditions in **cultural policy inputs** regarding selected minority – Roma community – in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece are the following:

How the cultural policy institutions in particular state address the questions of Roma communities and Roma culture? How the issue of complexity and dynamics of Roma identity / identities is tackled? How specific conditions and historical traditions of Roma community (communities) are taken into consideration (if taken into consideration at all)?

Among key issues tackled in the thesis will be:

- The issue of **key policy actors**: Who are the main actors responsible for programs and policies addressing the issue of promoting cultural diversity, cultural rights, intercultural dialogue at national, regional and local levels in the state? What is the relationship between those actors, bodies in charge with the various forms of cultural diversity?
- The issue of **decision making processes** – do minority community representatives (Roma) participate in decision making processes regarding issues stated above? If so, which participatory mechanisms are used; which mechanisms are in place to facilitate the participation of representatives of Romani community in cultural policy making processes (i.e. representations on committees, formal or informal consultation mechanism)?
- The issue of **sectoral responsibility**; where is the line between public responsibility and the responsibility of nongovernmental organizations or private sector in cultural policy concerns regarding Romani culture?

However, the thesis will focus on the state policies, **government policies and measures**, their scope and distribution. The underlying questions that the study will address at this point are;

- Does cultural policy specifically recognize different cultural minority groups through specific policy measures or programs? Are there specific resources (financial, technical, infrastructure) to support specific cultural activities of cultural minority communities/groups?
- What (if any) **cultural policy objectives and principles** concerning support for Romani culture and Roma communities are being posed; what **instruments**, structures and tools, development strategies, programs, government decisions, white papers, etc, are directly aimed at or may have an impact on the culture or Romani community (communities)? Do the instruments/indicators prepared to measure implementation of cultural policy practices exist?

- What kind of cultural expressions of Roma group members are cultural policies intended to foster (if any)? Do the policies take into consideration the plurality, complexity and fluidity, dynamics of identities and cultures in the contemporary societies or they are aimed at the fostering more or less the traditional image of minority culture, a culture, fixed in a particular time?
- Do the institutions responsible for the culture of minority groups bear in mind the concept of human rights, which determine that every individual is free to choose about his/her identification, association and group belonging to a distinct minority group–Roma?

2. Theoretical considerations – issue of definitions

Dilemmas in the conceptualization of cultural diversity

Today, it is a widely acknowledged fact that the vast majority of contemporary societies is “culturally heterogeneous” to a different extent. As maintained by Bhikhu Parekh, contemporary cultural heterogeneity, or in Parekh’s term “multiculturalism” is therefore “embedded in an immensely complex dialectical process”¹¹, and heavily intertwined with global economic and political forces.

The core discussion on the management of cultural differences is unavoidably connected to the conception of culture, society and differences between individual culture/societies; the issue of identity (the individual and collective aspects); the processes of cultural / social reproduction as well as reproduction of identity types, which are emerging within particular culture / society (interculturalism, socialization); processes of colonialism with the principle of monoculturalism, that has been – through the above mentioned processes of reproduction – maintained to these days. This issue is closely linked to the notion of the human rights, its individual and collective aspects.

¹¹ See Parekh, available at <http://kvc.minbuza.nl> (visited on November 2006).

The issue of cultural diversity is hence exceptionally complex due to the complexity of theoretical notions of aforementioned concepts of culture, society, identity: the existence of numerous definitions of those concepts leads to the “existence of multiple definitions of cultural diversity”¹². The different disciplines within social sciences field cultivated numerous definitions of the concepts of culture. Promotion of cultural diversity, “in its broader meaning, when interpreted in the light of the concerns of cultural democracy”, involves, as stated by Tony Bennett, supporting the “right to be different of all those who, in one way or another, have been placed outside dominant social and cultural norms”¹³. As maintained by John Foote, the concept of cultural diversity applies essentially to “pluralities of cultures and their respective composite parts”¹⁴.

There are numerous people who perceive “culture” as a “set of archaic beliefs and practices stubbornly standing in the way of universal human rights”. In this light globalization presents a positive process that can dismantle all remaining strongholds – especially the Middle East, Asia, and Africa – still resistant to human rights”. According to R. Albro and J. Bauer, such a neo – evolutionist perception “fails to recognize the extent to which the fact of cultural identity has become more, not less, important at the present moment in history”¹⁵. While globalization itself is not a new process, its contemporary effects are “more various, disjunctive, intense, and extensive than ever before”. These days globalization is characterized by – as observed by Albro and Bauer – the “reconstruction of established nation – states and the emergence of new ones brought on by the end of the Cold War, the consolidation of the European union, the movement from authoritarian to democratic systems of government in Latin America and Asia, and the further expansion of the free market.”¹⁶ The process resulted in political crises that exposed the burning issues of “cultural and religious minorities, new

¹² See: Svob – Djokic & Obuljen 2003: 1: emphasized by S.Z.

¹³ Bennett, 2001:17.

¹⁴ Foote, 2005:2.

¹⁵ Albro, Bauer, 2005. Available at http://ccea.org/resources/publications/dialogue/2_12/a_intro/5136.html

¹⁶ Albro, Bauer, 2005. Available at http://ccea.org/resources/publications/dialogue/2_12/a_intro/5136.html

challenges of political representation” amid the internal diversity of states, and the very basic question of the “**nation – state**”, since some authors link the burning issue of the cultural diversity management in these days with the crisis of a nation – state (due to globalised economic and financial powers seem to weaken it).

Consequently, the groups who are less successful in establishing their own nation states (such as Roma) and who are included into the other peoples’ nation – states turn to be “ethnic” or “national minorities”. They seek to acquire, according to Gheorghe and Acton, more group rights or the “defense of basic freedoms and human rights in terms of their distinctive cultural traits, which than become “ethnic cultures”. Those “ethnic cultures” utilize similar instruments (such as festivals, traditions schools and publications in their own language) to “affirm and preserve their specific cultures, competing with the dominant nation for the resources provided by the state”¹⁷.

Today’s round of nation – building processes place huge pressures upon states – internationally and at the domestic (local) level – to better manage the “their internal cultural diversity”. While in some cases states have reacted to these pressures with the “suppression of internal dissent”; in others, the pressures have forced states to enter the process of – as called by Robert Albro and Joanne Bauer – a “wholesale multicultural reform”. In those contexts, cultural rights demands are slowly being recognized as an “important means for recuperation of identity and as an essential basis for advancing claims of social justice”¹⁸

The role of the state (the state perceived, in Bhikhu Parekh terms, as “the sole source of legally secured justice in society”) is – in some contemporary theories – to secure to its citizens – with the purpose of creating a non-discriminatory/multicultural environment – equal treatment in all important realms: negative role of state is in securing, primarily, absence of any kind of discrimination (direct and deliberate or indirect and institutionalized); but positive equality must entail “equality of rights and opportunities”,

¹⁷ Gheorghe & Acton, available at <http://geocities.com/~Patrin/multiculturality.htm>

¹⁸ Albro, Bauer, 2005. Available at http://ccea.org/resources/publications/dialogue/2_12/a_intro/5136.html

encompassing the whole collection of rights – civil, political, social and economic, and also cultural rights.

3. Cultural diversity and minority protection framework in international sphere

Cultural diversity became a part of human rights discourse: providing existence of minority communities, preservation of their (cultural) identity and respecting the rights to development of national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities became a constitutive part of international protection of human rights. 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in its Preamble stresses the significance of cultural diversity for the “full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other universally recognized instruments”, and highlights the necessity to “incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international development policies, as well as in international development cooperation, taking into account also the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000) with its special emphasis on poverty eradication.¹⁹.

In Europe, the Council of Europe (CoE) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) provide the main structures for monitoring minority protection regimes. Both are inter-governmental apparatuses, although input from independent monitoring institutions is also permitted.

Furthermore, in the framework of European Union, the respect for linguistic and cultural diversity is one of the cornerstones of the Union. Article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights states that “the Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity”. The culture must be understood as a “key element of an individual’s

¹⁹ UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf>

development and of his or her capacity to function in society and, especially, to act in the economic sphere without risking exclusion²⁰.

Until now, the most relevant standard setting mechanisms pertaining to minority rights and (cultural) diversity and against which national measures monitored in the Council of Europe (COE) are following:

- The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), adopted in 1995.
- The Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML), adopted in 1992.

However, the term “minority” is not defined in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and, as a result, is a subject to definition by the states themselves. Serious problems occur from this limitation. National legislators choose self-definition by national minorities themselves, or they create their own definition. The minorities protected by the FCNM are limited to members of so-called “national” minorities (thereby excluding, inter alia, religious minorities).

FCNM exposes also another dilemma: Article 3 obliges State Parties to guarantee freedom to every member of a minority to decide freely whether or not to be treated as a member of the minority. This presents a legal problem for monitoring in Europe: how to interpret the **individualist approach** assumed by existing instruments?

However, current protection mechanism does not predict, in general the recognition of **collective rights**.

Protection of **cultural rights** holds an important position in FCNM; numerous articles apply to exercising cultural rights²¹. For instance, Article 5 states: “The Parties undertake actions to promote the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture and to preserve the essential

²⁰ Quoted at the web page of European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Available at: <http://ecmi.de/rubrik/82/language+%26+culture+diversity/>.

²¹ FCNM, 1995.

elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage”.

The other key international instrument in the field of cultural diversity is Council of Europe’s European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML), adopted in Strasbourg, in November 1992. As exposed at the web-page of European Center for Minority Issues (ECMI), language diversity is “the core component of cultural diversity that enables representation and transmission of the fundamental aspects of cultures for acquisition by the succeeding generations of the community and for interaction with other communities”²². The Charter states that the “protection of the historical regional or minority languages of Europe, some of which are in danger of eventual extinction, contributes to the maintenance and development of Europe’s cultural wealth and traditions;” and that the “right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life is an inalienable right conforming to the principles embodied in the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and according to the spirit of the Council of Europe Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms;”²³ Furthermore, the Charter affirms that the “protection and promotion of regional or minority languages in the different countries and regions of Europe represent an important contribution to the building of a Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.”

²² European Center for Minority Issues (ECMI), Available at: <http://www.ecmi.de/rubrik/82/language+%26+culture+diversity/>.

²³ Council of Europe, European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Available at <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm>.

3.1 Cultural rights of national minorities in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece

The effort to protect and preserve national minorities and their inherent cultural rights was always in scope of the work of the Council of Europe. The same intension to promote tolerance and permit cultural pluralism was revealed in others treaties and conventions (Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms with the additional Protocols 14, European Cultural Convention, etc).

The most efficient protection of cultural minority rights, besides the legislative of the national states, comes through the work of the European Court of Human Rights. The Statute of the Court provides a chance to the individuals belonging to any of the groups to seize the court proceedings in order to protect or prevent the violation of their rights. The work of the Court is mostly related to the prohibition of forced assimilation and against any kind of discrimination based on the belonging to national minority.

Bulgaria

Table 1: Population by ethnic group and mother tongue, 2001

	By ethnic group	By mother tongue
Bulgarian	6 655 000	6 697 000
Turkish	747 000	763 000
Roma	371 000	328 000
Others	69 000	71 000
Non stated	62 000	45 000
Total	7 929 000	7 929 000

Source: Population census 2001

Ethnic group: "Community of people, related to each other by origin and language, and close to each other by mode of life and culture";

Mother tongue: "The language which a person speaks best and which is usually used for communication in the family (household)".

The Parliament ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe) in 1999.

In the course of the National Debate on Bulgarian Cultural Policy, held in 1998, the executive and NGOs stressed their common view of minority culture as an integral part of the national cultural heritage.

