

Romani in the Czech and Slovak Republic

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Foreword

There is a Romani National minority living in the Czech Republic, not being excessively numerous if our assumptions are based on the definition defining a citizen of a National minority as such who freely claims his or her allegiance to one. In 1991, 33,000 Czech citizens claimed Romani nationality, in 2001 only 11,859¹.

There is no doubt that many Romani are facing serious social problems deserving rapid measures even now. All the problems, which Romani currently have to cope with, cannot be qualified, analysed and solved as problems exclusively being those of a minority. These problems are common to all those, what nationality they allege to notwithstanding, who are perceived as Romani by their ambient. The consequences of ill-considered and, in many cases, insensitive interventions on the State's part, applied in the past to „do away with the backwardness of the citizens of Gypsy origin“ are still pending, and they drive a part of the Romani to the brink of the society. They have created, in their sum total, such handicap, which is difficult to do away with not only for the Romani themselves, but also to those who put serious efforts into solving the long-standing issues as well. The most serious of them are, with no doubt, bound to the existence of ideological, national, racial, and ethnic intolerance, which was rather cultivated than suppressed in the past,² and which is integrated into Czech national conscience deeper than we are ready to confess to ourselves.

The Romani are in many ways remarkably different from the majority population. Their coexistence with the majority has been very complex. The Romani who are living in the Czech Republic nowadays moved after World War II mostly from Slovakia and Ruthenia to the depopulated Sudetenland regions; later they were transferred under the organised dispersion and cheap labour hiring to industrial towns.

The Romani minority is structured as much as any other population. There are also structured the issues it has to cope with. Any and all generalisations in respect to the Romani as a whole must be formulated very carefully as it is the case with any other generalisations of complex issues. The situation of the Romani in different regions and locations of the Czech Republic is not equal. Generally, there may be observed that the position of the Romani and the quality of their coexistence with the majority in certain locations are related to the duration and stability of their settlements. A major role has also the circumstance of their voluntary or forced migration. There are successful in the society usually those Romani whose migrations were spontaneous. These, however, in the recent 40-year history, have been exceptional. In the socialist period, Romani migrations were mostly organised by the State. A free choice of place to settle was rare. The Romani, uprooted by force, whose traditional tribal unions were curtailed, often coped with the problem of their integration into new social ambient,

¹ Census 1991, Census 2001, CZSO (Czech statistic office)

² Until the Battle of Bílá hora in 1620, the spiritual climate of the Bohemian state was, for that era, uniquely tolerant. The Emperor Rudolf II's edict of 1609 guaranteed more spiritual freedom than usual in Europe of that time. More liberal atmosphere, in comparison with other part of Europe, existed also at the beginning of the 20th century due to syncretism of different national cultures in the Bohemia and Moravia (Jew, German, Czech) which created mutual cultural environment. Many Jews and antifascist from the other part of Europe searched in the First Czechoslovak Republic asylum in the thirties, when Nazism in Europe started. During communist regime intolerance was officially refused but in the fact cultivated. The last form of overt discrimination "the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the society" was abolished in the Czechoslovak Constitution only after 1990.

which perceived them as representatives of a faraway civilisation appearing as backward to the ambient.

The transfers of Slovakian Romani from backward Gypsy communities and colonies should have to improve their life conditions for purpose. This succeeded only up to certain extent. The Romani were assigned state-owned residence facilities, they were subject to compulsory work and education, as it was the case with all socialist state citizens. Due to various causes, only a minor portion of the Romani has attained a higher degree of education and qualifications.

There are locations where there are no serious problems in the Romani's coexistence with the majority. They are a proof of the fact that the so-called "Romani Issue" is not perennial, that, provided a goodwill on both sides, it does not have to be here. In other locations, in particular in the regions with high migration degrees, the coexistence is full of conflicts. All settled population including long-term Romani settlers rejects the Romani immigrants. The intolerance, prejudice, and certain forms of hostility turned inside out are the characteristics of the Romani themselves. The conflict rate in the coexistence increases in particular in places where employment issues are not solved successfully.

The social and economical situation of Czech citizens, on imaginary start line on the outset of social and economic transformation in 1990, was based on the social and professional status attained prior to the start of the reform. Today's position is not being determined by individual abilities only as it is often presented. While the conditions of life of the Czech citizens majority after November, 1989 have improved, the situation of many Romani and Romani communities has deteriorated; nobody sets this fact in doubt. The social and economic advancement of Romani minority is not hindered by its so-called "specifics" but by the fact that its members were, throughout the history, integrated only exceptionally into the socially important networks of relationships, which have decisively influenced social status and position in the society. Thus, they have not yet bridged the gap between the majority, and they stayed being a marginal and ignored minority being perceived by a part of the majority as a burden and slowdown agent of the transformation processes, which is not often touched by the society's success, which is closing to itself and ceases to perceive the country of their birth as their home. All too often, the majority treats the Romani as a lewd and unwanted child, this being a trauma for this sensitive and proud nation.

The consequences of the long-term practised discrimination cannot be done with easily. We have, as a nation, learned to live with various forms of discrimination, and we began to consider them normal. This often generates indifference towards expressions of discrimination and persecution, but towards overt racism as well. In the public majority's thought stereotypes, there are still surviving myths and simplified views of the world, as it is documented in the polls. Systematic discrimination and intolerance generates fear emotions, which are major tool for totalitarian societies' rule. From the in-depth sub-conscience of individuals and social groups, it is coming up slower than one could wish, and it has not disappeared yet as a whole. For this, the twelve years since the vantage point in the year 1989 are historically too short period of time. The Government itself cannot change the public's negative attitudes towards the Romani, which have been generated during a historically long time, but it should create tools to have them subdued. A legislation preventing from the discrimination does exist. There is a question open whether it could be applied in the everyday life.

With the emerged democracy and market economy, long-unsolved issues have arisen. The solutions are not easy; positive results are slow. The Romani who had been the least prepared for the post-November 1989 changes are short of patience. Measures,

which should improve their situation, are coming slow, if ever. The tension increases. The majority and the Romani are becoming more distant from one another; the thought stereotypes on both sides are deepening. The public is usually blind when facing the issues that it does not experience itself. In general, it is considered that the Romani themselves causes most problems. To understand the cause-and-consequence chain why the Romani are so often rejected by their ambient, why so much hostility, lack of understanding but also overt discrimination, requires an analysis of various social policies applied in the past towards the Romani wandering nation.

To describe the current situation of the Romani population in the Czech Republic is not possible. The Romani represent a wider portion of the society, not only the members of the minority who freely declare their Romani nationality. If there is racism hidden behind certain issues, it pertains to everybody being visibly different and deemed a Romani in his environment.

The non-accessibility of records, which were misused in the past, does not facilitate an objective picture of the present-day condition. The authorities must base their decisions on the Law. If an allegiance to a National minority is based on a free declaration, no one can be marked as a minority member without having declared his/her consent to such identification. Due to this reason, labour offices are not in a position to precisely define how many Romani are jobless, social security authorities do not exactly know how many Romani have to live on social security, communal and municipal authorities do not have precise information how many Romani do not have housing or their housing situation is uncertain, school administration authorities do not know how many Romani children attend so-called special schools, do not complete primary education, attend secondary education or study a university.

Relevant data may be provided by anonymous research where self-identification and outward-bound reflection of a nationality are expressed in different ways in different contexts. Such research are rare nowadays. Where there are facts unavailable, arguments are often missing too. The issue is becoming politicised, differing conflicting declarations cannot be confirmed nor disproved, and there is ample space left for myths and various forms of manipulating both public and minority opinions. Every party can support their arguments with real-life experience. An argument of non-conformity of objective situation research of a National minority with the principles of a democratic seems alibis even to some Government members. Where there are no facts presented and named the issues to be urgently solved, a solution shall usually not emerge by itself.

A democratic State provides equal rights to all its citizens. If, however, is visibly different, he/she may be overtly or covertly discriminated, although he/she does not consider himself/herself being a minority member. Racists do not ask which nationality a citizen declared in the recent census if they refuse to serve him in a restaurant, to employ him, if they assault him in the street or even kill him thinking he is a Romani. Although the legislation guarantees the equality of citizens by Law, the society is not always able to cope with both covert and overt discrimination. The protection of social and labour rights has not been yet reflected as an urgent issue. Examples of violations of Law in social and labour segments are usually not the focus of public interest; they are in the shadow of other issues. In spite of ourselves being equal before Law in a democratic society, we are not identical. This is not determined by different abilities only which are obstacles to equal chances. Asserting one's rights in social and labour segments is not easy in real life.

The failure of policies directed towards the protection of National minority members has been caused, inter alia, by the fact that legal systems insufficiently define the National minority itself. The Law provides for the protection of individuals; National minorities' collective rights are not recognised. Specific expressions of discrimination

have no adequate support in the legislation; they are difficult to be brought evidence of at Courts and to be sanctioned. The major issue concerned is that of qualifying race-motivated offences. Proofs of evidence of motives are not easy to produce, and they are objectively difficult to prove. Moreover, even in cases with ample evidence, the sanctions are usually mild and do not deter extremists.

1. History of the Settlement of the Romani Population in the Czech Lands

The Romani constitute a pan European nation. They are the biggest National minority in Europe and in every European country they are a National minority. The world population of the Romani is about 8-10 million; half of them live in Europe. They are not statistically recorded in all countries. The former Czechoslovakia was a country with the largest per capita Romani population. Slovakia even holds first place in Europe for the number of the Romani as a proportion of the total population.

The origin of Romani has been discussed over two centuries. Anthropological, ethnographic, historical and linguistic studies show their origin in India (Panjab, Rajastan). One of the most frequent names for the Romani³ in Czech history was Cikán (Gypsy). The name "Gypsy" (used for all travellers' or nomadic population) has today a pejorative sense. Although the English word "Gypsies" (Franche Gitanes and Spanish Gitanos) stems from "Egyptian legend." Or from the name of the wandering musicians and artists, which in the 9th century came to Europe from the Turkish Constantinopolis (Istanbul), which were called there Atsignates (names Cikán, Cigán, Cygan, Zingani, Zingari, Zigeneur, Tsiganes, used later in the whole Europe). In Europe, the name Gypsy still signifies a traveller population but it is not of an Indian origin.

The population originating in India consists of the three main groups: Romani, Sinti and Kalea. The name Romani is used only for 9/10 of the population of Indian origin living in the Central and Eastern Europe (Postolle, A.: 1997). The name "Romani" began to signify a National minority in the course of the sixties but only in 1991 it was officially accepted in the Czech Republic in connection with the political democratic changes in the country. Etymologically "Romani" is connected with the Hindu word Domba or Doma, which indicates the lowest Indian nomadic cast (pariah). The Romani originated in central India migrated in the course of history to the west in several migration waves of differing intensity.

The migration of Romani, Sinti and Kalea from India started in the 7th century. The biggest wave hit Europe in the 9th and 11th centuries. Migrants found temporary homes in Persia and then the main stream moved on to Europe, and the smaller one to Syria and North Africa. The North African group later crossed Gibraltar to Spain, where Kalea clans arrived in the 10th century. The small groups stayed in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Morocco. After the main migration wave a series of smaller ones came. The last waves reached Turkestan, Persia, and Armenia. Romani, Sinti and Kalea clans had their traditional occupation (mostly musicians or special craftsmen). The migration of the pariah from India has been caused by necessity of livelihood.

The Romani came to the territory of Czech lands probably at the beginning of the 13th century. The first documented stay is in the end of the 14th century. In the first years following their arrival in Bohemia the Romani were highly respected by the pious native population. They were thought to be Egyptian pilgrims who had taken to the road on Gods' behalf. At that time the Romani had the trust not only of the ordinary people but also of the Lords temporal and ecclesiastical, who provided them with

³ In the Romany language Rom signifies a man, Romni signifies a woman.

official protective documents confirming their origin, the so-called "glejty" (self-conduct). Unlike the rest of the population, the Romani had no Christian names; these only became customary in the sixteenth century.

The initial empathy of the domestic population, however, soon turned to antipathy, for the Gypsy way of life was anything but pious. Moreover, it differed radically from that of the natives, who soon withdrew their hospitality from the Romani. Rumours were rampant that the newcomers were Tartar spies. The attitudes towards the Romani became increasingly hostile. The Romani were forced under these conditions to theft and begging.

The Romani population who originally settled in the Czech lands was murdered during the Holocaust. From total 6,500 Romani only 600 of them survived the Fascist concentration camps.

The Romani population lives today in the territory of the Czech Republic immigrated after the Second World War, mostly from the less developed rural areas of Slovakia (80 %). They were (often forcefully) settled and dispersed during several organised migration waves to depopulated and traumatised areas of the former Sudetenland. The Sudetenland regions were after World War II occupied by heterogeneous population from Bohemian hinterland and Slovakia, especially by rural and urban proletariat, or by political exponents of the Communist regime and members of so called "Red Guards". They settled on the land and property of expelled Germans. These areas were pervaded with high criminality, hostility, violence, ideological intolerance, and conflicts. These regions were becoming economically backward because the new settlers were not able to handle well the gained property. The later established state farms were surviving only due to heavy state subsidies. After 1990, they all collapsed and substantial portions of their employees become unemployed.

Other Romani were dispersed into centres of industrial cities where they were taken on as a cheap unqualified labour. They had no possibility of using their traditional crafts. Later, in the sixties, the new organised resettlement of the Romani came, as a result of the industrialisation of the Czech lands. Romani who were resettled from underdeveloped rural areas experienced a strong cultural shock. They often joined the lowest social strata of the industrial society. Some of them accepted the habits, values, norms, and asocial behaviour of the urban underclass. Their family background was often destroyed and social control of families disappeared.

These events influenced later Romani development at the place of their new resettlement. After the collapse of the socialist planned economy the areas where Romani are mostly concentrated face to deep economic problems emphasised by the high unemployment rate found in these areas.

2. History of the State Policies and Interventions towards the Romani

The history of policies toward the Romani wandering through Europe was, throughout centuries, a carousel of rejection, expulsions, deportations, forced labour, forced assimilation or integration which were a route to nowhere. Policies of tolerance, mutual respect in the coexistence of the majority population with minority members and the protection of National minority cultures are historically too young to bring about expected results. In the Socialist bloc National minorities were oppressed by Stalinist policy for over half century. The Romani were not even recognised as a National minority nor an ethnic group. They were, throughout entire Socialist era, earmarked as socially problematic, nonadjustable population, in better examples as „Gypsy origin“ population.

The policies applied throughout history in the Czech lands in respect to nomadic Gypsies were essentially equal as those in other European countries. In certain historical periods, the same laws and regulations were applied. Nomadic way of life was in no period acceptable for European culture. The pressure to be settled but with no acceptable conditions consequently uprooted the traditional Romani way of life and existence including their trades which had used to be inherited since generations. This resulted in subsequent economic deficiencies and social marginalisation of the Romani.

2.1. Medieval, Feudal Policies

The policies of expulsion, removals from territory, deportations, pogroms were prevailing throughout entire early Middle Ages era. Legislation in Europe against Gypsies forbade them to stop anywhere, to buy provisions, or even to draw water from the wells. In the Czech territories it was Ferdinand I. (1503-1564) who issued the first mandate sanctioning the repression of the Romani. Shortly afterwards the impunity of physical liquidation of Gypsies' was given by Law in 1548 (Augsburg Council Act stipulating impunity of killing a Gypsy). In the Czech lands, the expulsion of Gypsies was later enacted by Ferdinand I. Anti-Romany legislation was first passed in 1541 following the outbreak of fires in Prague. This flung open the door to ruthless persecution. Humiliation of and contempt for the Romani were given a basis in law, and the Romani were placed outside society by law.

In the seventeenth century during the reign of Leopold I, the expulsion of all Romani from Habsburg Empire were ordered and the Romani were hung along the Czech borders. In the eighteenth century the Emperor Charles VI ordered the extermination of all Gypsies and in 1740 the decree allowed hanging all Romani entering to Bohemia. Under such conditions they had little choice but to develop their "Gypsy" way of life.

