



**TRADITIONAL
ROMANY
CULTURE**

—
MYTH OR
REALITY?

—
**REFLECTION
OF SAMUEL
AUGUSTINI
AB HORTIS
WORK
“ZIGEUNER
IN UNGARN”
IN CONTEXT
OF HELPING
PROFESSIONS**

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TRADITIONAL ROMANY CULTURE – MYTH OR REALITY?

**Reflection of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis
„Zigeuner in Ungarn“ in context of helping professions**

KRAKÓW, 2015

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INTRODUCTION

"...Love thy neighbor as thyself..." (Lev. 19:18)

In the very short sentence there lies one of the most beautiful manifestations of love recorded in the Book of books. It is possible to perceive it in two dimensions. The first sphere is self-knowledge. That *Nosce te ipsum* (from Latin 'Know yourself', author's note) is an inevitable precondition of the healthy human to human relationship. The ability to accept oneself – 'to love oneself' is the first step leading to a successful cooperation in personal, professional and social sphere of life. It is demonstrated mostly in a healthy self-acceptance and in humble perceiving of positives and negatives of one's own 'Me'. It is a whole life process of self-learning. If we become good students of our own inner personality, then it is also possible to fulfil the second dimension of the 'love commandment' – the empathy. The ability to empathise with the needs of miserable ones is irreplaceable in the context of helping profession. A man full of love, sacrifice, humbleness and acceptance of the others not according to their worthiness but according to their needs can become successful in the field of help and care for miserable. On the other hand, it is possible to gain much knowledge through education and to become a lumen in the social area, but without love and empathy there is no way to successful and long lasting help to self-help.

'Not trimmed good' can easily burn out when it is not built on the pillars of knowledge. The art of helping is a combination of love to oneself and to the others and quality knowledge. As far as the work with people who come from different social environment multiplied by different strategies and culture is concerned, the need of these two inseparable attributes is exaggerated. The above-mentioned has been the reason for capturing the present Romany culture image in the region under the Tatras in our work. Despite the fact that the Romological literature contains many scientific works or quality final research reports, there exists a blank page in the field of culture of Eastern Slovakia segregated settlements inhabitants. The traditional Romany culture of Wallachia Romany is recorded in more details. First of all, it is the work by Horváthová: *Cigáni na Slovensku (Gypsies in Slovakia)* (1964) that is possible to consider as so far unbeaten because of its complexity. Socio-cultural regulations are described in detail in the work written by the hand of a Wallachian Romany *AmaroTrájo* by authors Stojka and Pivoň (2003). But our attention has been attracted by an almost forgotten work of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis *„Von den heutigen Zustände, sondenbaren Sitten und Lebensart, wie auch von den übrigen Eigenschaftenun Umständen der*

Zigeuner in Ungarn (1775). In fact, this is the very first ethnographic work dealing with Romany life in our territory. There we can find information about their origins that were overtaken by several European period scholars. One of the motives of writing about Hortis' monographs was the radicalization of opinions of a part of Hungary public on how to solve a Gypsy question. Is not the situation after more than two hundred and fifty years similar? The presented so-called pillars of Romany reform and Restatement of the Act of Material Distress or rise of groups suppressing human rights are current themes of present days. An important parallel is the geographic area where about Hortis worked. He spent almost all his life in the town of Spišská Sobota, which is today one of the town circuits of Poprad, our hometown. Our aspiration is to analyse substantively his work, seek for parallels between the period times and present situation in the context of cultural change processes of the Romany living in Podtatranský Region. We had in mind the theoretical sensitivity and ethics of scientific research while writing our work. In the opening chapter it was necessary to clarify our understanding of culture as a complex whole including the class of cultural phenomenon whose elements were mastered by man as man of society and to avoid mistakes that the authors writing about Romany culture usually make. The most difficult questions that were necessary to be answered before writing the work were mostly dealing with validity, verifiability and interpretation. Geertz' perception of culture as a symbolic system has served us as an inspiration. Culture interpretation is in his opinion rather the art and literary genre than a science. Also in this case it is true that the way of reality approximation of settlements is possible only through the direct field research that we carried out in the summer months of the years 2008 – 2013. We humbly perceive that our explanation can raise several methodological questions. The presence itself of *gadjo* researcher in Romany society requires a description of the stay process in the field through his optics. In our case of social worker with the focus on Romany society, the combination of science and literary genre seemed to be a suitable method for drawing an image depicting poverty of 21st century settlements.

The work is dedicated to my deceased friend Milan Dirda, the key informant from Spišská Teplica. Great thanks for the open arms belong to Vladimír Horváth and his family who allowed us to stay and live in their home and so to participate directly on the life in the community. We are thankful to Mrs. Lýdia Pištová for her time, patience and opening the town gate of poverty in Poprad. We want to express thanks to Professor Lužica and Dr. Kollárová for their professional mentoring.

1 ROMA CULTURE

The area of Roma culture is currently one of the most discussed phenomena in the field of social sciences such as anthropology, ethnology, sociology or social work. However, it is also examined by separate disciplines such as *gypsology*/*ciganology* (the term used mainly by experts of Hungarian, Czech and other origins), or *romology*, or *romalogy*. The latter two areas of focus are the most pertracted in the local conditions. The opinions on the theoretical background and research practices of both sectors vary among experts and there does not exist a clear consensus. In Slovakia, however, a sort of a vague 'construct' prevails, which lacks a hallmark of scientism. It is therefore unclear who is 'authorized' to comment on the topic. Whatever representative of a diverse scientific field writes about Roma culture, he/ she should keep in mind the mistakes often made by different authors. Among the well-known critics of the normative works about the Roma culture we can mention a Czech anthropologist Jakoubek (2008), who has even defined the 'seven deadly sins of multiculturalism', which the authors commit while dealing with Romany culture:

- 1) they believe in the existence of races, which means in the possibility of classification of members of *Homo Sapiens Sapiens* on the basis of heritable genetic material into appropriate groups,
- 2) they consider the culture to be heritable biological quality,
- 3) they substitute culture for cultivation (they see culture only as the so-called 'higher' culture perceived axiologically - e.g . theatre, film, dance, art, etc.)
- 4) only the bearers of the culture are considered to be the best experts,
- 5) they confuse the membership in the culture with a declaration of identity (which is in this case the declaration of a specific ideology that can not be confused with the culture),
- 6) ethnic group and community of bearers of a certain culture are identical (i.e. that each group has 'its own culture'),
- 7) they believe in the objective existence of the Romany (as a substantially defined group of human bodies).

The presented *sins*, which several scientific studies unfortunately contain even today, have been the object of expert discussions. To avoid fundamental mistakes in our work, it was of primary importance to define the basic term *culture*.

We can consider Tylor's definition of culture dating from 1871¹, which is seen as a starting point of similarly oriented works, to be constant and still current. He perceives culture or civilization as a complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits which man has adopted as a member of society. His explanation of the term is also assumed by well-known current representatives of anthropology Soukup (2000) or Jakoubek with Hirt (2008). Even Tylor himself considers the definition as ethnographic and it is also one of the reasons why we have decided for its application as well. Within the discourse we have deliberately omitted the term ethnicity, which blurs the debate about culture.

1.1 ROMA CULTURE IN THE LIGHT OF RESEARCH

The research of the traditional elements of Roma culture cannot be done 'at the table'. The history of famous anthropological works records the study of culture even on distance² in the famous Benedict's work, but in our case we have chosen fieldwork in the environment of the settlements of Eastern Slovakia. Our aim has not been the exploration of the type 'a gadjo explores the Romany in the tube', as interpreted by Kužel (2004). The examination of classes of cultural phenomena in a given environment requires not only considerable knowledge from social science disciplines, but also a personal dedication, a kind of *jilo* (from Romani language *heart*, author's note) of the researcher. We believe that we can be successful only if we are the least influenced by stereotypes and prejudices, we have no problem to shake hands, or to eat and drink from the same dishes as the poor in the settlements. It is necessary to spend some time directly in the settlement, which can bring us new dimensions of knowledge.³

In addition to defining *culture* itself, another area of research, which is the object of frequent disputes in works dealing with the Romany, may be introduced in form of a question: Who can be considered as a Romany within the field data collection?

In past years, the estimates of the actual number of the Romany differed significantly. This varied in the range from 350,000 to 600,000. The number of the Romany in Slovakia, according to the last census which

¹ Tylor (1871, 1 p.): „*Culture or civilization, taken in its ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.*“

² BENEDICT, R. F. 1946. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. Patterns of Japanese Culture.*

³ Similar ideas were also proclaimed in the author's habilitation thesis: Kozubík, M. 2013 *(Not)guilty and gadjo dilo.*

was conducted within the project Atlas of Roma Communities (2013), is 402,840. In the above monitoring, the Romany represent 7.5 % of the total population (In Slovakia there live ..., 2013). Within the data collection we have worked with so-called *credited ethnicity*, i.e. citizens who do not register to their nationality were identified as the Romany. They were labelled by the employees of the municipality, mayors and field social workers. This *labelling* is however used frequently in the surveys. Although this is teetering on the edge of ethics, it is necessary to admit that if we worked with the declared identity to the Roma national minority in a given census, again we could only get a distorted final number. In this case, lesser evil has been chosen. So how to get 'out of round'?

Jakoubek and Hirt (2008) offer us one of the most comprehensive explanations. They distinguish so-called popular and analytical models on the basis of which the authors perceive the Romany. The popular model works in research practice with persons who possess certain characteristics in appearance and it is assumed that whoever looks like Romany, he is automatically considered a bearer of Roma culture. It is also accepted as a fact that he also identifies with the Roma identity. However, the actual physical appearance cannot be the determining factor. Unfortunately, not only the general public, but often the experts writing about the Romany perceive them 'popularly' like this. According to the aforementioned authors, we do not necessarily have to abandon this model. In the Central European territory, which is characterized by a reduced ability to perceive the contradiction comprehensively, it is necessary (at least for now) to take this model into account.

According to the presented opinions, the physical characteristics, acquired cultural competences and national identity falsely overlap. In terms of the need for strategies by national, municipal and non-governmental institutions, as well as social research, it is needed to consistently distinguish the meaning of the word 'Romany' according to the second approach - analytical model. In it, we distinguish multiple views to the fact how can the Romany be seen:

- the first group comprises the above-mentioned popular model of perception of the Romany. It is used in the labelling of people who possess certain characteristics in appearance – certain anthropological type (dark hair, brown skin, etc.), as well as a territorial segregation. In words of a laic: "Why should we be concerned if anyone is Romany or not. After all, everyone knows that it is a member of the minority." We can forgive the general

public this erroneous assumption. The professional writings however require clear answers to the questions. The consequences can be serious. Remember the infamous affair of the 'Roma history'.⁴

- Another perception of the Romany can be seen as a bearer of culture of Roma settlements. According to this concept, the Romany is someone who is socialized to a certain system of values, principles and norms practiced in the environment of segregated Roma communities. From our perspective, it is again the widespread cliché that is characterized by the testimony as: "I personally do not mind the Romany, only those maladjusted." How can a polite, civilized Romany feel if we are talking like this about the members of the same minority?
- The last group is a Romany as a member of the Roma national minority. It is therefore a man who clearly declares his nationality and is considered a member of the community of persons – of Roma nation.

In our research, we have had enough time to talk with informants about their opinions and attitudes to Roma culture. Almost all of them openly proclaimed their membership and did not have any problem to talk about the individual cultural specifics. Some of the informants, however, did not express their own identity, or their testimony remained unclear. In the text, we will refer to them as to the residents of integrated, separated or segregated settlements. We have constantly kept in mind the ethics of scientific research, so we have sensitively considered any designation of the informants - people in different locations.

Despite the fact that, in the recent decades, several authors (Stojka, Pivoň, Jakoubek, Hirt, Horváthová and others) have dealt with the topic of Roma culture, there does not exist a complex report on the current forms of the traditional Roma culture. The exception is perhaps just the work 'Amáro Trajo' (2003), authored by Peter Stojka and co-author Rastislav Pivoň.

⁴ In 2001, the textbook for primary schools 'Roma History' aroused quite a stir. Roma Initiative of Slovakia (RIS) considered that it contained signs of racism and intolerance. So they demanded to stop its distribution. But this was just a supplementary textbook, which was not disseminated to schools. The Slovak plenipotentiary pointed out that even some personal data had been misused in the textbook. According to him, the textbook authors introduced a number of Roma personalities from whom they had received no consent and who did not identify themselves with the Romany (Roma history caused an uproar, 2011).

It is a handwritten work of a Wallachian Romany. One of the most important works describing the traditional Roma culture is undoubtedly the work of Horváth 'Gypsies in Slovakia' (1964). This is perhaps the most complex work and we believe that it has not been surpassed to this day. However, similarly to the works of Stojka and Pivoň (2003), it is focused on the Wallachian Roma culture. The only work that captures the life of Romany in Spiš and the High Tatras region is the work of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis (1775). But there exists a considerable vacuum in the knowledge of the traditional in the environment of Eastern Slovak settlements.

For the above-mentioned reasons we have decided to carry out an ethnographic research in this area. Ethnography is characterized by Brewer (2004, p. 312) as a research style that uses a combination of different techniques and methods of data collection and evaluation. This *research style* can be defined as the study of people in their natural environment or 'field' using the methods describing the social perception and everyday reality. The very necessity of this style is a direct and active involvement of the researcher in this reality.

Ethnographic research can be characterized by the three main features (Hammersley, 1998, In Hendl 2000, p. 119-120):

- 1) *Direct stay in the field* is needed to reveal and recognise social practices, while the ethnographer is involved, overtly or covertly, in the daily routines of people's lives for a long time - watching what happens, listening, asking questions and gathering all available data in different ways.

In our case, it was a direct stay in a segregated and separated location. The main part of the research was carried out in the summers of 2012 - 2013. More information on choosing the territory is presented in the second chapter of the book. However, it should be noted that the building of confidence by the residents of the settlement has its sequence. Therefore, the research in 2012 was conducted as all-day visits of the segregated locations. We did not decide to stay directly with the informants until the following year (2013). The term informant, respondent, interviewer or participant is not appropriate. We believe that by the admission into their own home the residents declared not only their hospitality, affection, but especially the acts of friendship. This is an important and valuable knowledge that confirms a significant role of a key informant in the ethnographic research (an irreplaceable role of the chief

informant is also highlighted by an extraordinary personality of diffusionism in anthropology Franz Boas, whose fundamental research assistant was Gerge Hunt, who allowed him to understand the culture of the Kwakiutl Indians, but also an influential Czech anthropologist Václav Soukup (2000, p.17.)).

- 2) *Flexible strategy* is needed to ensure that the ethnographer is able to adapt to the needs and realities of the situation arising when designing the theory, through which a researcher captures the given culture and observed relationships. This includes the skill to adapt the research process so that balance is created between an effort to summarize data with the demands of the situation. The imbalance of these aspects may lead to closure of the access to the field and information. We use all methods of data collection: concerned observation, individual interviews, group interviews and collection of artifacts, historical and current documents, photos and videos.

Within the field survey, which ran from 2012-2013, we:

- conducted more than 50 interviews,
- led two focus groups,
- recorded more than 1,700 minutes of recordings,
- took more than 250 photos.

This was an open, involved, semi-structured observation, which took place in the natural environment of the population of settlements.

One of the bases of the ethnographic work is *recording of observed*, heard or survived. Usually, the record is produced directly and it also depends on the researcher's ability to remember the information and process it internally. This is one of the reasons why records of the ethnographic collection do not overlap with the reality. They represent a certain transformation of the observed into the author's text. But the primary effort is for the final report to convince the readers that the reality is demonstrated credibly. Our main objective was to reflect the picture of the traditional Roma culture in the context of a single complex work capturing it in the territory of Eastern Slovakia: *Von dem heutigen Zustande, sonderbaren Sitten und Lebensart, wie auch von denen übrigen Eigenschaften und Umständen der Zigeuner in Ungarn (1775)*. Our ambition is not to describe a complex system of cultural phenomena of

Roma culture in Eastern Slovak settlements. Filling such a target would require fieldwork and data collection in all locations in Eastern region of the country. If we tried to record in detail the everyday reality of separated and segregated 'colonies'⁵, and the way of life in families living diffused in villages and towns, it would require a larger team of field researchers and not just a single author, as it was in our and ab Hortis' case. But we could collect data and compare the different socio-cultural regulations and ideas of selected localities to those observed more than two centuries ago. In the process of interpretation of the data obtained we were inspired by the ideas and opinions of distinguished personalities of social sciences such as Max Weber, Clifford Geertz and others.

We have been mostly interested in the interpretation of culture. The divergence of external demonstrations of behaviour, social practices from the meaning, which is attributed by an acting entity, raises an inevitable desire to know precisely this subjectively minded sense of action (Nešpor, 2002, p. 554). This effort to get 'under the skin, under the surface' characterizes sciences possessing the adjectives cultural, social or spiritual. In this regard they differ from the natural sciences, whose focus is considered by some researchers as genuine empirical or philological. These experiments of revealing the inner, subjective living of the objects of the research begin to emerge in the sixties of the twentieth century (the emergence of historical anthropology, reconstitution of philosophical anthropology, penetration of social and cultural anthropology in the German area, etc.). Several representatives considered just mentioned *uncovering* - subjectively intended meaning of (extrinsic) perception as the object of study.

One of the main representatives of this interpretation of ethnographic collected material in the context of art and literary genre was Clifford Geertz (1926-2006). Today we can consider him as the most recognized representative of so-called symbolic anthropology. The central category of Geertz's research was a *symbol*. He characterizes it as any object (In Banton, 1966, p. 5), act or event which serves to transfer ideas or meanings. Through symbols our values become permanent. Symbols are thus external sources of information that allow man to understand and organize the physical and social world.

He introduces his literary version of anthropology perceived as a combination of literature and science in the book *The Interpretation of*

⁵ In the research we have met with the situation that the Romany themselves call the environment of the settlement in which they live a *colony* (author's note).

Cultures, Selected Essays (1973). He deals with one of the questions: What does it mean to realize ethnography? According to him (p. 15) it is not a methodological issue. From one perspective (from the textbook point of view), it is making contact, selecting informants, transcribing texts, registering genealogy, terrain mapping, journal writing, etc. However, these methods of work and procedures do not capture the essence of ethnography. It is determined by the kind of intellectual effort: this is a tireless effort to use a so-called *thick description*.

The aim of such a description (Soukup, 2000, p. 182-185) is to arrive at large conclusions from small, but very finely interlaced data with precisely documented complex specifications. At the same time he refers to cultural reality as to an interpretatively open, complexly structured and layered way of meanings, in which each aspect of human behaviour or statement about a certain human phenomenon can be put into new contexts and reinterpreted by every next person entering into the problem, a matter which is of interest.

Outhwaite (In Harrington, 2006, p. 177) writes that *thick description* is a “detailed examination of relationships and ‘networks of meanings’ that actors create in the specific contexts of their interactions. Geertz was inspired by the work of British philosopher Gilbert Ryle⁶, who dealt with a sensitive type of description which can distinguish whether one blinks his eyes *intentionally* or just *accidentally*⁷. In the particular social context - for example in a school classroom full of boys who are about to do some mischief to their teacher – the function of a blink can serve as a signal with a specific meaning and it is up to the ethnographer to decipher the meaning. The method of a ‘thick description’ is thus for Geertz a way to treat the social science that recognizes cultural context and looks for the sense of the observed phenomena. He stresses that explanation in social science does not necessarily mean simplification - such as Einstein’s elegant equation $E = mc^2$, but rather “replacement of difficult images by simpler with the effort to preserve convincing clarity which is associated with simple images” (In Geertz, 1973, p. 33).

⁶ Gilbert Ryle (1900-1976) was a British analytic philosopher of language. He criticized Descartes’ dualism of mind and body, which he believed evokes the image of ‘ghost in the machine’; he distinguished between the practical (know how) and the theoretical line (know that). The author of the work *Concept of Mind* (1949). (Harrington, A. et al., 2006, p. 458).

⁷ More can be found in the Czech translation of Geertz’s work *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays/ Interpretace kultur*, Prague: SLON, 2000. p. 15 - 16. ISBN 80-85850-89-3.

Geertz (1973, p. 9) further states: „In finished anthropological writing ... this fact-that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to – is obscured because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is in-sinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined.“ We have chosen the original citation because it illustrates Geertz's work very appropriately.

The personality of Clifford Geertz is not associated only with symbolic anthropology. He is also famous for the so-called new ethnography, which is, in addition to the symbolic direction, associated with the so-called cognitive anthropology.

Table 1 Research field of new ethnography (Source: Soukup, 2000, p. 186)

Discipline	Object of research
Cognitive anthropology	Culture as a cognitive system
Symbolic anthropology	Culture as a symbolic system
Ethno-science	Principles of indigenous classification
Ethno-semantics	Meanings attributed to the world

A distinctive feature of the research strategy of the new ethnography is an increased emphasis on the study of culture seen through the lens of a member of the examined culture. New ethnography is considered one of the most influential lines of contemporary cultural and social anthropology. In the course of the recent decades, however, there is a growing divergence between the symbolic and cognitive anthropology. It is caused by different thematic and methodological orientation of both directions, which can be reflected in the following areas (Soukup, 2000, p. 187):

- 1) Cognitive anthropology concentrates on shared cognitive contents of human consciousness, while symbolic anthropology emphasizes not only mental structures, but also interaction situation in which the world of meanings is constituted and cultural context in which communication takes place.
- 2) Cognitive anthropology captures the objective of its research in the representation of the organization of human thought and logic of the so-called cultural grammar of a certain society, while the symbolic anthropology seeks to interpret the meanings and structures of texts - hermeneutical interpretation of the culture.

- 3) Cognitive anthropology prefers to analyse the links between lexemes (basic language units) and their meanings and semantic relationships between the areas (domains) of a certain culture, while the typical interest of symbolic anthropology lies in research of metaphorical links between domains within the text, genre, ritual or cultural system.
- 4) Cognitive anthropology methodologically relies on scientific model of science (mathematical, statistical, cybernetic and linguistic formalisms) of a certain culture, while symbolic anthropology prefers anti-positivist, humanistic and interpretative perception of anthropology as art and literary genre, and in the analysis of a particular culture it uses literary and art history approaches emphasizing condensation, polysemy (ambiguity) and interpretative virtuosity and creative imagination.

Geertz himself was influenced by Max Weber (1864-1920). Weber laid the foundations of modern sociology. Social science in his perception does not deal with only quantifying data on human society, but it is especially the most complex interpretations possible and clarification of how and why they function in this or that way. His main ideas include (McGreal, 1999, p. 542):

An important contribution of social scientists is to highlight the disturbing facts and the adverse consequences of human acts.

Humanity can build its own cage: it is an ironic and tragic fact that our apparent success and progress can become a trap for us.

It is important to see the society objectively, why to require the rejection of evaluative judgments.

The potential tension between the researcher's subjective personality and the researched object is important. Weber was concerned in particular by the fact that the researcher's value preferences might in some way undermine the reconstruction of the collected facts (Weber, 1903, 1915 In Poggi, 2006, pp. 106-107). Weber emphasized that each research – of both natural and human affairs - is a motivated conduct which is guided by the researcher's values or 'value ideas', or what is worth to consider according to the researcher's idea. He also insisted on the fact that this justified link (called *Wertbeziehung*) between researcher's values and his research should be discontinued at this point.

There should be no mixing of the researcher's value judgment (*Werturteil*) and assessment of the facts which the researcher concludes on the basis of the data obtained. The data must be collected in such a way that their relative assessment earns the consent of the other actors who do not share the attitudes and values of the researcher.

Weber also dealt with hermeneutics, interpretation of research. For the ability to interpret, he uses the term *verstehen* (from German: to understand, author's note). He argues that the researcher engaged in the culture study must understand the mental processes that lead individuals to their acts, and in particular he must understand the processes by which the individual orients himself in the acts of the others. He also emphasizes that although researchers fostering 'cultural sciences' must seek to understand the subjective processes of human actors this does not mean that they should abandon attempts to explain these phenomena. This does not mean that they are limited to the description and commentary of social phenomena. The correct scientific explanation of any phenomenon should also contain an attempt to clarify its causes. In this sense, Weber defined sociology as a science which tackles the interpretative understanding of human action, so as to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and consequences (Weber, 1922 In Poggi, 2006, pp. 105-106).

Nešpor (2002, p. 557) deals with the relationship between Weber and Geertz in detail. In his view, both of them perceived culture differently. Weber understood it as a hypothetical construct, as a set of related interpretations of subjective senses attributed to the action of someone else. According to Geertz, culture and cultural patterns are external sources of information lying outside the limits of an organism in the shared intersubjective world. In other words - Geertz's culture is an objectively existing supra-individual spiritual entity shared by its bearers, while culture in Weber's perception exists only in its members, and it is repeatedly generated by each of their acts. The comparison of key insights into the interpretation of culture of both authors is beyond the scope of this work. It would require a thorough systematic review. Our goal was to provide the bases of Geertz's culture perception, which were undoubtedly influenced by Weber.

Both authors have impressed us by a specific method of understanding in the system of social sciences. The method lies in the assumption that

(Ondrejkovič - Majerčíková, 2012⁸, pp. 54-55) "the mental processes of others are sufficiently similar to the researcher. Unlike the natural sciences, where phenomena are available 'just from the outside', in the social sciences one can enter, through internal approach (e.g. through empathy), in his spiritual life and thought, and so he can reach analogical deductions allowing to explain the acts of others, including their motivation. This view is shared by many prominent figures of science, among them Max Weber and Clifford Geertz. Ondrejkovič (2004, p. 42) illustrates that each "knowledge is therefore the understanding from a particular perspective. Becoming meaningful through understanding is at the same time self-reflexion, entering of an understanding man into himself, self-deepening, and to some extent even spiritualizing and humanization."

Geertz's approach was an inspiration even in our writing. We have been particularly impressed by his approach of perceiving anthropology as

⁸ In the work *Explanation, Understanding and Interpretation in Social Scientific Research* (2012, pp. 70-71) the above-mentioned authors consider the question if there are other reasons for accepting the theory and results of research than their conformity with reality? In this relation, they particularly quote Weber (1968, pp. 229-277) who summarized his perspective in four points: 1) Any scientific description and explanation of social reality is evaluative to the extent to which from the nearly infinite number of research questions we select those which should be the subject to the scientific elaboration. Already the choice of research questions is therefore an evaluation that the researcher must make. 2) Description and explanation of the facts should be objective, i.e. without any assessment, and thus adoptable for anyone who disposes expert knowledge of the relevant social scientific discipline. Scientific statements must not be influenced by the ideas that are researcher's wishes. Ondrejkovič a Majerníková believe that these two points are contradictory. We may agree with them, because if clarification of certain facts should not be influenced by evaluation, thus the first point according which the researcher evaluates by selecting of research questions is negated. It is therefore a methodological dispute, in which we will interpret the collected ethnographic material by *our language*, or in Geertz's words by a *thick description*, and we will add a specific literary character to our style of writing. These issues in the field of data processing and their interpretation are often discussed in professional circles. The first two quoted points can be combined so that the researcher himself selects testimonies which he considers irrelevant from serious and defensible reasons and he deliberately omits them in the interpretation of culture. In all circumstances, however, he should bear in mind objectivity, validity and verifiability of the results. 3) The scientific results can be achieved in the aims of politics and economy, which they are valorised. But we cannot obtain any instruction (*Hinweis*) how to evaluate some leadership from scientific knowledge. In other words, from the statements about what something is like, we do not get the answer what something should be like. 4) The assessment itself may be the subject of scientific work. For example, we can examine the logical consistency of evaluative statements, evaluative attitudes and behaviour of people (e.g. to some political, ethical and practical problems), which can be described and explained.

literary art. His view that the best works are mainly in the form of that *genre* naturally provoked the embarrassment and open criticism among anthropological public (Soukup, 2000). Geertz is aware that likening the position of anthropologist and writer has many pitfalls and that it is impossible to convince the whole anthropological jury: "the distinction between what someone says and the way he says it ... is difficult in anthropology as well as in poetry, painting or political rhetoric" (Geertz, 1988, p. 143; Soukup, 2000, pp. 182-185). Geertz's symbolic anthropology contributed significantly to the postmodern efforts that refuse to reduce human behaviour to the hidden rules and implicit expectations and bring to anthropology richly interlaced descriptions similar to the art of creating a literary work. These basic ideas were our starting points for writing this book. We modestly believe that this direction, ideas and writing style is well suited for describing the traditional elements of Roma culture.

1.2 TYPOLOGY OF ROMA CULTURE

We can distinguish in general three basic approaches to the definition of the term culture (e.g. Soukup, 2000, pp. 15-16):

- Axiological (axiology - science of values, author's note) - may include all the cultural elements which can be seen as so-called 'high' culture (art, literature, high-minded and progressive ideas, etc.).
- Anthropological – a class of cultural phenomena containing:
 - cultural artifacts (material products of human activity),
 - socio-cultural regulations (traditions, morals, laws, taboos),
 - ideas (symbolic and cognitive systems).They can be manifested externally towards the society, but also as internal rules of a community, they are shared by members of a particular community and passed through time and space.
- Reduced (reductionist) - restriction of the concept of culture to a certain segment of socio-cultural reality - we focus on one part of the cultural phenomenon and we try to uncover more by its detailed investigation.