The Ministry of Culture offers financial support to projects such as the Roma Cultural and Information Centre, the Roma Musical Theatre, festivals and projects of different cultural groups, etc. A Public Council on Cultural Diversity has been established at the Ministry as an expert consultative body.

Two state cultural institutes were founded in regions with large Turkish communities: the Kadrie Lyatifova Institute in Kurdjali and the Nazim Hikmet Institute in Razgrad. Their mission is to create and stage musical, dance and theatre productions; to preserve elements of Turkish identity such as language, traditions and cultural heritage; and to promote intercultural tolerance and dialogue.

An important development was the creation of a National Council of Ethnic and Demographic Issues (NCEDI) within the Council of Ministers Decree No 449 on the 4.12.1997, which included representatives from various minority cultural groups. In 2004, the NCEDI was transformed into the National Council for Interethnic Interaction. The Council is working on the development of a national policy in consultation with different government agencies and non-governmental organizations. The non-government organizations from the minorities sector are critical of the Council in relation to its limited legal powers - it is only a consultative body, without power to impose sanctions where infringements occur. The integration of cultural minorities has been identified as a national priority along with decentralization of support for their education. Local level Councils for Ethnic and Demographic Issues have also been established in

the different regions and include representatives of the respective local minority cultural communities. (see: <http://www.ncedi.government.bg>). An internet portal regarding ethnic minorities was created (<http://www.ethnos.bg>), with the support of the Council and with the participation of the "Open Society- Sofia" and the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee.

The objective of the portal is to be a communication forum between the donor organizations and their beneficiaries. The portal is oriented towards NGOs working in the area of minority issues, law enforcement NGOs, government institutions - ministries and regional agencies, district and municipal councils on ethnic and demographic issues, and the media. It provides information about basic documents, which set the framework for the minorities' integration processes, about legislation, about donor programs, information about minority NGOs, international organizations, media, universities, projects in Bulgaria, and studies of minorities.

Besides the previously said, when it comes to language rights protection situation is slightly different. The term "minority language" is not used in the Bulgarian Constitution. The issue of "mother tongues" are addressed in two specific laws.

The first concerns radio and TV broadcasting, regulated by the Radio and Television Act [Article 12 (2)], which lists the cases in which programs may be broadcast in a language other than the official one: 1) when they are aired for educational purposes and 2) when they are designed for Bulgarian citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian. The second addresses the status of "mother tongue" as a subject in Bulgarian schools, regulated by the National Education Act Article 8 (2) and the Syllabus and Minimum Comprehensive Education Act Article 15 (3).

Greece

Greece has developed as a relatively homogeneous society as witnessed through the development of nation-state institutions, socio-economic development and urbanization. A major issue to be addressed today is the large numbers of migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers (7.3% of the registered population) who have moved to all parts of Greece in increasing numbers from 1990 onwards, more than half of them from neighboring Albania, and the inadequacy of mechanisms of cultural integration.

The effects, both positive and worrying, of the multicultural situation found in inner-city and some rural areas, is yet to be fully studied and understood. Greece recognizes a Muslim minority in Thrace, representing (according to the 2001 census) 1.1% of the population and made up of people identifying themselves as Turks, Roma or Pomaks. The Roma represent ca. 2.5% of the population dispersed throughout the different regions of Greece.

The Greek state embraces an approach of socio-economic and cultural integration, balanced by respect and recognition of cultural diversity. To take the example of the Roma people, an inter-ministerial commission was given official status in 1997 to address the issue of their social integration in Greek society. Within the scope of this policy, the Ministry of Culture developed cultural and educational initiatives, co-funded by the 3rd Support Framework Program of the European Commission and implemented in co-operation with local government. Including the 2004 program of the Hellenic Foundation of Culture in Berlin known as the "Integrated Action Plan for the Social Integration of Greek Roma" launched in 2002, with educational programs for children and adults.

The Ministry of Culture has also developed and implemented multicultural educational programs, directed to children of non-Greek immigrant families in the centre of Athens and elsewhere. Changes in immigration legislation in 2005 removed knowledge of Greek as a pre-requisite for residence permit issuance, and established Greek language programs for immigrants of working age under the auspices of local government. Radio programs in the main languages spoken by migrant workers' communities are regularly broadcast by the public broadcasting channel ERT; in addition, Athens International Radio, an initiative of the Athens City Council, broadcasts general audience daily programs in several languages including Albanian, Russian, and Arabic. There is a declared policy against racial discrimination, racist and xenophobic behavior and stereotyping of the media. Under these circumstances, institutions such as the Ombudsman, with its annual report on discrimination and monitoring programs such as its "Complex action on Roma housing" play a paramount role in promoting equitable treatment of groups such as the Roma, the Muslim minority of Thrace and non-Greek economic immigrants.

The government has a policy for the promotion of the Greek language that is apparent in integrative programs for Greek language literacy among children of migrant workers, and of people of Greek origin who were accepted by Greece from Eastern Europe (mainly Russia, Ukraine and Georgia). Greek language teaching is also provided to children of Greek Diaspora communities, according to the educational system and traditions of their adopted country.

Serbia

There are more than 19 registered national and ethnic communities in Serbia, of which 12 are large enough to be considered relevant (see: table below). Some of these groups are territorially concentrated in certain areas, such as the Hungarians living in the northern part of Vojvodina along the Hungarian border and the Bosnians living in Old Serbia (Sandzak). Other groups are more dispersed throughout the country such as the Roma, Haskalis / Egyptians, Tsintsars or Slovenes.

On 11 May 2001, the FRY signed the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities. In 2002, a new federal Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities was approved and, in April 2002, a new cultural centre for ethnic communities was created. The Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities regulates the ways in which the rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities are implemented. The law represents an additional resource to the constitutional law which stipulates the rights of preservation, development and expression of ethnic, linguistic or other rights relevant to ethnic minorities (Article 11 of the Constitution) such as: the right of national affiliation, the right to co-operate with co-nationals in the country and abroad, the right to use one's native language, the right to use national symbols, and all the other rights and solutions which protect the specificity of national minorities in the areas of special interest to them.

Unique features of this new law are provisions aimed at the effective participation of ethnic minorities in decision-making on issues of relevance in government and in administrative matters. National councils representing ethnic minorities are partners and

consultative bodies of the government, and their members participate in decision-making on questions of importance to them.

However, in spite of the good will and intentions, ethnically based conflicts persist, especially after sports events and certain political decisions.

The Ministry of Culture supports a number of cultural projects and programs by ethnic communities from all over Serbia. From 2004 to 2006, short-term projects of ethnic communities were supported with a budget of 11 million CSD (131 500 euros). Special focus has been placed on the Roma people due to almost complete neglect in former times. Municipalities and the province of Vojvodina have developed their own special programs for ethnic communities within their territories, as well as some other actions the project of "Culture of Cohabitation" in Novi Pazar, and the project "Awareness and Understanding of Human Rights - Perception and Attitudes towards the Right of Cultural Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities in the Region".

In 2003, the Ministry of Culture and the Media joined the Council of Europe project on cultural diversity. In 2005, the Ministry of Culture joined the action program on the Decade of Roma people that provide support to their media and cultural projects.

National Councils representing different minorities provide the largest proportion of funds for culture, festivities and events. There is no coherent cultural policy, nor instruments to foster links between the cultures of the minorities and the culture of the majority. Nevertheless, the festivals of ethnic cultures are supported by the Ministry of Culture, as well as the Provincial Secretariat for Education and Culture of Vojvodina (as events with high levels of visibility). The good examples are The "Winter Meetings of Slovak Scientists" devoted to the fostering and promotion of Slovak literature, while the festival "Dance, Dance" celebrates Slovak music and songs and dances. As well as the literary meetings "Doctor Radu Flora", festivals of song and dance companies and the encounters of the amateur theatres of the ethnic Romanians of Vojvodina. The Czech Cultural Society "Czech Beseda" traditionally organises the "Days of the Fancy Dress

Ball or Masopust" in Bela Crkva. Hungarian, Slovak and Roma ethnic communities living in Vojvodina have a tradition of holding cultural days. A good example of multi-cultural co-existence is "Duzjanica", a multi-ethnic event of Croats, Bunjevtsi (Backa Croats), Sokci (Uniates of the region) and ethnic Hungarians.

The Law on the Official Use of the Languages stipulates which particular activities the provision applies. The official use of the language also applies to the inscription of names of towns and villages, other geographical names, streets, organs, organisations, public warnings and other public notices.

In the Republic of Serbia, the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet are in official use. The Latin script is used in municipalities having a considerable population belonging to people whose primary script is Latin, in line with their tradition. In those areas where significant numbers of ethnic minorities live, the minority languages are in official use concurrently with the Serbian language.

In AP Vojvodina, 20 municipalities use an ethnic minority language in addition to Serbian. 11 municipalities recognise two ethnic minority languages, and five municipalities and the city of Novi Sad use three ethnic minority languages in addition to Serbian.

Still, cultural practices are equalizing the use of both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabet; Cyrillic is predominant in official communication, while Latin is predominant in the marketplace and in business communication (billboards, shop windows, etc.).

Table 1: Ethnic structure of population in Serbia, 2002

	Total		Central Serbia		AP Vojvodina	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Total	7 498 001	100.00	5 466 009	100.00	2 031 992	100.00
Serbs	6 212 838	82.86	4 891 031	89.48	1 321 807	65.05
Montenegrins	69 049	0.92	33 536	0.61	35 513	1.75
Yugoslavs	80 721	1.08	30 840	0.56	49 881	2.45
Albanians	61 647	0.82	59 952	1.10	1 695	0.08
Bosnians	136 087	1.82	135 670	2.48	417	0.02
Bulgarians	20 497	0.27	18 839	0.34	1 658	0.08
Bunjevtsi	20 012	0.27	246	0.00	19 766	0.97
Vlachs	40 054	0.53	39 953	0.73	101	0.00
Gorani	4 581	0.06	3 975	0.07	606	0.03
Hungarians	293 299	3.91	3 092	0.06	290 207	14.28
Macedonians	25 847	0.35	14 062	0.26	11 758	0.58
Muslims	19 503	0.26	15 869	0.29	3 634	0.18
Germans	3 901	0.05	747	0.01	3 154	0.16
Roma	108 193	1.44	79 136	1.45	29 057	1.43
Romanians	34 576	0.46	4 157	0.08	30 419	1.50
Russians	2 588	0.03	1 648	0.03	940	0.05
Ruthenians	15 905	0.21	279	0.01	15 626	0.77
Slovaks	59 021	0.79	2 384	0.04	56 637	2.79

Slovenians	5 104	0.07	3 099	0.06	2 005	0.10
Ukrainians	5 354	0.07	719	0.01	4 635	0.23
Croatians	70 602	0.94	14 056	0.26	56 546	2.78
Czechs	2 211	0.03	563	0.01	1 648	0.08
Other/ regional	206 411	2.75	112 156	2.05	94 255	4.64
Affiliation/ unknown						

Source: Office for Statistics, the Republic of Serbia

The scope of the European Union concerning the issue

The Maastricht Treaty (1993) enabled the European Union (EU), which is historically geared towards the economy and trade, to take action in the field of culture in order to safeguard, disseminate and develop culture in Europe.

However, the EU's role is limited to promoting cooperation between the cultural operators of the different Member States or to complementing their activities in order to contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity, with a view to highlighting the shared cultural heritage.