The policies of expulsion were later changed into policies of forced settlement. Nomadic Romani were sent to force labour. From the 14th century, the Romani were slaves of the State, of the Crown, of the Church, of the gentry, of the landlords.⁴ They were born as slaves or serfs. In the sixteenth century, the feudal lords as arsonists, soldiers and spies misused Romani. That is one of the reasons for the persecution of the Romani, which reached its first climax in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Under the govern of the empress Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II the first attempt to resolve the Romani problem as a social problem have started. In 1771 Maria Theresa issued orders for the settlement and assimilation of the Romani, forbidding them to live in huts, to engage in horse-trading. Nomadic way of life was subject to extreme death penalty by beating. Maria Theresa enacted in 1758 that the Romani were not allowed to leave their villages without a written permit, the wandering was forbidden and the gypsies' colonies were set up. The Romani were not allowed to use the name of Gypsy; the men had to learn trades, serve in the Army. Emperor Josef II waived serfdom in Bohemia in 1781. The Romani forced settlement policy, however, was continued; there was a ban on nomadic life.

The objective of forced assimilation policy of the Romani was consequent liquidation of Romani culture. The control of Romani movements and migration, of their ways of dressing, eating habits was implemented. Any differences from local people's habits were sanctioned. Mixed marriages were encouraged, from 1773 were marriages of two Romani prohibited. Romani children were supposed to forget their origins. From 1783, children from Romani families were taken away for re-socialisation into peasant's families. It was understandable that the parents took their children back. This was the

⁴ Slavery was abolished in 1856

origin of the saying that Gypsies steal little children. The children were allowed to attend Church schools only. The Romani were not allowed to use their language, to identify as Gypsies, change their names subject to physical punishment. They were not allowed to base their existence on their traditional trades, such as horse-trading, begging; they were subject to work in the fields.

The drastic measures of the forced assimilation contrasted with Maria Theresa positive goal of resolving Gypsy problem through a settled life, employment, and upbringing. The measures introduced by Maria Theresa and by Josef II, who continued his mother's policy in the same spirit, were not crowned with success, since they gave practically no consideration to the habits of the Romani. Their decrees aimed at dissolving the Romani origin culture connected with the nomadic way of life. The social structure and relations, housing, communication, means of property accumulation (the easily transferable gold), works instruments and also the art were completely adapted to the life on travels. For that reason after the death of the emperor Joseph II the Romani began wandering again in the Czech lands, where they were compelled to register with local authorities, and shifted from the district to district.

Similar policies were adopted also in Slovakia where where Romani population was larger than in the Czech lands. By the end of the 19th century approximately 36,000 Romani lived in Slovakia, (Davidová, E.: 1995). The persecution of the Romani in Slovakia began somewhat later, in the first half of the seventeenth century. Many Romani groups had fled there from Bohemia and Western Europe by that time. Their way of life, and especially such criminal offences as theft and horse smuggling, was very damaging to the sedentary Slovak Romani. Many local administrators ordered the Romani to be driven out of the towns and villages. In the first half of the 18th century, many administrative districts in Slovakia issued decrees and orders against the so-called "Gypsy life", providing for corporal punishment and even death for violations. The paradoxical thing about the situation was that no one gave serious thought to how the preconditions could be created for a law-abiding and settled life for the Romani.

There was no substantial change in the life of the Romani in the Czech provinces and Slovakia in the nineteenth century. Since they were not incorporated into the economic life of the provinces, the young bourgeoisie was indifferent to them. A very low level of income was characteristic for Slovakia and especially eastern Slovakia before World War I in any case. The worst of were the Romani. Most of them were illiterate, isolated in settlements in huts usually consisting of just one room. The musicians had somewhere better status in society. In recognition of their talents they were allowed to settle in houses of their own. The boilermakers and chain has also had a higher status.

2.2. Policies during the First Republic

The Romani were, same as other minorities, granted equal rights by the First Czechoslovak Republic Constitution in February 1920. That was the end of a long period of official discrimination against them. The economic and social situation of the Romani did not change during this period very much. For the most part they could make a living only through casual labour.

The major part of the Romani was settled, a portion was still nomadic. Limitations of free migration and suppressing the nomadic way of life persisted⁵, same as the

⁵ Act No 117/1927 Coll. On Wandering Gypsies. A special document for roaming Roma stipulated precisely within which territorial bounds they were allowed to wander. They need permission from the mayor of the town to stay in a given place, and he could also determinate the duration of their stay. Under Paragraph 10 of that law, the Roma

degradation of traditional trades. Space was open mostly for farm labourer jobs; traditional ways of sustenance were vanishing gradually. The Romani were rewarded in food - this survived in some parts of Slovakia until the '60s. Many Romani thus did not learn how to handle money.

Further isolated Romani settlements sprang up in Slovakia, but a part of the Romani continued to wander up and down the country. According a law from the July 1927 Romani had a special cart of identity "Gypsy Personal Identity Card" and all wandering Romani were registered in a "nomadic book" by local authorities (Nečas,C.: 1988). The adoption of this law meant a worsening of the situation of the Romani and reinforcement of the prejudice in the population.⁶

The census of 1921 and 1930 showed that the number of Romani had quadrupled. According to domicile statistics from 1922 and 1924, there were 56,266 "Gypsies" in the First Republic, estimates are higher: over 70,000 to 100,000, although Romani nationality declared in the Czech lands in 1921 only 61 persons, in Slovakia and Ruthenia 7,967 persons, this making a total of 8,028. In 1930, Romani nationality was claimed by 227 in the Czech lands, in Slovakia and Ruthenia 31,188 persons, a total of 31,415 (Davidová, E.: 1995).

A part of the Romani lived, despite all settlement efforts, still nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. The major part was settled. Particularly in Moravia, where they belonged to the „tolerated ones." The Sinti, who were different in terms of language, were moving in Bohemian-German frontier regions. The largest group of Slovakian Romani distinguishes a smaller number of nomadic Vlachike Romani and the major part of the traditionally settled Romani, who bear their names according to the regions where they lived. The Romani population was most frequent in Košice, Lučenec, Šala, Michalovce, Rožňava, Prešov, Vranov nad Toplou, Rimavská Sobota and Spišská Nová Ves (where most of the Romani live now).

Occasional attempts to find solution jointly with the Romani were undertaken by the League for the Cultural Advancement of the Gypsies, founded in Košice in 1929 under the leadership of Jaroslav Stuchlík, later renamed the Society to Study Ways of Resolving the Gypsy Question. The first Romani schools and theatre and music groups as well as the SK Romani football club, which enjoyed international acclaim, were founded on its initiative. In the conditions prevailing at the time, however, the Society was unable to influence and change the economic and social living conditions of the Romani.

2.3. Protectorate Bohemia - Moravia and Slovak State Period

could be denied access to entire regions. Identity cards were issued to Roma on the basis of Paragraph 5. Paragraph 12 made it possible to take children up to 18 years of age from Roma families and put them in corrective schools.

⁶ The "cannibalism trial" took place between 1924 and 1929 in Košice in a heated atmosphere of hostility towards the Roma. A group of 19 young Roma were accused and convicted of murder and cannibalism. The group had indeed committed some hold-ups and murders. Since not all the corpses were found, the accusation of cannibalism was not long in coming. It served as justification for all the measures that were taken against the Roma, who were driven into ever grater isolation, especially in Slovakia. The attitude of the population found expression in many pogroms during this period, as on 1st October 1928, when a large number of armed men attacked the Roma village of Pobedim and killed and wounded many Roma. None of the participants was seriously punished.

The period was characterised by merciless persecution of the Romani both in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and in the Slovak State. During the Protectorate, the coexistence of the majority with the Romani issue accelerated and transferred itself from social level to racial ideology level. The Romani were, first because of their „anti-social characteristics“, later due to „race inferiority“ interned in labour camps, and thereafter, condemned to physical liquidation. Most of Bohemian Romani were exterminated; from the original 6,500 Romani survived Nazi concentration camps only 600. Most Slovakian Romani survived the holocaust, though they were subject to various forms of repression during the existence of the Slovak State.⁷ The major reason was the fact that local population needed them as cheap labour for the work in the fields. For this reason, they often defended them.

There is no precise statistical data on the number of Romani after the war; there is an estimate of 97,000 (Davidová, E.: 1995). Most of them lived then in Slovakia (mostly in its eastern part where they accounted for 72 % of the population). The post-war registration of the Romani in 1947 accounted for 101,190 Romani, the number of 16,752 (16,6 %) totalling for the Czech lands. The number is considered very underestimated, as intensive migrations took place between both parts of the state.

2.4. Post-War Policies

Various forms of forced assimilation policy were practised, more or less, until the '70s. Only after 1990, prerequisites for Romani national advancement began to be created. The policy of restrictions was replaced for forced assimilation and dissipation based on humanistic arguments in favour of doing away with Romani backwardness. Expressions of Romani culture were, in the Socialist era, branded as social non-adaptability and social deviation.⁸ As neither the nationality nor ethnic identity was

⁷ In Slovakia it was decreed that all male Roma had to perform labour service. In many Slovak towns Roma were forbidden to enter public buildings and use public transport. They were not allowed to set foot in the main streets and parks. Roma could only visit some towns on certain days and certain times. Violation of this ordinance was punishable by flogging or imprisonment. Entire Roma settlements were relocated in order to increase the distance from towns and villages. In many places pogroms were organised against the Roma: for instance, they were burned alive in their huts.

⁸ The socialist state has tried to destroy definitely the tradition of the Roma culture and their way of life. The traditional crafts of the Roma, which have been passed over the generation had no possibility to continue under the socialism regime and gradually disappeared. The collectivisation in rural areas and the nationalisation of the means of production and land property had the effect of doing away with the demand for seasonal work by Roma. The liquidation of the all private economic activities and the legal obligation to be settled on the permanent address and having a regular job confirmed in the identity card, led to a new form of the socialist serfdom and as a consequence to new forms of the Roma marginalisation. In the fifties, huge financial resources were set aside for resolving the social problems of the Roma. But the success was only partial. On the one hand this gave to the Roma equality, with all that entailed from the political, economic and social points of view, but on the other the voluntaristic decisions had negative consequences for them as well. The implementation of forced assimilation policy meant the suppression of the Roma language. Roma who used their Romany language were a target of the different forms of the oppression. The Roma children at schools were punished using the Romany language. They could not become members of the sole existing children organisation "Pionýr" (thus being isolated from the other children), in the institutions of the "substitute family care" so called "children houses" the "educators" cut their hairs as a punishment for using Romany language. For that reason the Roma mothers did not

recognised, Romani problems were deemed and solved as social problems. Efforts were made for staving off nomadic way of life in the first place. In the fifties, according to conservative estimates, about 50,000 of Romani were still leading a nomadic life. These included about 11,000 children up to six years of age, 11,000 children aged between six up to fifteen and about 16,000 persons between the ages 15 and 40 (Holomek, T.: 1969). With Socialism coming into existence, traditional way of life and sustenance of most Romani could not continue. Traditional trades inherited in Romani clans over generations ceased to exist, and Romani tribal social relationships disintegrated. The on-purpose re-education was accompanied with taking away children from so-called „problem families“ for re-education into states' education institutions.

The Romani resettled into farming regions were employed in non-prosperous state farms. The Romani who were resettled into towns were employed in the industry and construction business in physically hardest, menial and lesser-paid jobs. The long-term work in physically demanding jobs caused in many cases perennial health damage. The Romani's professional degradation (they could not work in their traditional trades) was accompanied by wage discrimination. The compulsory work for all citizens, and the obligation to live in permanent residence location, did, on the other hand, guarantee the Romani job and housing security.

Compulsory school education increased the degree of literacy among a portion of Romani post-war generation (however, 30 % remained illiterate); a part of the Romani was enabled to gain qualifications, however very low and in the least-prestigious trades. Many professions, which the Romani had, access to in the past, died out over the time, so that their professional structure was much more unilateral than in the times when the Romani had lived on the brink of the society. There was apparent already then that, with the reduction of the demand for unskilled labour, the threat of mass unemployment among the Romani would arise. The social system power was making efforts to integrate the minority into the majority, to the extinction of Romani culture; it served the public the idea that Romani are aliens, less valuable race without a past. The system needed the Romani minority uneducated, without aspirations. Despite various declarations, forced assimilation still was there, and the Romani were defending themselves against it because it was depriving them of natural relationships and base prerequisites for social existence. The fact that the integration of the Romani cannot be done by means of individual but group integration was completely ignored. Due to this, these efforts did not have expected effects.

The policy of repression against the Romani reached its peak in the '50s and '60s. The first measure was the compilation of the "List of Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Persons", a raze which most of the population did not know. ⁹ By Government Decree

used for communication with children the Romany language, using the specific mixture of the spoken or dialect (non-literary) forms of the Czech or Slovak languages, often enriched with a Hungarian words. The result was that the children did not speak well any language and some forms of different ethnic dialect were developed in the Roma families. The policy of the assimilation, which was actively pursued from the early 1950s onwards, was based on the communist party decision no longer to regard the Roma as an independent ethnic group. They were classified as either Czech or Slovaks of the Roma descent, and were distinguished from the rest of the population only by their Gypsy origin.

⁹ Law No 74 (1958) concerns the permanent settlement of nomadic persons. The first decree was the elaboration of the „List of all wandering persons.“ All travelling persons were in the 3. - 6. February 1959 identified and signed in the "List" including the persons who never wander, only travelled somewhere. All one really wanted was to get rid of the Roma. The guidelines for implementing this law set the following tasks

No502/1965, which legalised The Communist Party Central Committee Resolution, dated June 15, 1965, the Government Committee for Gypsy Population Issues was formed and adopted "The Guidelines for the Organisation of Gypsy Population Dissipation and Transfer for the Purpose of the Liquidation of Undesirable Gypsy Concentrations". Traditional Romani tribal relationships were dissolved, and the attitudes to the majority deteriorated further. At the time of the dissipation, 14,000 Romani families lived in 1,318 communities, ghettos, without power, drainage, cut off from the rest of the world. The quoted measure showed itself enviable but considerable percentage of Slovakian Romani was transferred to Bohemia (Davidová, E.: 1995). Spontaneous migration was formally tolerated but sanctioned in practice. Within Romani minority, social disintegration process was launched, accompanied with increasing crime rate. The number of convicted Romani increased.

The consequences of in many cases insensitive state policy in respect to the Romani are still present now as a burden. They generated a number of clashes with the majority and made the relationships, which were never ideal, even worse.¹⁰ The dissipation of families and the disintegration of traditional tribes resulted later in new migrations. The wider clans' members were making efforts to move closer together. Unorganised movements of individuals and families were, however, considered undesirable and rejected by the authorities. Thus, those who moved in had to return to their original locations at the costs of the authority or responsible official who issued the permit to move. Thus, movements were not officially permitted. The Romani thus often moved in to their relatives without official permission and did not register for permanent residence in the community. They would not be issued a permanent residence permit anyway due to overcrowded flats. Many Romani then

for the National committees: preparation for the settlement plan and the plan of employment and accommodation in accordance with local conditions. The Roma were to be given assistance in settling down. It proved hard to implement in practice. Some of the committees paid back to Slovakia for entire Roma families. The law did manage to limit the amount of travelling that was done in covered wagons, but one of the major mistakes made in adopting and implementing the law was that little consideration was given to the way of life of the Roma. It simply reinforced the Roma's distrust of the state organs. In a circular issued by the Ministry of the interior on 5 March 1952 the National county committees are called upon to overcome mistakes and shortcomings in resolving "the Roma problem." The Roma are to be settled in small groups and given all possible assistance by the trade unions. How the families use the flats and whether they undergo medical examinations is to be monitored. School attendance by the children is to be given heightened attention. It was the duty of the National committees to provide Roma with identity documents and documents concerning their employment. The government of the socialist Czechoslovakia went one step further with Resolution No 159 of 15 May 1967, since it provides for the final government resolutions, that of 1965 and that of 1967, aroused strong resistance on the part of the Roma. Many of the families affected returned to their starting-places. That policy was very expensive, the state repurchased the Roma shanties and huts and appropriated them the state housing.