In our research, we start from the anthropological definition from the *etic perspective* – the perspective of a group from the point of view of a member of another group (Hendl, 2005, p. 118) in the context of *macro-ethnography* – the description of the culture or its part as a compact complex.

We introduce the typology of Roma culture in our work *(Not) guilty and gadjo dilo* (2013). Jakoubek's division (2006) is in our opinion the most concise and reminds of the fundamental Soukup's (2000) perceptions of the concept of culture:

- 1) traditional Roma culture
- 2) national Roma culture
- 3) culture of suburban areas ('Roma') quarters - *culture of poverty*, 'subculture of poverty' (Žilová, 2005, p.41).

Traditional Roma culture

We could introduce the traditional in the Roma culture in one word as - *romipen* (can be translated as 'Romahood'). Oláh (2013, p.95) views it as "a set of values and patterns of behaviour that every (decent) Romany should obey. These values include in particular respect for elders, hospitality, helping the poor, cohesion, table manners, but also the way of behaving in public."

Vaňová (2014) characterizes the Roma culture as Romipen. This synonym of Roma culture "does not support the creation of close social relations with non-Roma inhabitants. Inaccessibility of this culture may mislead the external observers to the assumption that those who seclude are secretive people and they hide something. Maintaining cultural or religious restrictions, which do not allow people from the outside, is certainly one of the major historical factors that explain the emergence of anti-Roma attitudes. At the same time, the need of the Romany to be separated from non-Roma population made it impossible for the observers to learn about the world of the Romany, which led to embellishing of the information and stereotypes. Thus the image of otherness and distance from the Romany has been maintained, while both factors contributed to literary and fantastic image of the Romany, which caused the Roma issue has been taken rather lightly."

In their work *Amáro Trajo* (Our Life), Stojka and Pivoň (2003) ask a question of what the Romahood is. This is a handwritten piece of Wallachian (Vlachi) Romany. They state (p. 6): "Romahood stays with the Romany throughout their lives. If we want to keep it, we must respect and honour Roma traditions, without which we could not live Romahood ... Romahood, these are some principles that we need to follow in our life, so that everybody knows we are Romany. These are:

- Wallachian language and speech,
- baptism,

- engagement,
- wedding,
- Roma court,
- relationship to the nearest and distant family,
- respect,
- wish,
- song,
- dance,
- dressing and
- Roma names.

We could not keep Romahood without these individual points, or we would not be Wallachian Romany any more". In the next chapters, the authors then describe the individual elements of the traditional Roma (Wallachian) culture. If we searched for the literature dealing with the traditions of Roma culture of the eastern territory of our country, we would search hard. The only single complex work about this topic is that of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis *Zigeuner in Ungarn* (1775). To compare hardly comparable different sub-ethnic groups of the Romany is shown in the words of the above-mentioned authors Stojka and Pivoň (2003, p. 6): "In our community, the following proverb is true: "One hundred Romany, one hundred habits!" Therefore, to assess a class of cultural phenomena has been a difficult task waiting for us.

Roma culture at the national level (National Roma culture)

If we likened the national Roma culture to Soukup's typology (2000), we could talk about some sort of axiologically 'higher' culture. This could be the artistic activities of different nature - theatre, film, musical compositions, works of art, and the like. This sphere of the Roma culture is accepted even by often very critical majority society.

Hivešová - Šilanová (In Vašečka, et al., 2002, p. 148) perceives the Roma culture - especially the above-mentioned national-cultural activities in their creative and interpretative context - in the following areas:

- "musical performers providing musical part of events,
- bearers and maintainers of Slovak folklore traditions,
- bearers and maintainers of their own folklore traditions."

The most famous names of the three areas include for example Cinka Panna, Michal Barna, Ján Bihári, František Horváth, Pavol Čonka, František Balog and many others.

Roma national culture can be seen in several areas of cultural and social life (Kozubík, 2013, p. 43-44):

- literature (Ľudovít Didi⁹, Elena Lacková, Dezider Banga and others),
- painting (Rudolf Dzurko – working in the Slovak television since 1981, Viola Petrášová, Denisa Démenová, Pavol Pokorný, Ildikó Pálová and others),
- music (Ján Berky Mrenica, Diabolské husle (Devil violin), Sabrosa, Cigánski diabli (Gypsy Devils), Violin orchestra, Grand Slovakia, theatre orchestra Romathan),
- spiritual singing choirs (Children of God – Devleskere čhave), as well as Roma musical events (Khamoro – Prague, Vo víre

⁹ In 2013 passed away an important personality presenting Roma culture: Ing. Mgr. Ľudovít Didi (16.1.1931, Púchov - 15.9.2013, Vrábľa). "He was a leading Roma writer and pedagogist. His remarkable life story is an example of human perseverance and resilience. He grew up with his grandparents, attended with great self-renunciation elementary and town school, he was accepted to the Teachers Institute in Bánovce nad Bebravou, but since he had no means to pay the dormitory, he did not enter the institute. After coming to Bratislava, he graduated with the help of YMCA and in 1951 he began studying at the High School of Political and Economic Sciences in Prague, from where he was excluded within the political purges. He did not give up his life goal to get a university education and he succeeded in 1963 by graduation from the Pedagogical Institute in Nitra. He became a teacher and in 1966 a leading educator in the Special school in Vrábľa. The accusation that he publicly claimed wrong political views in 1968 caused him to lose this job in 1974. After years of repression, along with his wife Mária, he signed the Charter 77 in 1980. After the political and civil rehabilitation in 1990, he became the director of the orphanage in Koliňany, where he worked until his retirement in 1998. In 1992, the University of Economics in Prague granted him a degree on the basis of political rehabilitation.

His literary works did not come to existence until he retired and he published the first of them, the novel *Tales blessed by the wind*, in 2004 when he was 73 years old. Literary criticism marked the publication as a major creative achievement, as the story that uniquely pictures the authentic world of the Roma ethnic group, his misery and suffering, love and death, the gypsy soul. He presented the suggestive fate of a Romany Ondráš and his extended family, the plot is set in the 30s to 50s of the last century. This strongly autobiographical work is also the first authentic Roma novel in the Slovak literature. In 2008, he released his next major work of literature *Tzigane's prophecy*, which takes the form of a generational novel and it impressively narrates the fate of a Roma blacksmith family. In the novel *Black Romany and White Love* (2012) he captures life troubles of the main protagonist of the Romany Gejza who falls in love with non-Romany Marika. In all the three published books he proved to be an excellent storyteller with a sense of capturing the essence of the Roma existence and Roma cultural phenomenon that represents the enrichment of the Slovak national culture.

On 8.9.2011, Ing. Mgr. Ľudovít Didi was awarded by the leaders of the Association of Slovak Writers - President PhDr. Ján Tužinský, PhD. and secretary Mgr. art. Pavol Janík, PhD. - a commemorative medal for a significant contribution to the development of the Slovak literature from Roma environment" (Janík, 2013).

harmónie (In the whirlwind of harmony), Medzi nebom a zemou (Between the heaven and earth)),

- film (Deti vetra (Children of the Wind) – 13 parts documentary cycle - director: Martin Slivka, dramaturgy: René Lužica, Jozef Banyák - the only Roma director: Dietky (ne)vinné (Little children (not) guilty), Martin Šulík: Cigán (Gypsy), Dušan Hanák: Ružové sny (Pink dreams), Marek Šulík, Jana Bučková: Zvonky šťastia (Bells of luck), Ladislav Kaboš: Všetky moje deti (All My Children), Odsúdení na spolunažívanie v dobrom (Condemned to live together in good), Paula Ďurinová - Baro Mariben - civil association Jekhetane),
- Roma print media (whose activity is increasingly threatened - Romano nevo ľil, Buťakero Nevipen), the Internet news (Roma Media Center (MECEM), which celebrated its fifteenth anniversary in 2014), radio and television (Radio Patria - Roma cultural revue, Radio Patria - Roma word, Roma magazine: "So vakeres?"),
- cultural institutions supported by the state (the theatre Romathan - deceased Ján Šilan and Daniela Hivešová-Šilanová, Department of Gemer-Malohont Museum Rimavská Sobota, Department of Culture of Vihorlat Museum in Humenné, Documentation Centre of Roma culture in the Slovak National Museum in Martin, Secondary Art School Košice, director Gejza Adam).

Among state institutions supporting the development of the Roma culture, we could also include the former Department of Roma Culture (Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra - our alma mater). It was founded in 1990 as a workplace that aimed to educate mainly teachers of Roma students. One of the motives of its establishment was encouraging and training qualified Roma intelligence (in the field of pedagogy, enlightenment and later social work focusing on the Roma community), but also members of the majority population to optimize the socio-cultural situation of the Romany in the Slovak Republic. Later the department acquired the status of the Institute and changed its name to the Institute of Romani Studies. The focus of pedagogical direction has been transformed into the area of social care and social services. Currently the Institute offers its candidates the opportunity to study in the programme 3.1.16 Social services and counselling. The planned Roma language education at university level has failed due to the strict criteria in higher education.

In the sphere of national Roma culture we cannot forget a significant support by NGOs. A detailed report on this subject was elaborated by Rác (2013) who writes: "*Romano Nevo Lil* is the oldest Roma periodical in the Slovak Republic. It started as *Romano Lil* (Roma Sheet) in September 1991 as a weekly newspaper in Slovak-Roma mutation in the press run of 5000 copies. In the years 1991-1993 it built up its own editorial staff, four filial editorial boards (Prague, Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and Košice) and a network of local correspondents. In that period, binding rules and conditions for financing national culture did not exist. The only criterion was the purpose of the provided resources. Roma Sheet thus obtained the full allocation for running and publishing the newspaper. In 1992, there was a change in the name of the newspaper and *Romano Nevo Lil* (Roma New Sheet) was created and a civil association Jekhetane (Together) based in Prešov became its publisher. The turning point came after 1993, when the Ministry of Culture changed the approach to funding the national press. The change in funding caused the disrupting the periodicity and the expenditures on running the editorial boards and affiliated branches reduced significantly. Since 1995, the publishing of the *Romano Nevo Lil* is fully dependent on allocations from the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and in recent years the Government Office. The periodicity has markedly changed, it is published as a monthly with large variations in the issuance during the year caused by delays of funding programmes."

In 2013, the financial situation of the Roma media was uneasy, which is documented in the following words in the press releases: "Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities Peter Pollák is aware that the financial situation of the Roma media is unfavourable. Existentially threatened is especially Roma cultural-social newspaper *Romano Nevo Lil* - Roma New Sheet. Given the continuing unfavourable situation threatening the survival of the newspaper *Romano Nevo Lil*, the Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities Peter Pollák organizes a working meeting with members of the board of trustees of the newspaper on August 5, 2013 in the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities in Bratislava. He invited all members of the board of trustees - Roman Čonka, Jozef Ferenc, Tibor Huszár, Zuzana Kumanová, Arne Manna, Pavol Mešťan, Klára Orgovánová and Jurina Rusnáková." (Plenipotentiary Peter Pollák will solve the adverse situation of the newspaper *Romano Nevo Lil*, 2013)

The will to find all available means, was however strong, so after half a year we can note that the publishing of the periodical has not stopped. The proof can be one of the last issues of the magazine (2/2013), which is

devoted to the personality of doctor MUDr. Ján Cibul'a. Sivý (2013, pp. 1-2) refers to him as to the Romany who was known by the whole world, but no one at home. He states: "Ján Cibul'a¹⁰ was one of the most important Slovaks in the twentieth century. The communist regime concealed his achievements. From the settlement he worked his way up to his own medical practice in Switzerland and when he was awarded the Cultural price in Bern it was an honour as it received only Albert Einstein before. Canadian Romany nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011."

Some other personalities of the Roma culture would certainly deserve much more attention. We commemorated Doctor Ján Cibul'a and writer Ludovít Didi also because they passed away last year. We think (similarly to Sivý, 2013 or Janík, 2013) that people in our local conditions do not talk about these personalities the way they would definitely deserve.

¹⁰ "He was the eldest of five siblings, he grew up in modest conditions. His mother was a housewife and his father played the violin. He inherited the love for music and the violin itself after his father. After graduating from the Secondary Comprehensive School in Rimavská Sobota in 1951, he was accepted at Comenius University in Bratislava as the first Romany in Slovakia, he studied medicine. As a graduate of medicine he was sent by the regime to work in German Democratic Republic, where he served until 1967. After returning home, he worked in Bratislava and Nováky, a year later he left his homeland forever. In Switzerland, he worked as a laboratory technician in a pharmaceutical complex first, and in 2001 he opened his own surgery in Bern. During this period he graduated from the university in Vienna as a part time student and he engaged even in acupuncture. Cibul'a, however, met with prejudices against the Romany also in Switzerland. He believed that only an association of Roma elites could help to overcome these barriers in society. He mainly corresponded with his family, or sometimes he called them. As his sister Želmíra recalls he always sent home clippings from foreign newspapers. Cibul'a, as activist, often met leading figures from the world's political and cultural life such as Indira Gandhi, Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, the Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme and French President Jacques Chirac. In 1971, a significant event was waiting for him. It was him who considerably contributed to realization of the meeting of the Roma elites in the English town of Orpington. This was the first meeting of the International Romani Union (IRU) and the world reminds it as the International Roma Day. The Slovak doctor got to the head of the strongest Roma movement in the history. After six years, the next congress was convened - directly in Geneva. After years in exile, Cibul'a returned to Slovakia for the first time in 1990. Great achievements of the Slovak in exile were paradoxically noticed first in Canada. The local association of the Czech-Slovak Romany nominated him in 2001 for the Nobel Peace Prize and he was officially included among the candidates. Slovakia did not notice his work until 2008. Only then the Government Office awarded him with the Humanity Prize. At that time, however, Ján Cibul'a suffered a severe illness. Despite the complications he was still an active diplomat who fought for compensation to victims of the Roma Holocaust. He wanted to compensate the Romany as Jews" (Sivý, 2014, pp. 1-2, shortened). By 2009, Dr. Cibul'a regularly attended events organized by the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Bern. He died on August 18, 2013 in Bern after a severe illness.

Within the Roma media, a special status is assigned to the Roma Press Agency (RPA), which was established in Košice in 2002. Since 2006 it has devoted to broadcasting of the Roma magazine (*So vakeres?*) in a public television. And it was one of the reasons for the change of its name to Roma Media Center (MECEM). The pilot organization of the realized activities was, however, Centre for Independent Journalism in Bratislava, which was founded in 1999. So this year, MECEM is celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of its establishment. The leading figures are Dr. Kristína Magdolenová (executive director), Bc. Jarmila Vaňová (programme director). During its functioning, the agency has undergone several changes. For example, in the period 2002-2008 several projects were implemented which focused mainly on the education of young Romany in the media environment, on the action of self-governing units working to improve the situation of the Roma community, or on publishing books, magazines, documentaries, etc. Recently, the organization also provides broadcasting of ethnically-minded programmes in the Slovak Radio.

The idea behind the support of culture of ethnic minorities is especially its development and preservation of traditional cultural characteristics and expressions for future generations. It is one of the ways how to strengthen the identity of one's own nation. It can be argued that the support for national Roma culture cannot mitigate the effects of poverty of the Roma minority. However, this is not the aim of the subsidizing of cultural and social activities. But it is particularly important in order not to refer to the traditional Roma culture as to a mythical concept which is gradually being forgotten.

Culture of suburban areas of ("Roma") quarters

The last area of the Roma culture that Jakoubek (2005) presents is the sphere which may otherwise be described as *culture of poverty*. This is the concept of the American anthropologist Oscar Lewis, who introduced an essay entitled *The Culture of Poverty* in 1966. The author identified approximately seventy features that are typical for this scheme. He divided them into four main dimensions:

- 1) the relationship between the majority population and a minority subculture,
- 2) the nature of a slum community,
- 3) family type,
- 4) attitudes, values and character traits of individuals.

Lewis (1966) believes that the culture of poverty is not just a matter of lack of basic needs and the state of lacking something. It's a culture in the traditional anthropological sense, i.e. one that provides guidance to human beings to life, a way of solving problems and thus it fulfills an important adaptive function¹¹. According to him, the way of life in the poor slums goes beyond the national boundaries and regional disparities between urban and rural areas in different countries. No matter where the elements of culture are located, its bearers have remarkable similarities in family structures, interpersonal relationships, habits, value system and orientation in time. (Kozubík, 2013, p. 48)

The author of the concept realized just after writing the article¹² that his theory would need to be complemented by knowledge of then socialist bloc countries. We have dealt with these issues and tried to answer the research question: "Do negative socio-pathological phenomena, frustration, apathy, abuse of the social system spring from the ethnicity/ the culture of the Romany (Romany thus find themselves in an unenviable situation by their own fault), or are the appointed negatives only consequences of poverty / Lewis' concept?", in our monograph (Not) guilty and gadjó dilo (2013), published under the project of the Scientific Grant Agency (VEGA), where we had been the main investigators. The research findings confirm the words of Lewis. All designated areas of culture of poverty of Puerto Ricans in New York and Puerto Rico are observed at the Romany living in marginalized settlements in eastern Slovakia.

Within summarizing the data we have treated the results through the optics of idiographic approach, therefore, we have not tempted to generalize our findings to the scope of the whole community living in Slovakia. There are several reasons. We think that both sub-ethnic group of the Romany living in the Slovak territory (Wallachian Romany - south and west and Rumungri - eastern Slovakia) differ from each other not only in their language, but especially in cultural backgrounds in the field of socio-cultural regulations. The stratification of settlements is so strongly heterogeneous that even the approaches of social workers,

¹¹ Soukup (2000) characterizes cultural adaptation as a specific way of transforming the world through the production of human artifacts, the creation of socio-cultural regulations and ideas.

¹² Lewis, O.: The Culture of Poverty, Scientific American, Vol. 215, no. 4. 1966, p. 19-25; translated by permission of Harold Ober Associates Incorporated. (Lenka Budilová, Marek Jakoubek)

officials and state must be tailor-made and cannot therefore be held from the table by creating a single model or strategy for all.

Opinions about the *culture of poverty* vary. Gorski (2008, p. 32-36) commented on the issue that the construct itself is composed of several small stereotypes that are widespread in majority society. His argument lies on the explanation of certain myths. We can quote: "People living in poverty are insufficiently motivated and have no work habits." This is derived from studies of Iversen and Farber (1996) and Wilson (1997) who argue that, compared to the rich, poor people have less motivation to work or they do not know how to work. Although the poor are often seen as lazy, 83 % of children from low-income families have at least one working parent, while 60 % of these parents work full time for at minimum one year. Even according to the *Economic Policy Institute* (2002), adults living in poverty spend more hours of work per week compared to richer.

If we do not live in a society where everyone who wants to work will be able to get a job, we cannot certainly talk about idleness as about Beveridge's giant¹³ causing poverty. In our research, we have conversely confirmed the concept of *culture of poverty* in its various dimensions.

1.3 SITUATION OF THE ROMANY IN SLOVAKIA

We often forget the conditions in which the Romany live. Without work, income, in poor settlements or ghettos. We pay more attention to how the media depict them, which unfortunately present them mostly in a negative light. We do not realize their hard and difficult life situation. Exclusion from the territory of the town or village in which they live, from the social life and overall life of the society, is a difficult and often insurmountable obstacle for them (Kozubík, 2008, p.131). At present, the Romany have an uneasy position in Slovakia. With decreasing of the living standards and rising unemployment they often become a "lightning conductor" for problems. Public opinion is so negatively inclined that the

¹³ William Henry Beveridge (1879-1963) - one of the first people who contributed to the development of social unemployment insurance in the UK. Beveridge emphasized that social insurance is only a part of "political progress": fully developed social security should remove hardship. But apart from it, there exist four other "giants" which the social policy needs to fight: disease, ignorance, filth and misery and idleness. Several reforms inspired by him successively include: family allowances (1944), the National Insurance Act (1946) and the national programme of assistance (1948) and the laws on education (1944), the National Health Service (1946), and the like. (Konečný – Radičová, In Tokárová, 2000, pp. 255-256)

populist measures are taken, which encounter many obstacles. A new amendment to the Act on material deprivation No. 599/2003 has provoked a discussion. Last year our President Ivan Gašparovič returned the law to the Parliament with the objection that some parts are likely to contravene with the Constitution. However, the National Council broke his veto on November, 26 last year. Act on material deprivation is effective from January 2014, but Service Ombudsman Jana Dubovcová filed a complaint to the Constitutional Court. Non-governmental organizations set the alarm bells ringing. The most contentious changes include the fact that if a municipality asks deprived people to work within the smaller community service or volunteer activities, they will be eligible for financial assistance from the state in the amount of 61.60 euro only if they work 32 hours per month. (Act on material deprivation is not a cure-all..., 2013). The current political representation is trying to fulfil so-called "Right way - the Roma reform", which is based on the so-called "Ten pillars of the Roma reform" (10 pillars ..., 2013):

1. The form and amount of social assistance from the state as well as attitude of the state to the citizens will pay more attention to citizen's attitude towards his/ her family, society and the state.
2. The state will systematically assess the degree of riskiness of families for healthy child development and it will adapt the potential form and scope of its intervention.
3. State shall define clear and definite criteria in assessing the riskiness of a village, and when going beyond them, the state directly ensures the performance of various helping professions (assistant teacher, social worker, medical assistant, police specialist) in the village.
4. State cannot rely on irresponsible parents that they will raise responsible children. The state will ensure proper education of children of irresponsible parents before joining the elementary school.
5. The ambition of a state shall not be only a child who finished compulsory education, but a child able to prove successful at the labour market.
6. State shall set a minimum range of public works, which a socially dependent citizen has to work off in order to qualify for the incentive part of social benefits. Slovakia is not such a rich country that can hand out free money to people who are able to work.
7. State shall adjust the welfare system so as the situations will not appear where it pays not to work more than to go to work.

8. State shall compensate the owners of the land on which it enabled the establishment of illegal settlements. It shall subsequently offer the lots for the same price to their current users whose illegal buildings will be removed from the lot if they do not purchase the land within the given period.

9. State will not automatically pay the housing benefit to the owners and tenants of a real estate, but only to people who fulfil their legal obligations and commit no infringement and criminal activity, regardless of their relationship to the property.

10. State shall establish measures to ensure that socially dependent people do not have social immunity, which now allows them to commit offenses without penalty.

The detailed analysis of the pillars is not the objective of our work. We have mentioned them in order to present the current stance of political representations to the issue of poverty in Slovakia. The view, which aptly describes the current situation, is presented by Oravec (2013, p. 10): "So far introduced two of the six parts¹⁴ of the reform are rather just a few

¹⁴ The two areas were concerned: education and law enforcement (Daniel, 2013, p. 5): Minister Robert Kaliňák together with the Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities presented in October 2012 the first 14 points of a so-called Roma reform focused on education entitled *Education - children should go to school*. These include the introduction of pre-school education for children from three years from risky families, while the risk level should be determined on the basis of criteria of assessment, first, of the parents (their education, income, crime rate, long-term unemployment, material background, debt) and also children (truancy rate level, the level of proficiency in the language of instruction). Another proposal of the programme is an all-day education system of children from risky families, as well as a 12-year compulsory education or obligation for children who do not finish the eighth grade during 9 years of schooling to enter a compulsory vocational school for a three-year programme with compulsory two years' practice to enhance their qualification and thus their success at the labour market. The new plans of so-called Roma reform include the introduction of family allowances, activation allowances and other social benefits that are conditioned by the behaviour and school attendance of a child. The reform also includes a proposal to holiday operation of kindergartens and primary schools. In the scope of the reform, a new approach is introduced in relation to special schools, which should especially lead to greater inclusion of children in ordinary primary schools rather than special. The programme proposed changing the funding of schools and teachers working with Roma children.

Within the part of Law Enforcement there were again presented some proposals for alternative methods of payment of social benefits to people who have committed misconduct. The government also engages in respecting the Anti-Discrimination Act, in criminal liability of parents for minors as well as alternative punishment if the offender is unable to pay the fine.

ideas of individual politicians than a serious conceptual material. Although, along with many restrictive measures they also contain several positive intentions, the quality of their elaboration is very low. Moreover, "Roma reform" has not been the subject of wide objections and has never been approved by either the government, or political parties, therefore it cannot be considered a binding document."

Social polarity and maliciousness of majority towards the poverty-stricken manifested in the last elections for heads of self-governing regions, where in the region of Banská Bystrica there won a controversial politician Marián Kotleba. He showed that he is not only the provincial populist, but he can actually reach the masses. And he does not need any programme for it. His rhetoric has significantly changed over the years. He calls the corrupt politicians rats, unemployed Romany Gypsy parasites, he criticizes the work of the police and the media. And this is apparently now sufficient enough to the voters, so Kotleba really did a good job. (Why Kotleba won ..., 2013). Poverty itself is regarded as a socio-pathological phenomenon. Apart from it, in segregated localities we face unhealthy, abnormal, socially undesirable phenomena, which are an eyesore for the majority (Kozubík, 2012, p.96).

All measures or even planned changes of the Constitution are based on a highly controversial premise that simply said: "The Romany are responsible for their current situation; they are lazy - abusing the welfare system; live off our taxes "etc. So have the pillars been set to really help or just to "calm down" the negative perception by the majority? How is it possible that in the 21st century, we treat to our neighbours with ethnocentrism?

We often witness truly bizarre situations. Top scientist from Afghanistan is instructed how to vote in eastern Slovakia, my acquaintance from the settlement is afraid to go for lunch with me because people from settlements are not permitted there, etc. These errors are tragicomic, but much worse is that we meet with a lot of expert works that mark, label and stigmatize, whereas the Romany have lived here with us for centuries.

What is the history of the Romany in Slovakia? As the first mention of the Romany in Slovakia we can consider the one from the year 1322 when reeve of Spišská Nová Ves Ján Kunch sees the Romany as a group wandering through the surrounding forests. About half a century later, they are seen in Zemplín. On the territory of the present Slovakia, the Romany were protected by so-called *Safe Conduct* (protective documents issued by the sovereign) King Sigismund (1417).

The second half of the sixteenth century brought some favourable changes. Negative anti-Roma laws are adopted in the Czech Republic, Lithuania (1549, 1557) and other European countries. Spanish legislation prohibits them from travelling in groups larger than two people. *Gypsy* (Gitanos) "dresses and suits" are banned. The penalty for wearing gypsy clothes and travel in groups exceeding two people can be up to eighteen years of galleys for persons over fourteen years. This legislation was later amended so that all Nomads are threatened by the death penalty and galleys are reserved for settled Gypsies (1560). (Kozubík, 2013)

Two hundred years later their life does not change for any better. The original population wants to change the Romany - they have to settle down and adopt the life of majority in predominantly Christian countries. Assimilative forces strike also the territory of Hungary. Hungarian Empress Maria Theresa orders to take every child older than 5 years from its parents in Prešporok Palatinate and Fahlendorf. They are transported to remote villages and allocated to peasants, who receive from 12 to 18 florins per year for their education. Most of these children run back to their families hiding in the mountains or they get lost on the high plains. The Empress replaced the open repression by assimilation experiments, respectively by tolerance of some Roma families in exchange for many constraints. The Romany are becoming so-called regulated *Gypsies* and receive a residence permit, but they are controlled everywhere. They are called "new-peasant" (Neubauer) or "new-Hungarian" (Új-Magyar). The approach of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., however, is without any doubt a historic turning point in their life, because after many centuries they are taken into consideration as real residents of the area. Truly, it is absolute and harsh assimilation policy, but on the other hand it saves their lives, because in Germany so-called *Heidenjachten* or "hunting pagans" is a favourite sport.

In 1729, Samuel Augustini ab Hortis was born (Urbancová, 1995) and he is the first *gadjo* writing about Your life. He was born in Veľká Lomnica, where a large settlement is situated in 2013, often popular with sensation-hungry media. His work, initially unnoticed, about the *traditional Roma culture* of eastern Romany has not been unsurpassed yet. His style is not abusive, or arrogant, he depicts Your life at that time. In the Netherlands, the Romany are not as lucky as You. In his book about the Romany, Richard Liebich refers to them as to "life unworthy of existence", which is later used in Nazi Germany as a racial category for the Romany. On the territory of Slovakia, You are however, a "new-yokel", but You are expelled and deported from other countries. Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck distributes in the country a letter dated November 18, 1870,

which calls for "a complete ban on foreign Gypsies passage through the German border"; they will be "transported the shortest route to the country from which they came." He also states that in Germany the Romany should prove their citizenship by documents. He who fails to do so shall not be issued a passport. Is it a parallel with the current situation in France?