As it is said in the Program of stabilization and association of the Western Balkans: "The integration of the countries of the Western Balkans into the European Union has become an EU priority. To reach that goal, the stabilization and association process must be strengthened, using the process of EU enlargement to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as a benchmark. It is fundamental that those countries share their experience with the countries of South-Eastern Europe. The way the integration process develops will depend in the last resort on each country's aptitude and commitment." The measures to strength the stabilisation process are related to the institution building, justice and home affairs, economic development and financial instruments to support

the stabilization process. The communication encourages regional, parliamentary, and political cooperation between the countries of the region and cross-border cooperation with EU Member States.²⁴

The promotion of these values is strongly associated with the protection of national minorities especially on the Balkans. The fact that the Romas are represented in all the countries, that Albanians are highly presented in Macedonia and the fact that the Serbs are the largest national minority group in Croatia demonstrate the importance of the diligent protection of economic, social and cultural rights.

Concerning the Serbian way of integration to the European Union, the most important act is the Council Decision 2006/56/EC of 30 January 2006 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the European Partnership with Serbia and Montenegro including Kosovo as defined by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999 and repealing Decision 2004/520/EC. The focus is primarily on the Serbian's ability to comply with the document "Copenhagen criteria", the conditions set for the Stabilisation and Association Process (Council conclusions of 27 April 1997 and of 21 and 22 June 1999), and Zagreb Declaration and Thessalonica Agenda.

The aforementioned Decision provides set of measures and objective that should be undertaken by Serbia ,i.e. : "Political requirements: These relate to democracy and the rule of law (constitutional issues, elections, public administration, the judiciary, defense reform and combating corruption), human rights and the rights of minorities (fulfilling all the obligations arising from membership of the Council of Europe ; transparent and comprehensive action in cases of ill-treatment; prison conditions; adopting legislation for implementing penal sentences, combating discrimination and encouraging the development of civil society organizations; media legislation; restitution of property; protection and integration of minorities, including the Roma and disabled youngsters; and good inter-ethnic relations. Finally, they also cover regional issues and international obligations (respecting the Dayton Agreement, strengthening regional cooperation and

²⁴ <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r18006.htm>

good neighborly relations, resolving border issues, protecting and integrating refugees and protecting displaced persons).”²⁵

3.2 Policy system with direct or indirect impact on the cultural life of Romani community (communities) in Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece (SBG)

Burning dilemmas in respect of the culture of Roma communities in SBG

In the domain of culture, cultural life, cultural expressions of Roma community (communities) numerous dilemmas and controversies might be found, reflected mainly in the expressed doubts about:

- Issue of sectoral responsibility/organization; gaps in visions and policies of Serbian institutions dealing with (the culture of) Roma;
- Problem of distinction between “autochthonous” and “non-autochthonous” Roma;
- Issue of “special measures” and patronization on the part of state;
- Dilemmas of integration, intercultural dialogue, preservation, cultural development
- Issue of efforts aimed at preservation of Roma culture versus cultural development
- Issues in the field of language and immaterial cultural heritage
- Issue of Roma participation: differences between the cultural needs of Romani communities, their “actual interests” and the state visions and strategies.

The chapter – while trying to illustrate how the institutions in a state address the questions of Roma community (communities) and Romani culture – will outline the basic

²⁵ <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/s20014.htm#PROCUL>

legal provisions on the protections of Romani community; furthermore the sectoral responsibility and measures of the government will be examined in regards to the cultural life of Roma:

First, the issue of key policy actors/ institutions will be exposed, exploring who are the main actors responsible for policies directly addressing or indirectly affecting cultural life of Roma at national, regional and local levels in the state. What is the relationship between those actors? What are their perceptions of Roma community (communities) in Serbia (SBG) and its culture? What their **visions** and **policies** are in regards Roma community (communities) and its culture? What (if any) **cultural policy objectives** and **principles** concerning support for Romani culture and Roma communities are being posed? What **instruments**, structures and tools, development strategies, programs, decisions etc. are directly aimed at or may have impact on the culture of the Romani community (communities)? Do the instruments/indicators prepared to measure implementation of cultural policy practices exist?

Moreover, it will be interesting to examine what kind of cultural expressions of Roma community members are encouraged: Do the government policies take into consideration the plurality, complexity, fluidity and dynamics of Roma identity/identities, do they foster cultural development, or they support more or less the traditional reflection of the Roma culture, fixed in a particular time? What visions of Roma culture expressions have priority by governmental institutions (if any)? How the specific conditions and historical traditions of Roma community (communities) are taken into account at all? Do the visions of governmental bodies reflect the needs of Roma community (communities)? Do Romani representatives participate in decision making processes? If so, how? How the cultural life of Romani population is **actually** organized? What are the **actual** needs regarding their cultural life?

Governmental Measures, legal Framework & Institutional Organization – affecting cultural life of Roma

Bulgaria

In 2004, a government "Action Plan" was adopted for implementing the "Decade of Roma Inclusion" (2005-2015) and a budget of 37 622 000 euro is expected for the duration of this program. The Program "Decade of Roma Inclusion" is an initiative adopted by eight countries in Central and Southeast Europe and supported by the international community. It represents the first cooperative effort to change the lives of Roma in Europe. An action framework for governments, the Decade will monitor progress in accelerating social inclusion and improving the economic and social status of Roma across the region. The international community is supporting the Decade.

Another important element concerns an amendment to the Media Act, which eliminates the danger of regionalisation of minority culture, i.e. the creation of ethnic regions by means of radio and TV broadcasts as a prelude to ethnic-based territorial differentiation.

The National Framework Program on Equal Integration of Roma into Bulgarian Society adopted in 1999 is the most important measure concerning minority cultural groups.

This program resulted from an agreement between several dozen Roma organisations and a government representative, and was adopted by a Council of Ministers resolution.

The Framework Program identifies several priorities such as protection against discrimination, including amendments to the effective legislation (introduction of anti-discrimination provisions in the laws on education, health care, regional development, and sports). As well as economic development including measures for employment, social assistance and land allocation, health care, regional development of Roma neighborhoods.

Concerning the educational system, the program pointed out the process of de-segregation of Roma schools and supported the introduction of preparatory classes for Roma children with poor, or no command of the Bulgarian language and encouraged the appointment of teachers with university education and educational and training programs for adult Roma.

The program has included the protection of the ethnic specificity and culture of the Bulgarian Roma and the presence of Roma in the national media and formation of a culture of equality among Roma women.

The active participation of the Roma community in elaborating and implementing the Program is of crucial importance. In 2005, the Open Society Institute - Sofia continued to support the development of a network of Roma community centres, by strengthening their capacity to organise advocacy campaigns. Ten advocacy campaigns took place under the project, including campaigns for equal access to education, introducing access to health mediators - as one of the social services provided by municipalities, improving housing in Roma neighborhoods, etc.

Greece

In Greece, the Gypsies/Roma are included in numerous administrative instruments, action plans and national strategies (National Report on Strategy for Social Protection and Social Integration 2003 - 2005, 2006 - 2008, 2008 - 2010, National Strategy for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008, etc.), without, however, there having been any notable improvement of things in the field. It is also known that Greece has been compromised at the international level by a number of convictions by international jurisdictional bodies and is at the top of the list of states negatively assessed as regards Roma issues. A racist trend against Roma has made its appearance in various European countries, and is at times resulting in extreme policies, measures and aggressive manifestations (such as fingerprinting of the Roma, racist statements by senior state functionaries, etc.), as those recently observed in neighbouring Italy, the Czech Republic, and in some other EU countries.²⁶ These phenomena render even more necessary and urgent a comprehensive policy on Roma inclusion in Greece, a net improvement of the existing programs, and a strict monitoring of their effectiveness in practice. In fact, in spite of the observed delays in the implementation of the measures adopted on paper, and in spite of the obvious distance between the declared goals and

²⁶ See in this connection (and on Greece), '2008 Hate Crime Survey: Roma and Sinti', www.humanrightsfirst.org.

the results produced, no overall assessment of the progress of the programs has been completed so far. Against this background, there seems to be a direct connection between state inadequate intervention, and the manifestations of aggressive behavior of non-Roma towards Roma.²⁷

On the edge of the city

The Gypsies usually settle on vacant sites owned by the state, municipalities, or other legal persons of public law, and more rarely on private land, with the tolerance or indifference of the owners, or because of the inability of the latter to enforce judicial measures. When an urban development plan for the aforementioned sites comes forward—either for a public purpose or following pressures from the local population—, the mechanisms of compulsory removal are activated, taking the form of forced eviction (issuing of protocols of administration eviction), or of tearing down the constructions ('cleaning-up' operations). Access to water, electricity, garbage removal, drainage, etc. are totally defective, if present at all. This is the context where exclusion is built up, and where the possibility of peaceful co-existence of the communities is subverted. Thus, the Roma encampments and/or settlements, in conjunction with the inequalities in income distribution, and the other deficiencies of the Greek welfare State and public planning, are transformed into areas of acute tension between those living there and those in the vicinity.

The Roma community is not fully familiar with private ownership (possession, disposal, ownership). Settling in private sites or public areas does not, a priori, take place with the intention of exercising control over them: what Property Law interprets as a violation of the right to property, could be described as '*diakratesis*', i.e. where there is no will or intention to act as owner.²⁸ In addition, competitiveness in the economic field intensifies

²⁷ http://www.nchr.gr/document.php?category_id=234&document_id=741

²⁸ A term used by A. Georgiadis - M. Stathopoulos for the act which is marked by physical exercise of power over something, but is not governed by the will that this should come into the ownership of the possessor: see *Civil Code* [in Greek], A. Georgiadis - M. Stathopoulos, p. 219. On the territoriality of the

the contrast between two systems of management of space: the one (that of Roma) which is based on 'quasi-possession' and the group, and the other which is based on ownership and the individual; thus, the obstacles to the use of land by Roma groups are intensified.

The Gypsies settlement on the property of others is the main factor for the persecution which they undergo; moreover, the observed tendency to become sedentary is often undermined by the local reactions and the discontinuity of public policies. Because of their functional illiteracy and the negative prejudice of the authorities, they are more confused by bureaucratic procedures than non-Gypsies are. Being unfamiliar with the real estate market, when they buy land (thanks to the housing loans, within the framework of the Integrated Action Program, a considerable number of Gypsies have bought land and/or houses), it is often either not suitable for building, or falling outside the town plan. Thus, they put up makeshift constructions or build houses, only to have them knocked down by the demolition squads; typically, the Roma illegal constructions are demolished in a more frequent fashion than in the case of the illegal constructions of non-Roma.

Having been for centuries the target of various forms of aggressiveness, the Gypsies have developed noteworthy *survival strategies*,²⁹ including exercising economic functions³⁰ that often call for circumstantial changes of location. In the process of their gradual sedenterisation and urbanisation, they frequently face the hostility of local communities and the ineffective way in which their problems are managed by the State. By extension, they adopt behaviours of introversion and resistance to influences from outside the group, since the former threaten the cohesion of the latter, thus, perpetuating their marginalisation. A still prevalent foundational feature of their social

Gypsy groups as compared with that of the ambient community, see Efi Karathanasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 243 - 281.

²⁹ See on the modes of social organisation of the Roma: Kathryn Kozaitis, 'Aliens Among Foreigners: Social Organization Among the Roma of Athens', in *Urban Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (2), 1997, pp. 165 - 199.