¹⁰ The majority could not bear the idea of the Roma getting state-owned flats by priority whilst other citizens had to wait for decades for being assigned a flat, or solve their housing problems by co-operative housing projects and pay for them. The Roma transferred by force from poorhouse colonies (clay shacks) into urban rent houses and flats of the most inferior quality (later into prefab block housing complexes) could not make use of the flats in towns, in many cases, they destroyed them. The Roma were traditionally used to live different, collectively. Gatherings of larger families in small-overcrowded flats could not go without noise. Music, song, dance, the most beautiful and typical expressions of Roma culture, were suppressed because such way of living was disturbing other tenants.

used to live with their relatives without official registration, or illegally squatted vacant flats in their neighbourhood.¹¹

The increased pressures resulted in establishing the Union of Gypsies-Romani in the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1969. The Romani identity, culture, and individuality were supported for a short time. The establishment of the organisation was a consequence of the preceding „Prague Spring“ democratisation process. The Romani started to exert activities towards their recognition as an independent nationality.¹² This was, however, unacceptable for the political representation at the time. The idea succeeded only twenty years later. The initial blunders were made use of by The National Front political management, and the Union was dissolved, under the Central Committee's pressure, in April 1973. The major reason was the efforts towards the recognition of a nationality status. This political blunder slowed down the process of Romani social advancement for a number of years to come. Their activities and contacts including initial contacts with Romani organisations abroad were cut off.

The policy of the forced assimilation was bound to fail because it was naive and inhuman. It completely disregarded the specific way of life of the Romani. Instead of solving problems it created new ones: for instance the resettled families were followed by others, so that quite often several families with fifteen to twenty members lived in one flat. Aversion to the resettled Romani was generated where there had been none before. The Romani often lived in complete isolation in the new areas, which provoked further conflicts.

2.5. Policies of the Seventies and Eighties

The assimilation concept changed in 1970¹³; a concept of all Romani integration and principles of their coexistence with the population began to be formed. The territorial dissipation policy was waived. This policy should have pertained to all Romani social life aspects. The State's programme completely waived the assimilation requirement already. A policy of Romani commitment to the society was formulated provided the respect for their individuality, and with the Romani's active participation. The practice, however, was different. The long-standing stereotypes could not be done away with within the short period of time by means of various one-time measures. Short-term, incomplete and uncoordinated programmes could not generate the foreseen success.

¹¹ Officially unconfirmed place of permanent residence brought problems to a lot of the Roma immediately after 1990. Social security allowances, labour office services, job-seeker support and health insurance of the unemployed covered by State financing were bound to permanent residence. A number of the Roma could not claim their legal rights in communities where they had lived for years, not possessing officially confirmed place of residence. Some did not have a formally confirmed place of residence anywhere, did not have valid documents, and sometimes were hiding before the Law. After the partition of the state in 1993, the situation further aggravated.

¹² Both associations stood for recognition of the Roma as an autonomous ethnic group, as a nationality, for even in the new, 1968 constitution of the ČSSR, the question of recognition of the Roma nationality was not settled. The Roma were not mentioned in the constitutional bill on national minorities. At the beginning of the seventies, with the co-operation of the Roma associations in both republics, the Czechoslovak government was looking for new paths to a solution of the "Roma problem". A special government commission was set up in 1969 for Slovakia and in 1970 for Bohemia and Moravia. In that context, government resolutions No 502 (1965) and 159 (1967) on the dissolution of the Roma settlements and the dispersion of the Roma through the country were revised and rescinded.

¹³ Government Decree No 279/1970, confirmed by Government Decree No 231/1972

The Romani themselves were setting in doubt the meaning of such concepts. In 1970¹⁴, social-cultural work concept for the Romani who were distinguished as an ethnic group whose specifics and distinguishing features should be respected for the first time was approved.

The Federal Government Resolution of 1972¹⁵ formulated as a major task the process of Gypsy-Romani population social integration. This concept was pursued until 1989, but various professionals but no Romani were solving the range of issues. The focus was on improving the relationships between the Romani and other citizens, but, basically, in practice there was involved the effort to reshape the Romani to fit into Socialist society picture. All substantial facts being connected to the Romani were deemed secret. Neither professional nor laymen nor the Romani themselves had the access to the information regarding Romani ethnic group which would explain their behaviour and enable gaining the knowledge of their causes. The Chartists were pointing out the fact that Romani were the population group most deprived of rights and manipulated, despite the fact that they were the largest National minority. Although the State in those times formally guaranteed full equality of citizens, these rights were not in fact respected. The Romani were earmarked as "Gypsy population", or as "less integrated population" all the time.

In 1972, the sterilisation option for women having high number of children was adopted by the Direction of the Ministry of the Health Care¹⁶, which was later even encouraged financially¹⁷. This measure should have reduced the high percentage of "unhealthy population," in fact, it was directed to curtailing Romani women's fertility, and it was criticised many times. Although consent to voluntary sterilisation was necessary, there was not possible to verify in practice whether the sterilisations were performed without the women's consent. (Struggling for Ethnic Identity, Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1992).

In the '80s, the situation was improving partially, the concept of social integration; the starting living together with the majority at respecting the specifics and differences did bring about certain success. In Slovakia, the attitude was different, by means of the so-called "acculturation", this itself explaining that it was considered uncultured by State and Party authorities. The so-called "Gypsies' cultural backwardness" should have been done away with, which was, erroneously, considered ethnic specifics. This should not have been respected in this concept.

In 1976, the principles of State socio-political measures for the work with Romani population were laid down. These consisted of the tasks involving the housing issue, school attendance and results, „instruction“ of Romani children in kindergartens, assignments of teenagers to schools and trade instruction centres, intensifying the educational influence of social organisations, reducing anti-social activities - in particular, high crime rate, in order to attain the improvements and equalisation of the Romani's social status. The policies of the '80s were called socialisation and social-cultural integration.¹⁸ Many measures often remained declarative; the real solution

¹⁴ Government Decree No 279/1970

¹⁵ Government Decree No 231/1972

¹⁶ Directive of the Ministry of the Health Care from December 17th 1970 No LP - 252.3 - November 11th /1971 On practise of the sterilisation, registered in Coll. 5/1972.

¹⁷ Acts No 110/1988 Coll. of the Ministry of the Social Development and Labour

¹⁸ Government Decrees Nos. 141/80, 23/1983, and 102/85. In Slovakia the state directive disposals were adopted (No 141/1980, No 23/1983, No 102/1985). That plan declared to respect sensitively Roma ethnicity, language, values, norms, habits, families' relations' etc. The latest directive governmental resolution No 141 (1980), No

stagnated and the problems kept on increasing. This was in the first place caused by the fact that, despite all declarations, there was apparent that the social power does not want to recognise Romani individuality and specifics but to deprive them of their own identity. In the second half of the '80s, the efforts on the part of Romani intelligentsia aiming at the recognition of Romani ethnicity and nationality increased. Already in 1989, ethnic specifics of the Romani were officially deemed legitimate. The name of Romani was officially recognised, and new ways to Romani range of issues were proposed.

In fact the so-called "Romani problem" increased in both republics. Some positive results were achieved but negative impacts of not sufficiently well thought-out interventions, without Romani participation, prevailed. The situation has worsened because the number of the Romani was increasing. Especially in Slovakia the number of so called "problem Romani families" has increased. Because all measures were rather declared than effected, the progress was not pronounced.

On July 1990 Václav Havel in the first World Romaniny Festival in Brno evaluated communist policies toward the Romani: " The totalitarian system which reigned in our country during the past forty years also treated the Romani in its characteristic way. A facade of grand talk covered indifference, lack of understanding and contempt. Intensive administrative measures, oppression of the Romaniny culture, of the Romaniny language and of all the ethnic specifics of the Romani attest to it. The communist administration kept establishing various conceptions. However, the Romani were only an object of various social experiments, and were not able to shape their own destiny themselves. They , too, suffered from the same thing from which we all suffered: the intrinsic need of the communist system to equalise everything, and force upon all the citizens the same banal lifestyle (Lidové noviny, August 1, 1990).¹⁹

2.6. Policies after November 1989

After November 1989 the Romani engaged themselves in politics. In March 1990 the Romani Civic Initiative was established. Romani representatives were elected for the CSFR Parliament; some of them began to work in Government institutes, Ministries, particularly in Slovakia (Ministry of Education and Culture). A period of Romani ethnic-national renaissance and advancement began; their activities were developing. After 1991, however, Romani movement disintegrated and gradually lost its meaning.

In 1991, CSFR Government ²⁰ adopted "The Principles of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Government towards Romani Minority," where the Romani minority was recognised equal with other national minorities. "The Romani minority members who identify themselves as Romani become beneficiaries of nationality rights granted by the State. These rights may be asserted and executed also in association with others, they must not be underprivileged in any way whether they assert such rights or not."

23 (1983) and No 102 (1985) have formulated the policy of the socialisation the Roma with a goal of their cultural integration to the society without their acculturation. These aims that were unfortunately more declared in papers but less implemented in the practice. The main goal of the socialist state was to create socialist personality without national differences, religious differences, historical memory, and identity. Creation of the social consensus on the unique state unwound ideology, e.g. Marxism - Leninism was the main goal at that time.

¹⁹ Speech from Lidové noviny, August 1, 1990, found in Newsletter, November 1990 In: Struggling for Ethnic Identity, p. 13-14.

²⁰ Government Decree No 619/1991

The Romani were granted the right of free allegiance to Romani nationality. By virtue of the Human Rights and Liberties Bill, the Government undertook to create the conditions for the universal development of national minorities living in CSFR territory. The development of Romani ethnic identity was recognised as a prerequisite for self-identification, emancipation, and integration of the Romani. Its purpose was to equalise Romani social handicaps. The Human Rights and Liberties Bill is based on the right for the identification of an individual with the nationality of his choice.

The Government's policy was based upon the civic principle. To do away with Romani social inequality that based on the analysis of the start condition and of the needs of regions, development programmes reflecting the needs of all inhabitants including the Romani should be developed. The education system should respect ethnic, cultural and social differences among all children including the Romani. There should be focused on the education of particularly Romani children, which should facilitate them their future advancement. At the same time, conditions for a multi-culture education system should be created. The legal measures would pertain to Romani minority only, i.e. to those who identify themselves with Romani nationality. There were ²¹ developed the principles of Czech Government's policy to Romani social advancement in the Czech Republic.

In Slovakia the same "Principles of the governmental policy of the Slovak Republic toward Romani" were adopted on April 1991, by resolution No 153.²²

In 1992, the CSFR Government adopted the Resolution No 86/1992 on the "Principles of CSFR Government Policy Towards Nationality and Ethnic Minorities", in which, it declared its official attitude towards the nationality minorities. Equality, universal advancement, right to develop own culture together with other minority members, dissemination and receiving information in own language, association in national associations, developing own culture, using the language in official contacts, participation in nationality associations, the right of minority members for the education in their own language, participation in the handling of affairs concerning national and ethnic minorities. Rights of national and ethnic minorities were backed by the CSFR Constitutional Act No 23/1991 Coll.. That presents the Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms Charter and CSFR's international obligations: the General Human Rights Declaration, the documents adopted under the Helsinki process, in particular, those under the Paris Charter, The Closing Document on the Human Dimension, of the CCSE Geneva Expert Convention.

„Minority members have equal rights as other citizens whose security creates the prerequisites of a State's stability. They may freely declare their allegiance to their nationality. The choice of a nationality is subject to free will of every individual; no disadvantage may be based thereupon. The Government shall support special measures for the provision of full equality of national and ethnic minorities, and for securing their development and identity. This must not affect fundamental rights and liberties of others. The disbursement of financing the specific needs of minorities shall be based on the number of persons claiming their allegiance to particular nationalities and ethnic minorities. The Government shall initiate the creation of necessary legislation in this field, e.g. a National and Ethnic Minorities Act. " The Law was adopted in June of 2001²³.

²¹ Government Decree No 29 dated January 15, 1992

²² In: Struggling for Ethnic Identity p.14

²³ 273 ACT from 10 July 2001 on rights of members of national minorities and amendment of some acts.

In the years following the 1989 political break-down, the Romani cultural and political activity boom has followed. The process of transformation of the Romaniny language into a standardised written language has been underway. The Union of Romaniny Writers has been publishing in increasing numbers poetry and stories in the Romaniny. Several Romaniny newspapers and magazines are being published regularly, with articles both in the Romaniny and Czech or Slovak. The weekly papers *Romanino kurko* (Romani Week), *Romanino lil* (Romani Paper), the monthly magazine *Láčho lav* (Good Word), *Armo lav* (Our Word), *Romanino gendalos* (Romani Mirror), *Romani Magazine*, children's magazines, the scientific Romani study magazine *Romanino džaniben* (Romani Knowledge) have been launched.

A contribution of the measures adopted after 1990 is in particular: although no Romaniny national schools have been open till now, the Romani assistants at schools with numerous Romani children were introduced. The establishment of the Romani culture Dept. at the Pedagogic Faculty in Nitra. The Romaniny language and Romaniny instruction at Universities, in particular at the Faculty of Art in Prague and Prešov, the Pedagogic Faculty in Olomouc, at the Social Science and Health Faculty in České Budejovice. Institute for Romaniny studies in University J.E. Purkyne in Ústí nad Labem has been established, which initiated the Movement R-school (for schools with numerous Romani children) and edits books for school children in Romaniny language. Qualified teachers will be ready to work in national schools in the future and they will have relevant schoolbooks in Romaniny language for children. Moreover, the Museum of Romani Culture in Brno was founded (the first Romani museum in Europe), professional Romani theatre „Romanithan“, Romani children music scholl in Olomouc, and Kosice Conservatory. A number of Romani troupes and groups emerged. A cultural club for young Romaninyes has been open in Kadan by RAMAD (the Romaniny Association of Youth and Children). More than thirty Romani cultural organisations have registered by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of the culture.

A regular TV shows under the name of *Romanile* (Romani to the Romani and on the Romani), *Amare Romani* (Our Romani) was launched and acquaint to broader public with Romani history, culture, and traditions. Regular emissions of the Czech broadcasting *Romani vakeren* (The Romani Speak) were transmitted. Word Romani festival *Khamoro* (The Sun) is one of established prestige culture action in Prague. New professional, popular-science, students' textbooks, and literature of Romani new authors were published, *Romani-Czech* and *Czech-Romani Dictionary* is prepared. International co-operation of Romani and their participation in the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and International Romaniny Union was enabled. A scientific co-operation of professionals, both Romani and non-Romani started. Several NGO's is putting intensive efforts to help the Romani in their emancipation process and in solutions of most urgent problems such as those connected with the more often racial assaults. The *HOST* movement, foundations *R Mosty* (R- Bridges), *Slovo 21* (Word 21), *Clovek v tísní* (Man in distress) are active within process of Romani and majority integration.

The disintegration of the Czech-Slovakian Federation had consequences to the Romani. The Romani are still connected with Slovakia by their family bondage. Many Slovakian Romani problems, in particular those in the housing and employment issue, became transferred into the Czech Republic. Unemployed Slovakian Romani set out to seek refuge at their relatives in Bohemia and Moravia, but the possibility of their permanent settlements has become more complicated. Even the situation of some Romani who were born in Bohemia has become more critical due to Czech National Council Citizenship Acquisition and Loss Act.²⁴

²⁴ The CNR (Czech National Council) Act No 40/1993 Coll.

Because policies of the former socialist state paternalism were not successful, an individual approach was adopted for improving the Romani position in the society. Unfortunately whole Romani groups have got into very difficult situation in the labour market and housing in an initial phase of the transformation to the market economy. The liberal state policies in the situation of insufficient instruments to combat open or covert discrimination and racism in the labour market and housing got many Romani into a corner. Many of them lost their jobs immediately after the collapse of the communism at the beginning of the nineties in the connection with reduction of labour places and the starting collapse of the big industrial enterprises and construction industry. Many of them are outside the labour market, although both construction and other industries hire today a foreign labour force. Moreover, the situation is much worse in Slovakia, where a collapse of the military industry caused high unemployment within all social strata, mainly the Romani. This leads to the migration of the Slovak Romani in the Czech Republic.

The conversion of the planned economy to a market one influenced at the beginning of the economic transformation especially the industrial regions, where most Romani live and where the economic, ecological and social conditions are particularly complex. The influx of Romani was an additional destabilising factor. The people's social frustration erupted most often in conflicts with the Romani. Because of the rapidity increasing influx of Romani, some communities have turned to the government for help. Receiving no response at first, the communities took punitive action on their own decision. In Jirkov, a town near of Prague with about 19,000 residents, including 2,000 officially registered Romani, there were another 1,000 or so illegal residents (Mladá fronta dnes, 14 October 1992). Jirkov was the first town to issue a sort of "special municipal bylaw" against the undesirable illegal Romani residents. This bylaw gives the police special powers, intended to make it easier to expel the Romani. Since the "Emergency Ordinance" was passed (meanwhile adopted by the neighbouring towns of Ústí nad Labem, Chomutov and Most as well), many illegal Romani immigrants have been evicted from their flats and deported to Slovakia.