In 1918 the first Czechoslovak Republic is created and it does not forget about You. July 14, 1927 the *Act No. 117/1927 on Wandering Gypsies* is adopted. The Act defined the term "wandering gypsy." It gives You the obligation to attend the registration at the invitation, it enables the authorities to examine Your identity in a variety of ways, it introduced the Gypsy cards (for people older than 14 years). It defines the conditions of nomadic life and use of nomadic sheet. It prohibits the use of weapons, traveling in groups beyond the family. You can camp out only in places designated by the mayor. You do not know yet that in about eighty years they will want to expel You even from there. It is prohibited to foreign Romany to stay in Czechoslovakia.¹⁵

You're sad, limited at every step, but still have no idea what the world wars will bring. In 1919 there was around 6,058 Romany out of 157,967 inhabitants on the territory of Spiš. The overall situation in Czechoslovakia is captured by Registry of home affiliation, which was carried out in the Czech Republic at the end of 1922, and other areas in 1924. In the Czech Republic there were registered 579 people, in Moravia and Silesia 2,139 people, in Slovakia 53,274 and Ruthenia 94 persons. From the given data we can conclude that in the 20s and 30s 11.4 % of the Roma population lived in Spiš in Slovakia. However You do not want to be seen on the territory of the Tatras.¹⁶

The preserved register of prisoners gives evidence (not only related to Slovakia¹⁷), from which we learn that at Auschwitz there were registered 10,094 men and 10,829 women of Roma origin, among who 63.8 %

¹⁵ KOLLÁROVÁ, Z. 1992. K vývoju rómskej society na Spiši do roku 1945. [On the development of the Roma society in Spiš since 1945]. In MANN, A. B. (ed.). *Neznámi Rómovia. [Unknown Romany]*. Bratislava: Ister Science Press, 1992. 207 pp. ISBN 80-900486-2-3.

¹⁶ KOLLÁROVÁ, Z. 1992. K vývoju rómskej society na Spiši do roku 1945. [On the development of the Roma society in Spiš since 1945]. In MANN, A. B. (ed.). *Neznámi Rómovia. [Unknown Romany]*. Bratislava: Ister Science Press, 1992. 207 pp. ISBN 80-900486-2-3.

¹⁷ In the war period there functioned so-called work units. The number of dead was low (during the construction of the Hanušovce track, which was the largest deployment of the Romany - from over 1,350 only 11 workers died.).

belonged to the Reich, 22 % to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, 6.4% to occupied Poland and 3.7 % to other countries, notably France, the Netherlands and Belgium, fewer to Croatia, USSR, Hungary, Norway and Spain, while 4.1% of prisoners were stateless. Almost all Romany from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were murdered at their place of residence, almost all Romany from Croatia and Serbia were exterminated, in Romania there were 36,000 Roma victims and from 31,000 of Hungarian Romany (deported to the Reich) returned only about 3,000 and from 36,000 Romany in Germany (in 1939) only 5,000 Romany survived. Similarly harsh penalties and measures were also used in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Russia.¹⁸

After the war You find yourself in the war decimated world. You believe in change. You hope for better life in a peaceful existence. You live a nomadic life - Your vehicle is crisscrossing the country, which goes to another place they will chose for You. Again You attract the attention of government authorities. Your migration disturbs them. Act No. 74/1958 imposed on one hand the national committees the obligation to provide assistance to nomadic persons in the transition to a settled way of life and on the other hand You remain prohibited from nomadism under the threat of punishment. The execution of law did not fulfil its purpose, so the state power decided, in 1965, to use more violent methods and forms of action for You and Your loved ones. Through the concept of dispersion and removal of the places where You stay. These procedures are incorporated to the law by the government resolution No. 502/1965 from October 13, 1965, pursuant to which the government committee for Gypsy population was created which should ensure the practical application of approved concepts dealing with the Roma issues. But the difficulties remain unresolved. Despite partial and questionable success (according to them) in solving Roma problems it led more often and more apparently to aggravating contradictions. The social distance between You and the majority population increases.¹⁹

The Sixties are characterized by changing of social climate. Since the beginning the activists of Your origin are involved in Roma issues in regional and district committees, and they are more and more interested

¹⁸ KORIM, V. 2006. *Dejiny Rómov*. [*The History of Romany*]. Banská Bystrica: UMB, 2006. 118 pp. ISBN 80-8083-226-9.

¹⁹ JUROVÁ, A. 2002. *História Rómov*. [*The History of Romany*]. In: VAŠEČKA, Michal et al.: Čačipen pal o Roma. Súhrnná spáva o Rómoch na Slovensku. [Report on the Romany in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Inštitút pre verejné otázky, 2002, 914 s. ISBN 80-88935-41-5.

in matters of their own ethnic group. You founded the Association of the Romany in the Czech and Slovak Republics (1969). In the organization there worked many important Roma personalities, for example Ing. M. Holomek, a teacher A. Daniel, a historian Bartolomej Daniel, JUDr. Tomáš Holomek – the first Roma lawyer, in Slovakia for example MUDr. Ján Cibul'a, Anton Facuna, Antoním Pompa and others. The first Roma nationalist (monitored by StB) was Zikmund Vágai from Ostrava. After the establishment of the Union he became a high-ranking officer.

As the hopes for better future in Czechoslovakia were cooled down especially by the "friendly countries", the work of Your friends finished earlier than it could start. In 1972, the Romany came with the requirement of the status of nationality, a year later, the Association of the Romany was dissolved. Communist policy focuses again on covert or overt assimilation. It tends to forbid You to speak Romani, it intends to break the traditional Roma communities, it forcibly displaced people, it re-educates your children in educational institutions. The consequence of this approach was a loss of identity, a shame for otherness of some of Your friends.

After nearly seven hundred years it begins to dawn for better times for You. In April 1991, the Slovak Government accepted the Principles of government policy towards the Romany, which confirmed the acceptance of the Romany as a national minority. In 2008, the standardization process of Your language was officially completed in Slovakia. The East Slovak Romani was recognized as a basic form of the literary Roma language. Another aim was publishing of the Roma language textbooks or special textbooks for subjects needed to develop the Roma minority education system. You think back with nostalgia to a time when you went to school together with *gadjos*, Your children already attend *equalizing* classes. *Roma reform* is currently "in". You do not observe it, You have other concerns, primarily as how to support Your family. The pillars of the reform are perceived with contradictions in the eyes of activists who consider them to be too repressive.

The main feature of the traditional Roma culture, which is the main subject of the research in our work, is according to the renowned Czech anthropologist Jakoubek (2008, pp. 718-721):

- 1) dominant organizational principle of *kinship*,
- 2) concept of *ritual (im)purity*; a person can become ritually impure:
 - a. at birth (if the parents are ritually impure),

- b. during the life by the contact with another ritually impure person or animal or thing that is impure by its nature (a dog, hedgehog, faeces, etc.).

3) *subgroup membership.*

Under the first principle about kinship Lozoviukov (1998) uses the term of *ethnically indifferent population*. This factor is closely related to *subgroup membership*, and thus the typology itself of the Romany living in Slovakia. The author considers classification "Wallachian, Slovak, Hungarian, Czech, Moravian and Sinti" as arbitrary, not reflecting the contemporary situation of the Roma population in Slovakia. Nevertheless, we did not depart from the similar typology and we return to it at the beginning of the next chapter in Rosinský typology (2006). These groups regard each other as ritually impure. All defined elements of the traditional in the Roma culture are interrelated and form a coherent whole. We successively treat each of the above-mentioned principles according to the focus of the whole class of cultural phenomena described in the various chapters of this work. However, it is important to state in advance and agree with Jakoubek that "settlement structures of the traditional Roma culture (as the "most traditional" in this sense are perceived Roma settlements in eastern Slovakia) do not have a *general* (in the strict sense) character - individual families live there side by side, but not together."

In conclusion it may be noted that the "romance" of the life of the Romany is gradually disappearing. Brightly coloured clothes, carriages, horses, dance, music, fire, laughter and joy are replaced by the absolute picture of poverty of the 21st century (Kozubík, 2011, p. 326). The upcoming period will show whether the fight against poverty will involve repression and directives or examples of good practice that are present even in the conditions of the Slovak Republic will be applied (Mušinka, 2012).

2 ROMANY AND THEIR LIFE IN PODTATRANSKÝ REGION

Sub-ethnic groups of the Romany living in Slovakia are highly heterogeneous. Although the aforementioned Jakoubek (2008) perceives typology as arbitrary, it is clear that individual communities have a considerable degree of diversity. This is confirmed by Rosinský (2006), who even mentions the different perceptions from the perspective of the Roma community (internal) and the majority population (external):

- 1) Roma perspective (perception from inside, the in-group) is affected by geographical area - western and eastern Slovakia. Certain parallels can be seen in a different quality of life of the

majority population living in "richer" western part and "poorer" eastern part of the territory. Similar situation is in sub-ethnic groups:

- a. so-called Walachian (Vlachi) Romany inhabiting mainly west and south Slovakia and
 - b. so-called Rumungri(o) Romany living in the eastern Slovak area. This latter was the subject of our research.
- 2) Linguistic classification:
- a. Balkan-Carpathian-Baltic group,
 - b. Gubert-Cerhari (Romani dialect spoken only in the Balkans),
 - c. Kalderash-Lovari group (geographically the most widespread),
 - d. Sinte-Manuš dialects (Germany, Austria, France),
 - e. local dialects of other languages.
- 3) From our point of view, classification from the perspective of the majority, whose authors are Slovak sociologists Vašečka and Radičová (2001), is important for research of the traditional Roma culture. We can say with hindsight that this typology has become established and even the formation of the Atlas of Roma communities (2004, 2012-2014) is based on it, but also other works (e.g. Kozubík, 2013). Its essence lies in a partial perception represented by three levels of social distance:
- a. Romany living integrated (the legality of the land and the house is secure, available infrastructure, garbage disposal, drinking water).
 - b. Separated settlements (located within the boundaries of a village, but it is mostly communities inhabiting the edges of towns and villages. There occur illegally acquired land and "black buildings". Infrastructure and sanitation is rare. Export of waste is irregular and wells are largely used as sources of drinking water).
 - c. Segregated settlements, "colonies" can be seen as the most prominent manifestation of poverty in the 21st century "Made in Slovakia". These are localities characterized by an increased incidence of socio-pathological phenomena, oppressive living and social conditions, illegal buildings and dwelling places, lack of infrastructure, sanitation or drinking water.

There have been several reasons for selecting Popradský region in Podtatranský district. The main motive was a certain parallel between

Samuel Augustini ab Hortis and the author of this book. Both of them were in fact born under the Tatra Mountains - Augustini in Veľká Lomnica (1729) and Kozubík in Poprad (1981) – both of them tried to capture the life of the Romany under the Tatras. Moreover, it is an important fact that it was ab Hortis who described the culture of *Zigeuner* in a similar geographic area. Our original intention was to analyse the work of Horváthová (1964), however, she captures the classes of culture phenomena mostly of Wallachian Romany in southern Slovakia. A complex work dealing with the socio-cultural regulations of eastern settlements is lacking in the literature.

The primacy of Samuel Augustini lies in the fact that this is the first ethnographic monograph about *Gypsies* ever! In the work, we can feel the author's dedication to the monarch - Maria Theresa and her goals - emancipation of the Roma population and its merging with the native population. Augustini was of the opinion that the Romany will soon blend in with the majority population: "... in a few years our descendants will be pleased when they find reports on the nature of the people of our time."

Urbancová (1992, p.4) literally states: "The immediate impulse to write ab Hortis' monograph, as it emerges from the context of its individual parts, was radicalization of views of one part of Hungarian public on solving the Gypsy issues in the country." He supposed (p.6) "that the solution of the problem is not in expelling these people, but in getting to know them, which will enable to create the conditions for their new way of life, as far as possible identical with the lives of most people." Is not the situation similar after almost three centuries?

In the years 2012-2013, we were one of the members of the research team that conducted the collection of detailed data on Roma life in Slovakia within the frame of the project under the United Nations Development Programme – UNDP. During the research, we visited the towns of Poprad and Svit and the following municipalities in Poprad District: Batizovce, Gánovce, Gerlachov, Hranovnica, Jánovce, Kravany, Lučivná, Mengusovce, Nová Lesná, Spišská Teplica, Štôla, Štrba, Šuňava, Švábovce and Veľký Slavkov.

For the purposes of our research, we selected three localities following the above-presented classification according to the degree of social distance. It is a city of Poprad (Romany living in the town "spread" among the majority population), a separated community in the village of Kravany and a village Hranovnica representing a segregated area separated from the village by a river and fence. We will describe the

selected localities of our research in closer details in the following sections.

2.1 „CITY“ ROMANY (POPRAD)

The research within the project Atlas of Roma communities (a full disclosure of the data is scheduled for March 2014) was not our first step in the environment of settlements. Much of our work is complemented by the historical references to the life of the Romany in the region under Tatras collected predominantly in the State regional archives of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic led by a historian Zuzana Kollárová, PhD., whose works and expert articles form the highest quality review of the national minority in this geographically defined area. In her words (2009, p. 6) "historical research did not give an exact answer from which date we can associate Poprad with the Romany. Despite the fact that in the past they were among the poorest, they also participated at the biggest events in the life of the city." Mostly Roma musicians achieved fame at such events. The author describes the event when on December 8 citizens of Poprad were awaiting the arrival of the first train on the platform of the newly built railway building and there was an exuberant gypsy group playing noisily.

Kollárová (2009) states that in 1919 there lived 29 Romany out of 2,330 inhabitants in Poprad, 98 Romany out of 1,586 residents in Majejovce and 21 Romany out of 693 inhabitants in Stráže. Other parts such as Veľká and Spišská Sobota were not mentioned. However, as can be revealed from the registration of Kroft (1922) that the Romany did live in Veľká.

Kollárová offers a brief but complex summary of the most important events of past periods in the life of the Roma minority in Poprad in her article *On the Romany in our city* (2009). From its contents we pick up a text describing an unflattering situation of the Romany and Jews during the interwar period: "It was found that in Poprad, pavements are just teeming with scruffy, dirty and drunken gypsies on Saturday afternoon and Sunday and one cannot pass by without disgust." Tough times began for the Romany. In the town, there were mounted boards banning the entry to the Romany. Municipal police controlled mainly the Romany staying at the railway station. Problems with the ban on entry to Poprad were aggravated by the fact that there worked about 150 Romany in the town and families commuted to visit them and to beg in the city. The Romany worked on the construction of barracks and provincial warehouse.

Table 2 The areas of employment of the Romany in the past (prior to 1989) and now

Main areas of employment of the Romany in the past in Poprad	Main areas of employment of the Romany at present	Number of Roma entrepreneurs/companies in Poprad	Number of Roma sole traders in Poprad
industry	construction	2	10
services			
construction			

From historical documents we can learn that the Romany worked in particular in construction, services and industry. It cannot be that surprising. In the post-war period there was enough work opportunities, moreover, during the periods of a totalitarian regime "everyone had to work in order not to become a parasite". We can say that it was an industrial society. Nowadays, we live in a "service society" where many people become "redundant". This is called deconversion and it is a term often used by a Czech sociologist Keller (2005, 2011). A deconversion means that society is changing in such a way that it starts to miss valuable and recognized points in connection with a sort of a recognized social status. These people are becoming redundant in society and they do not find necessary support in the relation to their situation. Deconversion is not a matter of modern society only. It occurred even in traditional societies. Today deconversion means that currently the economy does not find enough means to ensure that people can acquire adequate status.

It was not easy for the Romany and it still is not. Kollárová (2009) continues in her analysis with historical quotations: "Gypsies were expelled from the city and those who resisted were first taken to the prison to examine their personal data, they were properly instructed and then expelled from the city."

In our quest for the history of the Romany in our hometown, we continued in the State regional archives of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic in Poprad – Spišská Sobota. Chronicles of the city began to be registered systematically until after the Second World War. Chronicles from the previous period are unfortunately not preserved. Part of the data, however, may be found in the archives in Levoča. Our goal was not a detailed analysis of ancient history. It would require a separate research and knowledge of the Hungarian language, or the analysis and translation of Schwabacher. The object of our research was the chronicles of the twentieth century. Although the history of the town is captured in a separate chronicle ca. from the sixties, the first mention cannot be found until 1995.

It describes the meeting of the city and citizens of Baníčka street in Poprad who complain about bad interpersonal relationships that the Romany cause by the noise and dirt. The Romany, on the other hand, fear attacks by *skinheads*. The meeting was attended by Mayor Ing. Štefan Kubík, Head of the Municipality Oľga Marhulíková and Deputy Ing. Forgáč, on whose initiative the meeting took place. According to the record "the first success of the meeting was the establishment of municipal police, which will operate full twenty-four hours." A year later, the situation does not change at all. Again we learn that "most citizens are worried about ordinary problems with housing, walkways, coexistence with the Roma citizens, breeding dogs and so on." This period is characterized by meetings of deputies and the local Romany: "In July (1996) in Matejovce a meeting of deputies with citizens was held, which the Mayor and the local Romany attended and in which the issues of cleanliness, crime, demeaning behaviour, as well as providing assistance with spring-cleaning were discussed."

The chronicler should describe the events in the city truthfully, objectively and impartially. In some cases, however, it happens that he becomes the author of controversial, stereotypical and insensitive statements (1996): "There is a minimal fee to be paid for schooling. For many, especially the Romany, who make up a large percentage of pupils in special schools is, however, more attractive to receive social benefits than to go to school. They lose the possibilities of further employment and the work of teachers is in vain."

Table 3 Level of education of the Romany in Poprad (2013)

Number of the Romany attending secondary school	Number of the Romany - completed primary school	Number of the Romany - without education	Number of the Romany - Special school
270	361	0	277

The data presented in the tables were acquired in the years 2012-2013 under the project Atlas of Roma communities. These data are obtained exclusively by us and they are used in forthcoming Atlas itself. We present the history of the Romany in Poprad in chronological order, according to the data collected from the chronicles. We believe that this is more transparent form of presentation compared to the thematic concept. Therefore, the reader may have the impression that we are "jumping from topic to topic." We will describe events in the order they happened so that we could understand them better. The first record describing the area of Roma culture in Poprad comes from 1998: "An

exhibition entitled "Roma palette", which presents the works from the competition of the same name of Popradský, Kežmarský, and Levočský districts, was opened in the lobby of the Municipal Office in Poprad in May (1998). Six hundred and eighty works have come to the competition this year. The expert jury - academic painter Zuzana Dáhlošová-Strapková, František Žoldák, Jolana Husárová and Daniela Krempaská have decided that Dana Kokyová from Elementary School of Art in Levoča won the first place in the category of the elementary schools of art. The winners of the first age category of elementary schools were: Blanka Hangurbadžová, Miloš Mižigár from Elementary School Krížová Ves, the second category winners were: Miroslav Polhoš, Jozef Hlaváč from Special School in Poprad and Kristína Žigová from Special School in Štiavnik." This record is also valuable because of the fact that there are mentioned Roma family names that belong among the most widespread in that area. In addition to the above-mentioned surnames Koky, Hangurbadžo, Mižigár, and Polhoš, there also occur surnames such as Pecha, Pišta, Ščuka and Gažík.

Table 4 Level of education of the Romany in Poprad (2013)

Number of the Romany with university education	Number of the Romany attending a university	Number of the Romany with secondary education
15	7	80

In 1998, a poet Daniela Hivešová - Šilanová visited Poprad and she organized, together with the civic association *Jekhetane*, a concert with the participation of Roma and non-Roma artists. However a nostalgic chronicler notes: "Unfortunately, club- room was only one-third filled." It was a concert held on the occasion of the fight against fascism. Hivešová - Šilanová was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. Unfortunately, three years later she passed away. Her message and ideas are still alive. She dedicated all her life to the development of Roma culture and to combat against prejudice and stereotypes: "I met real racism myself. From the mockery of bosses of ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) who, when permitting the activities of the company, recommended to me an anti-gypsy spray, to an unpleasant experience at the station in Kysak. As we were standing there and waiting for the train because we went to some competition, as soon as policemen saw us they came to legitimize us. Even before 1989! In Liptovský Mikuláš, they did not let us into a café. It was a shock for me. I even quarrelled. In vain. I could not understand this attitude." Daniela Hivešová - Šilanová was

awarded for her work several times. In 2002, the then President Rudolf Schuster awarded her and a team of editors of Roma New Sheet with a medal for work fighting against racism. However, she appreciated the most the tribute in form of a Metal rose, which she received from the Romany in Slovakia, who tend not to appreciate "gadjos". She was awarded by the organization Common way with the Roma culture and she got it for spreading the Roma culture and preservation of historical heritage of the Romany (Tomášchová, 2008).

In July 1999, a seminar for Roma mayors and deputies took place; it was organized by Association of the Romany (ZOR) of Kežmarok. The main purpose of the meeting was to teach mayors lobbying, strengthening, promotion of Roma communities, and so on. The organizer of the meeting was Ms. Amália Pompová. An important finding, which the archivist records is that one of the conclusions of the seminar was expressing of the view of "anti-building separated ghettos settlements for the Romany, view against delimiting localities for social housing of the Romany in isolation. Creating educational, cultural centres directly in the villages or settlements is a feasible way. The issue of leaving the Romany to Finland resonated in particular..." (transcript from the Chronicle of Poprad, 1999, shortened).

The founder of the civic association *Romipen* Mr. Jolana Husárová was a very active personality promoting cultural life of the Romany. In 1999, an event for Roma girls called *Proper girl* took place three times a week under her direction. It was a series of projects supervised by the Foundation for civic activities, Poptatranské Cultural Centre in Poprad and civic association *Romipen*. The meetings were thematically focused on education for marriage and parenthood, knitting and sewing classes, healthy eating and appropriate use of leisure time.

At the end of February 1999, a political party Roma Intelligence of Slovakia (RIS) chose Poprad as the venue for the nationwide council. At the council, they expressed support to Ms. Anna Koptová, a candidate for President of the Slovak Republic. At this council, Mr. Alexander Patkoló was elected Chairman of the RIS. The party leaders called on Vice-Chairman for Human and Minority Rights to submit to the public an idea and concept of the solution to the problems of the Roma minority.

Although the first mention of social being of the Romany is not found in the city chronicles until 1995, from that moment it is as if the information flourished. The city became the centre of self-governing units meetings, Roma political representations, civic associations and seminars "on the Roma issue". In 1999, under the Phare programme, a seminar was held

under the auspices of the Slovak Association of World Federation of Towns and Municipalities aimed to bring new proposals focused on improving the quality of life of the Slovak Romany. The chronicler notes: "Poprad citizen Jolana Husárová said that it was necessary to find a common language, do not provoke passions of intolerance, but orient the state policy on mutual agreement."

There are multiple entries about the activity of the civic association *Romipen*. In 1999, this association organized a seminar on "the past and present solutions to the problems of Roma for Roma activists from the districts of Poprad and Kežmarok." The main guests of the seminar were PhDr. Zuzana Kumanová from Bratislava and Deputy of District Office in Poprad Ing. Danica Ďuricová. The same year she met JUDr. Vincent Danihel, the Government Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic for dealing with the Roma minority. He met in Nová Lesná with fifteen mayors of district municipalities, where there is twenty or more percent concentration of Roma population. He also visited a segregated settlement in Spišské Bystré.

The period of culminating nineties in Poprad can be called very "project-fruitful". The leading figure in this period was undoubtedly Ms. Jolana Husárová and a civic association *Romipen*. In 1999, she receives financial support for the project *Studňa (Water Well)*. This was realized in cooperation with the Department of Social Affairs of District Office in Poprad, Municipal Office Spišské Bystré, Podtatranské Cultural Centre and Institute of Public Health. A locality for the implementation of the project was a segregated settlement in Spišské Bystré.

The first data capturing the proportion of the Roma community in the total population come from 1999. The monitoring results were presented by Ing. Danica Ďuricová. A verbatim transcript from the chronicles (1999): "... the largest portion of the total population of the village represented by the Romany is 57 % in Vydrník and almost 42 % in Hranovnica. A high percentage is in Spišský Štiavnik, Švábovce, Vikartovce, Veľký Slavkov, Jánovce, Mengusovce, Nová Lesná. Of the total population of the district the Romany represent 10.11% - of which about 200 is schoolchildren...".

Table 5 Comparison of the number of Romany according to the Atlas of Roma communities (2004 a 2013)

POPRAD			
number of inhabitants (2004)	number of the Romany (2004)	number of inhabitants (2013)	number of the Romany (2013)
54 911	3 075	51 946	1 290

We can only guess the causes of the decline in the number of the Romany, but also the majority population according to data from the Atlas of Roma communities (2004, 2013). In both cases, the strong measure was so-called *credited ethnicity*. This is a vague term which is confusing in the discourse about culture. The numbers are not based on the official census measurements (e.g. EU SILC), but the resulting value was often a *qualified estimate* of the social worker and his assistants, mayor, department records staff and the like. It was up to us, the interviewers, what degree of validity the resulting numbers will show. In the city of Poprad, several departments of the city have helped us while obtaining data. Above all, it was the city social department led by Mgr. Lučivjanská and Mgr. Pištová. One of the main reasons for the different number of the Romany in the observed period may be the above-mentioned qualified estimate reflecting the Romany living in the city interspersed among the majority population.

Table 6 Romany and their number in individual town settlements (2013)

ROMANY IN THE TOWN OF POPRAD		
living integrated	in concentration inside the city	in concentration at the edge of town
697	406	187

But let us return to the data from the chronicles. References are set in the context of the period. Despite the fact that we are talking about the period prior to about fifteen to twenty years, the problems have not changed. In late June 1999, a meeting was held with the Chairman of the Permanent Parliamentary Commission for solving problems of the Roma minority and a Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Imrich Tóth. It was hosted by a District Coordination Commission for the Prevention of Crime and Drug Addiction at the District Office in Poprad. The meeting goal (according to Imrich Tóth) was to inform about the problems of the Roma minority in Popradský district.

At the beginning of the second millennium, Poprad hosted a series of cultural events presenting Roma culture. In 2000, children from Poprad, Kežmarok and Levoča Districts took part in an exhibition of their art works called the *Romany palette*. The competition involved 580 works. The first prize went to Andrea Bodorová from Special School in Spišský Štiavnik and Mária Gažiová from Special School in Poprad. Other prize winners were Lucia and Janka Žigová and Darina Pačajová. Special schools in Poprad and Spišský Štiavnik were awarded for their excellent work.

In late July of the same year, a Roma guitar trio - Miroslav Gábor, Peter Polhoš and Ladislav Žiga – performed on the square of St. Egidius in Poprad. Even one of the most important parts of the support of Roma culture we already know from previous lines – a civic association *Romipen* - did not idle. At the end of 2000, it organized a Festival of Roma culture and folklore Of Upper Spiš. During the festival there performed a twenty member string orchestra Grand Slovakia from Bratislava with the leader Eugen Vizváry, children's musical groups Dance Roma from Kežmarok, *Somnakune čhave* - Golden children from Malý Slavkov, *Kerakija* - Wheel from Lomnička, a jazz trio from Banská Bystrica where a native of Poprad Miloslav Suchomil performed as well.

This period is characterized by a number of cultural activities. At the end of April (2000) the Department of Culture of City Office presented the new programme *Roma variations*. There performed a guitar trio led by Miroslav Gábor with a singer Monika Čonková, a hip-hop dancing group *Black gangsters* and a modern band *Gypsy profile* from Secondary vocational school in Poprad.

City officials were active also in international projects. In March (2000), the Head of the Division of Social and Public Affairs Ms. Helena Chlebovcová attended the meeting of representatives of towns and villages in Lučenec, where there was also a meeting of Roma mediators. It was a project supported by the French Government. Ms. Lucia Pištová attended the meeting as a representative of Poprad city. Out of the twenty-seven mediators four were selected (among them Lucia Pištová) who could participate in internship in the French city Angoulême. The main task of Roma mediators was to improve relations between the Romany and the majority society, local and national authorities, the city council or village. Another course which helped Roma women was prepared by Podtatranské Cultural Centre in collaboration with the Slovak Red Cross. It was a first aid course for Roma women and girls.

In 2000, the town was visited by the then member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and Chairman of a political party Smer JUDr. Róbert Fico. Current Prime Minister and presidential candidate did so because of the active participation in a special seminar entitled *Human and Minority Rights*. Apart from JUDr. Fico, the seminar was attended by JUDr. Miroslav Kříž, PhDr. Ondrej Strebava, CSc., Mgr. Zuzana Kupcová, PhDr. MUDr. Jaroslav Polfík a PhDr. Milan Antaš. At the press conference, the journalists met with the main organizer of the event Iveta Lišková, who was at that time a member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, as well as with the President of the Association of Roma

entrepreneurs Ladislav Fízík and Robert Fico. It stressed in particular the need to improve coexistence in the context of fundamental rights and duties. The chronicler literally states: "Robert Fico wants to push the National Council of the Slovak Republic to amend legislation for social benefits, while he would also introduce the so-called *work punishments* in order to delete from the register of unemployed those who abuse the social system." Commenting that registration it may be noted that it only started happening about approximately fourteen years later - in particular by amending the Act on material deprivation.