³⁰ See Lila Leontidou: *Cities of Silence: Workers' settlement in Athens and Piraeus* [in Greek], publ. ETBA, Athens 1989.

organisation is the *extended patriarchal family*, with all that this entails in terms of power relations within the family life cycle. Gypsy women, within their own social group, are the victims of multiple discrimination to a much greater extent than men, and the violations of their fundamental rights within the context of the group and outside of it are particularly marked.³¹ The networks of support and interdependence within the Gypsy community are still strong. The choice of self-employment and that of mobility is connected with the exceptionally limited range of opportunities available to Gypsies. It is also connected with the efforts they make to be less dependent upon those who reject them, through the feeling of security when being employed in the 'family business'. In addition, the delinquency associated with drug trafficking and use observed in certain Roma settlements and encampments, complicates further the internal hierarchies and power relations and compromises smooth co-existence with the vicinity.

Parents see their children as "extra labour" available, whereas economic and emotional dependence on the family and the broader Gypsy environment is very powerful. Functional illiteracy and lack of connection with the State institutions and functions is quasi generalised, and communication with the non-Gypsy environment is very restricted. A conflict with the paternal family, the clan, or the community, in the name of certain alien ideals or practices, would result in the loss of their sole *support asset*.

Serbia

As already stated above, providing existence of minority communities, preservation of identity and respecting the rights to development of national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities became a constitutive part of international protection of human rights. The specificity of Romani communities, as posed by Vera Klopčičić, reflect in the management of its legal status at the international and domestic (state) level, various

³¹ This is also stressed in the comments of international organs and commissions, such as CEDAW and the HRC, on Greece, in which they request that the country takes measures for their elimination.

definitions and categorizations Roma as national, ethnic, or cultural group or constitutive European nation.³²

According to the 2002 census, there were 108,193 Roma in Serbia or 1.44% of the population. Of those, 79,136 Roma are concentrated in Central Serbia and 29,057 in Vojvodina. Another 40,000 Roma are estimated to live in Kosovo together with the subgroups of Ashkali and Balkan Egyptians. The Council of Europe estimates that 400,000 to 800,000 Roma live in Serbia without Kosovo and 100,000 to 120,000 in Kosovo (150,000 before 1999).

Serbian Documents addressing the Roma issue

- Law on protection rights and freedom of minorities
- Action Plan for Roma – including housing
- Poverty reduction strategy

Characteristics of Roma settlements in Serbia:

Roma settlements can be differentiated by location within a broader community, morphological characteristics, legal status, etc. The general characteristic, however, is that they are poor. A large number of them are illegal, spontaneously built and cut off the municipality and its social services.

The elements of typology of spatial organizations of Roma settlements are:

³² Klopčić, available at:

http://209.85.129/search?q=cache:IB2g4L2Lc5AJ:www.gov.si/dsvet/dajavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/VeraKlopivic.pdf+romi+slovenija&hl+sl&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=si&client=firefox-a.

Social Space (Settlement Centre)

The majority of Roma settlements at a first glance do not seem to have a proper center, shops, children playgrounds, cafés or other structures, standard for other parts of the city. That does not mean that there are no places of social gathering, that people do not trade, that children do not play, that the young do not go out. Many spaces within a Roma settlement – crossroads, the so-called “corner”, meadows beyond the last houses, private yards, auxiliary facilities and so on, they all become places of gathering. One of the main reasons why such informal structures replace the standard ones is poverty.



Settlement near Gazela Bridge in Belgrade (now cleared)

Residential Area

Roma in Serbia usually live in family houses. Population in their settlements grows and, as a consequence, new houses are built by means of chopping the existing lots into smaller pieces. And this is why there is ever increasing density of population. Problems

with infrastructure, streets, public facilities and so on are well known. The fact is that cultural habits stemmed from family relations, especially toward elderly and children, from family's social life, organization of the household, companionship with neighbors, and so on. This socio-cultural setting is more or less the same in poor as in wealthier families, and is not significantly different from families of the general population. The Roma household is usually multigenerational, based on relations between elderly persons, children, and companionship with neighbors. The organization of the family unit is significantly different from the model of the majority of the population, but does not differ between poor and rich Roma family. A house can be organized in a variety of ways- single- or multi- storey, a loft, terraced, semidetached, etc. Yard space is also an important feature in a house, since it is used as an extension of a very small inner space.

The Settlement Work Zone

Roma often use a part of their yard space for economic activities, but some kind of work zone is usually visible in the settlement. In some settlements some kind of well defined zones for economic activities is easily recognizable (farming area, space for collecting recycling materials, etc.), but very often, the working zone is located close to or within the residential area of the settlement

The Street Network

There are some common street features in Roma settlements: first, they belong to a secondary network type and lack any functional and traffic hierarchy; second, they are irregularly shaped; and third, they are narrow.

The Romani community (communities) in Serbia faces difficulties in numerous areas (such as poor housing conditions, low employment rates, poor education opportunities).

The major challenge is at the same time to provide equal treatment of all citizens and to assist in integration of Roma by special measures, while taking into consideration “different way of life, tradition and culture of Roma”. Due to socially deprived position of the largest part of Roma community, the measures for improvement of the position of Roma mostly directed towards management of elementary living conditions – accommodation, provision of financial means, education.



Custom-made vehicle for gathering of recyclable waste

3.3 Burning issue of “special measures” in the case of Roma community (communities)

Viewpoints in relation to the origins for the adoption of special measures for the protection of Roma considerably differ. The questions are numerous, such as: What “positive discrimination” in the domain of protection Roma community actually means? Should the provisions on improvements of social position and extermination of social exclusion of Roma group have precedence before any other measures in the domain of social protection for other population? Is providing of suitable living conditions for Roma responsibility of the state or the local communities?

Can the paternalistic approach on the state's part, reflected, as stated by Vera Klopčić, in the "gradation of protective functions, role of the state and state institutions", possibly be effective in the prevention of social exclusion, or is this a way of "strengthening the barriers and mutual prejudice between Roma and non Roma"?³³

Recently, in those discussions – consistent with European legal framework for cultural diversity and cultural heritage – the better opportunities for understanding of specificities of Roma culture are indicated, especially, as noted by V. Klopčić (one of the leading Slovenian researchers in the area of Romani group) in the domain of expert treatment.

The approach of majority population towards the egalitarian partnership with Roma community (communities) is changing only step by step and only in few segments – from the obligation to the adoption of the "assistance measures" – to providing equal opportunities for education, employment and participation of Roma in public life, in cultural and political life, in short, to support their **inclusion in the society**.

Overall, historians Fraser (1995), Hancock (1991), and specially Barany (2002), who looked at the influence of various political regimes (imperialism, authoritarianism, socialism-communism and democracy) on the life of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, found that all these regimes have kept Gypsies in a marginal position in society.

A majority of the Roma (as well as members of the new ethnic minorities) in Serbia want to preserve their native culture(s). In order to preserve Roma culture, Roma have set up a number of cultural associations in Serbia; the main objective of most of them is, as already stated above **to preserve their culture, their cultural identity**.

It seems that the awareness on the importance of preserving "traditional Roma culture" **enhanced** among Roma population in Serbia in the recent years.

³³ See: Klopčić.

It seems that their culture start to become a “source of pride” based on recognition that Charles Taylor’s terms – “their traditional culture has value”.³⁴ It seems that the culture transformed also in the strength “to continue struggling for a better life”, which is of huge importance due to their discriminated and marginalized social position.³⁵

The role of culture in organization of Roma population in Serbia it is closely connected to the establishment of Roma cultural associations – as the way of organizing Romani population in the state. Founding Roma associations as the basis of the organization of the Romani population has emerged especially in the past few years (five, six years).

Increasing number of Roma associations might be partly attributed to the efforts of the Office for Nationalities that have, as exposed at their Internet portal, “concentrated on organizing Roma and establishing Roma associations”. Following observations made by the Office for Nationalities, “experience in working with members of the Roma Community has shown that the endeavors of Serbia’s authorities and municipalities cannot achieve optimum results in resolving Roma issue without including Roma themselves in these activities”³⁶. By being active in Romani associations – while borrowing the words of Carol Bellamy from UNICEF – the Roma are given the “opportunity, support and guidance to become their **own agents of change, within their world and their time**”.

Associations, ceremonies, symbols, etc play an essential role – in preservation, confirmation and renewal of individual’s ethnic identification; cultural, sport, religious associations, local self – managing communities etc., where members of minority communities gather, plays a significant role in this process. Collective events such as celebrations, often appearing in a standard/ stable shape, based on traditional model, “consolidate cultural foundations, renew and strengthen the feelings of belonging and

³⁴ Taylor, 1994:36.

³⁵ See: Stamatopoulou, 2004. Elas Stamatopoulou referred to the minority populations in general.

³⁶ Office for Nationalities. Available at:
http://www.uvn.gov.si/en/minorities_national_communities/roma_ethnic_community/.

solidarity”. Participation in association’s gatherings of ethnic communities affects the “individual elements of group identity and identification”.³⁷

3.4 Approach to cultural differences – culture as an aspect of social inclusion?

In 1986 and 1993 Milton Bennett developed a *model of intercultural sensitivity* as a “framework to explain the reactions of people to cultural difference”³⁸. Using models from cognitive psychology and constructivism, he structured these observations into six levels of “increasing sensitivity to cultural difference”. Each level points out a particular cognitive formation that is articulated in certain types of attitudes and behavior in relation to cultural difference. The underlying postulation of his model is that “as one’s experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated, one’s competence in intercultural relations increases”³⁹.

The first three stages of the model are perceived as ethnocentric, meaning that one’s own culture is experienced as central to reality in some way”; the second three stages are perceived as ethnorelative, meaning that one’s own culture is experienced in the context of other cultures”.⁴⁰

³⁷ See: Zagar, Komac, Medvesek, Bester, 2006.

³⁸ Referred to from Milena Dragicevic Sestic and Sanjin Dragojevic’s book (2004).

³⁹ Available at:

<http://www.unesco.org/ccivs/NewSiteCCSVI/regionalcooperation/aeyve/DevelopmentalModelfInterculturalSensitivity.pdf>.

⁴⁰ The first three model stages – perceived as **ethnocentric** are **Denial**; **Defense**; and **Minimization**. As explicated by the model, “Denial of cultural differences is the state in which one’s own culture is experienced as the only real one. Other cultures are avoided by maintaining psychological and/or physical isolation from differences. People at Denial generally are disinterested in cultural difference, although they may act aggressively to eliminate a difference if it impinges on them. **Defense** against cultural difference is the state in which one’s own culture (or an adopted culture) is experienced as the only good one. The world is organized into “us and them”, where “we” are superior and “they” are inferior. People at Defense are threatened by cultural difference, so they tend to be highly critical of other cultures, regardless of whether the others are their hosts, their guests, or cultural newcomers to their society. **Minimization** of cultural difference is the state in which elements of one’s own cultural world view are

The highest ethnorelative stage is **Integration**. Integration of cultural difference is a state “in which one’s experience of self is explained to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews. People at the stage of Integration often are dealing with issues related to their own “cultural marginality”. This stage – not automatically “better” than the Adaptation stage (see the footnote) – in most situations demands intercultural competence; however, it is common “among non – dominant minority groups, long term expatriates, and “global nomads”.⁴¹

The model has been used successfully for more than the last decade to create curriculum for intercultural education and training programs.

Moreover, in the European Union’s “Lisbon Strategy” there has been an important change, since its launch in March 2000, as stated by Ulrike Schmidt, “in terms of putting more emphasis on **culture as an important aspect of social inclusion**.”⁴²

The European Commission has recently focused on the significance of culture in the promotion of the inclusion of ethnic minority groups and immigrants and has recognized

experienced as universal. Because these absolutes obscure deep cultural differences, other cultures may be trivialized or romanticized. People at Minimization expect similarities, and they may become insistent about correcting others’ behavior to match their expectations.”