The arrangements introduced by the northern Bohemia towns were supported by a bill, which gives the government the right to proclaim a sort of state of emergency in any place. The following measures were intended to protect the "permanent residents": visits by Romani have to be registered and officially approved. They may not exceed a period of five days every six months and a charge of ten crowns per person per day was levied.

The Attorney General's bill and the emergency ordinances of the individual towns have provoked strong protest on the part of the Romani organisations. There has been strong opposition among the general public and few Members of Parliament as well. Action by the Czech government was a matter of urgency, not only with regard to undocumented Romani immigrants but also with regard to the many other refugees from other countries living in the country illegally (Janiss, U.: 1994).

2.7. Policies of the Czech Republic after 1993

The independent Czech Republic's policies towards the Romani continue in their liberal spirit based on strictly civic society principle in accordance with the resolutions adopted in the past. The Czech Republic is a law-and-order country, and as dominating is considered the relationship of every individual citizen to the State and its institutions, and vice versa. The Romani are granted equal rights as any other Czech citizen or member of other minority living in the territory of the Czech Republic. The Romani social position issue has its special place within the State's policies toward nationalities but it is not pointed out by any special measures out of this context.

The Government of the CR has been dealing with Romani issues many times; once, while seeking measures for the improvement of Romani situation, and, in particular, regarding the intensifying manifestations of intolerance, discrimination, and racism.

The Government Resolution No 67 dated February 10, 1993, declared the Government's determination to cope with any and all manifestations of intolerance, which might generate a feeling of being threatened in any minority. Extraordinary Government session initiated by the Prime Minister responded to growing manifestations of intolerance against the Romani. The Minister of Interior was assigned the adoption of measures against manifestations of program violence. The Minister of Interior was assigned the task of establishing a consulting service for acquisition of citizenship, and the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs was assigned the task of preparing a Situation Report concerning problematic Romani community, and to establish a network of National minority consultants.

The Government Resolution No 210 dated April 28, 1993 to the Situation Report on Romani Community issues assigned almost all Department Ministers to adopt measures in the labour market, for the education of Romani children, to prepare an analysis of Romani children's situation as the most-endangered group. Territorial administration authorities in areas having higher concentrations of Romani minority were advised to adopt a number of measures, which, however, remained mostly ineffective.

The Government Resolution No 506/1993 on the measures for solving the situation of Romani children and under-aged assigned the Ministers of Education, Labour and Social Affairs, and Culture the task of creating a system of state subsidies for projects focused on children and youth risk groups including the Romani.

Based on May, 1995 Government Resolution No 279, the Ministers of Interior and Justice were assigned to adopt measures for more efficient actions in race- and national intolerance-motivated offences. The Ministers of Interior and Justice presented the information on the fulfilment of this task on October 17, 1995.

The Government Resolution No 580 dated October 7, 1995 on race-motivated violence expressed the Government irritation regarding race-motivated violence, which occurred October 7, 1995 in Breclav. The Government assigned the Ministers of Justice with immediate investigation of this offence, suing the offenders, and provides the Government with feedback information on measures for more efficient ways of dealing with such offences by state authorities.

Since late 1995, local or broader-scale initiatives towards solutions of the complex issue of Romani, which were caused by growing social problems, higher unemployment and crime rate of the Romani and a growing racist prejudice against the Romani, has emerged. Majority and Romani coexistence has been discussed intensively on governmental, academic, professional, and expert levels, and also in media. Due to slow improvement of Romani living conditions that had led to the emigration of a part of Romani abroad, the Czech Republic was repeatedly criticised on the international level. It has laid to targetion of new objectives of the CR Government toward the Romani social and economic integration. In December 1996 an ad hoc Working Group for Romani Affairs was formed by the CR Nationalities Council Chairman.

According to the Government Resolution No 686 from 1997, Romani advisers have been set up in all districts of the CR and also in some towns and districts with a high proportion of Romani. About half of advisers are Romani. They are active mainly in the field of social affairs and their primary function is to mediate between Romani and state administration bodies, schools, etc. Lack of methodical guidelines and

supervision, dual position between representatives of Romani and majority population brings problems, however. For that reason the goals of the Concept of Romani integration have not been so far accomplished in sufficient degree; sometimes it leads rather to assimilation instead to emancipation and integration of Romani.

In October 1997 the Government of the CR decided to establish Inter-ministerial Commission on Romani Communities Issues. The Commission was set up in January 1998. In October 1997 the Government has also adopted Resolution No 686 defining long-term tasks for ministers and other senior state officials, aim of which was to solve main problems of Romani communities. Carrying out of these tasks is being checked on a regular basis. The Commission presents to the Government twice year reports describing main problems of Romani communities. The reports seek to identify sources of difficulties that could be solved by the Government as a whole or by particular ministers respectively. The proposals of solutions were included into the "Concept of the Government policy towards Romani communities' members facilitating their integration into society," adopted by the Government Resolution No 599 of June 14, 2000. The "Concept" contains provisions within main spheres of social life. It includes area of security, employment, health care, housing, schooling, professional training, education with emphasis on secondary and university education, culture, activities on community level, field social work; main goal is to promote emancipation and integration of Romani communities by means of legislative and other measures.

Main attention in the Concept has been done to prevention of Romani marginalisation in labour market. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs prepared the National Employment Plan that includes inter alia provisions directed at solution of Romani unemployment. The Government Resolution No 418 of May 5, 1999 adopted this plan. Resolution No 165 of February 19 of 2001 adopted the National Action Employment Plan; report on implementation of its tasks was presented in 2002. National Action Employment Plan for 2002 is based on four main pillars and Directives of the European Commission in the field of employment. Evaluation of plan activities is a part of employment policy. Several Government Resolutions has been adopted with the aim to improve Romani security:

Resolution No 720, on punishment of racial and xenophobic acts, adopted on July 14, 1999. The Resolution reacted on Report of Ministry of Interior, which described activities of extremist groups on the territory of the CR in 1998.

The government resolutions No 36 dated 11 January 1999 and No 280 dated in April 1999 were connected with the preparation of the piety places connected with the Romani holocaust.

Resolution No 789, on provisions against movements oriented towards oppression of citizen's rights and freedoms, adopted on July 28, 1999.

Several laws were amended for the purpose of lowering of discrimination: School Act with provisions facilitating accesses to higher education for the Romani, Small Business Act, Act on Protection of Consumers. Employment Act 1/1991 was amended by the Law 167/1999 Coll. Act comprises clauses against discrimination in employment based on National, ethnic, gender, health, or age causes.

Government Resolution No 640 adopted on March 2, 1999 introduced measures to support employment of members of Romani minority with problematic placement on labour market.

The Government Resolution No 978 from 22 September 1999 supported project of the construction of the Willage Co-existence. That project was successfully finished in 2002

and could serve as an example of good practises in the field of Romani housing and integration within community.

Ministry for Regional Development prepared a concept of housing for socially weak citizens, including Romani minority that was adopted by the Government Resolution No 387 from 19 April of 2000. But till nowday that housing doesn't exist.

Resolution No 994, on provisions oriented towards general public and parliament debate on improvement relationships between majority and Romani minority, adopted in October 11, 2000.

The analysis of projects with the aim to promote Romani integration was elaborated in VÚPSV (RILSA) last year ²⁵. Analysed projects were mostly targeted on Romani children and youth leisure (about a half of all project), education (fifth), culture activities (fifth), the rest on health, information, communities life and work, counselling. Less than one per cent of mentioned projects concerned on social protection and employment of Romani.

New projects oriented on employment of volnerable social groups (including Romani) are prepared for next year 2003.

2.8. Policies of the Slovak Republic after 1993

Romani comunity situation in the Slovak republic was traditionally inferior that Czech one. Main reson was hioher unemployment in Slovakia in general and also the fact, that more competent Romani emigrated to the Czech Republic during common history of the both republic. Romani emigration abroad was also more frequent from Slovakia than from Czech lands and Moravia. Slovak republic has been also critised many time by international institutionsd due to unsufficient protection of Romani minority there. Irt is considered that the historical and political background to the coexistence of the majority and the Romani is a "common heritage" of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, because vast majority of the Romani families living in the Czech republic have come from Slovakia (Kužel, S.: 2000).

In 2000 Romani settlement development programms has been monitored under leadership of experts. The research described the living conditions and cases of areal and social segregation the Slovak Romani not only within major society but also within Romani communities and role played by hidden economy today.

3. Characteristics of Contemporary Romani Population

The Romani are recognisable from the other population by ethnic and anthropological features. They are a part of the European race as same as the majority of the European nations. The Romani represent the youngest Indo-Europeans. An anthropological type is given biologically (physiological signs such as pigment or group of blood, morphological signs such as a physiognomic features). Ethnicity is created by historical and social attributes. Similar to other ethnic groups the Romani are not homogeneous, but structured population. Ethnic features are created by cognisance of the same origin, system of rules, internal laws and norms, habits, system of values and normative behaviour, which have been moulded through history and create the traditional way of life and the culture as a complex of material and spiritual values.

²⁵ VÚPSV - Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Brno brache.

The Romani are the only National minority living in the Czech Republic distinctly differing in appearance. They differ in appearance and often by language, but above all by social, economic and cultural characteristics. The Romani living in the Czech or Slovak Republic are anything but a homogeneous population group. They differ in the dialects they speak, their traditional occupations and their way of life. The integrated Romani make up about one-third of the total. There is second group, also about one-third of all Romani, who are open to the influence of the surrounding society. The third group consists of the Romani living traditional way of life, among whom the prediction to crime is exceptionally high.

Main characteristic the Romani are: the low social standard, high rate of unemployment, and high rate of criminality. Because they are diverse from majority they often face the discrimination in every day life and also racism of some extremist group and they have historical experience with it. Romani have different history, culture, and former different style of life than majority. The insufficient knowledge of the language of the majority within older generation of Romani is common.

The Romani in the Czech Republic do not wander, they live in a domicile way for several centuries. The present Romani population settled in the Czech Republic originated in Slovakia (80 %). Post-war as well as current immigration flows of Romani come mostly from Slovakia. Despite the fact that the Romani living today in the Czech Republic immigrated after the war, in majority areas they may be regarded as settled, three quarters of the Romani of certain district communities were born there. Hungarian and nomadic Romani each account for ten per cent of the total number of Romani. The number of Czech and German Romani (Sinti) is minuscule, since they were almost totally wiped out during the Second World War.

3.1. Post-War Migration of the Romani into the Czech Republic

Migrations of the Slovak Romani into the Czech Republic took place in two main waves. The first influx came in the post-World War II period of 1946-1955. The strongest migrant stream occurred immediately after the war, and in early '50s and was directed from Slovakia (80 % of migrations) into deserted frontier areas in former Sudetenland, then into industrial towns. Entire families and villages were coming. Mostly Slovakian Romani accepted the offer of Czech recruits resettle depopulated areas of the former Sudetenland in hope finding work, better living and housing conditions and more compatible neighbours than in Slovakia. They have nothing to lose in Slovakia because they lived there in isolated colonies, in huts without floor and doors, electric current, water and sewerage system. These reasons for migration of Slovak Romani to the Czech Republic still apply.

Thereafter, the mass exodus was replaced with migrations of individuals within a process of family reunion. The second wave took place as a consequence of the organised „dispersion of Gypsy population“ in 1966-1967. In practice, transfers of the Romani from their shacks and barrios in Slovak communities were involved.

Further migration streams were inspired in the '80s by labour recruitment for construction mining, and steel industry in Bohemian frontier regions, which were coping with labour shortages. The

Then, only migrations of individual continued; main reasons were marriages and family reunion and whole process of Romani migration from Slovakia decreased according to some qualitative surveys. A crucial change in the Romani migration occurred in 1990 and after the split of the former federal state in 1993.

After 1990, new phenomenon occurred - the migration of the Romani abroad, which had not been possible before. It had to do with the opening of the frontier, but more with the social climate, numerous racial attacks, deteriorated economic situation and living conditions of the Romani, and mainly uncertainty and the negative expectations of the future developments. The Romani from big cities started to leave for the West, expecting improvement of their conditions of life (Germany, Holland, Italy). Before leaving, they sold their flats; later, after mostly not having acquired refugee status, or having realised that they were not capable of living abroad, due to loneliness, incapability to communicate, lack of knowledge of foreign languages, luck of job, or for other reasons, they eventually came back. They moved in to their relatives whose flats got overcrowded, or squatted vacant flats.

The second brake-down in the Romani migration came one year before and one-year after the split of the Czechoslovak federation. The deteriorating conditions in the labour and housing markets in Slovakia affected the Romani in the first place, and triggered further migrations. The possibility of settling down in the Czech Republic has become substantially worse. Primarily following the partition of the state but because of the influx of foreign labour, not only from Slovakia, as well. The prices in the housing „market“ have increased dramatically, and housing becomes often unaffordable for economically inferior families, young couples starting to raise families. Slovak Romani had no possibility to confirm the change of the permanent stay in the Czech Republic living in the apartments illegally. Before moving from Slovakia they often left their apartments there and they have nowhere to return. Later they were evicted from the apartment, which occupied illegally, and the substitute social housing for them was not available in the CR because they were Slovak citizens. Moreover because they were not Czech citizens they had no practical legal access to the labour market services, social services and state health care, nor to housing in the asylum houses in the Czech Republic (as other foreigners). Living conditions of some Slovak Romani citizens in the territory of the Czech state have been very difficult after split of the state. For all reasons mentioned above the emigration of the Romani to abroad started. The reason is not always difficult living conditions but also the discrimination and the fear of racism.

The Romani who were usually accepted by their relatives, have not left their overcrowded flats. Some of the Romani have squatted vacant flats. They have not a possibility to gain social housing, municipalities had no free flats for this purposes. But even those settled for longer, but without citizenship clearance, had no access to labour market and social services and health care after 1993, thus no financial resources, have literally become cornered. Thus, some of them have decided to solve their situation by emigration. Since 1994, new Romani migrations started - to New Zealand, later to Canada (in 1996 about 150 Romani emigrated to Canada, in 1997 about 1,500)²⁶, than to Great Britain, Netherlands, Finland, Norway, Belgium or France. Usually more qualified, successful and well off Romani has started to emigrate. Those who had not only enough money for the travel expenses but also sufficient self-confidence that they will be successful abroad. Because emigration of Romani was very often unsuccessful, they return back to home.

3.2. Demographic Characteristics

²⁶ In October 1997 Canada re-established visa regime with the CR.

The Czech Republic has 10.321,334 inhabitants living on 78 864 km². The population of the Czech Republic consists for centuries by various nationalities. More than 18 nationalities were recognised in 2001 Census. Majority of citizens declares Czech nationality (91 %) ²⁷. Numerous are Moravian (3,4 %) and Slovak (1,8 %) nationality. The Romani minority is very small (0,1 % of population) - see Annex Table 1. Census of 2001 indicated both Czech and Romani mother tongue between 12,967 persons. The biggest concentration of the Romani is in the big industrial cities of the Northern Bohemia, Northern Moravia and in Prague.

Based on census data it is impossible to determine exact number of the Romani living in the Czech Republic. Experts estimates 150,000 - 200,000, i.e. about 2 % of the Czech Republic population ²⁸. The Romani share on the total population of the Czech Republic according to census data from different years was 6 % in 1970, 9 % in 1980. According census data of 1970 219,554 Romani lived in the ČSSR, 60,279 in the CR and 159,275 in the SR. In the 1980 288,440 Romani lived in the ČSSR, in the CR 88,587 and in the SR 199,853. The basis for the ethnic definition was the mother tongue and the way of life. The part of "integrated" Romani was not assumed. The result was however influenced by the subjective view of the census examiners. Development of the Romani population was deduced from 1970 and 1980 Census data. During that period the total number of Romani doubled. These data reflect not only a demographic reproduction but also migration from Slovakia and methodology changes in registry ²⁹.