From the first January 2014, Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic prepared changes in the provision of assistance in material need. The Ministry justifies the change by greater directness and justice. From the first of January, following allowances are provided (Ferenc, 2013, p. 6):

- benefit in material need:
 - individual (61,60,- €),
 - individual with a child or maximum four children (117,20,- €),
 - childless couple (107,10,- €),
 - couple with a child or maximum four children (160,40,- €),
 - individual with more than four children (171,20,- €),
 - couple with more than four children (216,10,- €),
- protection allowance,
- activation allowance,
- dependent child allowance,
- housing allowance,

However, the amendment does not take into account healthcare allowance. The most discussed and controversial changes include that payment of social benefits in material need is conditioned by the activity of an adult household member capable of work. A citizen who is not employed or does not work becomes entitled to a benefit in material need, or part of it (for families with children), only on condition that he will carry out smaller public service or volunteer activities 32 hours per month. He may also participate in the work to prevent an emergency. The basic requirement of this condition is that he will be offered such an activity. If he refuses the offer, the benefit in material need will be reduced by the amount of 61.60, - €. This condition has several question marks. How will equality for the payment of benefits be ensured? In practice, there may occur more absurd situations when some of the

recipients will have to work for the benefits and others will not. Another controversial area will be who will monitor people and manage the whole agenda. The first months of validity of the law have showed that it is a legitimate question, and there are many others. Only future will show whether the directness and fairness as attributes that led to the amendment of the Act will have positive consequences.

Social benefit will be provided at three levels:

- entitlement to 63.07, - € for a household member who has reached the required age for retirement pension; is disabled due to the decrease of earning capacity by more than 70 %; is a single parent who daily and properly takes care of a child under the age of 31 weeks; or a person with severe physical disabilities reliant on care. They may also be people who are involved in social reintegration programmes in the form of re-socialization centre residence in which they cannot provide an income by working;
- to 34.69, - € per month is entitled a citizen who has poor health, defined for the purposes of the Act on material need as an illness, injury or quarantine measures for which the natural person is recognized by the doctor as temporarily incapable to work for more than 30 consecutive days;
- a pregnant woman from the beginning of the fourth month of pregnancy who participates regularly once a month on preventative examinations by a doctor specialized in the field of gynaecology; or a parent of a child who personally and daily takes care of a child under one year is entitled to 13.50, - €.

Commenting on the payment of social benefits in material need and protective allowance it can be noted that mothers originating from the segregated settlements hide the identity of the children's father. At the beginning of 2014, we could witness for example in the district of Michalovce a rapid growth for not admitting paternity. A typical example is a village Vrbnica in the district of Michalovce where 1,101 inhabitants live. More than half of the population is of Roma ethnicity. Mayor Jaroslav Varga (independent) confirmed that the increase of Roma mothers who are not married while claiming not to know the father of their child is enormous. The mayor says: "There is such a trend that the Roma minority does not get married. They are searching for more or less favourable ways. At birth, men do not admit fatherhood. For example, in 2013, in our village 27 children were born. Up to 85 percent did not admit paternity. It's a shame and funny at the same time when you look at the birth

certificate and the child has no father. I cannot imagine the future. It can be said that since 2008 it is on average 70 to 80 percent of fathers who conceive children and refuse to admit paternity. Every year there are more and more cases." He added that many of the fathers in fact live with women and their children. The mayor sees the financial benefits that are better if they do not live together officially as a married couple. "We can say that this is a pure calculation. If they are married and live together, the benefits are slightly smaller than when they are assessed as individual persons," Varga explained. In practice, if a mother gives birth to a child she receives a monthly parental allowance the amount of which is 203.20 euros plus child allowance 23.52 euros. If her husband receives social benefits (61.60 euros), in most cases the benefit will expire because for the purposes of granting benefits, parents with their children are jointly assessed persons. So they will lose 61.60, - € a month. For benefit recipients in material need it is then more effective, in financial terms, not to marry and admit paternity. A single mother is in a better situation even after three years when the parental allowance expires. Maximum entitlement for assistance in material need for a single mother with one child without any income is: allowance in material need 117.20 euros, the housing allowance of 89.20 euros (however, only a limited number of residents is entitled to this allowance as in segregated settlements, many of the shacks are built illegally), a dependent child allowance 17.20 euros and activation or protection allowance 63.07 euro (here, however, the already-mentioned conditions are taken into account). One of the reasons why the mother refuses to admit the father of her child can be alimony the biological father would have to pay. Her benefits and allowances would then reduce by this amount. Child alimony is in fact considered as income. The amount of assistance in material need is determined as the sum of the amounts of individual claims arising from the law and the sum of the amounts of income. In the case that a single mother lives alone with her child and the paternity is admitted, a court will decide about the alimony the child's father has to pay, the amount to which she is entitled shall be reduced by the amount of alimony (Roma mothers refuse to admit fathers of their children ... (abridged and updated), 2014).

The Amendment also affects changes in the activation allowance. The entitlement for activation allowance will belong to a person in material need that is employed, with an income at least equivalent to the minimum wage, or a person who will be involved in minor community service or volunteer activities within at least 64 hours per month and a maximum of 80 hours per month. Activation allowance will also include a citizen in material need who is registered as a jobseeker and will develop the skills

in an external form of study at secondary and high school, where he will participate in education and training for the labour market and projects organized through the Employment Services Act.

We have also recorded a novelty in housing allowance. The recipients of assistance in material need who live in social services facilities (e.g. refuge, emergency housing facility, crisis centres, etc.) are entitled to the benefits from January 1, 2014. The Community centre and Facility of social services for homeless people are the main providers of social services.

Table 7 Community centre in Poprad

COMMUNITY CENTRE in Poprad	
founder	activities
city of Poprad	free-time
	social counseling
	field social work

From January 2014 according to the Act on material need, a flat, or a house is entitled to only one housing allowance, even though the owners or tenants will be more households in material need. The Facility of social services is located in Poprad Levočská street, where 80 Romany live. The table presents the number of the Romany in various locations:

Table 8 Locations inhabited by the Romany in the city of Poprad (2013)

ROMANY IN THE CITY OF POPRAD				
Levočská street	Main street Poprad - Matejovce	Matejovské square	Koperníková street	Staničná street
80		213	66	187

The dependent child allowance, when a child fulfils compulsory school attendance, is designed to support education and overall development of the child attending school with strict rules of claim. According to the law it is possible to get a so-called special allowance. It is designed for an adult person who has been long-term unemployed, before getting employed he received assistance in material need and then started working. Such an entitlement is created only if the citizen will have an income of not less than the minimum monthly wage and a maximum of 3 times the minimum wage and the household whose member is ceases to get benefits in material need. When fulfilling the conditions, the allowance of 63.07, - € per month shall be provided for a period of six months.

Table 9 Romany and their work in Poprad and abroad (2013)

Number of people working in small municipal services and activation works in the months 01-08/2012	How many of them were Romany?	How many Romany from the town work abroad for a longer period of time?
83	23	20

The motive to the amendment was also prevention of petty crimes. Within the limits of the law it will therefore be possible to execute deduction of assistance in material need to pay penalties for offenses in selected sections of the infringement procedure (offenses against public order, property offenses, etc.) (Ferenc, 2013, p. 11).

Popularity of Poprad for dealing with the Roma minority problems and working group meetings that tried to solve them continued in 2000. At the end of July of this year, a meeting of mayors of Podhorany and Vysoké Tatry with the participation of the Government Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities Vincent Danihel was held.

This year, the Slovak government approved 510,000, - Slovak crowns for the Roma part of the village Hranovnica, 400,000, - Sk for the village Liptovská Teplička and 100,000, - Sk for the village Spišský Štiavnik. The chronicler states: "The problem of building infrastructure is a problem of disputed land, which often hampers the implementation of plans to build sewers, water mains, roads, pipelines. The mayors meet even with the so-called black buildings when new shacks without permission occur. If the District Office did not fine, but took care of the demolition of illegal constructions, it would reach a greater effect, the mayors said" (a record from the chronicles of Poprad, 2000).

Apart from the already-mentioned civic association *Romipen*, Salesians of Don Bosco took care of the Roma children in 2000 as well. They prepared already the sixth annual pilgrimage to Gaboltov. The event was prepared in cooperation with Podtatranské Cultural Centre in Poprad, in which the Romany from Poprad participated as well. They also organize a seminar on working with the Roma youth.

Table 10 Roma schoolchildren in Poprad (2013)

teaching assistant (Romany)	number of Roma pupils	Zero grade (Roma pupils from SZP)	Roma pupils from SZP (total)	Number of children in school club	Roma children in school club
4	150	14	96	35	36

Poprad citizens are bothered about criminality of the Romany. From the police notepad mentioned in the chronicle (2000), we learn that the Romany attacked a driver. And it was probably the reason why the district court in Poprad in May 2000 dealt with the information on the activities of prevention against crime, drug addiction and problems of the Roma minority. The chairman of the committee for the prevention of antisocial activities at the district office Ing. Danica Ďuricová highlighted the prevention activities of new institutions whose leaders are represented in that committee. The committee also dealt with the problems of unemployment of the Romany. From the chronicle we can learn that to support the creation of infrastructure in Roma settlements, the villages Teplička and Hranovnica received financial aid.

In 2001, the initiative is taken by a very active civic association *Romipen*. It also finds support in institutions of Podtatranské Cultural Centre (POS) in Poprad and District Office in Poprad. The chronicle writes that even a methodologist of POS Jolana Husárová states that the project activities mainly focused on the Romany are attended also by members of the majority population. She talks, for instance, about the square of St. Egidio where many spectators were visiting the performance of the Romany. Many of them stopped with interest, listened and watched the performance. Through similar events they tried to present the Roma culture and bring the Roma population and the others closer to each other. From the testimony of Jolana Husárová recorded in the chronicle there is a noticeable emphasis on presentation of ceremonies, customs, songs and dances of the Romany. "She thinks that the Roma groups need to be invited to the cultural events where various music groups are performing." (Chronicle of Poprad, 2001, shortened). The proof that her expectations fulfilled a year later is documented by the data from urban chronicles (2002): "Traditional and modern Roma songs, dances and music pleased the visitors to cultural event held on the occasion of the Roma day in the hall of the Municipal Office in April. The organizer was the civic association *Romipen*, Popradské Cultural Centre and the Department of Culture of the Municipal Office of Poprad, which prepared

a nice programme." The event was held on the occasion of the International Roma Day. "In the programme there performed a dance group *Barbie* from Hrabušice, music band *Alan* from Elementary School Jarná in Poprad, *La Roma* - folk music with dancers and musicians from Veľká Lomnica and children *Kesaj* from Kežmarok. Linda Mareková from Elementary school of Youth sang as well. An impressive highlight was a performance of the orchestra and soloists from Elementary Art School in Košice."

An important event in the lives of Roma women was an international event *Roma woman - creator of lifestyle of the Romany* on November 9 and 10, in a pension Podháj in Spišská Sobota. It was prepared by editors of *Romano Nevo Lil* – Roma New Sheet with the financial support of the branch of IOM - International Organization for Migration. The event was attended by a historian PhDr. Anna Jurová from Social Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Košice. At the meeting, according to an entry in the chronicle, she stated that the Roma problems that worry them is one-sided view of their community. She also drew attention to the bad media presenting of the Romany in the media, which was not customary at that time. According to her in settlements there live such families whose households shine in purity. In the discussion, Roma women also suggested to introduce schools Roma assistants who had already proved their worth in many places.

The first mention of modern history as recorded in 1995 speaks of meeting of Banícka street inhabitants who met for the purpose of measures that would improve mutual neighbourly relations and "the Romany are again concerned about safety from the skinheads". The legitimacy of their concerns is documented by one of the last noticed information from the chronicle (2002): "The last week of April, the police had to deal with the mutual attacks between skinheads and the Romany. A group of about twenty Romany was armed with sticks and chased skinheads who allegedly attacked the Romany before and broke a window at one of their apartments. The police took four skinheads aged fourteen to sixteen years suspect of a crime to the State police."

Here our story about the history of the Romany in Poprad ends. We tried to introduce the reader to notes and records discovered by a significant historian of Poprad Z. Kollárová and the data that we have collected from the chronicles of Poprad. The mentions capture predominantly events organized in the city. Their aims were different - especially the cultural and social, but Poprad hosted meetings of Roma political parties attended by members of the parliament and government plenipotentiaries. The

information touching the events of Roma culture is valuable for our work. The chronicler sees this phenomenon only axiologically. The main organizer of cultural activities was a civic association *Romipen* whose activity is captured in the chronicle almost in every detail. In our overview of the history we do not miss data on the projects and quality of coexistence.

The city of Poprad and the Romany living in it were regarded as representatives of "integrated Romany – city Romany" in our study. The key informants were Lydia Pištová - Municipal Office employee, Department of Social Affairs of Poprad and now unfortunately deceased Milan Dirda and their families. Honour to his memory.

In the following two subsections we will describe separated settlement of Kravany village and the life "behind the fence" in the village Hranovnica.

2.2 LIFE ON THE EDGE OF THE VILLAGE (KRAVANY)

The city of Poprad is our hometown. As students, we regularly and actively participated in the activities of field social workers of the Department of Social Affairs of Poprad. So we knew the natural environment of the Romany well. To grant that the information about the Romany is as detailed as possible, we decided to visit the Regional Archives of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, branch Poprad - Spišská Sobotka.

Our relation with Kravany village has a similar genesis; when we were young we used to spend summers there. A key informant in our study was Michal Ruiz and his family. The main guide in field research is a key person. He opens imaginary door to the "colony" and offers space for all-day observation and active taking part in the life of the colony. He speaks directly, honestly, without any sketching of his perception of reality. He does not say what he thinks "gadjo wants to hear." He does not omit any troublesome or taboo topics of separate settlements. He was one of the key factors of inclusion of Kravany in our research. Our advantage was participation in data collection within the frame of the forthcoming Atlas of Roma communities. In the district of Poprad there participated two interviewers - we and Dušan Bevilaqua. Kravany was a village in our scope. In the next section we will successively present the selected categories that illustrate the characteristics of the separated settlement "colony next to the playing field."

The prepared conclusions of the Atlas are a completion and updating of a similar material collected in 2004. Based on the data we can quite accurately determine the increase/ decrease in the number of inhabitants in the village and the Roma community:

Table 11 Number of inhabitants and the Romany (comparison of researches 2004, 2013)

KRAVANY			
number of inhabitants (2004)	number of the Romany (2004)	number of inhabitants (2013)	number of the Romany (2013)
855	106	884	139

Population growth in the village as well as in the "colony" shows a rare similarity. The number of the Romany in the village increased by 33 and of the majority population by 29.

Table 12 Number of new-borns in the village of Kravany (2011)

NEW-BORNS IN KRAVANY	
2011 (total)	Roma children (2011)
10	1

In each of the researched localities, we have been interested in the history of the Roma minority in the village. Unfortunately, the village chronicle of Kravany does not capture many mentions of the Roma life in the village. Specifically, there are only three references, but they are very important to us as images of the period. Local cymbalo and violin "music" came from Kravany from the first half of the twentieth century. The chronicle writes: "We cannot forget to mention our compatriot as artists and musicians. It was the violin, cymbalo music of local citizens played at parties, weddings, at home and in the neighbourhood. The wedding ceremony in the village cannot be imagined without this folk music. They performed as well in the villages of Poprad, Gerlachov and elsewhere, where were very successful. The local gypsies, however, did not play in the band. Today's youth cannot restore the glory of the defunct band."

We can only guess why the chronicler wanted to express explicitly that it was not a "gypsy band". An old photograph of our grandmother's sister's wedding coming from the fifties of the twentieth century is a proof that such bands were part of the wedding procession:



Figure 1 Wedding in Kravany – 50s of the 20th century – Roma musicians

The mayor, employees of the Municipal Office in Kravany, field social worker as well as residents of the village agree that relations between the majority population and the Roma national minority in the village are good. The proof of the same situation in the past is documented in the chronicle (they began to write it in 1952 in the village) in the mention coming from 1962: "Our village already has one hundred and fifty numbers. Only since the war, more than thirty houses have already been built here. The population is 756. Eighty-three is of Gypsy origin speaking Indo-European language. Thirty years ago they were mostly professional blacksmiths. They knew how to manipulate with hot iron and thus provided a good service to local carters. Now they are helping to build our country as construction workers. They are diligent and this is reflected in their standard of living, out of the six televisions that are in the village, the two are owned by them."

Table 13 Areas of employment of the Romany in the past (prior to 1989) and now

Main areas of employment of the Romany in the past - Kravany	Main areas of employment of the Romany at present	Number of Roma entrepreneurs/companies in Kravany	Number of Roma sole traders in Kravany
construction	construction	0	2
agriculture	digging		
blacksmithing	services (cleaning)		

Despite good relations that passed from the past into the present times, the Romany in Kravany live separately at the end of the village next to the football field. This is from the time when they started to write the chronicle. One of the references discloses a quality football team and the relationship of the Romany to the sport: ... "Gypsies in our village are particularly fond of football because they live at the end of the village, next to the football field. Gypsy kids chase the ball there every day."

Table 14 Roma settlements – Kravany (2013)

ROMANY IN KRAVANY		
living integrated	in concentration inside the village	in concentration at the edge of village
7	0	132

With the exception of one family living in the centre of the village, the Romany are concentrated in one place.

The educational level of the Romany is low. None of the Romany living here has completed a university degree, as well as the low percentage of them graduate from secondary vocational schools:

Table 15 Level of education of the Romany in Kravany I. (2013)

Number of the Romany with university education	Number of the Romany attending a university	Number of the Romany with secondary education
0	0	5

The most common educational level is the category of completed primary education:

Table 16 Level of education of the Romany in Kravany II. (2013)

Number of the Romany attending secondary school	Number of the Romany - completed primary school	Number of the Romany without education	Number of the Romany - Special school
1	46	10	1

At present, the unemployment rate shows 26 % of the Romany. Some are involved in the work within small municipal services or are long-term abroad.

Table 17 Romany working in the village and abroad – Kravany (2013)

Number of people working in small village services and activation works in the months 01-08/2012	How many of them were Romany?	How many Romany from the village work abroad for a longer period of time?
27	17	12

We have analysed in detail the living conditions of the Romany who inhabit the separated area of the village. Among the most known Roma surnames we can mention Čonka, Sčuka and Ferenc. The Romany speak Romani among themselves, but their children can speak Slovak properly. The community has not have any epidemic diseases so far. We have been mapping the locality in the context of our work since 2006. In the next section we present in detail the current situation of the minority in the village.

Within the outer typology (Rosinský, 2006) presented in the introductory part of the chapter we may include the settlements and people living in them under the category of "separated". The "colony" may be situated within the boundaries of the village, but it is situated at the end. The residents themselves cannot indicate precisely when and how the Roma people came to the village: *"My grandma said the life was very tough, there was a big poverty, especially in post-war times. Our ancestors lived in these connected houses. They are very old. Each of us came from them."*

Unofficial name the Romany and majority population use for the settlement is the "colony". Partially paved road leading to the dwellings ends with the last house of the majority population:

Table 18 Basic characteristics of the separated Roma locality in Kravany (2013)

Name of settlement (also unofficial)	Register of houses	Type of concentration	territory	access road to settlement
Kolónia (Colony), Pri ihrisku (Next to the football field)	Kravany No 56-66	concentration at the edge of village	within the territory of the village	partly asphalted
	Kravany No 239, 226, 231, 224			paved - gravel

View of the concentration within the territory of the village of Kravany:

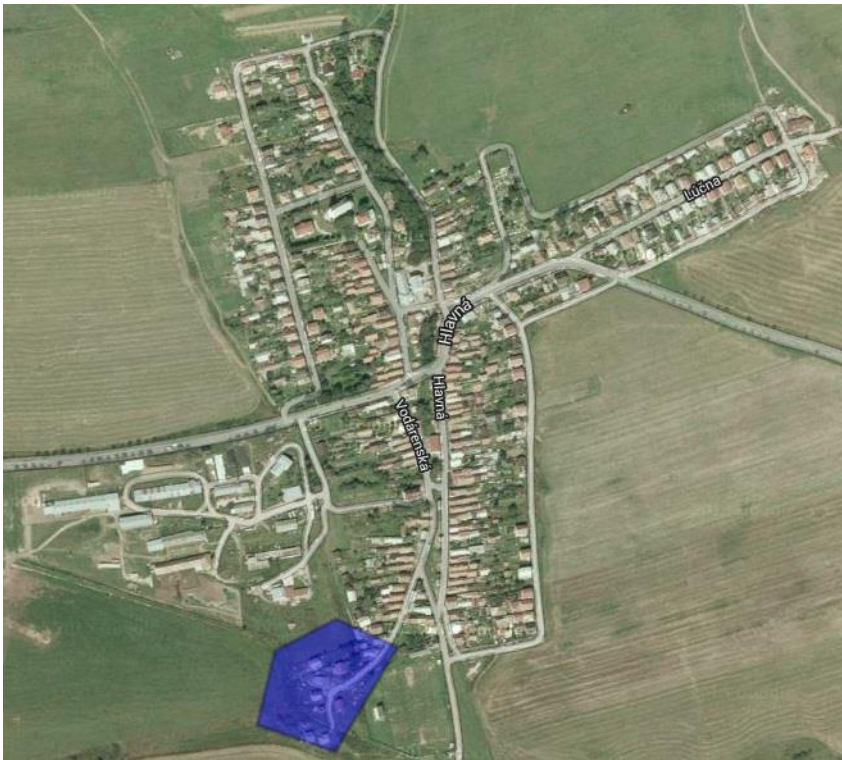


Figure 2 Bird's-eye view of the Roma settlement in Kravany

In the research period (2013), there lived 132 people in the "colony". The following table lists a detailed demographic structure (sex and age):

Table 19 Structure of settlement inhabitants (2013)

Number of settlement inhabitants	Gender		Age			
	Men	Women	0-5	6-14	15-64	65 and older
132	65	67	9	30	92	1

The concentrations that we visited showed a high similarity in the demographic classification of people over 65 years. In the settlements, they live shorter lives – this our view, however, needs to be confirmed by analysing data from all segregated and separated communities.

All residents of the concentration have the possibility of connection to drinking water; and almost all of them make use of it. Some families have their own well, but the original and the first shacks are not connected. Most homes are not connected to the cesspit (80 %).

Table 20 Access to the drinking water and cesspit - "colony" Kravany (2013)

acces to water pipeline	use	own water well	without access to drinking water	cesspits	without connection to cesspit
100%	90%	5%	5%	20%	80%

Land on which the dwellings stand is only partially settled. About half belongs to the local Romany and the remaining homes and huts are located on land of private owners. Residents themselves, however, purchase the land.

Table 21 Roma dwellings – Kravany (2013)

Number of dwellings in the "Colony"	brick legal houses	number of inhabitants	brick houses waiting for building inspection	number of inhabitants	brick houses not registered in cadaster	number of inhabitants
17	6	72	3	28	8	32

At the end of our "excursion" to the "colony" in Kravany we present an essentially important area for each concentration - heating and infrastructure:

Table 22 Engineering networks, heating and waste collection (2013)

electrification	use	gas installation	use	public lighting	gas heating	solid fuel	frequency of garbage collection	separation of waste
100%	95%	100%	5%	100%	5%	95%	twice a month	YES

The "colony" in the village Kravany represents a typically separated community. Its location is defined at the very end of the village. In addition to the above-mentioned relation to the locality and its inhabitants, this fact was a deciding factor when choosing it. The choice proved to be correct because the population of this community have taught us about the elements of animism that we have not recorded in any of the communities. Since 2012, an active field social worker works in the village. It is too early to assess the results of his work, but his activity is perceived contradictory by the inhabitants of the "colony". The reasons are his directive approach, distance and low personal involvement.

2.3 VIEW FROM BEHIND THE FENCE (HRANOVNICA)

The investigation of such specific locations as settlements and concentrations requires a bit of luck as well. In our case, we have decided for selecting Hranovnica more or less randomly. The settlement for our research should originally have been the one that is located in the village Rakúsy. Two weeks before our actual research, we visited it directly and agreed with the inhabitants on the conditions and circumstances of our stay. Although we supposed that the agreements tend to change in the settlements, we did not expect that they would come about right at the very beginning of a long research journey. Ready with a backpack, dictaphone, laptop, diary and lots of lollipops with tattoos – which finally embellished children's faces and limbs in Hranovnica and not in Rakúsy. The deal failed the day before our departure. They justified that their children returned to the hut and there could not be where to lay our heads. We could do nothing but to accept it and look for another alternative. We were sorry that we probably left our friends in Rakúsy puzzled and uncertain. We guess they were dealing with our possible presence daily during two weeks and at the last minute they backed away. Their decision probably saved our own skin, whereas the two days later there was a fight with pitchforks and knives in the colony²⁰. On one

²⁰ "In the village of the district Kežmarok a battle took place, in which Jaroslav (36) was jabbed by a pitchfork and knife. The police officer of Kežmarok charged two men from the village Rakúsy (district Kežmarok) aged 38 and 50 years old with an assault and disorderly conduct - Daniel Džobaník, regional police spokesman of Prešov informed. According to the police, the night of Monday to Tuesday a quarrel took place in the village Rakúsy, followed by a battle. The older of the accused Stanislav G. (50) is suspected of multiple stabbing Jaroslav P. (36) with a kitchen knife in the ribs and left arm causing him injury with expected time of recovery 14 days. As the reason for his attack, he stated the revenge for having thought that the victim had killed his two sons who were also present at the verbal conflict. The younger of the accused František P. (38) is suspected that he attacked the victim with pitchfork while he was pointing it at his chest. The victim partially avoided the

hand, we were relieved, but the desire to be right in the centre of the events attracted us as well. So how did we finally find ourselves in Hranovnica?

We received our first and also the last tip from our informant Mgr. Pištová during the research in Poprad. She knew the results of field social work in the village, which was coordinated by Vladimír Horváth with whom we met at the Municipal Office. Just like with him, and with the family in Rakúsy, we agreed on clear conditions, but after our experience we had little hope. We had a plan B in reserve, which consisted in building the tent in one of the settlements in Podtatranský region. Finally, it turned out well and we spent two "holidays" in the summer months in 2012 and 2013 doing research in the settlement.

As in other locations, we started our "search" for the past analysing the local history of the village recorded in the chronicle. Unfortunately, there exists only one mention coming from the Second World War: "The two volunteers, eighteen years old Jozef Čonka and Eduard Horváth, joined the partisans. They reported to the partisan commander Petrovič, they took an oath to him, and he sent them to Banská Bystrica for a training." One mention of Hranovnica was recorded in the chronicle of Poprad; it dates back to the year 2001: "Primary school in Hranovnica is attended by more than seventy percent of Roma children and is involved in the project helping in the Roma children education - "Step by Step", which is supported by the foundation "Wide Open School". In March, a so-called open class took place in one class where teachers of first to fourth grades of primary schools who deal with the Roma children in the district Poprad were invited. In addition to the class teacher, a so-called Roma assistant, who works at the school since last year, also attended the class. Teaching block for fourteen Roma and two non-Roma pupils began at nine o'clock in the morning with a communication where children talked with the teacher about what they had experienced at home the day before, how was the day and the communication transformed smoothly into teaching of mathematics and Slovak. The action was aimed at swapping the experience with the teaching and education of Roma children." We obtained more information during mapping the localities in Poprad district in the frame of the project the Atlas of Roma communities (2012-2013). There can be noticed an increased proportion of the

attack and the pitchfork hit his left shoulder. This injury will also require treatment for about 14 days. The defendants are prosecuted" (Battle in the village ..., 2012).

Romany in the total population compared with the data coming from 2004:

Table 23 Number of inhabitants and Romany in the village Hranovnica (2004, 2013)

HRANOVNICA			
number of inhabitants (2004)	number of the Romany (2004)	number of inhabitants (2013)	number of the Romany (2013)
2 567	1 050	2 913	1 452

If we expressed the proportion in per cents, it can be argued that in 2004 the share of the Roma population formed about 41 % in the village, but in 2013 it was almost 50 %. Nevertheless, concerns of the general public about overcrowding of the country by the Romany are not eligible. According to Múčka (2013), so-called "integrated Romany", similarly to the Slovaks, are demographically dying. He admits, however, that the time has stopped in segregated settlements in eastern Slovakia, where the fertility rate reaches 4.5 from 5. If we talked about all the Romany en bloc, it would be an increase in the number 150,000 in the horizon of twenty years. But if the quality in the settlements did not improve, it will really be true that most Romany will live in settlements. It can be assumed that the expanding of communities will raise problems and rate of occurrence of socio-pathological phenomena.

Table 24 New-borns in Hranovnica (2011)

NEW-BORNS IN HRANOVNICA	
2011 (total)	Roma children (2011)
58	48

Hranovnica was a "promised land" for us - on one hand due to the reception by the Romany themselves, and on the other hand because of the proportional population stratification in relation the Romany and the "majority" - almost in proportion "fifty-fifty". However, the Romany live "behind the fence" which was built by the majority at the very end of the village. There even ends the asphalt road.