Other two – beside Integration stage – ethnorelative stages are **Acceptance** and **Adaptation**. **Acceptance** of cultural difference is the state in which one’s own culture is experienced as just one of a number of equally complex worldviews. Acceptance does not mean agreement – cultural difference may be judged negatively – but the judgment is not ethnocentric. People at Acceptance are curious about and respectful toward cultural difference. **Adaptation** to cultural difference is the state in which the experience of another culture yields perception and behavior appropriate to that culture. One’s worldview is expanded to include constructs from other worldviews. People at Adaptation are able to look at the world “through different eyes” and may intentionally change their behavior to communicate more effectively in another culture. Available at

<http://www.unesco.org/ccivs/New-SiteCCSVI/regionalcooperation/aeyve/DevelopmentalMoodelofInterculturalSensitivity.pdf>

⁴¹ Idem.

⁴² Schmidt, 2007. Available at: http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/1-2007_Schmidt.pdf.

culture as a key policy domain to be evaluated, arguing that access to culture is “a core part of human existence and is thus crucial for fostering a positive sense of identity.”⁴³

Numerous questions are raised at this point, based on the key one: at which stage is Serbia when taking a structure of *intercultural sensitivity model*? How do favourable economic conditions – in comparison to other South Eastern post – communist countries – delivered some of the objectives for **social inclusion**, and how this influence **cultural** inclusion? What is the impact of culture on promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities? First of all, what are the **actual** policy trends and tendencies in Serbia regarding minority culture, Roma culture?

Ethnic minorities, in particular Roma community and “new” ethnic communities often do not have the opportunities and means to “participate in the host culture” neither they have the opportunities and means to “preserve their native cultures”. As rightly stated by researchers from the Institute for Ethnic Studies, “both are needed and should be supported by the state if it wants to encourage and enable a real intercultural dialogue in a society”.⁴⁴

4. Heritage management and interpretation

The separation between tangible, natural and immaterial heritage and creation of separate lists for each is subjective, although not without its history and logic. Increasingly, those which are dealing with natural heritage argue that most of the sites on the world natural heritage list are what they are by asset of human interaction with the environment. Similarly, material heritage, without intangible heritage, is mere shell or lifeless matter. More over, tangible heritage would not have been made without those immaterial within it in the first place, nor it would have become “heritage” today. As it

⁴³ Quoted in Schmidt, 2007. Available at: http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/1-2007_Schmidt.pdf.

⁴⁴ *Idem*.

has been the very same for intangible heritage, which is not only personified, but also inseparable from the material and social words of individuals. Cultural heritage is a synchronized relationship involving society-systems of interactions connecting people and norms and values- that are ideas and belief systems. They establish a symbiotic relationship between the tangible and the intangible. The immaterial heritages need to be regarded as the larger framework within which material heritage takes on shape and significance.

So-called folkloristic forms, except those ethno museums are usually not taken seriously within the concept of the conventional museums. The large part of immaterial heritage materials are put and moved to dark corners. The fact is that these materials have become the part of everyday life of indigenous people. The repertory of stories, narratives, tales, belief, ballades, social practices and dances are very deeply rooted among the people that it gives inspiration which then leads toward the demonstration of performing and visual arts as well as crafts and artisanship. Being such, these materials are quite convenient for the use in museums in order to, in a very effective way to represent visually the popular tales and narratives, practices and beliefs, while then help to create an alternative niche for immaterial heritage.

Intangible values are by their nature difficult to be measured or defined. Such values may derive from people's life history or sense of their own identity, as it could happen that recognizing them present a challenging process. They are also highly varied. The Western approach of the management of immaterial heritage, the same as overall of heritage is to describe, categorize, and split into different categories. The traditional indigenous approach is often allegorical-to tell a story or chant the song that illustrates a value, rather than to clearly describe the value itself. Certain place will often be significant because of many overlapping values, illustrated through both stories and repetitive activities-*It has everything we need to live, or it is where we come together each year.* But often the place is felt/seen to have building value in and on itself. *We live there because it is a special place (and not it is a special place because we live there).* In order to describe certain place in this way is to see oneself within the place, being a part of it. The act of 'defining immaterial values itself not culturally neutral-it comes from

the Western scientific tradition. Nonetheless, if we do not define intangible values in some way it will be virtually impossible for them to create any impact and influence management practices. An implicit supposition in protected heritage management has been that by managing the physical, we can avoid cultural or subjective biases (Preconceptions, prejudices). This is based mostly on a Western, scientific approach to management, that say: if we are capable to understand the physical properties and relations of cultural heritage resources, we can manage them in a sustainable way. The postulation which is lying behind this approach is that values of these resources lie purely in their physical nature.

However, some of the weaknesses of this approach have been rather obvious. If material/physical values are articulated separately from intangible values, it will be harder developing management practices that respect both kinds of values in an integrated approach. Each has its own intangible values in terms of aesthetics, cultural meaning, symbolism, and identity.

4.1 Elements of intangible cultural heritage

It is possibly only several elements of immaterial cultural heritage to reduce to just one, single domain. E.g. festivals by their very nature, usually engage different types of expressions, such as: theatre, song, dance, feasting, then oral traditions, sports and entertainments, artisanship. Each of the communities defines the borders between domains according to its own interests and customs. It is possibly that one community may define as “theatre” form something that another one might define as “dance”; it could happen that one community may make a distinction among different forms, while some another community can consider various expressions being one single form.

Oral narratives and expressions including language as a vehicle of ICH

The domain of oral narratives includes an enormous diversity of forms including stories, proverbs, tales, collective memory, legend, riddles, myths, epic songs and poems,

prayers, songs, charms, chants, dramatic performances and so on. All they transmit values, knowledge, and collective memory, as well as they play a vital role in cultural vitality; many forms have always been a popular relaxation. Although language is a central part of the immaterial cultural heritage of many communities, language per se has not been promoted by the 2003 Convention. Nevertheless its safeguarding appears as important since it is being a medium of the ICH. In many societies, performing oral traditions is a highly specialized activity, with professional performers that are respected as guardians of collective memories. Professional performers are found in all regions. The story tellers from both Africa and all over Asia are well known; it is somehow less known that in countries such as Germany or the U.S.A, there are hundreds of professional storytellers today. While the language is vital to most forms of ICH, it is especially so for the domain of oral narratives. The loss of a language inevitably leads toward the loss of oral traditions and expressions. But at the same time in those oral expressions, and in their social and cultural enactments, the language is safeguarded in the best possible way, rather than in any dictionary, grammar or database. Language live riddles and rhymes in songs and stories, and thus the languages' preserving and the safeguarding of oral traditions and expressions are two aspects of the same task.

The most crucial part of safeguarding oral traditions and expressions is preserving their social function, their role in everyday or festive life of the community as well as its transmission from one to another generation. This may mean providing opportunities for elders to narrate tales and stories to young people in schools or at home, or it may mean supporting the traditional festivities and events where oral narratives are enacted. It may engage formal apprenticeship where that appears as essential to master an extended form such as epic poetry, or it may involve creation of new contexts such as storytelling festivals where traditional creativity finds new expression.

Social practices, rituals and festive events

Art.2 of UNESCO 2003 Convention defines social practices, rituals and festive events as habitual activities that structure the lives of communities and groups which are shared by and relevant for large parts of them. They take their meaning from the fact that they reaffirm the identity of practitioners as a group or community. Performed in public or private, these social, ritual and festive practices may be linked to the life cycle of individuals and groups, the agricultural calendar, the succession of seasons or other temporal systems. They are conditioned by views of the world and by perceived histories and memories. They vary from simple gatherings to large-scale celebratory and commemorative occasions. Sub domain also include rituals and festive events, which usually take place at special times and places often call a community's attention to worldviews and features of past experience. It is possible that access could be limited in the case of certain rituals; many communities know initiation rites or burial ceremonies of this sort. Within this domain we also find social practices that shape everyday life and are usually known, if not shared, by all members of a community. In the framework of the 2003 ICH Convention, the attention might be paid to social practices that have a special significance for a community and that are typical for them, providing them with a sense of identity and continuity.

Because they depend on the wide participation of practitioners and their communities, social practices, rituals and festive events are strongly impacted by the unavoidable transformation or incorporation of communities in modern societies, especially by such processes as ongoing migration, individualization, as well as the general introduction of formal education. Migration, especially of young people, may draw practitioners away from their communities. The process may than cause the serious risk for a specific practice and its transmission at risk. But at the same time, rituals, social practices and festive events may serve as special occasions on which people return home to celebrate with their family and community, reaffirming identity and keeping up their attachment with their traditions.



The Wedding

Traditional craftsmanship

The definition on traditional craftsmanship presented in 2003 Convention stresses out that it has been in many ways the most material of domains in which intangible heritage is expressed. However, the focus of the Convention is not on craft products as such, but rather on the skills and knowledge that are considered crucial for continuity of their production. Therefore any efforts to preserve and protect traditional craftsmanship need to focus not on preserving craft objects, apart their beauty and rareness, but on creating conditions that will support artisans to continue to produce crafts of all kinds, as well as to transmit their skills and knowledge to others, especially younger members of their own communities.

Traditional craftsmanship could be expressed in many forms: costumes that are usually required for festivals or performing arts, clothing and jewellery to protect or decorate the body, objects used for storage, for transport and shelter; decorative arts and ritual

objects; then we have household objects and musical instruments; toys meant to amuse or educate, and tools essential to continuation or survival. Many such objects are short-lived, intended to last only as long as the community festival or family rite for which they are made.

Mass production, whether it is on the level of large multinational corporations or local industries, is often able to supply goods needed for daily life at a lower cost than handmade production. Being so, it is often happen that craftspeople cannot adapt easy to these competitive conditions. Many craft skills are highly dependent on particular natural resources. These became rather difficult to acquire due to climatic and environmental changes or conversation of land to agricultural purposes.

4.2 The role of museum in protecting intangible cultural heritage

*“Intangible heritage includes the symbolic and metaphorical meaning of the objects which constitute tangible heritage. Every object has two dimensions: its physical aspect, for example its shape and size, and its meaning, which derives from its history, from the interpretation it receives from others, from its capacity to link past and present, and so forth”.*⁴⁵

Museums have a very important function with respect to this last category of intangible heritage, since museum processes such as the selection of object, the mounting of exhibitions, etc...tend to create symbolic meanings for objects and to impart these to a wide audience. The museum creates a culture of its own through these processes and helps to fashion a body of knowledge and hence a cultural heritage.

And I will add only one thing here: beside the knowledge of each object in its collection, i.e. an intangible heritage manifestation the museum is concerned with, the museum is

⁴⁵ ICOM NEWS, no.4, 2003, www.icom.museum/pdf , accessed September 2009.

also the keeper of some specific skills-and should be responsible with their safeguarding- namely the skills of conserving, restoring, interpreting, documenting, and presenting the intangible heritage; some ethnographic museums take pride in organizing fairs, exhibitions, courses in which traditional skills are exposed and transmitted.⁴⁶

4.3 Museum and their mainly archeological and material content

At the present context, even world wide, the immaterial space within the domain of human heritage has hardly an impact concerning history, ethnography and archaeology. My personal opinion says that curators in those museums used to consider immaterial materials as almost as alien to the range of historical museums. That is possibly being the reason for museums are actually loosing dynamics in presentation of a holistic view of ethnographical, historical or archaeological materials in terms of coins, arms, potteries, sculptures, bronzes, manuscripts, etc..., and the thing is that these museums should bearing in mind highly potential intangible space in the domain of human heritage that could enthusiastically be joined with tangible materials in order to recreate the environment of the museums' and gallery space. This can be real challenge for above mentioned museums to integrate tangible space with that of intangible one, when it comes to the museum communication, presentation and interpretation.