²⁷ Census 2001 of the Czech statistic office quoted

33,000 Roma (about one fourth of the estimate) declared Roma nationality in census of 1991. More than a half Roma declared in 1991 Census Slovak nationality, 10 % Czech nationality, remaining declared other nationality such as Hungarian, Rumanian or German - Sinti.

²⁸

²⁹ During the first two censuses in 1921 and 1930 a basis for determining nationality was mother tongue. After the World War II a concept of determining ethnic structure has been changed radically and as a basis served a subjective self-identification to a certain ethnicity. Because the Roma were not were not recognised as an independent nationality, they had to select from the Czech, Slovak, Hungarian or other nationality. At the beginning of the fifties, name registers were elaborated and until 1958 all citizens of the Roma origin were registered. In February 1959 a register of wandering persons was elaborated, pursuant to the Act No 74/58 Coll.). As a part of censuses in 1970 and 1980 a specific investigation with separate processing of data was carried out for the Roma ethnic group. The inclusion was done in the form of an entry by respective census commission member who in turn relied on register of a municipality office and on his own assessment of the characteristics features (anthropologic, language and also social ones, e.g. style of living, all without knowledge of the Roma. In spite of these facts the results are evaluated as relatively the best source of data. In 1991 census the Roma could for the first time declare the Roma nationality and state the Romany as their mother tongue, as corresponds to international

A demographic structure of the Romani population differs significantly from that of the majority. In comparison to majority young Romani reach adulthood earlier, get married earlier (often before the partners are eighteen) and also start their families earlier (Romani women started in the past having children in their adolescence, as soon as they are biologically able. It is changing at present. The Romani families show higher rate of stability than majority families. The number of unmarried couples is lower (about 90 % of Romani couples are officially married), but it is growing, habits of a majority are being transferred on the Romani.³⁰ The demographic behaviour of the Romani population corresponds of the given stage of its social and economic development and is similar to development in developing countries. The age structure of the Romani population is traditionally very progressive as a result of high fertility and mortality levels, however, show decrease in the children component of the population. In the past the Romani family had often between 5 - 10 children. The fertility of the Romani women decreased between 1970 and 1980 by 23 %³¹.

Urbanisation processes are influencing the Romani population age structure. The number of children in families' decreases; certain impact had state interventions of the former regime. In the future it is to be expected that gradual decrease in fertility will continue as a response to changes in the Romani life conditions. Predictions of the Romani population increase dating from early nineties will not come true.³² The age structure of the Romani is being reflected in the number of the economic active population and influences this structure according to family status, size of the household and number of economic non-active persons. About 50 % Romani belong to economic non-active population in 1991, in total population 28 %. In 1991 an average number dependent children in the Romani families was 2,41 (in 1980 2,87), in total population 1,68 (in 1980 1,80) (Demografie 1, 1997).

As opposed to the majority population in the Romani population men prevail. In some localities the men: women ratio is 53 %: 47 %, i.e. an opposite than in the Czech Republic. In youngest (under 11 years) and oldest categories (over 66 years) women prevail (Giňa, O.: 1997), masculinity index was 105,2 for the Romani, for the total of the remaining population 94,3.

3.3. Nationality

Only a part of the Romani living in the Czech republic declares the Romani nationality. The Romani had for the first time an opportunity to declare the Romani nationality in 1991. Until that time they were recognised neither as a nationality nor as an ethnic

recommendations for methodology of census and human rights conventions. The results are incomparable to previous census.

³⁰ In the past cohabitation without marriage, legalised by an internal common law of the community, was customary among the Roma. But non-official marriage existed and played an important role in the traditional family life. Most couples marry only once. The divorces were rare. Early family formation places young Roma in a difficult situation. Conjugal life often starts before schooling or vocational training has ended. This means a drastic reduction in the changes of employment, and bringing up the children becomes a difficult task.

³¹ Number of children in the Roma families continually decreases. Children under 14 years accounted for 50 % of the Roma population in 1970, 43 % in 1980, and 38% in 1991 (for sum total of the Czech Republic inhabitants the same ratio was 21 % in 1991). The average age of Roma in former Czechoslovakia was about 20,2 years (by way of comparison that of the population as a whole it was 34,8 years).

³² The 1991 prediction forecasted 495,000 of the Roma in the Czech Republic in 2005 (Kalibová, 1991).

minority. Denial of the existence of an original Romani culture, denoting its elements as social deviation aimed at assimilation of the Romani, which sometimes actually occurred. That is why not all the Romani consider them as belonging to an independent nation. Many Romani identify themselves with Czech or Slovak nationality, some of them with Hungarian, Rumanian or German.

The Romani as a nation do not have a common specific denomination. Romani means a man and this name is being used only by the Romani in the Central and Eastern Europe. In the western and southern parts of Europe their name are Sinti-Manus and Kalo. Other Romani groups are named by the dialects they speak. The name Gypsy is being used in the whole of Europe for all nomadic population.

The Romani, Kalo and Sinti-Manus have no common territory; they are dispersed all over the world. The Romani were in the past denied a status of the nation because they do not have a state of their own.³³ The national identity of the Romani is sometimes being doubted for other attributes. They do not have a common national history; only the Romani stocks have a common history. The Romani do not have a common language, a standard Romani has not been yet codified, and there are several language groups. Feelings of belonging refer rather to stocks than to the Romani nation, some stocks refuse to accept each other.

In a democratic society belonging to a nationality doesn't leads to any special rights or privileges. A civic society guarantees by its legislation equal rights to all its members. Many Romani could not see in 1991 Census and 2001 any reason why to declare other nationality than the existing one. Because the Romani were not recognised in the past as a nation they had to select Czech, Slovak, or other nationality. Moreover the Romani nationality is considered by some Romani as a permanent handicap in life, hence they do not profess it voluntarily.

The position of national minorities in the Czech Republic is ruled by the Act Act 273 from July 2001 on rights of members of national minorities and amendment of some acts, Collection of Laws N.273/2001, Chapter 104, Page 6461, Distributed on 2 August 2001. It codified rights of national minorities in the CR. Beneficiary of the national minorities rights is single member of the national minority who is in the first place a citizen of the Czech Republic. The law guarantees these rights and they are judicially enforceable. The collective rights cannot be guaranteed by reason of the violation of civic rights of other citizens.

The rights of national minorities are:

- Exercise of rights of national minority determined by law, which cannot be restricted or ruled out.

³³ National differences were not reflected in the socialist period. The Marxism presumed a gradual extinction of nations in classless society. The Stalinist national policy aimed at removing national minorities by means of a forced assimilation and territorial dispersion. Citizens of the Czechoslovak socialist state (and not only the Roma) did not ask questions on sense of nationalities. They perceived nationality as a heritage they are obliged to respect not as an expression of a subjective self-identification. In this manner they reflected the fact of unimportance of the nationality for socialist society. Feelings of patriotism grew weaker whereas nationalism got stronger. Today, former socialist states, professing in recent history ideologically proletarian internationalism, are facing in bigger extent than occidental democratic states nationalism and general intolerance. They usually require that foreigners much more resemble the majority. Much less is however articulated in which aspects all foreigners should be alike and whether everything is worth following.

- Free choice of membership of national minority.
- Right of association in national, political parties and movements³⁴. Right of participation in dealing with matters concerning national minorities.
- Right of using name and surname in the language of their national minority.
- Right of multilingual names and denominations.
- Right of using the language of national minority in official documentation and discourse and hearing before a court.
- Right of using the language of a national minority during elections.
- Right of education in the language of a national minority.
- Right to develop of culture of members of national minorities.
- Right of spreading and receiving information in the language of national minority.

3.4. Citizenship

Majority of the Romani, which living in the Czech Republic has the Czech citizenship. The citizenship was ruled after the split of the Czechoslovak federation by the Act No 40/1993 Coll. "On acquisition and loss of the state citizenship." The split of the common state has brought many problems to its former citizens.

Citizens of the former Czech and Slovak Federal Republic had both federal and republic citizenship. Republic citizenship was bound to a birthplace and children have acquired citizenship of their parents. Many Romani who have already born (or even their parents) in the Czech Republic continued to have Slovak citizenship of their parents³⁵. Many of them even did not know that because republic citizenship had no practical importance in federation times. In 1993 after the split of common state the Slovak citizens (including Romani) had a chance to acquire the Czech citizenship either by an option or by granting³⁶.

The Act No 40/1993 Coll. "On acquisition and loss of the state citizenship" was immediately after being passed in December 1992 criticised by non-government organisations active in human rights protection, and also by the Council of Europe and

³⁴ On national principle were established 2 political parties and 3 political movements. National minorities members established civic non-profit organisation, foundations, social beneficial organisations etc. Ministry of Interior registers about 385 civic organisations, which can be recognised as minorities ones. Romany minority (291), German (43), Polish (22), Slovak (14), Ukrainian (4), Ruthenian (3), Hungarian (2), Bulgarian (3), Greek (1), Russian (1), Croatian (1) }(22).

³⁵ It is possible to assume that 1/3 of Roma settled in the CR in 1992 was born in Slovakia.

³⁶ The Act No 40/1993 Coll. "On acquisition and loss of the state citizenship". The Czech citizenship has been granted to 382,500 of the former Slovak citizens during period 1993-1997: by means of opting 292,000, by means of granting by 90,500. The ministry of the interior of the Czech Republic rejected during that period only 400 applications, because the applicants did not comply with conditions set forth by respective law (due to serious criminal offences). Within period 1999-2001 total 18,244 of Slovak citizens acquired the Czech citizenship. (Foreigners in th Czech republic, 2002, ČSÚ, Scientia).

UNHCR Office. Article 7 of the act contains requirement on five-year clean record i.e. that an applicant was not in last five years convicted of a deliberate offence. It has been understood as targeted intentionally at Romani. Such condition was interpreted as an additional punishment ex post facto.³⁷

The Romani did not realise at first the importance of the citizenship for claiming their rights. Traditional aversion and fears of authorities caused not only by the fact that they not always complied with their civic obligations but also due to negative attitudes and an arrogance of the official (some of them did not even hide their antipathy towards the Romani). Some officials did not provide the Romani with comprehensive and accurate information with respect to proceedings of application for the state citizenship.

The Act on citizenship contained at first discriminating provisions that were later abolished. Nevertheless the fact that an access to citizenship was bound to conditions, which could not be met even by those who were born in the Czech Republic and never left it, certainly contributed to tensions between the majority and the Romani. Families of persons without citizenship got into situations that were very difficult to resolve. Certain role-played the fact that the Romani were socially isolated.

Many Romani postponed change of their citizenship because lack of information but also because they did not have necessary documents, e.g. on permanent stay in the CR³⁸ and lived illegally in municipal flats or were having other problems with law. Some of them did not feel too much loyalty towards any state and they were at first more or less indifferent to a change of citizenship.

The major part of the Romani gradually settled formalities connected with the Czech citizenship. Motivation was social services requirement enabling to ensure basic life needs (i.e. those of labour offices, social offices, health insurance paid from the state budget to income-less persons). It was estimated that approximately 3,000 Romani didn't have the Czech citizenship as of August 1997 (they have the Slovak one) and the access to social services of the state has been made very difficult for such people. Into this groups were incorporated also children with Slovak citizenship born to Slovak parents and growing up in so called Homes of substitute family care.

Solution to living conditions of the Romani without citizenship was getting more complicated, protracted, and expensive. The Romani endured worse and worse the situation of uneasiness and jeopardy, and the tension between the Romani and the majority grew. Eventually the solution to the citizenship problem became for numerous families without any income whatsoever very difficult from the financial point of view (the release from the Slovak citizenship had to be paid for). Later on the release fee amount was reduced for socially weak groups and it could be even pardoned. A situation that also contributed to the growing tensions between the Romani and the majority, were isolated cases of the Slovak citizens (not only Romani) who did not succeeded in obtaining the Czech citizenship despite the fact that they were born in the Czech lands. They left for Slovakia where they never lived, but the

³⁷ Whereby the article 15 of the International pact on citizen and political rights and the article 40, para 6 of the Charter of fundamental human rights and freedoms was violated by imposing a punishment higher than in time when an offence has been committed. In addition the requirement of the five-year clean record did not take into account relevance of the offence thus violating generally accepted principle of proportionality.

³⁸ The Constitutional court has solved this problem from the legal point of view. In practice the Roma were further required to submit the official acknowledgement on permanent stay (1997: Helsinki Watch Report).

Slovak Republic did not accept them, and they were told to go back and live where they used to live and pay taxes. Before leaving for Slovakia they returned municipal flats and upon their return they become homeless de facto.

3.5. Culture

The Romani have their own culture that was being liquidated by assimilation pressures. The Romani culture was not acknowledged for long time as an independent nations culture, its manifestations were marked as a backwardness of the nomadic population, which was to be gradually eliminated. Traditional culture of Romani shows original nomadic way of life and is connected to living in the motion. Subordinated to this principle were in the past living style, working tools as well as artistic expressions of the Romani.

A spoken word is a main means of the Romani, which takes place for centuries mostly by means of direct face-to-face communication. Romani speak between them new-Indian language Romaniny Tschib - the Romaniny. Worldwide altogether 14 dialects of the Romaniny are known that are further sub-ethnically broken down.

The Romani in our territory speak four main dialects ³⁹(cf. J. Lípa, cit. Šišková: 1993) that have a common base. Czech is spoken by three-quarters of the Romani. Hungarian spoke by less than one third of the Romani in southern Slovakia. Olach - Vlachike Romani and German - Sinti, which is quite different and has been so far, preserved in the authentic form. The Sinti Romani speak between themselves in this language, do not permit that it is either influenced or made public, they will teach the language nobody.

The Romaniny used to be for centuries the language of a closed ethnic group with symptoms or relicts of a clan establishment. That is why it has been preserved as a language undeveloped, non-literary (Davidová, E.: 1995). Codification of the standard form of the Romaniny has not been finished so far. Particular dialects will be preserved; so far the East-Slovakia dialect has been codified. The Romani are many times bi-lingual, or tri-lingual. Those Romani, who reached higher education or inner integration prefer using the Czech or the Slovak. Modern words are being taken over from the majority. Following the international recognition of the Romani nationality and internationally accepted Romaniny language, ethnicity, and culture, the position of the Romaniny language improves. It is being used at international political discussions, conferences and in mass media.

Two thirds of the Czech Romani understand and speak the Romaniny (Šišková, T.: 1993, Davidová, E.: 1994). It seems likely that the group of Romani who give Czech or Slovak as their mother tongue corresponds to the integrated part of the Romani population, that is, those who have settled down, have regular jobs and are scarcely distinguishable from the rest of the population. In Census of 2001 12,967 citizens of the CR declared both Czech and Romani mother tongue, more than number of those, which declared Romani nationality (11,859).

³⁹ Group 1 consists: dialect of the original Roma in Bohemia (spoken by very few people today since they were exterminated under fascism except few families), dialect of the West Slovak Roma, Dialect of the East Slovak Roma (the most spoken dialect in the both republic, Czech and Slovak). Group 2 consists: dialect of nomadic Roma, dialect of the Czech boilermakers, and dialect of nomadic Slovak Roma that are an important independent language group. Group 3: dialect of the Hungarian Roma Group 4: dialect of the German Roma.

Literary works by the Romani are so far relatively young, nevertheless successful.⁴⁰ The Romani do not have a traditional attitude towards a „paper“ culture of the modern civilisation. This may be one of the reasons why some activities supported by the government for all national minorities (e.g. publishing newspapers and journals in the language of national minorities) have not received such a response as was expected at the time of their foundation, sometimes they even die down.

The Romani culture turns to the past, but lives primarily at present (unlike to majority civilisation, which is oriented primarily to the future). Perception of time with Romani is quite different and is reflected in the structure of everyday activities. The Romani does not know the expression for certain notions referring to the future.

Permanently present and deeply rooted emotions of fears stimulate continuous inner readiness to flee makes settlement more difficult. Fixed fears of expulsion have an impact on the attitude of the Romani to future, which is better not to think about, not to speak about, because there is a menace hidden therein. Concept of day-to-day-life, without perspectives, prevents social increase of the Romani. To have nothing makes you free, major part of the Romani is bound to the place where they live by neither soil, nor house or carrier. When they decide to leave, they mostly leave behind nothing they invested too much out of themselves. This makes their integration into structures of modern society more difficult.