Table 25 Number of the Romany in Hranovnica according to the type of settlement (2013)

ROMANY IN HRANOVNICA		
living integrated	in concentration inside the village	living segregated
34	0	1418

The uniqueness of the Roma community in Hranovnica is enhanced particularly by diversity, which consists of specific localization, as well as different social status of its members. The poorest residents live on the street Hviezdoslavová. Our giant would certainly not be pleased by the picture of misery of twenty-first century. The street Mlynská is perceived as the concentration of the "middle class". The most visible to the outside world is the street SNP, which is part of the first class road heading to the village Vernár. There are situated Roma new houses which, by their size and quality, exceed even houses of the "majority".

Table 26 Roma settlements – Hranovnica (2013)

Name of settlement (also unofficial)	Register of houses	Type of concentration	access road to settlement
Settlement Hlinisko (Clay field)	Hviezdoslavova street 245-259	segregated	partly asphalted paved - gravel
Mlynská street	Mlynská street 227-585	at the edge of village	partly asphalted paved - gravel
End of the street SNP	Street SNP 178-217	at the edge of village	first class road

All settlements are located within the boundaries of the village. Original houses and the first Romany in Hranovnica lived in the area of present street Hviezdoslavova. Local people call the settlement "Hlinisko (Clay field)". Its name is probably derived from clay soil that borders precisely this part of the settlement. Hlinisko is inhabited by the poorest Romany of the community.



Figure 3 Localities inhabited by the Romany in the village Hranovnica

Hlinisko is inhabited by 351 people. Here as well, the number of people aged over 65 is significantly lower in comparison with the majority. This is probably caused by the poor healthcare situation. Recent research directly defines the greatest healthcare problems in the context of segregated settlements. Belák (2013, p. 5-6) identifies the problematic areas:

- general restrictions in emergency medicine and clinical practice

- low level of recognition of the work of healthcare professionals
- disproportionate workload beyond the competences
- lack of capacity
- low level of solidarity among doctors
- general lack of interest in healthcare
- crisis of faith in one's own strength
- Romany - limitations in emergency medicine and clinical practice
 - low functionality of clinical standards
 - aggressive behaviour of the Romany
 - low standards of hygiene in segregated settlements
 - open racism
- general restrictions in healthcare, healthcare supervision and intervention
 - lack of experience in research
 - public healthcare is closely subordinated to political-economic regime
- Romany - general restrictions in healthcare, healthcare supervision and intervention
 - low functionality of the set standards
 - increasing politicization of solving Roma problems

Table 27 Gender, age structure and population growth of "Hlinisko" (2013)

Number of settlement inhabitants - "Hlinisko"	Gender		Age				new-borns in the settlement
	Men	Women	0-5	6-14	15-64	65 and older	
351	182	169	71	101	173	6	7

Table 28 Gender, age structure and population growth of Mlynská street (2013)

Number of settlement inhabitants - "Mlynská street"	Gender		Age				new-borns in the settlement
	Men	Women	0-5	6-14	15-64	65 and older	
461	237	224	86	89	279	7	18

Table 29 Gender, age structure and population growth of the street SNP (2013)

Number of settlement inhabitants - End of street SNP"	Gender		Age				new-borns in the settlement
	Men	Women	0-5	6-14	15-64	65 and older	
606	302	304	107	119	361	19	22

The settlement Hlinisko stands on unsettled land. None of the huts or "slum" houses meets the standards of building inspection. There are 74 objects which are crowded by 450 people:

Table 30 Hlinisko (2013)

Number of dwellings in the settlement "Hlinisko"	brick legal houses	number of inhabitants	brick houses waiting for building inspection	number of inhabitants	huts	number of inhabitants	prefabricated housing unit	number of inhabitants
74	0	0	2	29	71	450	1	2

In the two remaining localities (Mlynská Street, Street SNP) the buildings meet the standards of building inspection, respectively they are waiting for the final approval in the near future. The absolute illegality of buildings in the settlement Hlinisko is the image of segregation in separate municipal territory inhabited by the Romany.

Table 31 Mlynská street (2013)

Number of dwellings "Mlynská"	brick legal houses	number of inhabitants	brick houses waiting for building inspection	number of inhabitants	huts	number of inhabitants
43	32	73	11	178	0	0

Mlynská Street is parallel with the street SNP. It consists of terraced houses lining the asphalt access road. There are houses of varying quality, which will be later described in detail in the chapter on houses and housing for the Romany.

Table 32 Street SNP (2013)

Number of dwellings "End of the street SNP"	brick legal houses	number of inhabitants	brick houses waiting for building inspection	number of inhabitants	huts	number of inhabitants
71	58	500	12	50	0	0

In all three concentrations the residents have the opportunity to connect to a source of drinking water. They use it to 90 %. Five percent of households use their own well as a source of water and the rest of the community is not connected. Sanitation is used by the residents of Mlynská Street and Street SNP; Hlinisko has no opportunity to connect.

Table 33 Hlinisko – utilities (2013)

access to water pipeline	use	own water well	without access to drinking water	sewer system	without connection
100%	90%	5%	5%	0%	100%

It is gratifying that the settlement Hlinisko is electrified. In this part, however, the public lighting is absent. In Mlynská and SNP there is full gasification and locations are equipped with public lighting as well. Nevertheless, all residents heat their homes with wood exclusively. Waste is not exported from the settlement Hlinisko. The residents can only use a high-capacity container. The other two concentrations have secured garbage collection twice a month. In the past, the Romany from Hranovnica commuted to the city Svit where they worked in a textile factory. At the present time they have difficulty finding a job. The most frequently they make use of casual labour on construction sites or in the woods:

Main areas of employment of the Romany in the past - Hranovnica	Main areas of employment of the Romany at present	Number of Roma entrepreneurs/companies in Hranovnica	Number of Roma sole traders in Hranovnica
engineering - Poprad	forest industry	0	14
textile industry - Svit	digging		

Apart from that the local Romany work within small municipal services or activation works. This activity is carried out in the period (January-August 2011) by fifty inhabitants of Hranovnica. Of this number, 47 were the Romany. None of the Romany has acquired a university degree, or is attending a university at the time, but some respondents intend to do so in the near future. In the community there live 145 people who graduated from secondary vocational schools.

Table 34 Level of education of the Romany – Hranovnica (2013)

Number of the Romany attending secondary school	Number of the Romany - completed primary school	Number of the Romany without education	Number of the Romany - Special school
47	300	?	40

The second chapter of our work consisted of detailed descriptions of the researched localities. We tried to capture the full spectrum of settlements, from integrated settlements (Poprad, Spišská Teplica), separated settlements (Kravany, Hranovnica and part of Poprad) to settlements segregated by their "own people" (Hlinisko). In the next section we present a content analysis of the work of Samuel Augustini in the context of the current image of the above-mentioned settlements.

3 REFLECTION OF THE WORK BY SAMUEL AUGUSTINI AB HORTIS „ZIGEUNER IN UNGARN“ IN THE CONTEXT OF HELPING PROFESSIONS

The work of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis *Von den heutigen Zustände, sonderbaren Sitten und Lebensart, wie auch von den übrigen Eigenschaften und Umständen der Zigeuner in Ungarn*, or *On the current situation, special manners and way of life, as well as other features and gifts of Gypsies in Hungary* was written almost a hundred years before another world famous work of Edward Burnett Tylor *Primitive culture* (1871). Of course, Ab Hortis could not know about the famous Tylor's "complex" definition. Nevertheless, in his "enlightened" perception of the world, he intuitively identifies areas of life of the Romany, on which he focuses in his work. And these are: the names and naming of *Gypsies* in Hungary, speculation about their land of origin, education, homes and housing, chores, clothing, livelihood, physical appearance, nature, fortune-telling and witchcraft, natural abilities and skills, musical talent, literature, religion, language, internal system of life of *Gypsies* and their way of life in Hungary. He even states the means to "reform these people". The analysis and updating of his knowledge about the culture of the Romany in Podtatranský region creates the content of the following chapters.

Before the creation of the work itself, it was important to learn to swim in the treacherous terminological sea. The attentive reader may ask: How is it possible that we perceive culture through Tylor's vision and we are inspired by the contradictory "*thick description*" of Geertz? After all, he considered famous definition of anthropological evolution as marasmus. Inspired by Max Weber, he states (1973, 2000) that man is an animal hung into the web of meanings made by himself. He perceives culture as fibres and he does not consider its analysis as experimental science searching for the laws, but interpretative science searching for the meaning. What he is looking for is an explanation; he interprets social expressions that are mysterious above the surface. Geertz is more focused on a smaller sector of social reality, which he analyses in detail. We can say that his perception of the phenomenon of culture is reductionist in terms of the motto "less is sometimes more". Therefore we decided to perceive the class of cultural phenomena by optics of ab Hortis who sees it similarly to Tylor. The inspiration for the interpretation of our knowledge, however, was Geertz' "*anthropological literary art*".

Why is it important for field social workers, but also for people actually, to know the culture of the target group or community that lives behind

their fence, or "wailing wall"? Clarification of this scheme can help us in answering this question:

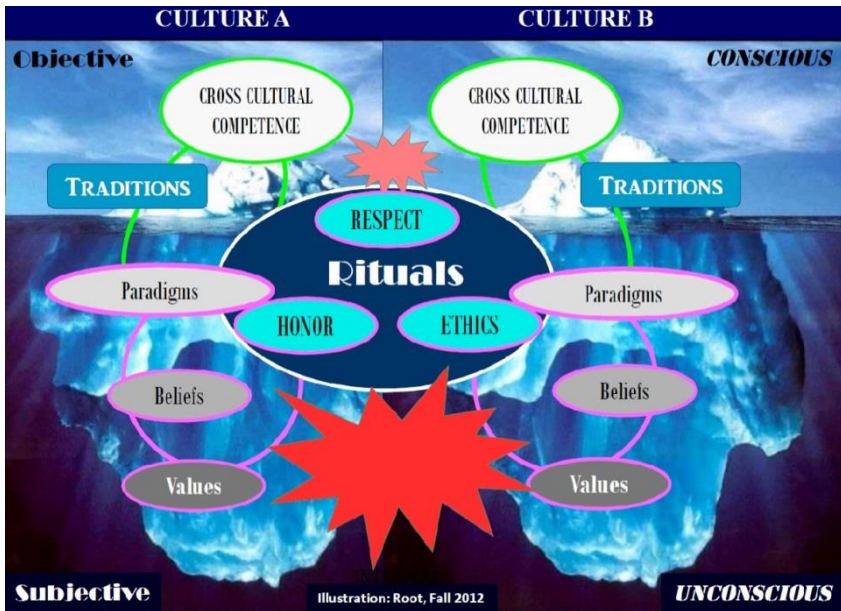


Figure 4 Cross Cultural Competence in its Total Context (Root, Fall, 2012)

Ruth and Fall (2012) liken culture to a glacier. Below the surface, there are hidden meanings to be detected. Traditions "floating" on the surface are largely accepted by both cultures living side by side. If we applied the model to the Roma culture, the tip of the iceberg may be *national Roma culture* (as defined in the first chapter of the work). We are more likely to respect for example theatre, dance and musical performance of the Romany in the theatre Romathan, or "Gypsy Devils" than specific life strategies applied in the settlements. Those tend to be rather subjective, often hidden in the unconscious and appearing in intense emotional level. The invisible, *paradigms*, *beliefs* and *values*, i.e. patterns (of behaviour), demonstrate more or less intense diversity in every culture. The creating a better community life of such cultures lies in respect, honesty and ethics. It is impossible to work or even live with each other without knowing the "plunge".

3.1 ON VARIOUS NAMES AND APPELLATIONS OF THE ROMANY AND SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THEIR HOME COUNTRY (Von den verschiedenen Namen und Bennungen der Zigeuner überhaupt Mutmassungen von dem Ursprung und dem rechten Vaterlande der Zigeuner)

Describing the entire complex of culture has not been an easy task. Although we have focused "only" on the regulations listed by ab Hortis in his work, it has been a relatively complex analysis. You do not need to have a university degree, or even secondary education, to perceive its difficulty. As one of the informants has expressed it in his own words:

"You know, I think you do not have an easy topic. I have read such a book about errr and I think it is much easier to describe the lives of animals than humans. If you had written about technology, but about people, or a story - just a simple story, II a story of a man, it is also different than to describe the whole culture. It is difficult, it can be summarized in one book, but maybe rather if it was recognition: the Roma nation and just as you're describing, experiences, ways. For example, we are Hranovnica, there is Štiavnik and Spišský Štvrtok. It's not a big difference in kilometres, but there is a difference in speech. Although in Slovak, there is a difference, even in the Roma language there is a difference. Me, when I go to Giraltovce or to Košice, it is there also a difference. It may happen that some words are different there. We call the policemen *žandara* and elsewhere they say *šunguni*, *šunguri*. Even this is quite a big difference" (P.A., 26 years old, male).²¹

It is the alpha and omega of how we will refer to the members of a minority culture. Several questions have arisen: What are the names used to describe the Roma population in Hungary in the period of the Enlightenment? What is the name chosen by ab Hortis himself? And what about the present? Is it better now to refer to them as to the Gypsies or Romany? What is right and correct?

²¹ In order to give a better idea of the reality of settlements we will use verbatim testimonies of informants in the work. In the quotations we will also use abbreviations documenting the atmosphere of interview: XY (speaker's initials), errr (hesitation), - (unfinished word) ... (pause for more than three seconds), II (simultaneity of verbal expression of two or more people), N (unintelligible section) , .hhh (inhalation), hhh (exhalation), ::: (extension of previous sound), "word" (quieter than the other words), *word* (emphasis on the word), (1,3) the length of the pause in seconds ((he stares at the camera, at the researcher)) (Gavora, 2006).

In search of answers to the above-mentioned questions, we will take a closer look at the typical appellations from the eighteenth century. In the introductory chapter of his report, the author sees several namings of the *Gypsies - Zigeuner* as follows:

Table 35 Naming the Romany according to Samuel Augustini ab Hortis (1775)

NAMING OF ROMA - AB HORTIS (1775)	
COUNTRY	NAME
France	Bohemiens, Böhmen
Holland, nether Saxony	Heyden
Transylvania	Faroner, Faraoner, Pharaó népek, Pharaó nemzetsége
Greece	Attingani, Attingan
other places	Tatari, Saracéni, Zagareni, Egypt'ania, Núbijci
commonly used names	Cingari, Zingari, Cifani, Cingani, Cigari, Cyngari, Zingeüni, Zingineri

The most frequently he uses the German word *Zigeuner*. In the area of Poprad, Kežmarok and Levoča, mostly German was spoken in that period. Ab Hortis considers the origin of the word. His etymological dispute can be expressed by the formula: *Zeitheiner* versus *Aegyptiani*. The first word *Zeitheiner* means "sojourner" and therefore, the author believes that this may be one of the reasons for the modification of this word into *Zigeuner*. As the most likely origin of the word, however, he considers the term *Aegyptiani*, supposing that the Romany came to Transylvania sooner than to Germany. Germans like shortening words and by omitting phonemes they used to say *Ciani*. Similarly with the Spaniards, the term *Gitanos* is still used to this day. The most important information that the author describes in this period is a change according to the provincial constitution, when the use of terms such as *Pharaohs* or *Zigeuner* became forbidden. They should be renamed by German equivalent to *Neubauer* (new-peasants) or the Hungarian *Új Magyar, Uj Magyarok* or *Új lakósok* (new-Hungarians). He notes that *Morre*²² (as he sporadically calls the Romany in his text) did not agree with the change of the name. So this was ab Hortis' view but how the residents of the surveyed localities actually would like to call themselves?

The opinions can be divided into three groups:

- "We are not the Romany, we are Gypsies!"

²² "More" - man, often used in the phrase "Dža more!", which can be translated as "Go, man!", "Go!" or "Run!".

- "I do not care how they call us, we will only be Gypsies forever."
- "I prefer that they call us the Romany. Gypsy is pejorative."

In the first two cases, it was really an exceptional testimony and opinions. The Romany now perceive differences in naming very sensitively. Gypsy is for them a synonym for inferiority, lies, and insults. The Romany is an expression of humanity and equality: "I am personally more for "Romák". Because the Romany is nicer. The Romany means a man and on the contrary a Gypsy it's like when you're lying" (H.V., in his forties, male). Another informant even talked about the pain, which the ethnonym Gypsy causes: "You know me, I am sad and sometimes it hurts. I'm fighting for it, because the Romany and Gypsy is something different. Even a white can be called a Gypsy, you are like a Gypsy. If I think that there is some difference. As if Gypsy is already an insult. An example: there are Slovaks, Hungarians, Russians, we are the Romany and a Gypsy I see it as something else. It is rather a humiliation. I cannot break it down properly, but we are a Roma nation and a Gypsy it is almost as an insult. But it is as if we accepted it and that's bad, we had to fight for it" (P.A., 26 years old, male).


We ask again: Romany or Gypsy? We should respect the right of the Romany to self-determination. In our country, the word "Gypsy" is preferred by representatives of neo-Nazi or extremist groups. Unfortunately, they like to misuse it in political debates and campaigns as well. Infamously known is the slogan of the pre-election leaflet from 2009: "Remove the unfair favouring not only of the Gypsy parasites". NGOs and several celebrities set the alarm bells ringing and demanded punishment for the propagators of intolerance between cultures. Whoever created the "motto", he had been very conscientious in ensuring not to be punishable. In this case, the expression "not only"²³ helped him. It is gratifying that the voice of apathetic population of the settlements calling: "We are Gypsies, not Romany!" is now more often replaced by the growing calls and hunger for the right to be "Romany" and not Gypsy.

²³ Kozubík (2013, p. 19-20) notes that Slovakia and litigations of "words" are not unfamiliar to other countries. For example, in the UK, similar disputes were frequent until the second half of the fifties of the twentieth century. Fraser (2002) mentions the boards flooding England from the seventies, which read: "Gypsies not permitted". These cases went to court. However, the court dismissed the complaint and decided that the inscriptions are not in conflict with the law. At the end of the eighties, however, the slogans were replaced by terms such as "Nomads not permitted". With exaggeration we can say that we are similar to England with one important difference: we are quarter-century behind and we did not condemn or adjust the statements.

It would be appropriate that the endonym Romany corresponded with our - majority, Slovak exonymic perception. The argument that we call other nations by our language is not sufficient, for example Austrians are not *Österreicher* for us, as members of far-right or groups denying rights of people "different" from them like to use. In Slovak, the verb "cigánit" ("to gypsy") is a synonymous term for "to lie", it is pejorative and used rather in negative sense or negative connotations. The word Gypsy even does not exist in the current Slovak legislation. We respect the laws and legislation of the Slovak Republic, and thus we cannot call our friends and informants other than the Romany. The government, in its Resolution No. 153 from 1991, recognized the Romany as a national minority and adopted the appellation Romany required by them. It guaranteed them cultural and ethnic development. It followed up the decision of IRU (International Romani Union) from 1971, when the Romany from all over the world agreed on this appellation. The Slovak government gave way to forget the onerous situation from the first half of the twentieth century, when Law on Wandering Gypsies was adopted No. 117/1927.

Čís. záznamu: _____

REPUBLIKA ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ.



KOČOVNÍCKY LIST
vydaný podľa § 5 zákona zo dňa 14. júla 1927, čís. 117
Sb. z. a nar.

1. Meno a priezvisko hlavy rodiny: _____
(prezývka)

2. Čís. jeho cigánskej legitimácie: _____
(sňatý si na s číslom u Estráda
pre osídlenie cigánov)

3. Platnosť kočovníckeho listu končí dňom _____

Podpis majiteľa kočovníckeho listu: _____

(Ak máva písač, odlišná odliš-
nica prvej ruky, ak cigán
ľudia, najmä v číslach
prahu.)

- 1 -

Figure 5 Form of the traveller letter issued by law No. 117/1927 (Source: Kajánová, A., private archives of the author)

Horváthová (1995, p. 76) - one of the founders of Romani Studies (romalogy) at the end of her life indicates in Urbancová's translation of ab Horis' work that there is no doubt about the Indian origin of the *Gypsies*. Their ancestors, according to her, probably lived for a long time in the north Indian areas where the rest of the population referred to them as to dúm, dóm, which means a tramp. And the people referred by this term adopted it as well. In Western Asia, the form changed into a lom and later in Europe into rom, rarely rúm, in the sense of man, husband, and for some groups also a *Gypsy*. Feminine form with an adequate semantics is romni, Romni. The most modern approaches to linguistics and genetics confirmed the Indian origin of the Romany (more information can be found in the chapter on the language of the Romany).

The Romany living in settlements under the Tatras are not very interested in their origin. Even those from hierarchical "higher cast" grope in the dark when asked the question about their origin. Answers like: "I know that the Romany came from Hungary" (P.B., 30, male) or "It is usually said that from India. But my answer is that who knows, who knows! Errr I do not know this, I cannot say that I know when I don't know. Errr (2) since I am Christian, so you know, I was thinking about it. Look, we can also be of some tribes of Israel. As the tree has several branches so we can be ... I do not know"; were not unusual.

Table 36 Roma surnames in selected villages of Podtatranský region - 2013

ROMANY SURNAME - CHOSEN TOWN AND VILLAGES "UNDER TATRAS REGION"	
BATIZOVCE	Gábor, Pačaj, Čonka
GÁNOVCE	Koky
GERLACHOV	Čonka, Pačan, Mižigár
HRANOVNICA	Čonka, Žiga, Šarišský, Pačan
JÁNOVCE	Pecha, Paločaj, Gabčo, Šarišský, Čonka, Mirga
KRAVANY	Čonka, Ščuka, Ferenc
LIPTOVSKÁ TEPLIČKA	Puška, Ferenc, Pačaj, Čonka
LUČIVNÁ	Čonka, Koky, Puška, Gaži
MENGUSOVCE	Čonka, Koky
NOVÁ LESNÁ	Čonka, Koky, Lacko, Baláž
POPRAĐ	Koky, Gažík, Polhoš, Hangurbadžo, Pecha, Pišta
SPIŠSKÁ TEPLICA	Gaži, Koky, Lacko
SVIT	Ščuka, Pecha, Koky, Mirga
ŠTÓLA	Koky, Oračko, Ščuka
ŠTRBA	Koky, Gaži, Čonka, Puška
ŠUŇAVA	Lacko, Koky, Puška
ŠVÁBOVCE	Koky, Čonka
VELKÝ SLAVKOV	Čonka, Baláž, Makula, Holub, Oračko, Pecha

Samuel Augustini ab Hortis also considers the original homeland of the Romany. He presents contemporary views and speculates about Singara (Mesopotamia) from where the Emperor Julian supposedly forced the Romany to leave, about Zengitana in Africa, from where they supposedly expelled the Romany because of divination and witchcraft, and finally the Mogul/ Mongolia and descendants of Genghis Khan. His greatest contribution in this area includes meditation over the arrival of the Romany in Hungary. He believes that this people moved from Moldova and Wallachia to Transylvania and Hungary. He also reveals the origin of the word vajda. The Wallachians called their leader "vojvoda (duke)", *Gypsies* abbreviated it to vajda. In the current environment of the settlements in Podtatranský region, which were included in our study, a similar function existing almost exclusively among Wallachian (Vlachi) Romany is missing. Important data of ab Hortis' work are the transcripts of protective letters of Hungarian rulers.

3.2 ON EDUCATION OF THE ROMANY (Von der Erziehung der Zigeuner)

The most critical passages of ab Hortis' work can be found in the description of education for Roma children: "Their lack of morals and exuberance cannot be attributed to other causes, but the lack of education. When closely monitoring *Gypsy* for any changes, which extend from birth to adulthood, we will find out that not only his body but also his mental balance is being devastated, degraded and disgraced" (p. 24). The next part of the text is similarly critical. One of the most important views applicable to this day is his opinion that "... their marriage and household is then in the same mess they have seen and learnt from their parents" (p. 26). Roma families and children living in it is one of the most important focuses of social work with family. Field social work and stay right in the natural environment of socially deprived families is essential in determining family history and other professional and consulting practices. If the education of under-aged is seriously neglected it is the duty of social workers to intervene. The most commonly applied and effective tool is the institution of a special beneficiary.

The institute of a special beneficiary is regulated by § 23 of Act no. 417 of 2013 on the material need. In the environment of the segregated settlements, a special beneficiary is most frequently a village. Office of Labour, Social Affairs and Family designates a special beneficiary especially when the existing provision of benefits in material need does not fulfil its purpose. In such cases, it happens that the financial support intended to cover basic living needs are misused for various reasons. It is

in particular inefficient spending - "everything is spent in three days", usury, alcohol and other socio-pathological phenomena. If a village has a field social worker and his assistants, the whole agenda of the institute remains largely on them. Considerable power accumulates in the hands of helping profession workers. They have the right to work with the family, divide the allowance and use the money to satisfy the basic needs of the family. General public often think that the benefits are abused and they treat them carelessly and in particular - that it is impossible to change it. With exaggeration approaching to reality we can say that a social worker actually becomes the head of the family. In the final chapters of our work we will describe how he should carry out his work, what he should think of and what he should avoid. At the beginning, however, we can say that the power the worker has cannot be abused in any circumstances. It should not be prescriptive and insensitive - nor towards the parents or the children. The introduction of a special beneficiary is a sufficient punishment for the family. Unfortunately, "the practice shows the truth" - the Romany or poor people will change childcare only if you touch their benefits.

Ab Hortis states that Roma "people is extremely fertile" and from early childhood they teach their own children to steal. He even states that Roma mothers defend themselves against attacks and strokes of their own small child, which they usually have wrapped up in the sheet with them. Finally, he notes that there is a smaller group of families that are "similar to other useful people." It is possible to agree with him perhaps only that currently there are many Roma families taking proper care of their children and their upbringing does not differ from the methods used by the majority population. The fact that raising children is gradually changing also with the majority population can be documented in the testimony of H.R. (25-30 years old, female): "We had errr an education of a "strict hand". This we could not do what our children can now. Mama just looked at me and I had to go into the bedroom and had to stay there for half a day. We were hungry, thirsty, until she did not come to ask: kids do you want something to eat? But now I do not command my children, but they command me. But it is not only our children, but also white, it is about all. .hhh We have respect for our parents. I have my own kids, but I do not light a cigarette in front of them. I have respect, ye know ..."

"We do not command our children, but they command us" has been a surprising finding for us. The Romany themselves realize that it is like with the majority. But they cannot explain from what this situation results and what has changed in comparison with the past between the education of their parents and themselves. A Roma man P.A. also realizes

it (26 years old): "I think we fail in many cases. The emphasis is given to irrelevant rather than to the essential. You have more important things and less important things. I would say that there is something a little reversed. I noticed that the mistake in education among us, the Romany, is that we do not keep our word, and then the children are rebellious, that I have a problem with my mother, with my father. I, for example, now that my kid is on earth, I ignore it. It is screaming, nope! hhh I do not care! But someone else yes. And listen, then when the child grows up, it boldly yells on father and mother! It can boldly gain what it wants. So it is no longer the word of a father and mother, but the word of a child. I see it as very bad and distorted, but in many, many families it is like this. Even I was raised like this. "

We were lucky when recording this interview because in a modest cottage during the recording there was also the mother of a man who was confronted by his words and she expressed herself as follows: "Well, you were brought up like this, you were spoiled, but you never told me anything bad. This is already in you! You swore, okay, but you were five, six years old! But as you were 12, 14, 15 years old you were a normal boy" (P.B., 50 years old, female).

Every day spent in the settlement was specific and each visit of a new family brought some new knowledge. The atmosphere was unique in all respects. During the interview people kept coming to the house - children, family members, everybody wanted to see a gadjo, for them, the journalist who is writing a book about their life and culture. They were mending the TV, placing the satellite, the children were crying and the adults were smoking tobacco from a rolled cigarette. In this atmosphere, it was almost magical to talk about the relationship of parents and children. The period of enlightenment is gone and so are the views of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis on education. It's not just mothers who bear children into a pit, teach them to dance in order to collect alms and steal. Roma people love their children and realize that education is important, especially at young age: "The most important time in education is now, to those three, five years, it is the most important time of the input, then it will remain. My boy is four years old, when he does something wrong, so I tell him that he will not get a bike because he did this and that, he has to deserve it. I want to impress up on my children that when I want to buy something for them, I have to get up, go to work, simply to make some effort and you know, nowadays some kids are so spoiled, they just do not appreciate it, they do not value it and this is also among whites. This I can see that it is rather distorted because of emotion. hhh (2) But you know, I was thinking about why it is like this. Someone told me that it was

because of love. But they do not see what they can cause, what consequence it can have in the future. The parent thinks that if he gives him, the child stops crying, it will be happy, but he does not see the result in the future. I can see it, that's why I argue with my mother, father, and so on. I can see it. And so I was thinking why I don't spank the child sometimes, because every father, every mother loves his/ her child. .hhh And now when he sees that it's crying and spansk it, so it's not as it was only child's pain, but it hurts me too. I also sometimes say: sweetie, I don't want to spank you, but I have to because I told you that you could not do it and you did it. .hhh And you know what? I spank him and he does it again. But I believe that after one hundred or two hundred times he will understand it and stop it. I don't believe that he will just grow out of it. I do not believe that when it is only a small baby that it is just like the father. It has the same in his head as that one or another. I know it's like this and it's true that the child always begins to do what the father does. What it sees from the father, at home, it will do that as it is instilled into it. (2) In the future a revolt comes, there is no authority, no respect, then it happens, more likely with whites than with us, that the child runs away from home, he wants to get out from his parents as soon as possible because there was no respect, authority, or proper education. I think instilling is something that is very, very, very important. II The biggest mistake I see is that I give the boundary and the child by shouting, crying causes that I shift my boundary. And you know what? He won, not me. Not my will happened but his. And the second mistake is that the father wants to educate and mother, she is a refuge, a protection, a protective hand. There is no unity and then it happens that the child will always run to the mother or the father. I know it is like this among whites, not only here among the Romany. But I think that among whites it is not so much spread. That I have seen many times in Kaufland, in the shop, a child crying and a parent saying I will not buy it for you. Do not yell the white says, but we would buy it. Even in the detail that is important. Sometimes I see that when someone grows up, he does not tell to his father, mother: father, mom ... hhh, but somehow different. (2) An example: we go together to gather blueberries, my cousin, my mom's brother, II my uncle and I say mama and he says "more". And I told him: Peter, how can you say "more" to your father! You cannot say "more"! Tell your father dado! No "more", that's bad! Where did this come from? But it is not his fault, but the father's. Because he should say: who brought you up that you are telling me "more". I'm "more" for You? Although the relationship is not very disrupted, but I think that it is important" (P.A., 26 years old, male).