5. History of Gypsies

It is not the objective of this thesis to provide a very detailed history and description of the way of life of the Roma, but a brief presentation of some of the Gypsy traditions and important moments in their history, is worthwhile for understanding the context of language museum which concept will be exposed in the last chapter of the thesis.

⁴⁶ Example of Istrian Ethnographic Museum, www.emi.hr

If not all the Gypsies are nomadic, poor, or live on their wits, as many stereotypes portray them, we may ask, what makes a true Gypsy? Gypsies themselves and historians (e.g. Hancock, 1987; Barany, 2002.) say it is a person's ancestry (the blood line) that makes a Gypsy a Gypsy. According to Slovak Gypsy author Ilona Lackova (2002), it matters less who a person is in Gypsy society than their kin. Some of the first questions asked when meeting someone new are "whose are you" and "who do you know". As Barany states, "they do not consider themselves members of a cohesive ethnic group but instead identify with the subgroup to which they belong". (p.15.).

5.1 Gypsies in Central and Eastern Europe

Gypsies are quite diverse from a religious perspective as well. In the relatively small area of the Balkans, one can find Roman Catholic Gypsies in Croatia, Muslim Gypsies in Bosnia and European Turkey, and Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria. Fraser (1995) clearly states the difficulty surrounding the definition of Gypsiness:

"Given these and many other possibilities of confusion, and the impracticability of hard and fast racial distinctions, it is only to be expected the counting Gypsies will turn out to be an exercise in frustration.

National censuses often do not make the attempt. Where they do, there are difficulties in defining the target population, whether peripatetic or settled, and then in identifying it for persuading its members to declare themselves in accordance with expectations. "
(p.299)

Despite its relatively small size, the Balkan area has been and still is characterized by ethnic and religious diversity. Three major religions dominate: Roman Catholic, Islam and Christian Orthodox. This diversity is the result of intense and numerous conflicts generated from intersecting interests of Eastern and Western major powers. The Byzantine Empire dominated up to the 14th century, the Ottoman Empire from 14th to the 19th century, the Habsburgs Empire and later its progeny, the Austrian-Hungarian

Empire, crossed paths with the Ottomans who were pushing west intermittently from 14th to 19th century. The 20th century was marked by the Soviet influence, all countries in the area (except Greece and Turkey) falling under communist regimes. This historical alternation of rulers from such different cultural zones rendered the area a very agitated one where political forces of East and West clashed repeatedly enjoying only temporary and fragile periods of peace. To this day Balkan Peninsula is dominated by nationalist attitudes stirred by religious and political arguments.

5.2 Medieval history

Gypsies, or Roma, entered Europe sometime in the twelfth century from northwestern India through Asia Minor (Crowe, 1994; Barany, 2002). The exact date of their departure surrounds the reasons of their migration, but it is believed that they left to escape slavery and mistreatment. (Unfortunately, this is exactly what they had to face in medieval Europe.)

However, as Ottoman Empire became a threat, even in the countries where Gypsies were free citizens, the attitude towards them began to change. They were seen as “spies and something of a Turkish fifth column” (Crowe, 1994, p. xi), which caused them to have their lifestyle and trade even more restricted. Barany (2002) also mentions that Gypsies welcomed the Turks with many hopes for a change in the quality of their lifestyle.

By comparison, the Gypsies who lived in the Hungarian Slovakia had a much better fate only till the 18th century, when the Habsburg domination brought very harsh policies toward nomadic Gypsies. The enlightened despotism of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II brought a special policy toward the Roma which attempted to end Gypsy nomadic life in order to make them good Austrian citizens. This was often done by kidnapping the Gypsy children and placing them with Austrian families to get an Austrian education. The policy included even change of vocabulary, as the word *cigány* (Hungarian word for Gypsy, usually derogatory) was officially forbidden and replaced

with *new peasant* or *new citizens* (Crowe, 1991, p. 117). These efforts of forced assimilation quickly faded away after the death of Joseph II in 1790.

In Poland, dominated by Russia during the rule of Empress Catherine the Great in the 18th century, a king of Gypsies was appointed in an attempt to control the increasing Gypsy population. In Russia, during the same time, Gypsy choirs and Gypsy folk music became very popular at the court of Catherine the Great. In Hungary, composer Franz List was fascinated by their music and saw them as important contribution to the Hungarian music. The talent of Lautari Gypsies (musicians) was recognized in most of these countries, and Gypsy musicians were a constant presence at celebrations.

5.3 Modern history

The 19th and 20th centuries brought some changes in the plight of Gypsies, although not much changed in overall anti – Gypsy prejudices. A short period of emancipation occurred between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the World War II. Roma intellectuals made efforts to create organizations and publishing Gypsy works, but they faced all kinds of impediments, from inexperience to lack of financial support, from total indifference to prejudice coming from the majority. The most remarkable achievements occurred in Russia, where the new socialistic state encouraged Roma publications and in 1931 helped open the Moscow Gypsy Theater Romen. According to Crowe (1994), although the Kremlin soon stopped most of its efforts, The Romen Theater brought a positive change in all Eastern European countries under communism. Stalin considered the identity of minorities as a part of the bourgeois ideology, so the Gypsies and other minorities were not able to neither receive education in their own language nor develop a national culture, despite the fact that some countries mentioned that right in their modernized constitutions. As consequence, several censuses in Eastern European countries found Gypsies declaring themselves Hungarians or Czechoslovakians or Romanians.

World War II brought a period of terrible tragedies and loss for many Gypsies in most of the Eastern European countries. Between 1933 and 1945, the Nazi paranoia implemented racial laws, which led to genocidal policies targeted towards transnational minorities like Jews and Gypsies.

25 000 Gypsies were deported in Romania. Many of them died due to the lack of blankets and food. From Hungary alone more than 20 000 Roma were deported to Auschwitz to be exterminated. According to Barany (2002) and Kalvoda (1991), under the German occupation, almost all the German and Czech Roma were sent to extermination camps. More Roma were able to survive in the Slovak territories as well as in Albania and Bulgaria. In Romania, between 36 000 and 39 000 died during the Holocaust. In Serbia and Croatia, their fate was similar, as massive killings took place against the Roma. According to Huttenbach (1991), out of an estimated European Gypsy population of 885 000 before the war, between 200 000 and 500 000 were killed. Although it cannot be precisely estimated how many Gypsies died in Holocaust, tens of thousands were killed just for being Gypsies (Barany, 2002.)

The increasing Gypsy population led to Eastern European governments developing specific plans for Gypsies. In Czech Republic, Romania, Serbia and Hungary the authorities unsuccessfully attempted to stop their nomadic lifestyle. In early 1980s, statistics found many Gypsy adults illiterate or semi-illiterate, and many Roma children had to repeat grades or simply stopped going to school. The high unemployment among Gypsies was directly correlated with the crime rate.

In Serbia, the numbers of Gypsies were high for crimes such as murder, theft, the dollar black market, and prostitution. The use of children for many of these crimes affected school attendance. The unemployment rate also translated into poor housing conditions with inadequate sanitation. Because of poor living conditions and lack of education, Roma had high rates of infant mortality, venereal diseases, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis. ...

Eastern European countries aspiring to European integration also blamed Gypsies for late admission to the European Union because of the massive illegal immigration of

Gypsies into western countries in the 1990s, because of their perceived criminality or simply because of their existence. As many Roma chose to migrate after the fall of the Iron Curtain to the West, searching for better opportunities and place to live, a wave of vigorous anti-Roma feelings spread over almost all of Europe, re-introducing and reinforcing the existing negative stereotypes and sometimes to violent clashes. ...

The European Council tried to gain some control over the situation and asked each country aspiring to European integration with a significant Roma population to develop state policies and programs that would solve "the Gypsy problem." These problems target pragmatic issues like lack of proper documentation and IDs, housing, health care, and education, but also social issues like social rights and ethnic discrimination by police and state institutions. Several years will pass before governments will be able to implement these policies, mainly because of lack of available funds.

Meanwhile, despite the efforts to improve the plight of Roma at the level of state and international institutions, the negative stereotypes from within the dominant ideology continue to operate, mainly because everyday experience continues to enforce them.

Undoubtly, the democratic regimes have brought more freedom of speech for the Roma and possibly to participate more actively in national politics, although economically life has become more difficult. There are now several political parties that represent Roma interests, several Roma publications, national radio and TV stations broadcast programs in the Romani language in the most of the Eastern European countries.

Nowadays there are over 200 Roma NGOs in Serbia. Beside the NGOs, there is a great deal of successful Roma individuals. A presentation of work of the successful individuals and organizations is very important for the Roma people and the Roma movement as a whole in Serbia. They could, by making their work public, contribute to changing the attitudes and prejudice against the Roma. If, during a longer period of time, the pictures were shown in media, the attitude of the other nations toward Roma would be moved in the direction of lowering stereotypes for sure, and in time in the direction of lowering prejudice and discrimination.

With the aim of promoting the work of the factors of the Roma civil society from Serbia, 7 broadcasts on local televisions, and on all televisions that show their interest for broadcasting in the cities of the interviewed individuals.

By programs about successful Roma as well as the Roma organizations, we would help many of them to come out from >invisibility< and come into the world of promoting the Roma culture and values of the Roma.

Publishing in Roma language

There are people without historiography, but there are no people without memory. Having memory means existing, losing memory means disappearing. Memory is living in language, in myths, legends, stories, and poems. In addition to an older, mostly oral tradition, recent decades have seen the emergence of a multilingual written Roma literary tradition that discusses contemporary issues and a new aesthetic phenomenon that gives insights into the contemporary life of the Roma and their unique cultural experience. But to date, many Roma works of literary merit appear only in very limited numbers, and are rarely translated into other languages.

First mention in Europe of “Gypsies” we can find in Andrew Borde's “The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge” and “A Compendious Regiment; or A Dietary of Health Made in Mountpyllier”, published at 1547 in Great Britain. The author describes the customs and manners of various nations, from the English and their neighbors to the Moors, the Turks, the Egyptians, and the Jews. Mr. Borde was a doctor and the author of books on medicine and on astronomy, and it seems the “Introduction of Knowledge” was intended to focus mainly on physics, but only the first book, on the peoples of Europe and the Mediterranean, saw the light. For each nation Borde provides a satirical description in verse and a few phrases in the local language. So, in the chapter on Gypsies he wrote fifteen sentences in the Gypsy language and it is the first written document with some sentences in this language.

The first book about Gypsies published in Serbia dates from the year 1803. Its author, Petar Asi-Markovic, describes the origins of these people, its population in Hungary, and provides the names of about fifteen eminent researchers of this period who wrote

about Gypsies in Latin, German and Hungarian. In the second part of the book, he relates some thirty-five stories, legends and anecdotes about Gypsies.

Publishing in Romani dates back to the early 20th century. Romani is increasingly being used today as a written language both in print and in written communication on the Internet and is becoming the center of positive self-identification for the European Roma community. In the past, the majority of printed publications in Romani were newspapers and magazines. Nowadays, however, the number of publishers or NGOs publishing books in Romani is growing. Particular emphasis is put on materials presenting the traditional culture - stories, tales, songs, poems and legends. These materials have been gathered through the years and currently play an important role in shaping the Roma cultural identity.