National and above all clan customs and traditions of the Romani are sometimes distinctly differing from those of the majority. Some traditions indirectly influence a position of a minority as a whole. For example a woman's role in the Romani culture blocks on the one hand her success on the labour market, on the other hand strengthens a stability and cohesion of the family, ensures preservation of the traditional education, links between children and parents.

Favourite art forms of the Romani are mostly music, dance and beaux-arts. Present conditions of the Romani living in urban apartments are not suitable for spontaneous artistic activity and lead to its destruction. There are possibilities for performing artistic activities in interest groups, especially for the Romani youth but these encounter general aversion to any organised activity. The Romani are in every day life and artistic manifestations very spontaneous, and this characteristic is one of the causes of extraordinary successful art achievements of the Romani. Music, dance, and song had always originated in deep inner experience.

3.6. Social System

The differences of the Romani population in social aspects must be separated from ethnic differences. The efforts to survive under conditions of permanent jeopardy formed philosophy and social relationships of the Romani. Patterns of behaviour are differing from the majority ones. Social patterns acquired through education are absent in a part of the Romani. This is one of the causes of their growing marginalisation.

Romani minority is so far structured mostly on clan basis. Each family belongs to a broader clan, which used to have laws, links, and rules of its own. In the Czech Republic there are about 13 clans. The strong clan cohesion enabled the Romani to survive in the past. The clan guaranteed survival, life of one clansman depended on

⁴⁰ Mateo Maximov, Katarina Taikonová, Lakatoš Menyherta, Ilona Ferková, František Demeter, Tera Fabiánová etc.

the life of another one. The strength of a clan was given by number of its members. Number of children was a hallmark of the strength and significance of the clan. Clans and families are a haven of safety for the Romani until present time. Family members take care of themselves in case of need. ⁴¹

Rejection by a clan or exclusion from a community is the most severe punishment. To free itself from the community is for the most of the Romani very difficult even today. Family meets those psychic needs (feelings of appreciation, safety, and belonging) that are permanently frustrated by majority. Breaking away from clan habits and traditional way of life is being blocked by fears that majority will not accept a person that freed itself from the influence of the Romani community and a renegade will be in a social vacuum. Existential solitude and individualism of the modern society is for the Romani unbearable psychically, they need society of other people.

Social exclusiveness and isolation of some of the Romani communities hinders the process of getting closer to majority, on the other hand enables to preserve traditional cultural habits, standards and values. Social isolation is declining due to influence of mass media, preserving traditional values is becoming more and more difficult.

Traditional social system of the Romani is currently in a deep crisis, if not in the stage of extinction. Values retained for centuries by strong clans undergo processes of change. Partially they are being adapted to majority, or majority values are being assumed. Traditional values are mostly replaced by values of majority sub-cultures, sometimes socially pathological ones. Value system of their own is so far preserved by the Olach (Vlachike) Romani group, which isolate themselves intentionally not only towards majority, but towards other Romani groups as well. The Olach (Vlachike) carefully guard their social sub-system. Standards and values of the Olach Romani are very strict, oriented inwards the group, which is loyal only inside the group. Standards and values of majority are rejected and often unscrupulously violated. This of course leads to conflict.

The Romani are often not interested in finding out the situation in the Romani communities, they feel subconsciously endangered by any attempt to penetrate their social systems. Hence they often refuse to talk about their way of life, opinions, attitudes, or they give contradictory statements.

3.7. Identity - Loyalty

Cultural values and standards of the Romani clans are not identical. Historically no mixing occurred between different clans accepting differing value systems, even the marriages between different clans not accepting each other. Close or friendly clans, on the other hand, made strong clan coalitions. Loyalty of the Romani communities is so far primarily the loyalty to the clan, not to the nation. Values and standards of the

⁴¹ The family care of the old people is one of the fundamental values of the Roma community. Older people end their lives inside their families; they do not go to old people's homes. Only recently such cases rarely occur. Relationships to children living in the family are very strong. Should a child be taken away from parents by a court verdict (e.g. because of neglected care of a child, jeopardising its ethical education, impossibility to take care of a child - sometimes due to performing a sentence) parents are gradually losing interest in children. Such cases are becoming less frequent with the Roma families. When assessing different education methods the authorities are more tolerant and prudent. The education of the children in families is however supervised by the state. Some cultural differences in family education used to be and still remain to be qualified as deviations.

clans were in the past strictly guarded, observed, and respected. Romani national identity and loyalty increases today.

A permanent frustration of the social and economic increase is a cause of the low loyalty towards the majority. A systematic position of the social "outsiders", influences activities and responses of some members of the Romani minority, which are sometimes asocial and aggressive. To rob a "gadjo" is not considered by some Romani as something that is abominable, because the majority society is to a considerable degree responsible for their problems. In addition to that petty theft has always been considered as quite legitimate way of making living. The persecuted Romani will find a refuge in the community even if he trespass laws of the society they live in.

The clan and ethnic loyalty in controversial situations prevail; minority members prefer to select a conflict with majority, rather than with the clan, i.e. other Romani. This complicates position of the Romani spokesmen who run into opposing pressures. If they try to compromise with the majority, they lose the confidence of the Romani, and these do not consider them to be no more their representatives. The Romani population as a whole usually does not accept the Romani political spokesmen. The Romani respect in the first place their clan leader "vajda" who enjoy authority and respect of the clan community.

Amidst Romani deeply rooted emotions of fears are present, originating from ages old negative subjective and collective experience. The rooted and continuously confirmed emotions of fears influence decision-making processes making these from many aspects unpredictable. Decision-making has a collective nature and clan members accept the decision reached by negotiations. If a member of the Romani community gives a word to officials of the state without prior discussions with members of the broader family and the family later on decides otherwise, the word given to a representative of the majority will not be kept.

3.8. Political System

The Romani started to be politically organised at the end of the sixties. The Union of Gypsies - Romani was founded in August 1969, and was dissolved in April 1973. In December 1989 the Romani Civic Initiative (ROI) was established. Later on 290 Romani organisations has been established, mostly as civic associations or as common beneficial societies. They were gradually losing ability to act due to inability to find consensus inside the National minority itself. About 20 % of them are inactive now. The number of their members varies from 4 up 1,000.

The most prominent Romani political party is ROI - Romani Civic Initiative. More significant Romani organisations are Democratic Alliance of Romani, Society of Moravian Romani, Democratic association of Romani, Dženo, Drom-Brno, Romani Association of Youth and Children - Ramad.

The Romani, according to their spokesmen, are lacking a unified leadership capable of defending their interests. As soon as a Romani enters government structures (e.g. Council for nationalities), other Romani cease trusting him and start regard him as a renegade, a majority member. According to some Romani statement there will never be an ideal Romani representation. Romani have an aversion towards authority, including those that should represent themselves as a National minority. Loyalties of the Romani run so far on the level of clans. An authority becomes a head of a clan that is usually elected to political representation. Only his clansmen however acknowledge this authority. That is why the Romani can barely reach agreement between them. If a Romani acts as an intermediary towards the majority, he becomes a millstone exposed from both sides. Majority exerts pressure to advocate amidst the Romani the values typical for civic society of democratic state. The Romani minority

ceases to respect him, unless he does not defend interests of the Romani contradictory to requirements of the majority.

3.9. Education and Qualification

Education and qualification of the Romani are long-term behind the ones of majority, only 2% of them have finished secondary school, and approximately 0,5% have a university degree. The reason of this fact is not only in traditionally low professional and educational aspirations of the Romani but also in some discriminative mechanism within the educational system, which blocked the access of Romani to higher education. Romani children were often placed in "special" schools ⁴² in the very beginning of their school attendance and they had no possibility to continue with higher education. The other reason was the insufficient reflection and school education underrating by Romani. This begins to change nowadays but sometimes the value of education is more appreciated by parents than by children.

Introduction to school is deteriorated by the insufficient knowledge of Czech or any other language including Romaniny. Many mothers stopped to talk to their children in Romaniny language. As a consequence of an assimilation pressure they tried to speak the language of majority, i.e. Slovak, Czech and Hungarian, but as they did not able to speak it well the final result was an ethnic-dialect, a mixture of these three languages using slang expressions. Children finally did not master any language including Romaniny and their vocabulary was limited. Insufficiently developed language lowers also their ability of the abstract thinking.

Missing traditional reference to the "paper culture of modern civilisation" implies problems. Linkage to books, magazines, and other written texts is not developed. Deficient knowledge of majority language causes problems in the entrance to schools.

In consequence of cultural differences many Romani children were placed in particular, now "special" schools (according to the estimations it was about three quarters, in Ostrava and Opava as many as 90 % of all Romani children, 1996: L. Convey). Their further studies at the secondary and technical schools were automatically blocked. Children finishing special schools had limited choice of preparation for their future career.

At present an effort is being made to make professional application of the special schools graduates more various. The spectrum of branches where special schools graduates can continue in the preparation for their future profession expands. But technical and training educational system went through a period of uncertainty after 1990. Obtaining special qualification in the technical and training schools is generally more complicated nowadays.

Attitudes of Romani children to education are changing. Education begins to be apprehended by the majority of society as a base of the future success. The interest in education is rapidly increasing as well as the competition of potential students. Admission to secondary schools and universities becomes more difficult. The entering exams pass mostly only the best applicants. Private schools are for most Romani children financially inaccessible.

There are positive changes in the area of pre-elementary education. The "nought classes" are being established for children between 4 and 6. The aim is to overcome

⁴² Special schools are for mentally retarded children.

the language barrier and facilitate the adaptation of Romani children to school. Number of Romani children in special schools has been gradually reduced.⁴³

The positive examples in basic schooling are presented by Charity Elementary School of Přemysl Pitter in Ostrava, which is based on the principles of the Waldorf School and is the best example of solving the Romani schooling. The complex of school activities includes social integration not only Romani and non-Romani children, but also their parents within their social environment. "The Movement R" associates schools with numerous Romani children with the aim to integrate them and to enforce their identity. Elementary school in Prague (Žižkov quarter) for socially weaker pupils with numerous Romani children (23 % of the population of this Prague district are Romani) helps to Romani children to overcome the critical moment of the start in elementary or secondary school. Special School in Rumburk is involved in the project of the Understanding. The principle of inter-ethnic social behaviour is fruited by creating good relations between Romani and non-Romani. The project has run under the assistance of UNESCO.

Key strategy of the Ministry for education for 2001 was to support Romani education on all levels including establishing of continual and distant education for adult Romani, which can help them to gain better position in labour market. Another goals are to support Romani culture and traditions, and to establish basis for multicultural education of all pupils and students. Antiracist and anti xenophobic campaigns are an integral part of education process today.

3.10. Employment

The position of the Romani in the labour market may be defined as critical. Most Romani in active age are, according to some published estimates, jobless.⁴⁴ The

⁴³ In the kindergartens in regions with particularly high Roma concentration small groups are formed in which Roma children are brought up together with other children. In addition to the teacher there is an assistant in each group who is a Roma and establishes language contact. Roma children would be raised to the same level of linguistic competence as the Czech and Slovak children. Compensatory classes are starting in the primary schools (years 1 to 3). There were 31 classes for 381 pupils today, in school year 1996/1997. The teacher is also assisted by a Rom here. Foundation New school gives the pedagogical minimum for the Roma school assistants. Several civic activities as Know How Found, Rajko Djurič program for the Roma social advisers, Foundation of the Civic Society Development, Roma program (supported by Open Society Found) also participate on Roma adult education development. There is a program for the hierarchic education of adults called the "Second chance" which allowed reaching the secondary level education. Since 1995 there is a "Foundation program" for the most talent Roma children for all types of education (basic, secondary, university). It supports actually 43 pupils and students. Foundation R - Mosty (R-Bridges) and Czech Centre for Negotiating and Conflicts Solving has a program on Education toward tolerance and against racism, the lectors visited in the spring 1997 24 school where gives 73 lectures for the pupils of the basic schools (17) and secondary schools (7). The written essays of pupils and students on issue tolerance contra racism showed the absence of education on the racism, xenophobia and documented the strong importance of the family and school climate for formation of youth attitudes).

⁴⁴ The high share of unemployed Roma women in job-seeker records at labour offices was, at the beginning of the transformation period caused also by the fact that the unemployment allowance was paid out only to those who actively applied for the job. Roma women had been mostly not employed in the past. Their traditional role was care for children and home, they mostly have neither qualifications nor working

Romani who apply for jobs at labour offices belong, according to their officials' experience and some research, to the long-term and repeatedly unemployed. The counties with high percentage of Romani population are marked with constantly high unemployment rates, the unemployed being particularly people with primary school, or incomplete school education (40 %). Long-term and repeated unemployment is typical for these strata (Horáková: 1994, Baštýř: 1996). For them, only season jobs are available, and after their completion, they are registered as job applicants again.

The Romani employment⁴⁵ is visibly influenced by their marginal social position in the society, limited access to education, professional training and choice of profession in the past. Low qualifications, insufficient motivation to work, professional ambition, and, last not least, hidden discrimination in the labour market are the causes of the fact that, according to qualified estimates, only a third of Romani in productive age are employed. The decisive factor for advancement in labour market is the access to jobs, and this is, up to certain extent, barred by both subjective and objective factors.

The reductions of redundant numbers of state enterprises' employees during the initial stage of economy transformation hit the Romani in the first place. The reasons why the Romani were sacked first were their low qualifications and their marginal status in corporate hierarchies. The Romani worked only as labourers, mostly in construction business and industry. Such jobs were in the first stage of the transformation liquidated first. Corporate managements wanted to keep their skilled workers. Many Romani then did not succeed to re-enter the labour market, due to their own choice, or because they failed to find adequate jobs even after several years.

The state social allowances provided to families without income and greater numbers of children exceed possible income from unskilled jobs which is mostly offered to the Romani and which they are capable of doing due to their low qualifications. This is currently considered the most relevant cause of Romani unemployment.⁴⁶ The social allowance amounts exceed the minimum wage level laid down by Law.

The Romani unemployed has no motive to seek and enter jobs. An offered job cannot be, however, rejected due to low wages, although it is apparent that minimum wages is just a mere scheme which practically never counts. In spite of this, an employer

resumes. They registered as job applicants for the purpose of being eligible for receiving job applicant support and for having, as people with no income, social and health insurance covered by the State. This was sometimes interpreted as efforts to misuse job applicant support, there was in less extent commented on the fact that Roma men mostly lost their jobs at that time and Roma families had to adapt to a life based on social security benefits. Such condition still prevails, although the estimated numbers of the Roma in labour office records has decreased. Not that more Roma were employed but because they were discarded from the records as they ceased to fulfil the regulations, did not co-operate with the authorities often, or refused to accept the jobs offered.

⁴⁵ The term of employment involves employing persons in stable employer-employee relationship, and private businesses.

⁴⁶ Minimum gross monthly wage as in 1997 2,500 Kc, net Kc 2,222. Monthly living subsistence minimum per person was Kc 2,890, monthly social care benefits per person Kc 2,616 (Bastýr 1997). After valorisation in July 1997 it was about Kc 3,500. Monthly living subsistence minimum for four-member family was Kc 8,830, monthly social care benefits Kc 5,985 (Bartýr, 1997). After valorisation in July 1997 a monthly living minimum for a family with three children is about 11,600 Kè, the average income in the Czech republic is about 10,000 Kc. The income of the non-qualified labour force in the Czech Republic is of course lower.

may determine such wage amount, particularly if he is not really interested in hiring the worker but is forced by the labour office to hire him. A job applicant, who was offered a minimum-wage job, cannot refuse to accept it without losing his right to receive state social allowance. If he does not find a serious reason for the refusal of the job, he must take the job although it is apparent that his job income would not equal the income from the social allowance.

The wages usually paid to Romani men are equal to social allowance amounts for a family of four; employed Romani women get only the minimum wage laid down by Law.⁴⁷ The statistically confirmed real wages are 30 % higher⁴⁸, than the minimum. Indirect data show that wage discrimination of the Romani in the labour market cannot be excluded. They are being offered lower wages than usual in Czech labour market. The experts say that minimum wage is a sterile quantity, which does not exist in practice, but it is possible to offer it according to law. That is happening to Romani women if the published data are valid.