We have deliberately published word-by-word, slightly abridged, version of the interview. The whole middle and upper class living in segregated and separated parts of Kravany and Hranovnica expressed similarly. In the poorest classes of the settlements, the love of children is really that big. It's most noticeable in everyday routines - for example, when taking care of new-borns, the mother really cuddles her child with love or the father caresses his son. It may often happen to you, as a researcher, that they will tell you what they think you want to hear. The reality, however, can be greatly distorted, and the results lack an adequate validity. What we cannot learn or play through is non-verbal communication, body language, look or gestures.

However, there are also opposite opinions: "Education is different when you compare the settlement, Mlynská and SNP (locations described in the second chapter – Hranovnica, author's note). They do not have the upbringing of children in the settlement. Children educate themselves, they only bring those children. We are divided into three groups - such a family (i.e. poor, settlement, author's note), medium family and a better, higher family. Sometimes parents respected their children and children their parents. Then the parents cared about the education, attended parents' meetings at school, there was a hall full of sitting parents and they were interested" (H.L., 45 years old, male).

In what respect are all the three layers of the Roma community identical? In the love of children! Despite the fact that poor child living in the colony does not have appropriate respect for parents and it comes home only when it is hungry, thirsty or needs to go to sleep, we cannot say that parents do not like their child. Aren't these Roma children our reflection? For how many "white" children we can say that they are brought up by the street with a key around the neck? The children are brought up by the settlement. This contradiction is best described by a Roma woman (H.P., 40 to 45 years old): "We, Romany, terribly love our children. We would give them even our last, even the white kids do not have this what Roma children have. Every their day is sweet, even if there is no money, I do not know ... even when she does not cook (mother), but she gives the children what they want, mom will buy it to them, even if she does not cook what she would like to cook. She cooks a full pot of soup, but she will satisfy her children. At least on the 18th, 19th, 20th of the month. It does not matter which family, but they give their children also from the last. Last few years, the children do not want to go to school on the 18th, 19th, 20th because they go to pick up allowances with their parents. We can thus say that they cannot live off, they do not have, but they look after the children. They love their children, but it is about the time and education."

3.3 ON ROMA FOOD AND EATING (Von denen Speise und Nahrung der Zigeuner)

The Romany love food. Love of children, guests, family or wayfarer (in our case a gadjo) is measured by hospitality. There is no greater reward for a Roma father than when he returns from work with bags full of delicious food and sweets. They even tend to measure the success of their work by the number of items: "I earned money and brought five full bags!" (M.Č., 30 years old, male). This is one of the most beautiful moments for the father, the children and their mother. A similar situation is on the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth day of the month. The children even do not go to school those days. They spent the benefits in material need in three days. In particular, on food, tobacco, coffee and usury. The majority often considers this behaviour with considerable misunderstanding. You just need to have a little bit of empathy so that you could understand such a conduct. We used to say: If you're hungry you have *Gypsies* playing music in your stomach. If you go to the shop starving you are able to buy everything you see. The Romany are not hungry only for one day, but they use to starve longer. This is particularly difficult for children but also their parents, who have to look at such children. They use to hang around the house of a usurer even for more hours so that he gave them a small piece of bread. Therefore, we believe that this behaviour is nothing special - this can be understood without any special skill of empathy towards the needs of others. To spend everything in two days, however, is certainly extreme. In such moments, there is again a social worker, who works mainly with the poorest, in contact with the family. Within the institute of special beneficiaries he even does the shopping with the family and advises them how to divide the allocation during the whole month. The second extreme is to secure supplies. It is not unusual that Romany buy ten kilos of flour during the days of receiving benefits. After a few days, when they run out of savings, they have flour, but cannot cook anything from it.

Each settlement has its own specific odour and this is not just metaphorically. It is a mixture of fire, and they use not only wood but all things of the world from rags to polythene; of meals being cooked - from bones and broths from them to the fried "risky" (schnitzel) and the smell of people themselves who are specifically smelling by fire, sweat and cheap perfume. The first time we tasted the food was in the village Huncovce. It was a "riska" (schnitzel, author's note) and potatoes. It was delicious and copious. The Romany are very hospitable. But you can also experience the opposite - a significant rejection, even the "hide and seek game." We did not understand this contradiction. A concrete experience

has brought more clarity into this controversy. At the beginning of our research, we randomly addressed the people who would be willing to do an interview with us. We were not very successful, which surprised us. An unforgettable moment was a meeting with a grumpy Roma woman who hid a kind of mug. My guide - the key informant told me: "Do you see how she is hiding the mug? There was flour and she would like to invite you, but she was ashamed that she has nothing to offer you." People in the settlement will welcome you if they feel you are coming in peace". To see a gadjo in the settlement is not as unusual as it might seem. Do you want a new TV? Are you interested in insurance? Where's your health card? Do you want a new one? – We can often hear questions like this. Debts of the residents in non-banking companies are, in addition to food, another of evergreens in the settlements.

The second time we tried food in the separate settlement Kravany in a small shack glittering of all colours. In the middle, a small stove heated the shack to nearly three hundred degrees Celsius in early autumn. The family welcomed us with schnitzels, potatoes and lumberjack portions: "You have to eat it all, otherwise we will throw it away! Our custom is that we throw away what we do not eat" (R.M., 31 years old, male). We were thinking what the reason for this practice is. Does it have any rational basis? The huts have no refrigerators. There is nowhere to plug them. First the TV and then bulbs need to be connected to a car battery. Just after them, refrigerators are the next. They can be found in the settlement, but they serve rather to preserve food as to cool it. A typical example was our visit with a field social worker to Matejovský manor house, which is no longer inhabited by the Romany now. On the earthen floor, there was, apart from a naked child, a huge fridge with a freezer. The child's father joyfully exclaimed: "We have enough food for us and the kids! Have a look!" He opened the unplugged refrigerator, which was crammed with fresh meat of unidentifiable origin from the very bottom to the very top. Blood poured down the walls of the refrigerator, which could not be completely closed because of the weight. It was the first and last time when we got sick from food in Roma households.

The third time we were offered a meal in Hranovnica. The hosts did not disappoint us and served the "untraditionally" our favourite schnitzels with potatoes. Again, they did not serve national Roma meal. We believe that it was replaced by the traditional guaranteed specialty - schnitzel with potatoes! Gója, which is considered the national Roma dish, is a gut filled with grated potatoes, pieces of meat (if it happens that a family has some), flour, egg and spices (black pepper and salt). A gut is filled with the mixture, then it is cooked and roasted in the fire. We have not met

with this specialty among the Romany in Podtatranský region. The exception is our grandmother. She used to eat gója from her childhood. No, we are not Romany. "Fl'aky" as they called it in Kravany is an old food; food of people who toiled daily in the fields –food of poverty. Many people abandoned cooking "fl'aky", but the Romany continued in cooking it. This could be the origin of a legend about 'gója'.

But what is typical for poor Roma families is so-called "marikl'a": "... in winter, when they start heating, when they have no more bread, then they prepare marikl'a. Marikle - this is such a flat cake, it is from flour, water, soda or a bit of baking powder, salt, and so it can be then formed and put on the stove, you turn it normally from one - the other side. And when the kids come to school in the morning and we ask what they ate, so they reply that marikl'a. And it's good, it's good II" (A.H., 45 years old, female).

Ab Hortis mentions that the Romany consumed dead animals, because they were of the opinion that "the meat of an animal killed by God must be better than those that die by human hands." He further notes that the Romany do not eat horsemeat as a kind of respect for this animal. This respect, however, disappeared in the third millennium.

We know about the case in Richnava where local Romany stole and ate a horse (They killed and ate the stolen horse, 2001). In this context it is important to note that, except for the kin principle, the concept of *ritual (im)purity* is a situational factor important for the traditional Roma culture. We described it in detail in the first chapter. We remind Jakoubek's words (2008, p. 718) that a man can become a ritually impure person during his life through contact with another bearer of ritual impurity or by contact with an animal or thing (in the case of animals it is mainly through their consumption), which are unclean by their nature (dog, horse, faeces, ...). In the current environment of settlements in Podtatranský region we have met only with canine fat that is used to treat respiratory tract and lungs. It is an expensive "export article". When we expressed interest in buying it, three groups of men offered to provide it for us at the same time. Poverty may force people to eat different animals and different things. In our research environment, however, it was only in exceptional situations and cases, we did not become eye witnesses, with the exception of canine fat.

3.4 ON ROMA HOUSES AND HOUSING (Von den Häusern und Wohnungen der Zigeuner)

Slovak literature describing housing of the Romany applies a very well-known typology. It distinguishes integrated, separated and segregated settlements or concentrations. This concept was used for data collection for Atlas of the Roma communities in 2012-2013. We characterized this so-called external division in more detail in the second chapter. The typology is understandable, clear and suitable for application in the environments we have investigated.

The Romany living integrated formed our sample in the city of Poprad. In addition to the Romany living in the block of flats, we can also find some living in houses in nearby Spišská Teplica. The city of Poprad established the emergency housing facilities that social workers colloquially call "azylák (asylum house)" or "Levočská", according to the street where it is located. There live the Romany with the majority poor families next to each other. Living conditions are harsh and small "housing units" are often crowded by families with more members.



Figure 6 Social service facility Poprad, Levočská street

A Romany from Kravany remembers staying in a similar hostel in the Czech Republic: "In Ostrava, I saw two kids outdoors, eating crisps and a pregnant woman with a man inside playing machines. Well, I could not believe my eyes and they lived in the hostel. We lived there too and a white man passed by, so I greeted him and he told me: B**d (vulgar expression, author's note), what do you want? A disaster. I had to adapt there, because if you yield, they will eat you. There was no life for me. Men work there from Monday to Friday and they spend it in two hours (on alcohol and gaming machines, author's note), and then they have nothing to eat. Some of them also do care, but most of them are layabouts, junkies, women are w**s (vulgar expression, author's note), that's true ... We, when we saw this we were K.O." (P.R., 26 years, male). The environment in which such residents live therefore reminds of the urban environment of Czech towns. In both cases, they are frequent outbreaks of strife, whose primary reason is high population crammed into small spaces. Other problems often resulting in many pathological phenomena are particularly: criminality, abuse of alcohol and gambling. Social workers therefore do not work "only" with poverty, but also with many "associate" phenomena, which require their full involvement. The Roma community living in villages or separated settlements is considerably different from the residents of city "hostels". It is not disgraced by the shadow of a city.

Our enlightened ab Hortis describes the housing of Romany in the eighteenth century as "uncomfortable and miserable, yet furnished". This knowledge can be applied to the current image of housing quality of our times. Flimsy dwellings from the outside evoke the feeling that after entering them the whole construction will fall down right on your head. After entering, you are surprised by modesty, but especially the relative purity of the interior. The answer to the question of why the Romany have clean and cosy interior and tons of rubbish and clutter outside is offered by one of the local resident: "Look how we live, how we dwell, look for what I pray. hhh If whites lived and dwelled in this way, they would also be arguing and shouting at each other. Really too! II If those houses what they have were not fenced, if their children were running in one yard, if they fought, there would also occur the same conflicts as well as with us. For us, we have the problem that if I considered taking a loan if I wanted to build a house, I would never build such a house, even if I had two million, three, no! .hhh Ye know why? This is already planned. Listen, where will my children live? And then in one house, there is me, my wife with four children, with my grandchildren and I do not see it as correct. I prefer to build it smaller and to save the money for my children.

But let them have a smaller house, their own garden. Look, we are not fenced. I have neighbours at the back, what do you think, I would like to have a fence. Because there are those fights, quarrels, because of the children and so on".



Figure 7 View of the interior of the shack I.



Figure 8 View of the interior of the shack II.

In addition to knowledge which can be summarized as "do not judge the shack from the outside", the second important experience is that in the colony there can be seen more qualitatively significantly different houses, wooden houses and shacks. Barely twenty meters apart, one can see a poor quality shack and a new brick house. In the times of Hungary, the Romany travelled and lived mostly in places defined for they stay by indigenous populations. In winter, they dig a pit in the ground, which they lined with straw, fortified with wood and various materials, according to what they could find. Since the fifties of the twentieth century, after the adoption of Act No. 74/1958 concerning the permanent settling of nomadic people, which prevented travelling, the Romany in our country began permanently settling in where the majority decided. Complex capturing of the issue of legality of land goes beyond this work and requires a more consistent mapping.²⁴



Figure 9 One of the poorest shacks

The paradox of our time is that the majority population begins to build a wall separating the Romany despite the fact that the quality of new buildings in the settlements is better than the common standards of the

²⁴ The work of Alexander Mušinka (ed.) (Il)legal settlements (2012) deals with the possibilities of self-governing units and mechanisms of land settling in the environment of the Roma settlements.

majority. The asphalt road ending by a wooden fence in the village Hranovnica looks satirically. Ostrich tactics of burying heads in the sand is very short-sighted.

Better quality of community life can only be achieved by **mutual cooperation based on respect, ethics and values** .

3.5 ON HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND CHORES OF THE ROMANY (Von Haustrate und häuslichen Geschäften der Zigeuner)

Ab Hortis devotes in his work hardly two pages to this sphere. We mentioned the Roma households in the examined Podtatranský region in the previous chapter. Firstly, we can repeat that the interior equipment is modest, but relatively clean. Therefore, when first visiting the shacks, a social worker or any visitor can be surprised. Compared with the description of ab Hortis, the lives of the poor Romany in settlements has changed very little. He writes: "... furnishing of their households is minimal. Typically, they do not have a table or a chair, nor wardrobe or bed. All this is replaced by the floor on which they eat, sit, sleep and do their work, there they keep their belongings" (p. 29).

Based on our findings, it may be noted that in each, even a very poor family, there can be found a bed. In summer 2012, we were arranging accommodation in the shacks where we could sleep. We made an agreement and in the summer of 2013 we were ready to go. But the winter was long and instead of two beds they had in a shack, there remained only one. The second served as heating material. The Romany live better compared to the past, but it is not still ideal: "Our grandparents had wooden houses and we still have some now. It was not a comfortable living. Today one can live better. He may also have a bathroom and toilet. Everyone should secure his living - to have water, a bathtub where he can wash. No matter what house he has, but it had to be clean. It has to have electricity, water ... Young build houses, but there is not where. If they take a loan, for example 500,000 and the land costs let's say 300,000, so they know that they cannot finish the building, so they prefer to just build some rooms to a standing house. Our young no longer want to live like their parents, they want to lead a better life. They see that it's possible. They will rather take a loan and build. Most of them, however, do not get a loan. The village does not give us the land" (P.A., 30 years old, male). The biggest problem in the rural environment is the inability to purchase vacant land. The reasons vary: "If the owners of vacant land agreed, there could be one building, II there are other lands

that are not used, there is only high grass. .hhh When I asked the local council why they do not want to give, the deputies just replied why they should give such a lucrative land parcel to the Romany. hhh On one hand, we do not give them anything and hinder everything so that they do not build black buildings. But on the other hand, they have the conditions in order to be able to build. Although from that little they receive as a social security benefit, they are able, some of them, I am not saying that all of them, but 30 % of them have the opportunity to build their own house. If the deputies of the council as well as the landowners are against, thus you cannot make agreement with them. But we are still writing requests. Last year (2012) in April, we submitted about thirty requests on land purchasing to the landowners, neither was approved" (H.V., 45-50 years old, male).

Household chores are not specifically divided in the sense "female - male." The man is the head of a family only in the "Christian" (Maranata) families. It is not unusual that a man is at home and woman earns money: "Work is not typically divided between a man and woman, they can work also together, so ... Now it is like that anyone who has work, he works. There are also families where the wife works a man's at home because he has no job. It's quite different now" (H.V., 45-50 years old, male). The situation is different among the Wallachian Romany of southern and western Slovakia. There man is the real head of a family and a woman's role is only to take care of children and household.

Anvil, bellows and hammer are no longer the traditional household tools. Among the Romany in Podtatranský region, these are an axe and "rafáč" (a tool, often from iron, which is used for picking berries - especially blueberries): "He wanted to take my rafáč, you know a berry picker. .hhh This thing down there, I am taking it, I say nope, nope, nope! If I spilled cranberries, it's mine, but I cannot give you my property!" (P.B., 26 years old, male). The axe is also an important tool - it is used all year round for preparing timber. The Romany use for heating almost exclusively wood, but they also use it for cooking in the summer months. Poor families do not have electricity or gas connection in their houses.

Samuel Augustini ab Hortis also describes daily routine of the Romany in the chapter on household chores: "The duty of women when they are at home is to prepare something to eat and when the man forges, to make fire witch bellows, around which the children kneel. But besides eating, smoking and gossiping, they do nothing at home" (p. 30). At present, many family members work in small municipal services and activation works. Some of them participate in retraining courses or "go to report" to

the Labour Office. It is true that everyone smokes (except for the people "in faith"). Coffee and cigarettes are important part of the day. Inside, however, you can feel pleasantly and comfortable. Comfort of gadjos is initially disturbed by the feeling that roof shanty puzzle will immediately fall down right on your head, but after several visits, you will easily get used to it and feel very well.

3.6 ON ROMA CLOTHING (Von der Kleidertracht der Zigeuner)

"A Gypsy would rather walk half naked than to put on somebody else's clothes, even if someone gave it to him and if it was good and sumptuous" (Augustini ab Hortis, p. 30). Roma pride is still alive. Poor children at school will take no food from you, even though they are hungry. However, as clothing is concerned, they can take it. A common mistake of charities and NGOs is that they donate clothes to the Romany for free. We have seen the picture when worn clothes ended up in a nearby ditch. Some organizations working in segregated settlements tend to organize sales of clothing. The Romany can buy clothes for a symbolic price there. They can choose and buy the clothes they like. We thus have greater guarantee that they will not end up in the field or nearby woods. At the same time we offend no man and we build a relationship with the purchased clothing.

Richer and 'middle class' families prefer so-called "designer clothes". These are all clothes that you can buy excluding the Chinese shops. These people would rather spend some more euros and they do the shopping most often in the stores of the district city: "If you do not have "najtka" today (meaning sportswear brand Nike). My son Vladko he wants designer clothes. When I was thinking about it, in the Chinese shop botas sneakers cost 12 to 13 euros and 15 euros branded ones in a special offer, so I bought normal sneakers. But when I cannot afford it, then I know that I cannot buy it, but if I can afford it, I can buy. This time is a little ahead, so everyone wants to have the branded stuff" (P.A., 30 years old, male).

In the past, the Romany preferred quality clothes too. What they liked the most was colourful clothes - red and green. Today we can see such "fashion pieces" on older Romany: "Those older wore colourful clothes. Granny was saying that it is a joy to our hearts. They usually wore long colourful skirts and shirts." Roma women wore almost exclusively skirts and aprons: In the eighties women wore aprons - whether the young or old. We were all veiled, because we were ashamed. And when comparing to recent years, today, it is a significant change" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female). Even there can be noticed some differences between the Wallachian women and those living in eastern Slovakia. While the

Wallachian woman cannot do without a skirt, Roma women in eastern Slovakia are dressed according to the latest fashion trends and they do not care about the situation the woman comes from: "Now they dress according to fashion. They find a page on the internet and there they find exactly what is there. They come out from shacks all dressed up with even glasses on the eyes. I am telling to myself that finally they woke up, the women! Yet I compliment them that what beauties they are, how pretty they are dressed up. You see how it's changed? You're a few years younger! And you cannot stop taking care of yourself even though you have children at home and your husband does not like it. "My husband, if I only did not care about myself, he would yell at me" they respond II (laughs). Firstly women, secondly men – they all dress well" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female).

People from settlement or from modest background naturally do not order clothes via the internet. They do the shopping most often at the time from the nineteenth to twenty-first day of the month, when most of them receive benefits in material need: "They buy a lot on the internet and those poorer at those markets, which are here. Always on 18th, 19th, we have markets here next to the municipal office on the parking lot. The 18th, 19th, 20th, there are parked cars from seven in the morning. Hungarians come too. But there is everything. From candy floss to everything. They dress up nicely when they have wedding, feast. But it's not just clothes, it's all - make- up, hair, nails, you would not believe. Since then it's a terribly huge transformation. When they come out of the shacks, we're going to look" (A.H., 40-45, female). Men observe the change as well: "I was talking with the mayor about the issue why the Romany are so clean now while in the past they were dirty. I told him, barricade the road, no Romany will get here, so you will not see any clean Romany, because him, when he has to go to the shop, or visit the doctor, he must be dressed. And then he got what I told him. I say it's the system. Because those Romany go to the doctor, go to the post office, they need clean dress. He did not understand that why it is like that. II hhh But I say that if you make a barricade and separate the Romany from the majority, only then you will see" (H.V., 50 years old, male).

Therefore, segregation is not the way! If the Romany from villages visit a doctor, a retraining course in a district city or go shopping, they try to dress. For them, the road to "white society" is important: "I like this, even though it is a two-year school, women leave the kids at home, she will leave five, six children at home and she goes to school! She will go happy with a handbag, dressed up, she goes to school because she is going to get education, she is ready, she will learn it. They need to create conditions,

unless those conditions exist, whether it's housing, whether it's dressing up, we will get to where our parents lived before. That a man needs to shave and goes somewhere, it's a thing yet" (H. A., 40-45 years old, female).

Ab Hortis captures a finding which important even today: "They spend most of the saved money on clothes which are not at all adequate to their position, they publicly demonstrate to their foolish nature" (ab Hortis, p. 31). The reality of these days clearly recalls his words: "There are also people who take a loan and buy things so that others see that he can afford it" (P.A., 30 years old, male). We believe that in this case, it is not a cultural tradition, but a typical pattern of behaviour in poverty. In the North American Hispanic or African-American ghettos, they also attribute great importance to clothing. For the first earned money from selling drugs or criminal activities of gangs, people mainly buy expensive clothes. They enhance their status among the rest of poverty and try to distinguish. Therefore, the emphasis on clothes is rather an element of culture of poverty²⁵ than a feature of traditional Roma culture.

3.7 ON THE SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD AND SKILLS OF THE ROMANY (Von dem Gewerbe und Handthierung der Zigeuner)

At present, in the Roma communities of Podtatranský region, there do not exist specific sources of livelihood as described by our enlightened scholar ab Hortis. He mentions in particular: blacksmith, locksmith, cauldron smith, trade with horses, music, tanning and gold panning (he describes this source of livelihood in details). These were the main professional areas of the Romany in Hungary. Moreover, in Transylvania, they were mostly sieve makers and in Gemerská county they were wood turners (they were able to make wood plates, bowls and other household tools). In Satumareská county, there lived a cobbler or a shoemaker, who, according to ab Hortis, "worked very slowly and carelessly" (p. 33). One example also suggests that a Romany from Szolnok county was even an executioner.

Similar professions were held by the Romany in other European countries. Fraser (1998) and Lužica (2004) (In Kozubík, 2013, p. 40)

²⁵ The author of culture of poverty concept is an American anthropologist Oscar Lewis. He identified a number of features which are common to people living in poverty. He conducted research of Italian and Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States. He was of the opinion that the life strategies of the poor are similar and do not come from the specifics of the culture of minorities.

name the appellations of the most important groups of Romany, which are derived from their job:

- Kalderash (cauldron makers),
- Lovari (stablemen),
- Churari (cutlers, sieve makers).

Around the same period, other important groups began to move from the Balkans. It was Romanian-speaking Romany, who almost could not speak Romani. They were known as:

- Boyash (ab Hortis designates them as Bräschen or Aranyász),
- Rudari /Aurari/ (miners – originally gold miners),
- Ursari (from Latin Ursus arctos – brown bear, author's note),
Mečkari (from Bulgarian).

With the transition of our society from the modern industrial era to postmodern society of services, the Romany as well had to adapt their ways of life and livelihoods to today's world. Eastern Slovak Romany recall the former glory of socialism with mild nostalgia: "There is no work and Gypsies, everyone worked before. .hhh Buses and factories were full, because in Svit, Vagónka factory functioned, and now what. (2) The state will give a hundred euros and you live as you want. They will even take your house, how could this happen before, that they would take your house?! II .hhh Now, people take mortgages, big loans, then have no work, no money to pay, they take your house and you are homeless. The state has completely destroyed us. It was better before. (2) Although I do not know what they were doing bad those communists among themselves, government or president, but we, the lower class, we had a better life. hhh But now it's the opposite, they are doing well and we, the poor, suffer" (P.B., 55 years old, female).

Despite the fact that "everyone" had a job, we could feel the signs of rejection or latent racism: "In 1974, 1975, II the Romany went to work by bus at five o'clock! Three buses went from Vernár, (2) ... Kubachy two and everything going through Hranovnica was overcrowded. And all Romany worked. We did not feel the racism then. We were each equal, everyone worked. - (2) ... But even then it existed, I could feel it in Vagónka. The machine, which was adapted to it, they did not want to produce the pieces elsewhere. When drilling, I needed those parts I welded and they did not do it for me, but for the majority, yes. .hhh Many times I even cursed and got into conflict with them. And I had to wait for parts for four hours and he had it already done at ten o'clock and I only started working. Also at that time it was like this. II It was like this back then, but

you had at least certainty of work, that you were employed" (H.V., 45 years old, male).

Roma men in the observed localities are mainly engaged in construction, ancillary works. Many of them work as labourers - most often within the excavation building works. Many of them work in the Czech Republic. They are misused by the so-called Roma "entrepreneurs". The word "entrepreneur" is perceived differently in the Roma community. For the Romany living in settlements, "entrepreneur" is a person who is admittedly clever, but he could not achieve success honestly. They even expressed like this about their "leader" who comes from their settlement: "Why are you entrepreneur when you pay us everything?" Their experience working for "entrepreneurs" are rather negative. Those misused poverty for their own enrichment. It often happens that men come home with no money and they must borrow money for the way home or gifts for children. The success of a man is measured by the number of bags that he brings to his children and wife. If he comes home with empty hands, it is seen as his defeat. In such cases, a man rather goes into debt than he would come with nothing. Women are mostly on maternity leave, but in recent years there is an increase in number of women participating in education at secondary schools in the district town.

Common industry where both women and men are employed is forestry. The most common work is co-called "the holes" where they are asked to dig a hole and plant a tree. This activity may be one way of bringing the majority and the Romany closer together. There meet both communities and they can thus vividly discuss the problems with wood. Wood is an indispensable material for the Romany, whereas it is the only material used for heating during the long winters in the settlements of Podtatranský region. The land owners or other institution having forests in their authority often treat the Romany with distance. They do not want to issue them tickets for collection of brushwood and they certainly do not intend to sell them some timber. However, there are organizations (municipalities or land owners communities), which sell wood. In such cases, the residents of settlements in neighbouring villages go there and buy some wood. The specificity of deforestation near the settlements is trunks cut off high. The Romany cut trees by hand at waist height. Therefore, you can often see a lunar landscape "with trunks one meter high" nearby the settlements. The reason is logical: it is difficult to chop down a tree by hand so that you cut it down from underneath. We do not intend to defend such behaviour. But the reality is that for the Romany and their children it is a matter of life or death. However, if a village or

land owners community has no desire even to communicate with the residents of settlements, no wonder they act like this.

In summer, under the Tatras, the season of harvesting blueberries, cranberries and mushrooms begins. There can be no question about the laziness of the Romany. They begin a daylong hike early in the morning so that they could stand by the road and offer picked fruit in the afternoon. In the summer, we witnessed a number of sad cases when women selling the fruits were caught by the police officers who threw away the entire contents of the buckets and gave them a fine. They even chased a Roma woman to her hut, from where they pulled her out with a bucket and drove her in a police car who knows where ...