The Next Page Foundation (NP) from Bulgaria and the National Library of Serbia (NLS) discussed in early 2006 the possibility to digitize part of the treasures of Romani literature heritage. The idea of the cooperation in creating digital Romani collection resulted from the current activities of both partners. The NLS has already created more than fifty digital collections of valuable library materials. These results were marked excellent among experts and public and NLS joined The European Library (TEL) as a full partner in 2005, making a valuable contribution to the development of TEL digital collections. Next Page Foundation's VORBA project (Viable Opportunities for Romani Book Access) already aimed to assist the development of Romani language by supporting publications and the improvement of professional skills of Romani publishers, as well as to foster the exchange and cross-border networking and distribution of Roma publications. To enable broader access to the supported print publications, the VORBA project has provided access to their texts in a small on-line library.

5.4 The Gypsy way of life

In primary school (1990-1998) I had a Gypsy classmate, Afrodita. She sat in the back of the classroom, shy and mute, as if to render herself invisible. The teachers didn't seem eager to pull her out of her silence, and she was not fluent in Serbian, therefore she got her grades mostly from tests and quizzes.

At the end of fourth grade we heard she would not be our classmate anymore, because she was married. She was ready to start a family. She was thirteen.

Reading the works of several anthropologists and historians who studied Gypsy communities, both in US and Europe, I discovered customs and traditions that resonated with what I already knew and that deepened my understanding of Gypsy culture. Afrodita's shyness and invisibility in class, while we interpreted as a lack of intelligence, might be explained by the existing language barrier or by her defensive reaction in front of prejudices manifested by her teachers and classmates. Some older sources (McLaughlin, 1980; Gropper, 1975) state that Gypsies have managed to survive without literacy for centuries, therefore few Gypsy children go to school. Additionally, Gypsy children are forbidden to associate with non-Gypsies, and in general Gypsy education is conducted mainly in the home, not at school.

Although I have so far used a unified concept of Gypsies or Roma, there is no one single Gypsy way of life, as not all the Gypsies are the same. Not all the Gypsies are nomads and not all of them live their wits, as some of the stereotypes portray them. As Barany (2002) states it, however, they do share certain historical experience and cultural elements that allow the use of a unified concept of Gypsies.

TRIBES- one characteristic of the Gypsy population is that they have no homeland. This has actually contributed to the discrimination and persecution against them. Still, several cultural elements are common among Gypsy groups. As Barany (2002) puts it, perhaps "the most important factor of Gypsiness is the division of the world into *Roma and gadje* (non Roma), a division that has contributed to the absence of a large-scale integration of Roma into mainstream societies" (p.14). Roma consider gadje to be outsiders and unworthy of respect.



Gypsy family inside of their house

Family and vitsa- the most respected entity among Gypsies is the family, the group formed by grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. The vitsa can be as large as several hundred people, or as small as a few families. One of the first things asked among Roma who meet for the first time refer to the vitsa – “what vitsa do you come from”, or “who do you know” (Lackova, 2000).

Marriage- Since the family receives the greatest amount of loyalty from Roma, it is understandable why marriage is a major importance in their culture as well. The preferred marriage among Roma is between second cousins of the same vitsa and then between cousins of different vitsas (McLaughlin, 1980). Although last in the order of preference, marriages between Roma and gadje have occurred more and more often lately (Cohn, 1973).

The traditional Roma society is male-dominated, but a woman's prestige increase with the number of children born in the family. Some Roma women are proud to have brought into the world twenty or thirty children and pregnancies at thirteen years of age are not uncommon. Marriages are usually arranged by two heads of the families, often when the children are still very young. From the proposal to the final ceremony

6 Mobile language museum

"There are some 15 million Roms dispersed across the world. Their history is one of suffering and misery, but it is also one of the victories of human spirit over the blows of fate. Today the Roms revive their culture and are looking for their identity. On the other hand, they integrate into the societies in which they live. If they are understood by their fellow citizens in their new homelands, their culture will enrich the society's atmosphere with the color and charm of spontaneity."

Indira Gandhi,

Opening speech at the International Romani Festival in Chandigarh, India on October 28, 1983

Material remains of certain culture has not been the only scientific notion that refers to the concept of testimonies of that particular culture: from orally expressed languages through social practices and rituals, to traditional knowledge and skills, a lot of types of these immaterial heritage has already been recognized and categorized by UNESCO. The focus of scientific researches moves, from typical museology approach in a sense of history of art, toward ethnology and anthropology in the widest possible sense of the word. This refers to researches on cultural phenomenon from far away past and emphasizes that there is another approach that one which deals with historical schedules. It teach us that it is also possible to work on the meanings and functions

within certain historical and socio – cultural context in the very similar way to the one we use when it comes to contemporary cultural phenomenon.

When it is said that domain of cultural heritage has been broadened to encompass not only architectural structures and historical sites, but traditional craftsmanship, knowledge about universe, zoological traditional terminologies also, we can think of intangible heritage as of alive cultural heritage in full sense of word, e.g. as of functional part of everyday life of certain communities.

The immaterial space of human heritage is interlace with tradition and values on one hand and on the other with language, performing and fine arts, music theatre. Besides these creativity approaches, customs, behavior, customary laws, beliefs and practices, collective memory - they are included in the intangible forms, so those forms are significant contribution to the development of humanity.

Bearing in mind that museums consist of collections plus their settings-buildings, courtyards, gardens and parks, sometimes; but also their neighborhoods in cities, small towns, even villages, etc, the perception of *context* is than multi-layered. This has consequences both for making immaterial heritage visible and when considering presentation techniques, since different types of museum have a tendency to employ different exhibitionary languages that are mainly linked to their particular position in the local museum hierarchy. Museums as (keeping) places, buildings, sites with specific qualities, potentially are as loci for gathering intangible, living heritage and its bearers. However, if the movement of such heritage were to be one-way, “inwards” into the museum, than there is a realistic possibility that it will end up as an almost useless addition of the museum as modernist archive. However, it is both imaginable and possible that material heritage could be used in a two-way movement-through reconnecting the museum with practitioners in the area of their interest and actually enlivening collection elements. This establishes both relationship and an exchange that is in itself a living vibrant and dynamic part of our contemporary culture. Successful transformation of the museum into diverse cultural context requires elasticity in conceptualization of what the museums is, what it does, and how it does it.

This concept of language museum at the end of this paper could possibly be the alternative model for presenting historical and archeological materials in museums in order of both an interesting presentation and interpretation of intangible heritages.

For better understanding of this concept I did a case study on one Roma settlement "Deponija".

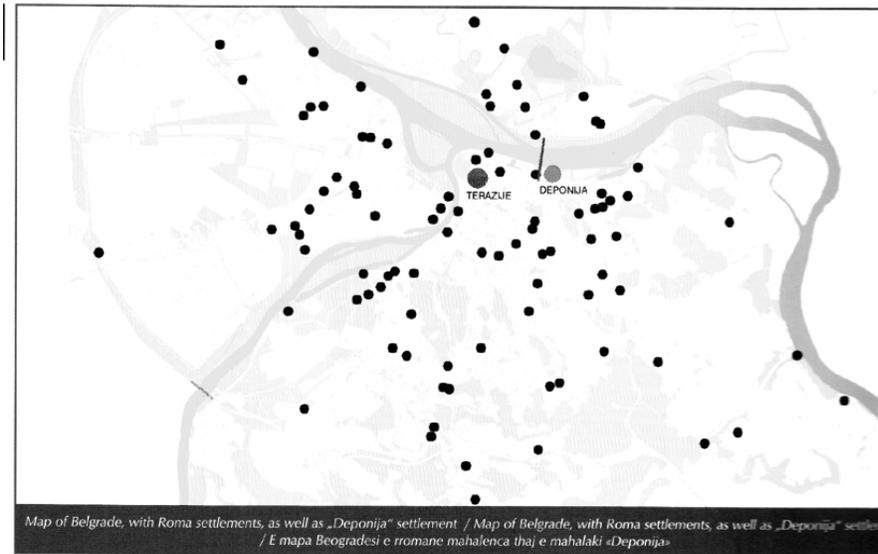
This can be recommendation for Serbian authorities, Ministry of Culture, Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages during the "Decade of Roma Inclusion" (*Deshbersh le Romengo Anderyaripnasko* in Romani)...

Description of the Typical Settlement

Trough examination of urban processes in nowadays Belgrade, we can see that during the past decade, the city government has lost the grip over many aspects of city development. The bad shape of city budget as well as overall increase in poverty and unemployment rates, among many other things have induced the increase in number of slums. Back in 1996 there were 220 slums in which there was 120 000 inhabitants.

The most frequent residents of these slums are the Roma people.

The subject of this cease study is settlement *Deponija* (Serbian word for "Garbage disposal")



Map of Belgrade with Roma settlements, as well as „Deponija“ settlement

The Roma settlement *Deponija* was built on a terrain that was once a dump-yard near concrete factory in the industrial zone of the city. It was growing during the time with gradual and spontaneous gathering of people from Belgrade and vicinity until 1999 when a large group of Roma refugees from Kosovo and Metohija found shelter here. The residents of *Deponija* are the poorest people in the country. Conditions of life could simply be described as the worst slum, without water and basic infrastructure, in extremely unhealthy conditions, in houses made of waste material”. On the outskirts of settlement are canalization cisterns and garbage trucks that are being washed with the water from pipes that are the only water source in the area. There is no other way to obtain electric power, but to drain it from public lighting posts. Since these installations are always made by incompetent hands, the danger from electrocution and fire is always present. There is no sewage. Poor hygiene often causes mass infections. There is also an acute problem with rodents, especially with rats that often attack children. “Here in *Deponija* lives 1600 people. The walls of scrappy houses are so fragile that people who live in them are afraid to touch them, and let alone to clean them. Feces are spilling from the nearby cesspools and houses are leaning on garbage heaps” says Slaviša Daković, vice president of Zvezdara municipality. Residents are living on the garbage which they have collected, hoping to find in it something they could sell. They are all unemployed. Children aren’t going to school not just because they’re not

prepared, but because they parents, living in such hard conditions can't understand the point of it. They don't have the money for medicines, but in hierarchy of their needs, there are much more important things than health.



„Deponija“ settlement

According to estimates of International Red Cross, *Deponija* has the worst living conditions compared to 150 settlements like it across the Belgrade. The level of poverty is extremely high, and the population is very weak and unprepared, and therefore it is necessary to develop and support a system of practical measures that should help solve the problems that are haunting Roma communities throughout the Belgrade and Balkans.

The Brief History of the *Deponija*

Settlement *Deponija* was built between 1965 and 1970. It grew on the land that officially belongs to the firms *Belgrade Port* and *Free Customs Zone*. These firms that were national property were so big and inert that no one who was working there was not able

to do anything without having to go through an extremely complex administration and decision-making processes. So, the land occupied by the Gypsies was almost forgotten by its owners because it was easier that way for them. There was an informal public opinion that the settlement will be removed at some point in time when the inert government apparatus comes to knowledge of its existence.

However, in the late seventies, the large concrete factories were suddenly constructed in the closest vicinity, so the Roma people was forced to move towards the river within the overflow area that was very bad and dangerous for living.

During the eighties, the public company *City Sewage* has built a dump post for its cisterns on the location. In that occasion, a few water pipes with hoses for washing the trucks were built. Roma people soon started using that water for laundry washing, and in time, this has become a true community center.

In the nineties, at the time when wars shook the country, large groups of Roma refugees from Kosovo and Metohija came to live in *Deponija*. They were facing the elementary existential problems such as the absence of health and social protection, as well as total lack of understanding of fellow citizens. Since most of Roma people couldn't find place in one of the refugee centers provided by state, the only shelter they could find was in one of the slums.

Living conditions in *Deponija* were getting harder with the increase of the number of inhabitants. In the late nineties the number of households was around 180, over the area of 1,3 ha which is most of the Roma population in municipality Palilula.