The increasing competition due to the influx of foreign workforce in the labour market projects into current high unemployment rate of the Romani. They occupy jobs, which domestic job seekers refuse to take. The reason may be identified as relative gaps between wages and living costs in the mother country and critical lack of job opportunities in many ex-Eastern bloc countries but in the fact that foreign workers are better deal for employers in many respects.⁴⁹ To this, the fact that jobs for unskilled labour is getting still scarcer in the labour market. There are in certain counties up to 22 applicants (e.g. Ostrava) per one job available for unskilled labour; open jobs for unskilled women are even scarcer. (Baštýř: 1997). Jobs as unskilled hands jobs are account for only 14 % of total job offer.

The number of Romani private entrepreneurs is estimated as 9,000, one-tenth of this number accounting for larger firms, the rest are a small tradesman. The entrepreneurial activities of the Romani doing business on the basis of trading licences do not differ much, in their characteristics, from season jobs or menial jobs as labourers, which the Romani used to do as regular employees. Their private businesses are mostly (if some data on Romani private business characteristics is available at all) limited to unskilled labour in construction business - bricklayer, stone-carver jobs, building sites and forest hands. The employers make use of Romani's distress by hiring them as self-employed persons instead of giving them regular employment contracts. This practice is in fact a hidden employment, which should be sanctioned. The employers are thus relieving themselves of their obligations to their workers. In the same manner (within the scopes of trading licence) are all the more often hired also foreign nationals.

The extreme unemployment rate of the Romani results in their further social degradation, encourages criminal activities, worsens conditions for the education and instruction of the young generation. It encourages the public's negative attitudes

⁴⁷ Roma men earn the average of Kc 6,000, women Kc 2,500 a month. (Mladá Fronta dnes, August 14, 1997). With the exclusion of Roma women, then the lowest wages in practice (according statistical data) amount to Kc 3,500 before taxes, this making Kc 2,907 net income (Bastýr et coll.: 1997).

⁴⁸ Available statistics show that the lowest gross wages in fact (i.e. on full-time job and real worker availability) amounted in December, 1996 Kc 3,500 (Bastýr: 1997).

⁴⁹ They are willing to work longer than normal working hours because they are separated from their families during their work abroad; they are ready to work on holidays; moreover, often skilled workers migrate for jobs, taking unskilled positions. The wages amount then does not play such important role.

towards the Romani, who are criticised for refusing the jobs offered by labour offices. There are more causes of Romani high unemployment; it is positively not Romani disinterest for work, which is often used as alibi argument. Romani encounter in labour market covert and sometimes-overt discrimination. The jobs offered to the Romani (menial, hard, underpaid jobs) are refused by all domestic job seekers, not only by Romani. The Cause of high Romani unemployment is not only covert or apparent discrimination and some employers' race prejudice. The unemployed Romani usually have little or no skills at all, some don't even have completed primary school education.

The extinction of Romani traditional trades and the fact that they did not obtain higher qualifications during the socialist era, or that they qualified only in trades, which are bound to extinction, now anyway, are nowadays the major cause of high unemployment rate of the Romani. That was known since '60s that phenomenon should emerge when the demand for unskilled labour will drop. According to a 1972 study, the grandfathers of 90% respondents had been still performing their traditional trades.

Romani generations of the past were performing random jobs as farm hands, road construction labourers, digging jobs, worked as coal haulers, or traditional trades: blacksmith, tinker, pot-wiring, basketry, trough-making. The most prestigious group were musicians hired for various fiestas and ceremonies in the country. Until today, there exist professional musician families. Later, the men were hired mostly as site hands in the construction business. Women were most often working as cleaning ladies or kitchen hands. These Romani jobs continue.

At present, Roma often work as hawkers, cabbies, some of them own hauling businesses, arrange for cleaning and moving services, perform trades such as shoe repairs, painter, cook, waiter, salesclerk, tailor, they run textiles selling businesses, restaurants, gambling machines. Some Roma work at community authorities as consultants and mediators, facilitating communication between the Roma and the authorities now ⁵⁰.

The Romani are allowed to make use of all Labour Offices in the same way as other citizens: all State active employment support policy whose part form also public-benefit works. According to labour office workers, 66 % of Romani job seekers make use of them. There is no steady employment involved, and the wages for such jobs do not exceed social allowances. A financial motivation for work is here missing.

The Romani may participate in re-qualification programmes organised by labour offices. The problem here is in the fact that they mostly do not have clear idea what trade they should want to learn, in what profession they should qualify themselves. Their requirements for jobs are related rather to the distance of a workplace from home, and the pay. If Romani obtain a profession by re-qualification, labour offices in many examples cope with employers' unwillingness to hire the Romani for steady jobs. An employer is able to find enough ersatz reasons why not to hire a Romani, or he can offer him wages not even equal to social security allowances.

In early 1996, Information and consulting centres started to form with the support of PHARE, which are meant to assist all school-leavers. Their objective is to facilitate the young ones their decision-making in respect to the choice of their future occupations.

⁵⁰ The institute of Roma advisers has been established in 1997 by the Government decision No. 686.

Projects oriented direct to Romani employment are, for the time being, has been verified in 1997. The Most Project, developed in co-operation with British experts for re-qualifications of various ethnic groups, has been verified in in Most, Louny, Česká Lípa, Melník, Liberec and Frýdek-Místek, districts with high unemployment rate.⁵¹ The Project was oriented towards school-leavers that seek jobs.

The Project Šance I was oriented towards young people over 16, and it should assist in creating conditions for employing young people with social and health risks involved.

The Project Šance II was oriented towards the training of social work volunteers who were, by their age, close to endangered and risk-exposed youth target groups.

The Romstart Programme in Vsetín was oriented exclusively towards the Romani, and it was focused on seeking adequate assertion of teenage Romani.

A profit project of a „Social Law Academy“ has been running which should register the Romani job applicants, who are interested to re-qualify in special courses to become social workers for working with Romani citizens.

The concept dealt with Romani's complicated position as a particular group in the labour market used alibistic references to civic principles, which the issues deserving urgent solutions has put off to infinitesimally, the simplifying and generalising explanations and condemnations on the public's part, pointing out that the Romani are not willing to work, refuse the jobs offered, steal and constantly claim advantages, and particularly the even more often occurring racist assaults have raised among the Romani feelings of bitterness and injustice.

3.11. Crime

The Romani crime rate issue is a complex one. The Romani social non-adaptability and crime is the most common criticism raised against the Romani. It is not a new phenomenon but the crime rate increase in general makes all citizens of the country uneasy. According to estimates, Romani (who account for approx. 2 % of Czech population) account for 17 % of the criminal offences total. There are increases in

⁵¹ The projects in support of the Roma employment a“was based on English projects adapted to our conditions. They involve in parallel psychological-pedagogic consulting, re-socialisation programmes, all means of active employment policy, methods mobilising the activities of job applicants, encouraging of the participants' self-esteem. A prerequisite for the participation in the project were active co-operation of young Roma job seekers with low or no qualifications and primary, or incomplete education. These may, as a test, be engaged in several trades among which they can choose the most suitable one, which they would like to do in the future. The Project run for 5-6 months, its success was relatively low, approx. 30 % of the interested complete the re-qualification. There were instruction centres where the Roma may gain qualifications of various degrees involved in the project (many had attended such centres before but failed to complete the instruction), they may choose trades with shorter training period. There were also instructors selected who commit themselves to Roma apprentices, with psychological properties, higher level of assertiveness enabling pedagogic leadership of the Roma. There were also employers involved in the project who were ready to employ the trained Roma in the future. Despite this, the trained Roma were difficult to place in jobs. Not only racist prejudice on employers' part was involved but racist prejudice of the environment as well. E.g. learned cooks and waiters can be employed only at dishwashing where they were not visible, claiming a fear of losing their guests.

Romani youth's crime rate since 1988. According to a study, in Teplice County where the Romani account for approx. 7 % of the population, Romani share of total crime rate is estimated as 60 %; in mugging cases, it is 80%. This statistics, however, pertains to a small number of notorious delinquents.⁵²

The crucial problem of low Romani social adaptability resulted in high crime rate. In the opinion of experts, Romani low education standard and lack of professional qualifications prevent their dispersion within the socio-professional structures and prevent establishing positive inter-ethnic contacts. Traditional isolation of the Romani from the majority society plays also an important role. The most serious reason is high unemployment of the Romani. Some parents sending their children to steal (because of lower penalties they have to face), to prostitute, some businessmen (such as street vendors, restaurant owners) encourage Romani children to steal when they need to cover up deficiencies in their accounts, etc. Weak socio-economic position of the Romani and their children can be, and it is, often misused. A substantial proportion of the offences committed can be traced to the different standards of the Romani, for instance their sexual behaviour. Often the prohibition of sex with minors (person under 15 years of age) is violated. In the Romani tradition, men or women qualify as adults as soon as they are physically capable of starting family. Hence those punished and those around them regard the punishment as an justice.

The increase of Romani crime rate is partially due to the disintegration of traditional values, the loss of social control due to the discontinuation of family and friendship bonds. The settlement in modern housing complexes provides for little possibility of active leisure use for children and youth. The share of passive entertainment consumption, watching the video and TV where violence is most common, is growing. Moreover, the respect for the law has generally dropped, and general crime rate in the society has increased. The current activities towards Romani population have repressive characteristics but prevention options are being emphasised as necessary even more often.

Last years main attention of the Ministry of the Interior has been oriented toward prevention of the criminality of the Romani, especially of youth and children. Leisure activities of children and youth Romani are supported via projects of different foundations and also by many municipal authorities.

3.12. Racially Motivated Attacks

The number of registered cases of race-motivated violence has been increasing after 1990. It is, however, apparent that the peril of new-age racism has been underestimated. Race-motivated discrimination was not often, at the outset, qualified as racism. There is an increasing number of cases where violence is qualified as a racially motivated offence nowadays. The Government substantially reinforced the NGO's efforts, following stringent sanctions for race-motivated offences, after a tragic manslaughter case whose victim was Tibor Berki in 1995. The Government publicly expressed their negative approach to manifestations of racism, and started to exert pressure on more stringent prosecution of offences. These efforts starts to bring results gradually, but the situation of Czech Race-motivated discrimination was not, at the outset, qualified as racism. Romani is already full of tensions to the extent that

⁵² In 1988 Roma were responsible for 12 % of all punishable offences (Czech Republic 9 %, Slovak Republic 19 %), although they are estimated to make up only two to three percent of the total population of the state. About 60 % of all pickpockets are Roma. The situation is most acute in Eastern Slovakia, in the Central Slovak district, in Northern Bohemia and in Northern Moravia. (Janiss,U.: 1994).

some are solving their situation by short-circuit behaviour. They are seeking refuge in other countries thinking that they would not get justice back home.

Race-motivated assaults have not been strictly enough sanctioned from the very outset, when they, to the surprise of most of the public, began to emerge overtly. Most politicians and the public are condemning racism, but according to various quotations from the press, there is apparent that the meaning of the expression „racism“ is perceived in many different ways. The Courts are independent; the Government has no right to intervene in judicial cases. A Court, however, cannot in practice prove racial motivation of an offence.

According to Attorney General's Office statistics, the increase in the number of persons prosecuted in cases of offences committed by racist motives continued also in 1996. In 1996, on the grounds of race-motivated offences were prosecuted 653, accused 463, and convicted 271 people. Since 1989, 27 Romani died in race-motivated assaults. The clarification of offences is still low, primarily in respect to verbal assaults (the weekly Týden No35, Aug 25, 1997). In 1995, 181 assaults against the Romani and foreign nationals were registered. According to Otakar Motejl, President of the Supreme Court, a Court cannot assume racial motivation in advance just because of mere fact that a conflict between two different ethnic members broke out. Differing opinions in the media and before Courts appear. Evidence of grounds and motivation of actions is difficult to collect and objectively evaluated. There is another reason that in general conscience and state administration and Court practice, there is no sufficient practical experience and examples how to cope with contemporary racism.

3.13. Health Condition

The health condition of Romani population is substantially worse than that of the majority. The number of handicapped Romani children is, according to some research papers, higher, in some communities is higher number of respiration, dermal diseases, allergy cases, the all-round sickness rate of Romani children is up to three times higher. The reasons are bad nutrition, ill health habits of the mothers, bad urban environment and ways of living during leisure time, lack of movement in the nature, lack of sports activities. In the case of children, to all this currently adds up smoking, dope, and child prostitution. Regular pre-emptive check-ups of all schoolchildren were obligatory until 1989; today they are no more compulsory but possible, depending on the parents.

The reasons of higher sickness rate among adults are caused mostly by exogenous influences, way of life and habits (smoking and alcohol abuse are more frequent than among other population). There are endogenous influences but not predominant. With adults, there are combinations of hard and often risky work with bad habits. In older age groups of Romani populace, there is a much higher number of handicapped support beneficiaries (6 times more than among other population). The mortality rate is higher in Romani population; indirect data from 1970-1980 (international migrations were minimal) show life expectancy with Romani men 55.3 years (men total is 66,8 years), with Romani women 59.5 years (women total 74.0 years).

3.14. Social Care

Families which Romani children are raised in are more stable. Romani children are raised in complete families more often than other. The socio-economical situation of families is usually worse, the parents' age lower. In general, it is known that the number of Romani children in social care centres is increasing because of increased crime rate among the parents and the children as well, school skipping, and disinterest among some families for their children, and other reasons. The conditions

in social care centres, diagnostics institutions, children homes where Romani children used to be placed on the basis of court rulings on necessary home care, are gradually improving. The proceedings are more careful and responsible. In the past, children were assigned to educational institutions more often than not based only on the basis of cultural differences in approaches to their raising between Romani and majority families. The ideas of some social workers on adequate family environment and adequate education were different from some Romani parents' ideas.

The type of state allowances was reconsidered and revised. Often children's allowances were the substantial part of income of the Romani families in the past. Since the number of children in these families is above average, substantial sums used to be paid to the Romani. Because of the low life expectancy of the Romani, pensions play an insignificant role in their income structure. The universal system of the social assistance and all forms of state financial assistance including children allowances are granted to all low-income citizen groups. The forms and extent of the state financial assistance are derived from numbers and age of the family members and total amount of the family income. Social assistance is not reserved for cases, in which a special problem arises from the fact that citizens concerned are Romani. The difference between Romani and majority is a difference in ethnicity. The representatives of the Romani Civic Initiative (ROI) have made a proposal that support should be given primarily to the Romani families who make an effort to become integrated in the labour process, who want to improve their own living standard and who take an interest in the education of their children. The Ministry of the Labour and Social Affairs refused that plan as a non-democratic. As mentioned above there is a basic question if the social subsidy is too high or the wages offered to Romani too low in comparison to living costs in particular Bohemian district. If only underpaid job are offered to Romani and the amount of the state universal social assistance decreases independently on situation of the recipient, it could become a source of further serious conflicts between the majority and the Romani.

3.15. Housing

Whereas in Slovakia the urban type of the Romani settlements predominates, usually in very large concentrations, widely ramified settlements are characteristic of the Czech Republic, especially the industrial conurbations and the border regions.

Romani traditionally lived in huts consisting of one room, and sometimes in two-storey brick buildings whose walls were brightly painted by the habitants. As a general rule, especially in Eastern Slovakia, they are in ramshackle, overpopulated settlements lacking any hygienic facilities.

The Romani used to be, after their transfer from Slovakia, mostly moved into old deserted houses in the country or into rent houses in industrial town centres, mostly dilapidated, often without hygiene facilities, without maintenance. The Romani who followed in chain migrations their relatives often squatted vacant flats in the vicinity. The flats in question were mostly those of most inferior quality, which nobody was interested in, repaired them and chased the Romani out. Such flats used to be dilapidated often in the time when the Romani seized them. The Romani did not care much for the flats, as they did not belong them, and their accommodation there was very uncertain.

To maintain or invest money into a housing, which they could be moved out by court, ruling was not making sense. Moreover, they lacked the money for investments and they would not even spend it for such purpose. The flats kept on deteriorating up to a condition all but or completely uninhabitable. If someone asks the question how there was possible that the Romani destroyed also modern new flats which they had acquired in recent years, the answer is that they, compared to others, acquired the flats without greater effort, and also because they did not care much. They have been, in their historical experience, always ready to leave, they do not feel much bound to the place they live in the moment.