A summer day in the settlement may also look like that. Ab Hortis would surely wonder that the Roma locksmiths become field social workers or teaching assistants. But the changes of society are fully reflected in "colonies" too. May once faded glory of crowded buses full of the Romany heading to work return one day. At present, however, we are more likely to hear from the Roma women: "Why should we work? When whites do not have work..." Triple marginalization of the underclass (segment of the population which occupies the lowest position in society, author's note) - Eastern Slovakia (region belonging to the locations with the highest unemployment rate in Slovakia), segregated settlements, marginalized among "their own residents" (the Romany living in settlements on the outskirts of interest) - is a challenge for field social work, for our country and for every one of us.

3.8 ON ANATOMY AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF THE ROMANY (Von der äusserlichen Gestalt und Leibesbeschaffenheit der Zigeuner)

Samuel Augustini ab Hortis is perhaps the first scholar who expresses about the Romany in an innovative way in his time. In principle, his perception of *Zigeuner* is different from his contemporaries. For example, Toppeltinus writes about the Romany: "They have ugly women and the whole gypsy generation is naturally and without exception of black colour, making them so ugly that all the inhabitants of Transylvania avoid them and no one is in a close touch with them" (In Ab Hortis, p. 36). But Ab Hortis is an enlightened person par excellence and his humanity is unprecedented at the given period, as he notes: "... the essence of the beauty of the human body, if we assume the reason, lies not in colour, clothing and similar random trivialities, but much more in a harmonious movability, in a connection of all parts together and among themselves ..." (p. 36).

The cited author makes no distinction between the sub-ethnic groups living in the environment of present day Slovakia. He probably met with the Romany living in the area of Kežmarok and Spišská Sobota, where he lived. He describes their build as "slim middleweight bodies" and according to him "you can hardly see a paunchy Gypsy." Today, however, the Romany themselves tend to distinguish this obvious fact: "In England or among the Wallachians it's similar, they are fat because they have enough, II .hhh because they have enough, they are fattened and now compare our Roma women here, ours are slim because they do not have that allowance, thus even the allowance is different. ... (2) We met one who lived in England three days ago, and she said, I would not want to live there, they have really good life there, we are modest, we live modestly in Slovakia II, but here we have better lives, II much better than them there. But I would not want to live that way of life there because there they do not cook, they go to the hotels and the life begins for them in the evening. And you will not find such nice women, they are all fattened. Even among the Wallachian Romany it is like this. She is waiting for the package here at elementary school, what she will get, she does not have breakfast at home. From a hundred children only two or three have breakfast here. They do not have here what they should have and that's why they are so slim here" (H.A., 45 years old, female).

It is not our goal to deal with the anthropology of the body. It is a separate anthropological area and it would require a more detailed research. However, we are of the opinion that the biological structure of the bodies of Wallachian (Vlach) Romany is different and we agree with the statements of our informants in the settlements who realize these differences: "... The Romany from Štiavnik are different. Wallachians are fat, covered with gold, they are completely different. You cannot talk to women. When I was in France, there are those Arabs, you cannot see those women. But here we are normal. My son was sitting with them, also me, we were talking normally. They asked me and my son translated, because I cannot speak French. But not us, not any more, we are Romany. They keep their culture. Here we do not keep old habits any more" (P.B., 50 years old, female).

The enlightened ideas of our countryman have not become obsolete even today. One of the biggest barriers to the performance of field social work in marginalized Roma communities is excessive directive policy of social workers. Each of them should master these thoughts because our profession cannot yet be implemented within the limits of prejudices and stereotypes. It must be based on firm pillars of acceptance, humanity and knowledge. Therefore, we should keep in mind the uniqueness and

dignity of every human being and not to love of merit, but according to the needs.

3.9 ON CHARACTER OF THE ROMANY (Von dem Gemüthskarakter der Zigeuner)

Thefts, thefts and thefts again– this is ab Hortis' perception of the nature of *Zigeuner* in short. He also adds noise, argumentativeness, gluttony and *rechte Affeliebe* (true monkey love, author's note) of the children. Despite the critical style of the text, ab Hortis did not disappoint enlightened ideas. He logically realizes that the bad situation of the Romany does not result from bad innate characteristics: "Their bad manners do not spring from their innate characteristics, but from upbringing, from ill-treatment and long-lasting habits; thus everything bad entered into their souls and it is maintained and strengthened" (p. 40). His perception of other people exceeded his contemporaries. A "complex" Tylor's definition of culture is adopted more than one hundred years after him. The importance of the work *Zigeuner in Ungarn* has not been appreciated yet. This almost forgotten work is knowledge repository of life of the Romany in Hungary. What's more, it describes especially enlightenment assimilation measures of Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II., by which they tried to assimilate this community.

Thefts in segregated localities have not ceased even in the twenty-first century, notably so-called petty crime is concerned. Ab Hortis notes that the *Zigeuner* "do not murder, assault on the roads, or rob the way that would bring them to the gallows" (p. 38). Any unlawful conduct is reprehensible, even the Romany themselves can admit guilt: "We do not have to learn how to steal" (P.H., 49 years old, female). Unfortunately, people living in segregated settlements often have no choice, "I can honestly say that those who do not work and receive a benefit are forced to steal" (P.P., 34 years old, male, In Kozubík 2009, p. 100). Very problematic is especially theft of wood, which is the only heating material in the settlements we have visited. However, if the Romany come to an agreement with the land owners community or village authorities, they do not need to behave illegally: "We, in Kravany, we do not feel the need to steal something" (R.M., 31 years old, male, In Kozubík 2009, p. 110). In recent weeks, however, our society is worried about the heinous acts of Roma young offenders attacking elderly people. There is no excuse for such conduct. But it is very dangerous to talk about Roma crime. We would unnecessarily add fuel to fire of the already smouldering intolerance of the majority. Those who hurt weaker and more vulnerable are numerous on both sides of the "barricade". Whether it is eastern

Slovakia criminals from Roma settlements or neo-Nazis from Nitra. Paradoxically, in many ways the life of the Romany is reflected in the life of the majority. Kuffa, priest of Žakovce, has recently described it very aptly in the film "All My Children": God did not send us the Romany by chance. It is good they are here. They are our test and we are a test for them.

We have already dealt with the relationship of the Romany to their children or food in the previous chapters. The Romany have stated pride as one of the most important characteristics, regardless of their social class or religion: "The most important thing is to be polite. (2) To have order in the house and outside. The Roma nation has its pride. When, for example, someone builds a house and the other builds a bigger house, he is then proud. .hhh I think that pride is in the Roma nation, but the most important is politeness - to parents, to God, to everything II - to women so that you do not fall into immorality. When you obey and you live the same way at home as well as outside" (P.A., 30 years old, male). Another informant highlights pride: "... They are proud. Every single Romany is" (H.V., 48 years old, male).

However, pride, or defiance, can be also seen negatively as evidenced by the words of a member of a religious - Christian Mission Maranata, whose operation will be described in detail in the chapter on religion: "In the case of the Romany, there is envy or pride. If he is poor and has nothing, and there is that jealousy and pride, and he will not allow to get humbled in that truth. I speak the word of God and I'm right. The way you are judged here you 'll be judged there. .hhh He knows that it's true. We call them to salvation, God wants to work with you, he created you for that, to have a relationship as father and son, they still will not come. He has his faith, but his life has already shown he does not believe in anything. That's the pride, pride, defiance and envy. There are the Romany in the village who are deputies and a Romany thinks like this: why shall I go to vote for him? hhh He rather votes for a Slovak than a Romany. They are perfect in lying. He will take money, yet nothing has happened and they are already judging him" (P.A., 30 years old, male).

At the beginning, we felt the distance in the settlements. The Romany avoided us. After some time we began to understand their shyness. The thought we were policemen, office workers, insurance agents, or sellers of cable television and the internet. You can hardly explain the residents of the settlements that you came there for a chat or to write a book. Our openness and basic knowledge of eastern Romani dialect have helped us. But we would leave empty handed without hospitality, openness and

acceptance of the residents into their world, personal privacy and family life. They received us in spite of their heavy *čoripen* (poverty, author's note) and poor living conditions. At the beginning, we were supposed to stay in the shack with a bed which the resident burned in winter. Finally, we took shelter in a family without which this work could never come into existence. They cleared out a garage and made some comfort for us, but we did not sleep a night in it. They were sorry for us so we could spend the summer weeks right in their home. Practically strangers, but they behaved to us better than close family. There did not appear any problematic situation or disagreement during our stay.

The rumours about our housing spread rapidly in the community and suddenly the majority of residents wanted to see the strange *gadjo*. Roma people even invited us into their huts, as well as into the huge new houses. The rich wondered: "Why do you write about those in the colony? Write about us!" And the poor often hugged us and were happy that we visited them. For them, it was the day when the first person from among the majority ever came to visit them. If by chance they had nothing to offer, they invited us the following day and were willing to go into debt just because of the hospitality.

It is easy to name the stereotypical ideas about the nature of the Romany. But to treat it scientifically may seem almost a Sisyphean effort. We do not consider ourselves as *gadjos* investigating the Romany in a test tube. We tried to analyse the views of a scholar from the period of Hungary in the context of our times. Thefts have not disappeared and the opinion of an enlightened person on their causes is still up-to-date. Even the Roma love of food and their children have not changed. They have kept a specific verbal and non-verbal expression. For many years, however, the Romany has developed considerable power of their unbreakable will to survive. Even "Mrs. Poverty" has not knocked them down on their knees. The secret of overcoming such difficult living conditions lies in pride, which each Roma child carries.

Even if it is hungry, it does not take anything from you if it senses your superiority or directive approach. In human to human relation it is important to build mutual human alliance on the three pillars - mutual respect, human values and honesty. A recurrent cliché? But how could be the relationship between a *university gadjo* and a *shanty Romany* fulfilled? We were shaken by an episode with the poorest village criminal. In his dwelling barely two times two meters large, he offered us coffee. We politely refused, but when we saw he insisted, we opted for tea. It took almost an hour until he returned back into his shack. During that time, we

just sat quietly there and stared nothing less than all the children who came to have a close look at us. After a long wait a considerable clamour woke us up. It was heavy tree trunk flying towards the hut. And then the spirit of knowledge filled us! You have to boil water for tea and since there was no electricity or water in the hut, he had to go into the forest for timber and into the well to get some water! We were ashamed because we did not expect that something can really surprise us in the village after so many years. But it can. If a stranger who has spent most of his life in prison and has not completed primary school will give you a treat, who are we to condemn the dark side of the character of others?

3.10 ON FORTUNE-TELING, WITCHCRAFT, ILLNESSES AND DEATH OF THE ROMANY (Über Wahrsagerei und Hexerei und von den Krankheiten und dem Tode der Zigeuner)

"Saint Peter, Saint Peter ... is Michal subdued?" - This magic formula began a magical ceremony of checking whether somebody put a curse on us. Everything was happening in a very modest hut, which consisted of one room, three beds and a stove, which certainly remembered the first Roma families in Kravany. From the cupboard, which was certainly the older brother of the stove, the host pulled out a prayer book from 1883! You would not expect such an artifact in a miserable hovel, but it was an important part of the ritual. A key was inserted into the book and a string was tied all around the breviary.

There are two people directly involved in the ritual - in this case, we (i.e. the person at which the "subduing" is determined) and the other that says a prescribed formula and performs a magical act. It is difficult to determine whether right after the termination of the entire formula the book starts to turn because of the physics, but the truth is that it started turning. Turning motion of the breviary into a particular direction indicates whether you are / are not subdued. It was a direct experience with elements of magic in separated location Kravany. If someone put a curse on you, you can eliminate this negative energy. The way of "disenchanting" is the same in Kravany, as well as in Hranovnica "You count (ani jekh, ani duj, ani trin, ... ani deš - to ten, author's note) and show it on your hand and you are subdued as many times as many fingers snap. Then you go into corners with a candle and you spit on one side, on the other side, and so on. And now the person having it in himself has to shake it out on the ground. And you say these words: let the evil woman who has cursed me, ... and you continue" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female).

Subduing or "cursing from the eyes" is still widespread in the Roma community: "It is a habit for the Roma nation. II Cursing from the eyes,

this exists in the Roma nation even today. Thank God that we do not do it any more. It comes straight from the devil. Witchcraft, fortune-telling is from grandparents, but young people do it too. Most widespread here is cursing from the eyes. (2)

In Telgárt they foretell from coffee too. I say that it is a lie. The Roma nation is perfect for it. One or two old women can be found in every village. They have the power to curse people. To throw a spell on a family" (P.A., 30 years old, male). To avoid the spell, you have to be in a closed position: "Cursing from the eyes I still cannot believe. (2) For when I have to go somewhere, I have to cross my legs like that, or at least hand ... because I have to, because I feel it that way, and then you are a sick man. And many people are ... (2) or when you just stare, so it happens ... (2) I yawn terribly and I'm so uncomfortable that I would faint. You sit at the table, for example, and someone looks into your eyes, someone has something on you. And now, for example, while you are eating, he/ she is cursing you. She speaks silently, because she has something against you, however, you can feel that bad positive energy from her. I cannot feel it so many times" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female).

Ab Hortis describes fortune-telling as exclusively female "craft". According to him (p. 40-41) "they were trying to execute this fraudulent craft in all countries where they came. In Italy, even the wife of Prince Andrew herself devoted to it. Many people came to Bologna because of the fortune-telling, few people left without any damage, without leaving there a purse or a piece of clothing." Ab Hortis quotes Muratori and Froli who state (In Ab Hortis, p. 40-41):

"Their women master the art to predict the future, and everybody whom they foretold was cheated." The fact that fortune-telling and stealing by the Roma population was widespread in Italy is demonstrated by Caravaggio's painting that depicts a Roma fortune-teller stealing a ring²⁶:

²⁶ (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio_%28Michelangelo_Merisi%29_-_Good_Luck_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg) (19-03-2014) - Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio painted two almost identical paintings depicting a Roma fortune-teller. The first, which you can see above, was painted around the year 1594 and is now exhibited in the *Musei Capitolini* in Rome. The second one, painted in 1595, is of a smaller format and it can be found in the Louvre now. We also described this portrait in our work (Not) guilty and gadjo dilo (Kozubik, 2013, p. 160).



Figure 10 Felicitá Zingara

Ab Hortis draws attention to the dishonest and deceptive tactics of the Roma fortune-tellers. He argues that they find out in advance about the situation in a city, county or family and on the basis of the information obtained fraudulently they cheat on gullible people. Their oracle is based on general formulations, in which there is a high presumption that they will really happen - the death of a person, childbirth and the like. The author briefly mentions also a love magic: "With single women, when they notice a desire for a man they pretend to know a spell that will conjure them a lover" (p. 42). Love magic has its place in today's world: "For example, when a young woman falls in love and the man does not want her, the parents make such a speculation that they invite him, they collect some hair from her and they wrap it around a doorhandle, and when he comes, he grabs it and falls in love. Or when a woman gets her period, they make him a coffee and add a drop of blood. He drinks it and falls in love. II He then falls in love because there is her blood in there, yep ..." (A.H., 40-45 years old, female).

Nowadays, we can rarely find elements of fortune-telling or applying love magic in the traditional Roma culture of the Romany in Podtatranský region (Poprad, Kravany and Hranovnica). We have received most information in the villages Kravany and Hranovnica. But most often we learn in the researched areas that magic is already rather a matter of the past: "It is certainly not maintained. II Nothing like this exists any more. In the time when our parents lived, so it existed. II They were telling us that she was a witch, and so on. I know they were talking about that old

Cukrička II, she looked totally like that. I went in, we were also afraid, we needed to do something there but we were afraid to go through the yard. II She stared at you, II she was just looking and even her look was so unpleasant, we even did not let her into the house so that she could not tell us something bad, II (1-2), for example, she said to you: you will die in one year and to someone who was ill she also added "aaaaagh" and she even began to lament with both hands (he is showing). And then she stressed you so much that it was witchery on its own. As if she bewitched you. We were all afraid of her" (H.V., 45-50 years old, male).

These words are also documented by the statements of younger informants (26 years old, male): "I do not have any personal experience, but I have heard about it. But it's interesting, because it works. II Even the blacks, they do voodoo and it works as well. They take a puppet and you're here and they're somewhere there and it works on your body. Very interesting. I was thinking about it and it really works. This is something that is associated with demons. This is a demonic thing. But I would also add to this that maybe my grandmother, perhaps she experienced it rather than us at this time. It is disappearing now. II The witchcraft is already disappearing ... (2) Maybe it is still practiced somewhere, but because they did not pass it from generation to generation and because we live in a new era, it has disappeared. Even if someone wanted to curse someone, he does not know how, he does not know ... II (2) Maybe some of those old women could hear something, experienced or so on. One example of one of them who could do it was in Telgárt, but she died. Yes, it exists, it existed, but it's somehow disappearing. Just as "skinheads" have disappeared, so now even that fades away" (laughs).

Magic and fortune-telling is related to some degree to herbalism and spiritualism, so we have dared to combine two Ab Hortis' chapters dealing with these phenomena. Ab Hortis shortly comments on the diseases of the Romany and he mentions only common diseases (smallpox, measles, vision impairment related to smoke in tents). The exception is *čemer*²⁷ - "But all you need to do is just to drink a sip of brandy in order to quickly get rid of this disease" (p. 58). The Romany used saffron for stomach diseases, which they added to the soup. As they

²⁷ "Čemer is an unofficial popular name for subjective difficulties, which occur, for example, after a quick and greedy eating, especially with swallowing air at the same time. It is manifested by overall malaise, heaviness of stomach and headache, often located behind the eyes, migraine type of headache" (Čener, 2009).

often saw that "bloodletting" helped their horses, they used to apply this "therapeutic method" on themselves.

Tuberculosis broke out in the village Hranovnica during our stay. The disease was discovered in time, therefore, it did not spread. A huge amount of work was carried out by a field social worker from the community: "Tuberculosis – eating habits, poor conditions and so on; cancer, colon (he mentions the most frequently occurring diseases, author's note). Our work was great, we went and warned people about the spread, hygiene, if we had not spread around awareness among the Roma community, we would have had more ill people. And we also press them to go for vaccination in time " (H.V., 45-50 years old, male). Words of tuberculosis and cancer are confirmed by the testimony of a woman (P.B., 50 years old): "Now there is tuberculosis. People most often die of cancer, whether young or old. People here are dying also young, they live to be seventy at most. When you're fifty here they say that you are already old." More detailed information on the health status of settlement inhabitants requires a separate research²⁸.

The Romany are afraid of death: "Everyone is afraid of death, I believe in afterlife. If it did not exist, why we would believe in God, we would not believe in God then" (P.B., 50 years old, female). They also have a lot of respect from ghosts. Animism is quite widespread in their culture even nowadays. Spiritualism was however more present especially in the past when the dead man may dwell in the house to the funeral. Guard usually lasted for three days and was attended mainly by adult men. The presence of the dead in the house was indeed exceptional and was a fertile ground for the emergence of stories and legends about *mulo* (souls of the dead): "The funeral is a classic as well as within the majority. Sometime it was different, the one who died, he was in the house , ... (1) If yeah, there was not a house of mourning, so *mulo* existed then, and they scare like this. (2) Today, it is opposite, it's a normal thing. The fact that *mulo* exists is believed. Our parents told us that when a corpse was lying in the kitchen, they were afraid that there is whole family those who had died around the coffin and that no one can go there because they are there ... hhh so when he was lying there we only regarded from a doorstep and no one could go up to the coffin and such thingshhh They

²⁸ Recently presented results of research under the auspices of the World Health Organisation (WHO) are among the highest quality research outputs in the Slovak environment. The author of the study is Andrej Belák: *Health-system limitations of Roma health in Slovakia*.

hid mirrors, they had to be covered for three days while the corpse was in the house. Few dared to go to the coffin, either someone not from the family or someone who was not afraid to go to the coffin and caress him. The coffin was guarded all night and they were drinking some alcohol, usually men, not women. hhh Men met there and guarded there till the morning. Practically, we take over everything from the majority. Many people from us go to funerals when someone from the majority dies. Before carrying out the corpse, they swing it three times. This means that he is already going out so that he wakes up. This is such an act, even when they go out from church, they do the same" (H.E., 45 years old, male).

Augustini ab Hortis himself does not see a big difference between dying and death of the Romany and the rest of the population: "As other people they also fall ill before death and after a short lying down they cease their poor life" (p. 58). An exception is a heart-breaking cry of Roma women and different scenes, especially after a violent death (which often occurred in Hungary according to the author - gallows, breaking in the wheel, etc.). These cries are, however, more characteristic of the Wallachian women. The habit of adding personal items to the deceased in a coffin is an exception, but it occurs among the Romany in Podtatranský region: "... But the father, the best worker, he was given a golden badge, he went to Prague to pick it up - the best worker in the quarry with the most worked years, .hhh he worked in a small quarry on Kvetnica. .hhh He had a bronze, silver and gold badge, we put the badges into his coffin" (H.V., 45-50 years old, male).

3.11 ON NATURAL SKILLS AND ABILITIES OF THE ROMANY (Von den natürlichen Fähigkeiten und Geschicklichkeit der Zigeuner überhaupt)

"There is no doubt about the fact that these people have excellent capabilities for various crafts and works of art," says Samuel Augustini ab Hortis in 1775 (p. 42). And really - after long centuries, the Romany themselves perceive these words similarly: "Someone has to learn some craft from you. A Romany once sees it and he learns it. I do not understand why this is so. You learn from books, but we do not. Once you show it to me and I'm ready to go on, I am able to do it" (P.A., 30 years old, male). A member of the upper class of the Roma community speaks of the poor: "Education is hard work for them, heavy burden that he has to sit there, but on the other hand he can dig a ten meters canal " (P.B., 29 years old, male).

Unfortunately, we have not found the traditional Roma crafts or specific cultural artifacts in the region under the Tatras. The only exception is the

creation of more than sixty years old Romany, whose hobby is art itself. He even spends a part of his monthly allowance to his hobby: "hhh Look (1) he receives social benefits and takes 10-15 euros to his wife and he goes to buy what he needs for what he is thinking about in his head" (H.V., 45- 50 years old male).



Figure 11 Work of art – Hranovnica

Despite the Roma statements in which there is a noticeable greater inclination to manual work and crafts than to abstract thinking, we have to slightly modify their views. In the settlements, there are many smart people of all ages who may be successful in any area. We remember barely six years Roma boy who was very clever in numbers. His father and uncles invited us to have him solve a math problem. But they warned us to ask him to solve it in euros. So we asked: "How much is thirty-five cents and twenty-five cents?" - "Eighteen", the boy replied. The men appreciatively nodded and laughed. Am I *gadjo dilo* (stupid gadjo, author's note), or are they making fun of us? We asked ourselves silently. After a really long thinking and breaking our heads we suddenly got it. The boy was in fact a euro-calculator. Not only he counted the sum, but he also converted it to the Slovak crowns.

We also met a man who was able to multiply four-digit numbers: "Everyone has a kind of gift, a kind of potential. Someone has wisdom. An

example: I'll tell you when I went to primary school, my teacher and the doctor – the Romany said to me: you have to go and study! I was in the ninth grade and they told me to go study! .hhh I ask why? Because even the whites do not have such a brain as you do, nor the bet students! .hhh I ask why? Who can multiply the four-digits numbers by heart? hhh I'll multiply. .hhh And you think they know it? They have problems even with a calculator! hhh II But really a four-digit number multiplied by a four-digit number. When you know the multiplication table, it is not a problem. But you know what is the problem? To remember the result. II It is the biggest problem and I multiplied it. The best students could not believe, .hhh a teacher called me, she wrote four-digits and four-digits and I did not make the counting on paper, but all in my head and all over billions" (P.B., 26 years old, male).

Everyone is different. Every Romany is unique. You will meet those talented at numbers, sport, art or work. The problem is, however, a difficulty to study at secondary schools: "Among us, the Romany ... what can you become? (1) My teacher told me: You can be a doctor, you can be a lawyer, you can be a judge, you can do what you want, you have got what it takes. (2) My geography teacher told me: You have a photogenic memory! And I really do. .hhh I am not boasting, but I do have it. An example: .hhh we go and pick up blueberries and many trails and this and that II but not only the trails. I am talking about a specific gift, but it is not just me! It is many, many cases. One example: There were two brothers here, good footballers and they were taking them somewhere. But because of this that they did not see further, II what could be further, they stayed here with their wives, they had to work on construction sites and they may have been footballers in Bratislava, for first league clubs, second league clubs they might have played! (2) They might have I think they had what it took. Not because of money they did not go, but rather because of that hindrance. There will be alone, my son will live there alone, this ... this, you see, some obstacles. They could not move, chances ... because even my mom said what would you become, there was no financial support there ..." (P.B., 26 years old, male).

Studying is a financial burden for parents of the Roma children. They did not go to secondary school, so they see no reason why their kids should achieve more. More attractive idea is that their son or daughter starts a family after finishing the secondary school: "They do not even let them go to the secondary vocational school. And if they do, it is only so that they get social benefits from the state. Let the state take the kids II from the troubled families II those children. ... II Those kids have what it takes, only the family does not know what to do with it. The parents do not

know it, because they were not taught like that" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female). The problem is not just financial, but also a kind of fear from unknown. In Poprad, even football coaches along with social workers pleaded for a son to go into a bigger club. They did not succeed. We have met with similar cases several times. Education is not a guarantee of employment. Often, we can hear even from professional circles: "The only way is education!" It is naive to believe that in eastern Slovakia, which is among the regions with the highest unemployment rate, education will help the Romany to break out of the poverty trap. The following lines are more likely to be true: "How you whites will work so we Romany will live" or "Whites do not have work, we are going to work?" The graduates with doctorates really have a problem to find a job today. And the imaginary starting point is shifted a lot further for children from marginalized communities. Are container schools a way? These are the questions today.

From other interviews we learn that the Romany devoted themselves to bricklayer works, smithery and shepherding in the past. Nowadays, the men from settlements find a job as craftsmen (painters, masons, etc.) or unskilled labourers at the construction sites. It is dangerous and outdated to talk about innate characteristics of other cultures and minorities. We will not argue about theories of memes or a sort of predisposition passed in the sphere of unconscious or genetics. The Romany as well as other subcultures are formed by the environment in which they live. They adapt to it in the way that enables them to survive.

But there are such areas of culture that the Romany particularly like. One of the most visible (or rather most audible) is music.

3.12 ON MUSIC TALENT OF THE ROMANY (Von der Geschicklichkeit der Zigeuner in der Musik)

"Music is everything for the Romany. II Dancing and music comes first. They grow up with it since early childhood. Both good and bad is found in the Roma songs. They are most often about life, about that they are poor ... (2) For example, they suffer, they sing about it. These songs are made according to their lives, how they live ... II Music comes first. They listen to the Roma music ... " - this is how the Romany expressed himself about the music (28 years) in Hranovnica.

Music is perceived similarly positively in every locality we have visited. But there can be observed a significant shift from the traditional Roma music also called *phurikane gil'a* (old-time songs, author's note): "At that time there were songs like: *Džele , dželem , O ja kal' mačkica, Duj-duj ...* (2),

but now when you hear those CDs, finally it began to move, II those are great songs, I like them very much. They excel in music, dancing, singing, they have it in the blood, and they always will! It will never vanish. The younger generation is even much better. There are two bands, but they also have stopped playing. Now they, who came from England, they have a performance here on the sixteenth, Chorus Ma' o and Vlado, but they perform more abroad. Or Kajkoš ... (2) but Kajkoš not so much. That Romanček whom also our *** (anonymised child's name, author's note) likes listening to, right? These are Hungarians. Hungarians are the best. And how they can play czardas!" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female).

Romany really like music very much. It could be heard from almost every hut, home or car during our stay in the village. Modern songs largely prevailed. Currently, the greatest "hits" are the bands Miro - Marián, Dáša, Slovenská Ves, Teplička. It often happens that the groups do not have their own names - the names are derived from the place, village (for instance Liptovská Teplička). Nowadays, a specific position is taken by gospel music, which is connected with the Christian mission Maranata: "Today we have Christian songs. There are Christian Roma groups. We listen with faith and these are worship songs ... (3)

It is Roma music about life ... (describing music of *unbelievers* Romany author's note) it gives them meaning and I think that it destroys them, II that they are bound there, that it is a bond and relationship" (P.A., 30 years old, male). The success of a Christian mission lies in the fact that their "worship" is inextricably linked with music. They literally force the Romany to dance to their tune and are trying to bring the Romany to their community also in this way.

However, they promote only Christian songs that have a great impact on the audience. Verses and melodies of songs praising Jesus and Lord repeat over and over again. Listeners tend to get into a special state similar to trance at such meetings with musical accompaniment.

In the urban environment (Poprad) they recall the uncrowned king of Roma music, deceased Milan Tancoš. His songs are heard in the villages of Hornádska valley. He was undoubtedly the legend of Roma singing. He was "Roma Jackson" in the community. Tancoš was recognized in the Czech Republic and the UK, where he died unexpectedly in 2010. Many contemporary local bands have borrowed the repertoire of his songs. His greatness lies not only in the control of keyboard and a specific almost wailing and crying way of singing, but especially in composing and writing his own texts.