7. Conclusion

The impossible conditions of *Deponija* have made the members of *Society for Improvement of Roma Settlements* as well as *The Roma Heart* and Roma women's center *Biblija* to initiate the project for cultural and social integration in order to help the Roma people who live there. All of the three organizations were experienced in such work. Beside them, many of the activists who live in settlement were involved too.

They have organized the distribution of food and medicines donated as well as many different educational programs, which were supported by the *Ministry of Education* and EU. The aim of this project was "to help Roma people to reach basic human right to humble and dignified life". Their settlement was illegally built and they are in every sense pushed behind the margins of the society. It is necessary to include them in some way in the processes of the city life.

Since the land on which the *Deponija* is built was still in private property it was necessary to obtain temporary building licenses for several small objects that were planned for construction: the small educational facility called *The Children's House* - multifunctional space for care of very young children, and the small object with bathroom, WC, and additional water sinks.

Although the land around new public and hygiene facilities was cleaned and covered with grass, the action of cleaning the houses and their yards was unsuccessful because inhabitants were not willing to help.

Beside educational programs for children, there was also organized a program for basic education of women and men who wanted to learn some useful craft.



„Children’s house“, „Classrom“ (www.beograd200.info)

Finally, we can pose a question: Do Roma settlements, having in mind their poor and harsh living conditions, have some value, some positive feature that could stop us from making completely negative judgment about them?

One of the theses that could be defended with many arguments is that a typical Roma settlement is one of the important parts of their specific ethnic and cultural identity.

On the other hand, we have the theory that Roma settlements as we know them will gradually disappear with the growth of life standard of its inhabitants. In the core of this thesis is assumption that poverty and discrimination are the basic forces that hold Roma people together. In other words, Roma settlements do not exist because these people are willing to live in them, but because they are cornered inside of them by repelling attitude of majority of fellow citizens.

The fact is that some of Roma people are feeling better in their slums than in some other milieu where they are mixed with other, non-Roma families.

With these thoughts in mind, we could say that specific form of Roma settlement is one of the basic conditions for preservation not just for cultural identity – but for preservation of wide social and ethnic context in which a person could feel as a functional part of the community.

Proposal or provocation?

Based on the case study, the area shows indications of all social-political problems of this community, within urban environments in which they dwell.

A glance on this neighbourhood is enough for an unmistakable demonstration of all the problems, which I analyzed throughout this paper.

Language Museum is an institution that maintains the legacy, interprets it and presents the immaterial culture, primarily their language and customs. Basically, it is represented by a team of people, who are constantly visiting Roma settlements, recording and noticing particularities of certain parts of their culture. Therefore, this is a nomadic museum of information, which cannot be associated with a concrete location, the same way Gypsy people are not associated.



Museum of Language on site

Hence, Museum is moving from place to place, leaving its mark in the culture, carrying with it a part of the places it went through.

Museum is envisioned as one of the primary Roma cultural institutions and as such, it has obligation to participate actively in the processes of cultural, social and political integrations and development of this social group.



Museum of Language on site

Concept of Nomadic Museum

The display of the Language Museum can be limitlessly flexible. Since, museum's only "exhibits" are actually information and documentary audio and video material, its complete collection can be basically stored on a hard drive or on the global computer

network. Therefore, it is possible to access the program of the Museum from any computer in the world.

The primary, functional need for creation of space of this museum that would be financially sustainable, practically does not exist.

Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind the fact the concrete physical space is the best indicator of all political, social and cultural processes, taking place in the society. Every constructed object tells a story about the people using it, as well as about their position in the general society. Due to that, I believe that the Language Museum, which is envisioned as the main Roma cultural institution has to realize a spatial provocation, which will speak about these people, in a particular and affirmative way, at the same time, initiating reflection about their lives and problems.

The basic feature of all Roma settlements today is marginalization and terrible lack of basic living conditions. The above mentioned provocation has in a way to open a dialogue on these topics.

When we consider the already mentioned limitless flexibility of display and the need to open the issue of integration and improvement of quality of life in Roma settlements, we get the basis for the display of the functioning of the Museum.

By choosing the location for scientific research, a team employed in the Museum is examining the basic spatial, cultural and political problems and deficiencies of the settlement in which a temporary museum building will be constructed. Using this analysis, architectural and program definition of the facility or a group of public facilities, which will meet the needs and which will, by means of their own presence, initiate the processes of solving of bigger issues.

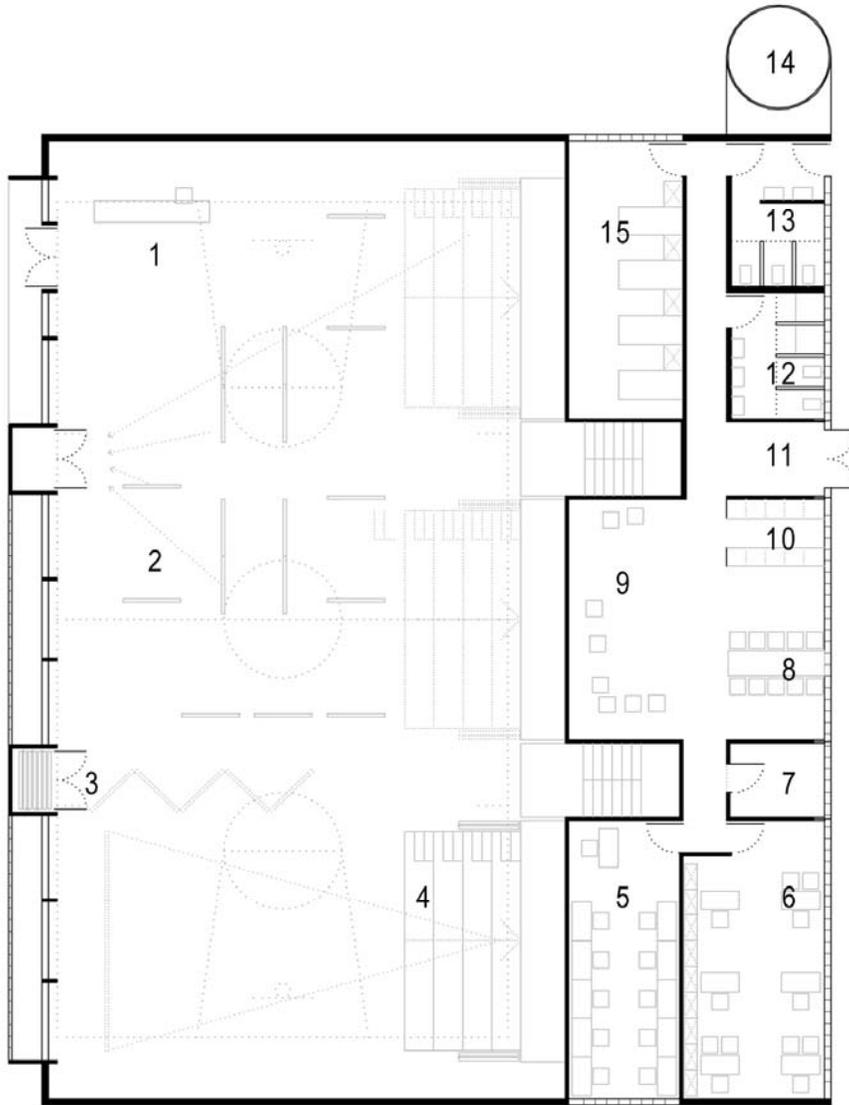
For example, Deponija settlement (aside from basic infrastructure) requires primary school, basketball court, restaurant and Internet. Team of the Museum will construct the facilities, which will fulfil the needs of these needs, with their spatial capacities. This means that spatial program of the display (which due to the nature of the display will be

infinitely flexible) will be adjusted to what the building will look like, when the Museum changes location.

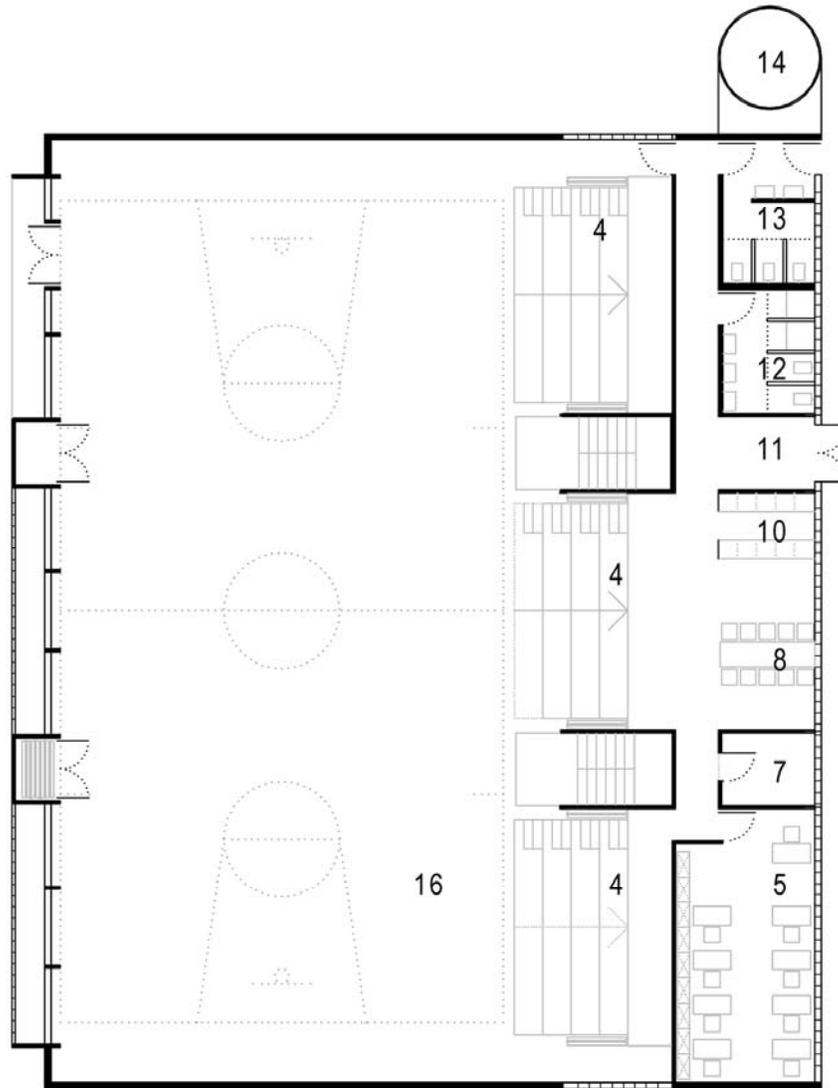
Since every public spatial activity is political at the same time, then this public facility, which is designed for the Language Museum, aside from its role in the everyday life of the community, will remain as a testament/monument of political and social, cultural victory in the struggle to improve and maintain processes of integration and cultivating of diversity in the entire society.



MUSEUM OF LANGUAGE



BASKETBALL COURT



Museum of Language schematic drawing:

*1 – main entrance and reception; 2 – exhibition space; 3 – storage for temporary walls;
4 – retractable stands; 5 – computer room; 6 – interview and research work area; 7 – storage,
photo-lab; 8 – semi-public dining area; 9 – group work area; 10 – kitchen; 11 – entrance for
researchers; 12 – bathroom; 13 – public toilet; 14 – water tank; 15 – dormitory for researchers;
16 – basketball court*

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Nataša Prica was born on 6th of December, 1983 in Belgrade. She finished undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Philology, Department of Greek Language and Literature, after her studies she enrolled in master course of Cultural Management and Cultural Policy in the University of Arts in Belgrade in order to pursue her aspirations towards culture especially in terms of protecting intangible cultural heritage.