Later, the Romani were resettled into new prefab housing complexes where, however, appropriate settlement policy was not adopted and former natural social bonds of Romani communities were not taken into account. Thus, families who could not coexist without problems were moved together. Some Romani, moreover, were not capable of using modern flats. Neither the space layouts of prefab block flats did not conform with the structure, numbers and natural social activities of Romani families. As a consequence of the migrations bringing further clan members or their friends, the flats are now often overcrowded. The coexistence of Romani families with the majority is becoming more and more complex.⁵³ Some Romani, who had moved into vacant flats, were moved out later; there are all the more frequent cases of having entire Romani families without shelter, becoming clients of asylum homes. Loss of shelter e.g. due to failure to pay the rent is related to low employment rate of the Romani. Who does not have regular monthly income, is hardly able to keep housing whose price is increasing on the current line.

Today, new proposals for resolving the Romani housing are discussed, e.g. projects of houses for two or three generations of Romani families corresponding to the Romani mentality and way of life are being developed. The houses should be built on the territory of the original Romani settlements. There are also plans to link housing and labour opportunities for the Romani at the same place. The Romani themselves should be involved in the constructions of these houses. Construction firms could serve as partners and supply construction materials. The rents and mortgages of such housing should be repaid by covered the income of habitants which should have a job directly in the area.

It is necessary, however, to accept increasing differences within the Romani communities. Large part of the Romani lives today as members of the majority and they are satisfied with their housing. Many of them would not turn back to the large family households. It is evident that proposal like that is acceptable only for only a part of the Romani.

Conclusions

Due to the historical developments, the Romani have been on the brink of the society for a long time. Romani position is not currently improving either; only a thin stratum

⁵³ In some locations, members of various families were concentrated without respecting Roma cultural traditions. Roma families not belonging to one another despise themselves; they are not able to coexist. This is based on historical traditions whose roots are in the existence of the Jatha in India to which the clans once belonged. The historical taboo forbidding touching garbage other than own still survives.

of successful entrepreneurs is attaining the same level as the majority population. The economic status of Romani majority members is, with negligible exceptions, below the majority's standards.⁵⁴ Low degree of education and qualifications present the major barrier of Romani social and economic advancement. The social and economic advancement of Romani minority is not barred by their so-called "specifics", but in particular, by the fact that they mostly have not attained any significant position in the society. Education and qualifications alone do not guarantee advancement, if they are not linked to a participation in socially important social relationship systems through which an individual asserts himself in a modern society. The Romani minority still does not participate in these systems for one reason that establishing relationships with settled population is more difficult for every migrating population, but due to low degree of political influence on Romani representations part as well. These representations are not unified and have their general objectives not clearly defined. This is due to covert and overt discrimination which neither Romani minority nor the authorities are able to cope with effectively. The long-standing underestimate by the majority whose undifferentiated and generalising condemnation of the minority's habits and traditions discourages the minority's self-esteem, driving them into apathy or hatred.

The Romani minority is in persisting conflict with overt distrust on the majority's part. The majority feels permanently endangered by Romani crime rate but does not express much willingness to deal with its causes more into detail and admit that infringements of Laws are, inter alia, based on the desperate situation of the Romani due to their overt or covert discrimination. The Romani encounter overt brutal manifestations of racism on extremists' part which they are not able to defend themselves against; they do not believe that state institutions can protect them, sometimes they conclude that they even do not want to. This addresses covert racism penetrating through almost all social strata, which is not being condemned vigorously, generally and without compromises.

The Romani, and not only them, feel that negative attitude to Romani minority ensures the favour of the electorate. The majority's negative attitude is being constantly reaffirmed by repeated polls whose medialisation helps the reproduction and intensification of negative stereotypes of the Romani, and generates feelings of being powerless, mistreated, among entire Romani population.⁵⁵ The majority usually

⁵⁴ In comparison with a starting position of Roma, when they came to our territory, their advancement is visible.

⁵⁵ The co-existence with the Roma was in the 1994 polls declared a serious problem which should be dealt with by 73 % of the respondents, in 1996 by 66 %. Racism and race conflicts were perceived as a serious problem by 62 % of respondents in 1994 and 57 % in 1996. Racism was assessed as the most urgent problem in today's Czech Republic in 1996 by only 1 % of the population, the coexistence with the Roma by 2%.

In Roma neighbourhood would not like to live 86 % of respondents in 1994 and 87 % in 1996. High crime rate as a serious problem perceived 99 % of the public in 1994, and 98 % in 1996, as the most serious problem by 36 % in 1994 and in 1996 by 28 % (Gabal, 1996). The fact that among the Roma do exist honest and working people admitted in 1994 94 % of respondents, in 1996 by 86 %. Patience and time would be invested into the solving of Roma coexistence with the majority issue by 47 % of respondents in 1994 and 50 % in 1996. Concentration and isolation of the Roma as solution of coexistence problems was deemed acceptable by 37 % of respondents in 1994 and 35 % in 1996. Emigration of the Roma from the ER was deemed acceptable solution by 46 % of respondents in 1994 and 45 % in 1996. On the same occasion, the same respondents agreed by 61 % in 1994 and by 54 % in 1996 with the question of tolerating racism being a threat to the society and that the solution is within the

do not see anything, which the Romani might contribute to the free market society. The Romani reflect this attitude and become more reserved towards the majority, they perceive them as covert enemy who despise them, reject them as a whole, without a capability of distinguishing between individual minority members. Consequently, Romani's resentful approach towards the majority arises and grows. They think that the majority don't want to see and solve their problems, that they bagatelle and underestimate them, as they are not subject to the same problems. This diminishes or reduces, or eliminates completely Romani's loyalty feelings towards the majority and the institutions as well.

The majority states the reasons for their negative attitude towards the Romani by their high crime rate, misusing social security system, rejections to accept offered jobs, general unwillingness of the Romani to make honest living, their little initiative to change and improve their life situation, by the Romani seeing only their rights and not their duties in the society, requesting special treatment, not creating any wealth but only parasiting on what others have accomplished, that the only know-how they perfectly acquired is how to misuse social security allowances system.

The Romani perceive sharply their present marginalisation, the fact that they do not participate in matters, which decisively influence their external life. Situation of a permanent and non-differentiated refusal leads to inner defence. Many Romani despise the majority, they do not want to be like „gadzho“. The resistance of the part of the Romani is becoming stronger and between certain communities the same deep racism rises oriented towards the white, like the racism of certain right-wing extremist majority groups.

The state paternalism policies failed and deprived a part of the citizens of their ability to take care of themselves, but their immediate waiver following the set-up of democracy and market economy was a surprise to many Romani. The most essential topic discussed is whether we are able to solve rapidly the situation of those Romani who urgently need to be helped on civic principle basis, or to admit that certain everyday life problems are not only the consequence of their individual differences. Large-scale measures that failed in the past, although they did cost ample funds, deter from similar experiments. There is a still deeper gap between the Romani and the rest of the society. The present-day condition when civic principle is consequently being preferred generates also certain apprehension because not always succeeds the solving of problems linked with the discrimination on labour and housing market. But it is not a mistake of the civic principles but because inability to resolve quickly all cases of the different forms of discrimination.

Specific features of the Romani population are a part of the broader sociological, political and economical problems of the modern society. The social position of Romani is mostly that of the lowest social strata, who has no possibility, energy, ability or

people, their tolerance in coexistence - 62 % in 1994 and 65 % in 1996. (Gabal, 1996). Roma integration should, in the eyes of the public, be encouraged: by the right of objection at international institutions (69 %), separate pre-school education of children (62 %), guaranteed positions in community councils (55 %), representation in local police (56 %), right to take up nomadic life again (46 %), enabling the Roma access to their own radio and TV emissions (47 %), guaranteed 3-4 seats in Czech Parliament (41 %), all children should be taught about the Roma at school (36 %), Roma children should have the right to instruction in the Romany (29 %), study of Roma children at secondary schools should be encouraged (28 %), Roma should have the right to form their own defence organisations against skinheads (21 %), compulsory employment of the Roma in state-owned enterprises should exist (20 %), secondary schools should obligatorily enrol several Roma students. (Gabal, 1966)

interest to promote their social ambitions. For that reason the Romani are out of economic, political and wider social structures. The same problems are experienced also by other parts of modern societies in democratic states, especially ethnic minorities of immigrant origin or the part of a majority with socially pathological background. Their number increases in all modern affluent societies. The standards of the social support are not sufficient for their promotion. Motivation instruments leading to gradually improving the social position of those strata have not been developed adequately so far. Indifference of the majority is a typical reaction.

The great historic paradox has occurred. At the moment, when the effort of majority to settle the Romani has been achieved, when Romani have lost their ability to practice their traditional mobile crafts and nomadic way of their survival, when they are mostly unqualified and unemployed, when due to lack of sufficient income their housing is often insecure, modern labour market calls for the mobile labour force. The biggest advantage of the foreign labour force, which competes with the Romani in the labour market, is especially their space flexibility and mobility.

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Annex - Tables

Table 1 Population of the Czech Republic by nationality Censuses results 1991-2001

Census	1991		2001	
Nationality	Absolute figures	In per cent of population	Absolute figures	In per cent of population
Total population	10 302 000	100,0	10 230 060	100,0
Czech	8 363 000	81,2	9 297 735	90,3
Moravian	1 362 313	13,2	381 615	3,7
Slovaks	314 877	3,1	194 008	1,9
Polish	59 383	0,6	52 095	0,5
German	48 556	0,5	39 238	0,4
Silesian	44 446	0,4	10 909	0,1
Romaniny	32 903	0,3	11 859	0,1
Hungarian	19 932	0,2	14 737	0,1
Ukrainian	8 220	0,1	22 189	0,2
Russian	5 062	0,0	12 418	0,1
Ruthenian	1 926	0,0	1 109	0,0
Bulgarian	3 487	0,0	4 383	0,0
Greek	3 379	0,0	3 231	0,0
Rumanian	1 034	0,0	1 241	0,0
Vietnamese	421	0,0	17 586	0,2
Croatian	.	.	1 594	0,0
Albanian	.	.	692	0,0
Serbian	.	.	1 810	0,0
Austrian	413	0,0	.	.
Jewish	218	0,0	.	.

Other	9 860	0,1	39 632	0,4
(therefrom Czechoslovakia n)	(3 464)	(0,0)	.	.
Unidentified	22 017	0,2	186 741	1,8

Source: Frištenská, P., Sulitka, A.: 1994, Průvodce příslušníků národnostních menšin (Guide of National Minorities Members), Census data 2001 CZSO (Czech Statistic office, www.czso.cz, running data from February 25th of 2002 quoted in Government Report on National Minorities Situation in the CR in 2001)

Table 2 Number of Romani in the Czech Republic according to different sources

Year	Absolute figures	in per cent of population	Source
1921	249	0,00	Census
1930	227	0,00	Census
1938	16 752	0,19	Registration by Interior Ministry
1947	56 519	0,57	Registration by National Committee
1966	61 085	0,62	Registration by National Committee
1968	60 279	0,61	Census
1970	88 587	0,86	Census
1980	107 193	1,04	Registration by National Committee
1989	145 738	1,41	Registration by National Committee
1991	32 903	0,32	Census
2001	11 859	0,12	Census

Source: Demografie 1,1997, Census 2001, Czech Statistic Office

Table 3 Romani in districts of the Czech Republic

District	Share on 1000 inhabitants	Share on 1000 inhabitants	Share on 1000 inhabitants	Share on Romani population	Share on Romani population	Share on Romani population
Year	1970	1980	1991	1970	1980	1991
Prague	3,2	5,3	2,3	5,7	7,1	8,6
Central Bohemia	4,9	7,4	2,6	9,7	9,6	8,8
South Bohemia	4,6	6,0	2,6	4,9	4,6	5,6
West Bohemia	10,3	13,7	4,5	14,5	13,6	11,7
North Bohemia	16,2	20,7	6,8	29,5	27,2	24,2
East Bohemia	4,4	6,3	2,5	8,7	9,0	9,4
South Moravia	2,1	3,6	1,9	6,8	8,2	11,6
North Moravia	6,8	9,5	3,4	20,2	20,7	20,1
Czech Republic	6,1	8,6	3,2	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Demografie 1, 1997

Table 3 a Romani populations by region, March 2001 Census

Region	Total population	Romani	Share of Romani on population in per cent
Czech Republic Total	10 292 933	11 859	0,12
Prague- Capital	1 178 576	717	0,06
Central Bohemia Region	1 129 627	1 342	0,11
South Bohemia	630 168	618	0,10
Region of Plzen	553 741	636	0,11
Region of Karlovy Vary	306 799	727	0,24
Region of Ústí n.Labem	826 380	1 819	0,22
Region of Liberec	430 769	621	0,14
Region of Hradec Králové	554 348	736	0,13
Region of Pardubice	510 079	519	0,10
Region of Vysocina	521 212	208	0,03
Region of South Morava	1 13 916	624	0,05
Region of Olomouc	642 465	857	0,13
Moravskoslezský Region	1 277 095	1 977	0,15
Region of Zlín	597 758	315	0,05

Source: Census 2001, CZSO (Czech Statistic Office) Data at February 2002

Table 4 Age structure of the Romani population in 1970, 1980 a 1991

Age group	Romani 1970	Romani 1980	Romani 1991	Total population 1991
0-14	49,6	42,5	37,6	21,0
15-29	26,7	30,7	30,5	21,8
30-59	20,5	22,3	28,4	39,4
60 + unknown	3,2	4,5	3,5	17,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Census 1970, 1980, and 1991 in Demografie 1, 1997

Table 5 Development of the number of Romani in districts of the Czech Republic in 1970-1980

District	Absolute growth	Index of growth 1970=100	Index of growth 1970=100	Average year relative growth in %	Average relative growth in %
	Romani	Romani	Other population without Romani	Romani	Other population without Romani
Prague	3328	182,7	103,4	5,4	0,3
Central Bohemia	2705	146,4	101,7	4,1	0,2
South Bohemia	1122	137,7	105,6	3,2	0,5
West Bohemia	3328	138,1	103,3	3,2	0,3
North Bohemia	6327	135,6	105,5	3,0	0,5
East Bohemia	2646	150,1	103,7	4,0	0,4
South Moravia	3179	177,9	105,3	5,6	0,5
North Moravia	6174	150,8	107,1	4,1	0,7
Czech Republic	28 308	147,0	104,7	3,8	0,5

Source: Census 1970, 1980 in Demografie 1, 1997

Table 6 Estimate of the development of the age structure of the Romani youth in 1996

From the entity 35 000 Romani (Census 1991)				From the total Romani population- approx. 160 000			
0-2	3-5	6-14	15-18	0-2	3-5	6-14	15-18
2 250	2 350	7 400	3 220	11 250	11 750	37 000	16 100

Source: Demografie 1, 1997

Table 7 Romani nationality youth in the school year 1995/1996 according to the type of school (absolute figures)

Maternal school	Basic school	Grammar school	Vocational school	Integrated school	Training college	Special schools	University
735	580	-	16	3	46	1 176	-

Source: Demografie 1, 1997

Table 8 Average numbers of the live-born children of the married Romani women in current marriage, 1970 and 1980

Age group	1970	1980	Difference 1970-1980	Difference in per cent 1970-1980
15-19	0,86	0,79	-0,07	-8,1
20-24	1,85	1,74	-0,11	-5,9
25-29	3,44	2,70	-0,74	-21,5
30-34	4,46	3,44	-1,02	-22,9
35-39	5,63	4,37	-1,26	-22,4
40-44	6,34	5,01	-1,33	-21,0
45-49	6,27	5,50	-0,77	-12,3
Total	4,59	3,52	-1,07	-23,3
Total of population CR	1,83	1,86	+0,03	+1,6

Source: Census 1970, 1980 in Demografie 1, 1997

Table 9 Average numbers of the live-born children to the married Romani women and to the total number of women in 1991

Age group	Romani women		Total women	
15-19	0,95	1,33	0,52	1,05
20-24	1,93	2,10	1,05	1,35
25-29	2,71	2,88	1,65	1,77
30-34	3,38	3,51	2,01	2,08
35-39	3,66	3,82	2,12	2,18
40-44	4,11	4,25	2,14	2,20
45-49	4,86	5,03	2,09	2,17
Total	3,43	3,64	1,95	2,09

Source: Census 1991 in Demografie 1, 1997