Figure 12 Music, dancing – praising in the village of Hranovnica (2013)

Traditional Roma music is disappearing from the region under the Tatras. Young prefer modern Roma music. It appears to be a natural evolution. However, it is pleasing that almost every community has its own band. A specific position is taken by a new trend of *worshiping gospel* music. The audience and pastors themselves are not interested in *phurikane gil'a* though.

They even do not like the themes of these songs, whose main theme is a severe pain of the nation living in *čoripen* (poverty, author's note). They also do not like exuberant celebration of bands from surrounding villages, which often lasts into the early morning (the reason is consumption of alcoholic beverages, which *the faith* excludes). The impact of the mission to the music as well as demands of listeners result in fading of the traditional from the Roma music. Nevertheless, we have met several elderly Roma musicians who willingly played us a weepy *halgató*. An apt picture - "Music and cigarettes" comes from the meeting:



Figure 13 Music and cigarettes

The work *Zigeuner in Ungarn* (1775) writes that Roma bands in Hungary and Transylvania were better in comparison with Wallachia. Ab Hortis admits that there are many groups that do not deserve praise. At the same time he notes that not everyone has the natural talent for music and especially - "there is even less of those who have the opportunity to improve their talent by a good and proper education" (p. 43). A positive stereotype of "innate music talents" of the Romany is widely spread among the majority even today. It should be noted that many poor quality musicians and singers can be found even in the Roma music groups. However, it is unquestionable that music is an integral part of the

Romany. The contribution of Augustini's chapter on music talent lies primarily in the description of the legends - Michal Barna²⁹ and Cinka Panna³⁰.

3.13 ON LITERATURE OF THE ROMANY AND THEIR TALENT TO LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCE (Von der Litteratur der Zigeuner)

Literature is a blank sheet in the life of the Romany under the Tatras. Cohn (2009, p. 31) literally writes that the majority of *Gypsies* is non-literary. The same situation in the past is confirmed by Augustini ab Hortis (p. 46): "... it is very doubtful that we can find something of scholarship and science among this people."

The Romany are not interested in literature. Neither of the interviewed people knew Dezider Banga, Ľudovít Didi or Elena Lacková. Religious literature, however, comes to the foreground:

"We are reading a book John Bevere "Closer to God" "Intimate relationship with the Lord." (2) The parents did not read us, the Romany have no relation to it. In the Roma community they either read a little or not at all. When Romany graduate, they are not interested in Romany (meaning the other Romany, author's note) or they look down on them. They do not want to have anything to do with the Roma community. I know a man who has a bachelor's degree and thendoctoral degree and he does not deal with the Romany, although he is one of them. I told him he was good enough to work with Romany; ... (2) If he told me that he did not want to work with the Romany, that he is not interested in it. You are the best for it (meaning us, author's note) because you know the Romany and their weaknesses. The Romany would rather obey a gadjo" (P.A., in his thirties, male).

During our research, it was surprising to find out that many Romany do not desire for education in their own language. They are of the opinion

²⁹ He lived in the county of Spiš around the year 1737 on the estate of Count Čáky. He was a musician of the court. He played the violin in a four-member band. But he was the only Romany playing in it. He was also called *Magyár Orpheus* - Hungarian Orpheus.

³⁰ She came from the village of Gemer, from the county of the same name. Under the auspices of Ján Lány, the master of the village, she received a musical education. She played in the band whose members were mostly her direct relatives. Although she was not very beautiful, she always behaved in an exemplary manner. "Only the black skin colour and heavy smoking - traditions of her generation - betrayed her origin," says Ab Hortis (p. 45). In winter, she lived in a house with her family in the village of Slaná, which was built by her patron. In summer, she camped with her husband and children. Augustini also cites the inscriptions written on her grave in Latin.

that it is better to speak Romani in families, households. And Slovak should be spoken at school. They are even openly opposed to literature for children and textbooks written in their native language, which varies considerably in other dialects: "Roma literature ... what is written somewhere in the west and given to our schools, it is impossible. II When I read to them, I have a problem, and they also laugh (meaning children, author's note) because there are such words we do not use here (H.V., 45-50 years old, male). A teacher's assistant adds: "When I read them fairy tales and there is a translation, the children do not listen. It is unknown to them. II There are other names for things. I can no longer accept it. This should disappear because we have our own dialects. II They should not do this, II .hhh to no effect... (1) hhh If it went to schools by some law, we would be against it. They should do something else, more useful. Slovak should remain at schools and Romani at home, this is our language, let each teach his/ her children" (H.A., 40-45 years old, female).

Some field social workers from the community are sensitive to the behaviour of their Roma colleagues. They tend to look down on the poor from the settlements and they behave with directive methods: "There are Romany who are already on the higher level II and have a gadjo woman, or she has a gadjo man. They stop living in the style they have lived before. I always go mad when I go into the settlements and there are those assistants who do not speak Romani in order not to be underestimated; because of their pride ... he has a degree! He has to maintain authority; he cannot speak Romani with them (meaning a Romany - field social worker, colleague)" (H.V., 45-50 years).

Despite the low interest of Romany in literature or science, Augustini ab Hortis is convinced of their qualities: "These people, despite poor education, manifest wits, have many good ideas and are resourceful. These people are clever in a way, quick and responsive in crucial situations, they can quickly help themselves in critical and uncertain conditions. ... Several young Gypsy boys are admitted in Debrecen, but also at other schools in Hungary and Transylvania and they do not have everyday abilities to study. Most of them, however, lack real appetite for learning and perseverance to continue in it" (p. 47). We have already mentioned more about this specific phenomenon in section 3.11 On natural skills and abilities of the Romany.

Roma literature and literature on Roma themes is not "in" in the settlements. Even members of the middle and upper classes do not show any interest in it. They read the Word of God, the Bible or religious books (almost exclusively members of the Christian mission Maranata). But how

beautiful it is to know traditional Roma literature! Unfortunately, none of the informants knew the first Roma author's first Roma novel: Matéo Maximoff *Les ursitory*³¹, who begins the novel with beautiful words for Roma people, but he certainly raises interest in other readers:

"The story that I'm going to tell you belongs to the strangest stories that the Romany have ever heard ... (Maximoff, 1946, 2007, s. 7, 31)

We believe that strengthening the roots of Roma culture, to which literature undoubtedly belongs, will become the priority of the Roma elite – so that for example the works of Ludovít Didi are not read only in the Slovak Radio, but especially so that they have something to say to all Romany.

3.14 ON SKILLS OF THE ROMANY IN MILITARY SERVICE (Von der Zigeuner Geschicklichkeit in Kriegsdiensten)

Conflicts, military campaigns, battles or claims of states on the territories are not (unfortunately) just a matter of past. The issue of state defences comes to the foreground again in the contemporary society. In the times of Hungary, the military was an integral part of life for the broad masses of people, so it is understandable that ab Hortis incorporated this area into his work on the Romany. Before our research, we asked ourselves: Is it topical to deal with this issue among the Romany in Podtatranský region? We have seen the topic as rather marginal, but nevertheless, we have found interesting information. Chronicles have been the most important "information channel" for us. We have learnt most about the services of the local Romany from the chronicle of the village Hranovnica. It offers a contemporary picture of the events of World War II in which the Roma residents of the village played an important role. For better illustration we present again a quote in the full version:

³¹ The first literature written by Romany appeared only a few years before the author wrote *The Ursitory*, in the early thirties of the twentieth century in Russia. At that time, almost none of the Romany in other parts of the world knew something about it and its authors. In the same period in Hungary - in retrospect again in almost a total isolation – János Balázs begins to write, one of the first Romany who, however, asserted in the visual arts (but only later in the sixties). The novel *The Ursitory* is a first work in two ways – it is the first work of (inexperienced young autodidact) Matéo Maximoff and one of the first Roma novels ever (Sadílková, 2007).

"The two volunteers, eighteen year-old Jozef Čonka and Eduard Horváth, joined the partisans. They reported to the partisan commander Petrovič, they took an oath to him, and he sent them to Banská Bystrica for a training."

Every resident we interviewed remembered the names of these two brave men. Apart from Čonka and Horváth, they mentioned another partisan - Šarišský: "Šarišský was a neighbour ... hhh when he got drunk, he boasted about the war. (1) But it also had its consequences. He could not hear well, he was a bit off his head. Perhaps the fear that when he came from the war he was not the way he should be. ... He was changed, introverted. When saying what the war gave him, it gave him respect. On one hand fear, on the other hand courage. He hardly returned back to life. It was hard for him that he had to recall it. He always talked about the war." It is likely that the Romany, like hundreds of thousands of other soldiers, suffered from post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD - *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder*). The relatives described the members of their families in more detail: Horváth Edward was my uncle ... (2). He helped because the fights were in the part of the settlement Osada and when he went to the village, so he changed his clothes. He supplied the partisans up, he had the most difficult situation³² (meaning task, author's

³² Augustini also writes about heroism and good work in military service (p. 49): "In 1557, František Perényi was forced, because of the lack of proper soldiers who protected the outer walls of the then strong castle Veľká Ida, to get the Gypsies from all around to help the regular troops protect the internal fortress. ... He properly armed the Gypsies. The Gypsies rushed into shelters because they thought that they would be safe from the enemies there. Imperial units approached the fortress and made preparations for the siege and capture. They really attacked it. Their adversaries, hiding in shelters, were so brave in the first fire and they threw such fire on enemies that they were forced to retreat before Gypsies. Once the enemies withdrew, Gypsies got out of the shelters proud and full of joy over the victory and they shouted: "*Break your legs and give thanks to God that we have no more powder or lead, because neither of you would escaped alive from this place.*" When the enemies heard this and spotted the Gypsies climbing out of the shelters full of defiance, they stopped immediately, turned around and drove them back into shelters by their swords and fists, they attacked them, and broke completely the black army consisting of more than a thousand people in a few minutes. The victory they already had in their hands was wasted by an irresponsible rashness and it caused such a defeat that they still recall it with horror and anger. Ab Hortis further states that *Gypsies* were also help to Ján Zápol'ský in his uprising. Their role should be to set fire to several towns in the region of Spiš. However, they were detected and the two of them were impaled on poles - one on the way to Kežmarok and the other to Spišská Nová Ves; the other two on the way to Spišské Podhradie and Spišský Štvrtok. It should be noted that later they denied all allegations. Therefore, it is only possible to polemicize if they had been sentenced to death with justification. All this happened in the year 1534.

note) II .hhh as in the partisan group - supplies for the partisans (H.V., 45-50 years old, male).

Those Romany who have completed compulsory military service recall it in good. They even admitted that "they owe military service what they learnt in life": .hhh "The service has given me such things I practically still benefit from whether it is in daily life, or at work. I learnt, for example, to advise the soldiers I was responsible for. Some of the soldiers wanted to hang, they were off their head a little, they wanted to go to the bathroom with a loop ... (2) so it was up to me. Practically, I was responsible for the whole battalion *** (anonymised) in *** (anonymised). I think there was some three hundred people under me, whom I commanded every day, II every day I wrote orders, so even then I practically benefited from it and II now I use it in my work. And not only that, but also to know how to take care of myself elsewhere in life. II Not to rely on others to help you – only to myself, this is essential. You're going somewhere, you do not have anyone but you yourself know how to take care of you. II You do not give up, but go for life. .hhh I practise the same now with my sons" (P.V., 40-45 years old, male).

3.15 ON RELIGION OF THE ROMANY (Von der Religion der Zigeuner)

Religiosity of the Roma people on the territory of Slovakia is quite heterogeneous. A member of one of several Pentecostal movements realizes a huge uncharted space: "This would have been for a new book ..." (P.B., 26 years old, male). Augustini's quotation (p. 51) has been true for centuries: "Gypsies don't have their own religion, but they follow the conventions of the country and the people among whom they live and dwell." In the surveyed villages of Podtatranský region, new religious movements became very successful in the last years. What is behind their boom in the Roma communities?

In particular, it is a departure from the traditional Roman Catholic faith, which is the most widespread religion in our country. In small communities, to which the villages belong, the spiritual father or priest is a very important part of the faith. If you live in a village where following the priest's decisions Roma children must go to the first communion separately (without the offspring of the majority), you cannot be surprised that the people of the Roma community are not interested to participate in the Masses, or be actively living Christians - Catholics. If a new, singing group of believers appears in such a "colony" which accepts new brothers and sisters with open arms, it's a new challenge for new life for the Romany. If you show some interest in their čoripen (poverty, author's note) and worry, supported by ubiquitous music, you literally

open up new dimensions for their lives. The fact that these dimensions are attractive is proved by a significant increase in movements and their members.

Before our entry into the settlement, we had no idea how much people's lives are affected by different religious communities. "Colonies" are the breeding ground of various religious communities, churches and sects. In the area of Poprad town, but also farther in the Eastern Slovakia, one can notice a rapidly growing number of members of the Christian mission Maranata. Podolinská and Hrustič (2010, p. 42) associated its formation with the years 2004-2005 and with Roma missionary from the Czech republic, Emil Adam. In a few years, he managed to build strong local groups in the villages near Poprad (Hranovnica, Vikartovce, Spišský Štvrtok) and Spišská Nová Ves. The mission is currently successfully operating in Roma communities in England.

During our field research, we were able to meet the newly appointed pastor, and many active members of the mission. Their acceptance was heartfelt and they were very happy and enthusiastic to talk about their relationship to faith, and about Saviour and Jesus in their lives. Their testimonies can be categorized into the following areas:

- Change of life - acceptance of Jesus
- Miracles and testimonies
- Preaching and Gospel
- We and the others

Change of Life - acceptance of Jesus

Romany metaphorically likened the transformation to the awakening, which is given by the Lord God Almighty and Jesus Christ. The motto of the pioneer Emil Adam sounds very clearly: "... do not look for awakening, but for Him who gives it ..." (Christian mission Maranata, 2014). The members of the mission shall waive of their vices and pleasures after the "awakening". The change lies in the discovery of the "living God": hhh. "When you pray, you have a relationship with God. You get wisdom. Romany believe that Jesus exists. It is automatically when you look at the sky: what is it? .hhh Where that came from? (2) When you look at the evening stars, they automatically hold on the sky. This must be someone higher than us. If They know there is God, but do not know him. They do not know who God is and what he wants. I had idols and it has been for four years I have been already saved. I also had a picture of the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ. Then I asked the question: if we have God in our house, how can we sin? God looks at us, because he is alive. Why should

we have such a picture of God who cannot save? hhh I want the living God who speaks, who gives me direction. If I had idols, I lied, drank and didn't give religion to my children. What do we have God on the wall for when we do not live like that? We need to pray, we need to have a relationship with God ... " (P.A., 30 years old, male).

Romany therefore cease to smoke, drink alcohol, surround themselves by the idols (holy pictures, statues of angels, etc.), but at the same time they also stop listening to traditional Roma music, which shows their unflattering social situation or social status: "Once there were Pavlovce, Miro Marian, and Štiavnik and they are doing mess here. They drink here, there are other things they do, which are not good. For me it is not good. For others, maybe yes, but not for me" (P.A. 30 years, male).

It is not easy for anyone to join the mission. Even some family members see it as a departure from the Christian faith and perceive it as a betrayal: "Our own family wanted us to separate for the fact that we supposedly betrayed the faith that we put down the pictures. So when I was drinking, I was good, everyone loved me, If .hhh when I went to faith ... then no, because I stopped drinking, I stopped sinning."

Most commonly the change is attributed to a miracle, witnessed by the new believer. These testimonies are, in their opinion, the evidence that God and Jesus Christ are still alive.

Miracles and testimonies

When meeting some active members of the mission, each of them was eager to tell his/ her own story - a miracle or testimony. In each of the statements, there is a noticeable presence of a *white, gadjo*. It reminded us a little of fairy tales by Elena Lacková where clever, astute Romany swindles a priest, landowner or rich. By their membership in a community and a really radical transformation, the Romany feel to be on a par with the members of the majority. This feeling was unknown to them before. We can even deduce from their answers that they feel smarter and cleverer in many aspects. The testimonies of experienced miracles consisted for example in: the birth of a child whose mother's doctors recommended against further progeny: "With my wife we could not have more than three children, because she had a section: ... (anonymised names of the children, author's note). Then we waited our *** and the doctors said that when we have a fourth child, my wife will die. They recommend us an abortion. God does not want abortion. The one who kills, he has a sin. .hhh My wife was crying and I began to pray. This is her decision, I could not push on her. God gave everyone free will.

.hhh I prayed, Lord, you know, you're alive II, II you are, only you can speak to my wife. You have the power to take and give. And when you have given us, that means you want us to have a child, (2) but I do not bear it, but my wife does. .hhh Speak to my wife ... (3) she went to bed and I prayed. The first thing she said when she got up in the morning, I'm keeping this baby. When she said it, I got scared. (1) The doctor told her to go for an abortion, they wanted to force her. .hhh Rather I will stay on the table, but I do not want to kill my baby (quoting a woman, author's note). Now listen here: ...hhh there was a senior doctor and told her.hhh that your husband is able to take care of three kids? You will die. She said .hhh even when I die, I will go to heaven. When God wanted me I had a child, so I'll have it (paraphrasing the woman, author's note). Doctors said that the fourth is impossible. Faith gave us such strength, that we were not afraid and we believed. When she went in the ninth month, I prayed in the morning, she prayed II, I say ... hhh Lord, everything I give into your hands and I pray also for the doctors. So he gives such a team who do not even know that they are God's vessels. Everything is from God. (3)She went to the hall and then the doctor came and I told him that I was the father. He asked me how I knew that it was already born? I have faith, I believe in God. (2) I have peace, so I know that it's good. So he said you have a boy. .hhh I'll tell you that you and your wife, you're strong. You really have God on your side. We ourselves did not believe (quoting a doctor, author's note). "You didn't believe, but I prayed for you" (laughs). II You did not have to believe I believed in for you! (answer to the doctor) And when he went, I gave him a hand and I thanked him for his work. He told me ... "you have a strong faith." I saw God through his mouth. They wanted to call Markíza (television), I said "no". I'll give witness to the community, to the people that it is possible."

For illustration, we add one more witness that describes a miracle of calling of the Holy Spirit (Romany used the Czech equivalent of Holy Spirit, which is probably related to hearing sermons of the Czech pastor Adam): "... happened to me such a thing with a professor from the town of Trnava. This happened to me in the woods. Imagine a thick mountain, trees felled, there in Javorina, I deflected, ... (2) you know, (he describes the process of working with wood, author's note) ... (2) I pray, praise and II pray and the Holy Spirit "Put it down!" (spoke to him the Holy Spirit). I put it down and I ask "Lord, what happens, what do you want?" - "Go away, stop working." And I say to my boss: "Please don't get angry, but I have to go away. I have to go down." -"But then don't tell me that you have earned a little"- "I know, do not worry. I know how much I did. I haven't done a lot. But I am saying that I have to go." - "Okay, but you

don't earn anything." - "I know, you're right! I know, but I have to! I have to go" ... (2) I didn't tell him that God was calling me. I went down, I didn't understand that, now I go, there was such a young forest and I say to myself: "I go to mushrooms on my way and I gather some mushrooms and earn even more!" I went and nothing. The entire forest is empty. I'm going to the car, it was enough! I was walking for an hour! I asked, "God is that you? Or it's just me and my head? I say that I wanted to work, but if you want it, so let your will be done." I'm going to the car and on the forest road, I sit down and there was a blueberry bush so I sit down and eat berries for half an hour and I am saying: "What have I done, I could have earned up there. I didn't earn not even 10 euros, I could have earned 30 euros tonight." Sitting there, mouth blue, hands blue, and then suddenly I see no more than one hundred meters as a gentleman goes slowly, unable to walk. Me, when I saw him, so I asked: "God, it's because of him you sent me?!" Then I jumped into the car and as I could I reversed up to the trail. When I was already at 30 meters, he came to say: "Please!" I say: "I know, I'll take you!" - "How do you know?" - "The Lord sent me!" And then he came, professor "Will you drive me?" I say, "Yes, my Lord saw you and he sent me, so that I drove you, because as I can see, your leg really hurts. My inside told me that, my Lord, that I drove you." - "He saw me with binoculars?" - I say, "No, my Lord does not need a telescope." .hhh Listen, now he says: "And how did your Lord see me?" - I say: "You probably don't understand who is my Lord. My Lord Jesus Christ!" And him: "Oh! And how did he see me? But now really tell me how he told you to drive me. How? II How?"

- You know, he was a professor, I was Romany, uneducated and now I am teaching him! Listen what happened. It was still on the dirt road around seven - eight kilometres far from the nearest bus stop on the main road. Do you think I was going fast? Slowly, slowly. And he still: tell me how Jesus told you so that you came. "Did you see me?" (asks the professor) - "No, I was on the other side of the hill." - Now, I had to tell him about Adam, Eve, that they sinned, they were banished from the paradise that they lost contact with God because they did not listen to the voice of God, they were disobedient ... But then Jesus came to rectify the relationship, and then came the Holy Spirit to teach us!!! hhh And the Holy Spirit in me told me that I should go down !!! hhh He didn't understand it, I was explaining it for twenty minutes, and he did not understand! I simply preach the gospel, the word of God and now listen to what happened. We came to the bus stop and I said to him: "Do not thank me, thank God, because he sent me! It's not my claim to fame, I did not see you. He sent me, I am just a servant!" - "Nahh", he said the word, "Come with me to

the shop here; there was a shop near the stop”- “I do not want money, I do not want money!”- “I will not let you, I have to, I have to!” He went there, he changed money, 20 euros. I say: “But I do not want it!” - “I do not care who, what, this is for you.” These are miracles, really ... (P.B., 26 years old, male).

One of the main tasks of the members of the mission is to preach the gospel. The big challenge is instructing *white* or even priests.

Preaching and Gospel

The vision of the members of the Christian mission Maranata is (Who We Are, 2014):

- 1) *“Preach the Gospel;*
- 2) *Make disciples (This vision is unclear. We assume that it meant spreading the word of God among others);*
- 3) *Establish Groups;*
- 4) *Glorify God and fulfil people’s needs;*
- 5) *The Lord said to me: Describe the vision and make it clearly.”*

Preaching, therefore, is among the main activities. The challenge is not only preaching the gospel in Roma settlements, but predominantly among white people: “Me, what I pray and what I want to preach ... I pray, God, send me white people to my path and prepare the time, place, so that I could preach to them. (2) I preach at the petrol station, .hhh when someone gives me a hand-out, when someone stops me, I preach in the office, in the town hall, to police officers, wherever I am (1) I have to leave behind God’s word, the gospel .hhh And you know what? It happened to me that whites were ashamed in front of me! ” (P.B., 26 years old, male); but also to priests:

“I met a long-time priest. He drinks, he smokes. II He has his sheep, and you know what .hhh Like the shepherd like the sheep. He smokes, theology (he means the science the priest studied, author’s note) – a ten-year school. He greeted me and I told him: “The peace of God, Father.” I said to him: “Pastor, do you know God’s truth? Do you know what the Letter to Romans says (1 Cor, 3.17), who spoils the temple of God, God spoils him? You are the temple and Jesus wants to dwell in your heart, if your vicarage caught fire and the smoke was there would you go there?

You would not bear it, you would automatically come out. Because there is smoke, how can you spoil the temple? After all, everything what comes from the heart, the mouth speaks it, isn't it right? Like you are, then even your sheep are too! In your heart, there is smoke everywhere! Do you think there is Jesus? Maybe you even drink, but in you there is the Holy Spirit. I do not drink alcohol now, because alcohol did not bring anything good. The Holy Spirit blessed water that we need to appreciate. Clean water! And when we drink something else, then thank God that we also have other waters. That's a real blessing, but you as a true shepherd must draw from God, you do not need cigarettes, nothing. People who do this, it is your job. You go to church out of habit, not because you want to preach the things of God. You must listen! Clean, separate, holy! This is a mission of a priest, Old Testament, Moses! Priests had to be clean and holy when they wanted to enter the Holy of Holies. And do you think that when God comes, he will come in a cigarette?" (P.A., 30 years old, male).

We and the Others

For some inhabitants of the community, many members of the mission are two-faced. They appreciate the change in their behaviour - especially lifestyle change - no alcohol and cigarettes, but a healthy, balanced and sober diet. On the other hand, they liken them to people without life; people who are now those right and wise, but on the other hand, no longer alive: "Here what is the Maranata, I would say that it is like a sect. They help themselves rather than others.

They have changed, especially their character. When I now watch and observe them, they are totally different. So it seems to me so that if they mask themselves so that it is two-faced that who knows how they live at home and so apparently among us, that now they are the best, but who knows how it is among them, in fact. They stopped drinking and smoking, it is courage, but not all of them. But these are not people any more, these are monsters, dead, no longer alive. II .hhh I say that when God created me, he should love me with my sins, but alive, I do not do bad things, I just allow myself to have a beer when I want to, hey ... II when only two or three ounces, but I'll have it. Or I go somewhere among people, for them, this is already closed - end ...

We are sinners for them and they are great people. They are now the wise, but still they are the dead people who no longer live. They give the tens, for example, when someone has a business he gives ten percent. They give tens ... it is called like that. Even those who are poor must give at least something on the bus, because it drives them, they'll give it aside, they have to II. One goes there and collects. They give, because what he

will be in shame that he did not give anything? hhh Then they blame him from not giving, If he has to, although on Sundays they do not have schnitzels and salads, they denied this. This I also like that they know what it is modesty that they do not care only for the belly ... (because of the possibility of abuse of the quote, we skip all the data about the origin of informants).

In addition to several times appointed positives (reducing dependence, socio-pathological phenomena, etc..) of the mission, it is appropriate to refer to the area as well, the impact of which will be visible in the future. Mission in its scope cares about working with children.

During meetings and worship of adults, we have seen how the kids are taken aside, while one of the adult women speaks to them and teaches them about the Lord, revelations, etc.. We got in danger as well when the pastor addressed us in a negative manner and sometimes we felt that fanaticized crowd would rush at us. Fortunately, nothing happened, but it left us with a very uncomfortable feeling.

3.16 ON ROMANI LANGUAGE (Von der Sprache der Zigeuner)

At the beginning of the chapter, Samuel Augustini ab Hortis (1775, sec. 85) writes about the Romani language:

„Dass die Zigeuner ihre besondere Sprache haben, die keine andere Nation in Europa redet oder versteht, solches haben nicht allein die meisten Schrifsteller schon ehemals beobachtet und erkannt, sondern auch die Erfahrung selbs leget die Wahrheit von der Sache bis diese Stunde an den Tag“. It is obvious from the quote of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis that the Romany were an integral part of the territory of Hungary in the second half of the eighteenth century, while their language was considered significantly different from that of other European nations, which the European writers knew.

Ab Hortis was greatly interested in the dispute over the origin of the language and he explicitly appoints his assumptions. According to him:

- some people consider Romani as so-called "Rotwelsch" (red Wallachian, which is, according to him, nothing else than faulty German, which Germans do not understand);
- other people perceive speech as fabricated - as different words put together;

- Brocor³³ perceives it even as Slavonic, while some others considered Hungary as their ancestral homeland according to this thesis³⁴;
- opinions about similarities with Phrygian language occurred as well (language similar to Greek);
- and finally ab Hortis, in the section 92 (1775), provides an anecdote about the discovery of István Vályi of Komárno, which has not become obsolete even today.

Hancock (2007) clarifies the anecdote claiming (like ab Hortis in 1775) that Stephan Pap Szatmáry Németh (originally typographer) came up with the discovery. He states that Szatmar Nemeth donated or sold Vályi's notes to Count Szatmary von Doba. Szatmary was an amateur philologist and realized the greatness of the discovery. Hancock (2007) mentions that he subsequently gave Vályi's notes to the Austrian academic George Pray who reported on it in the Vienna newspaper (*Viena Gazette*³⁵) in 1776. The news spread on quickly. In 1783, another author - Grellmann takes Szatmáry's notes and publishes them in his work.³⁶

Hancock (2007) provides the first mention of this in English translation in 1807. However, we believe that the event had been translated and presented a little earlier - in 1788.³⁷ Later works of Pallas, Rüdiger, Pauer, Büttner and Marsden are based on Grellman's work *Die Zigeuner* (1783) neglecting almost forgotten Samuel Augustini ab Hortis! Grellmann himself does not quote ab Hortis at all.

Professor Hancock³⁸ from the University of Texas led serious search for verifying the veracity of ab Hortis' anecdote. He even inspected whether Vályi was really a student in Leiden. According to ab Hortis, Vályi should have collected one thousand words of three Malabar students, which he subsequently compared with the Romani language in Almás in the county of Komárno. Hancock himself visited the University of Leiden in early

³³ BROCOR, T. *Paradox. epidem*, Kniha VI, s.13

³⁴ It is believed that this thesis stemmed primarily from the creation of words similar to the language of the majority population. It is not any different in today's period when endings like -os, -is, -as (e.g. motoris and the like) are added to new words.

³⁵ *Wiener Anzeigen or Gazette de Vienne*

³⁶ GRELMANN, H. 1783. *Die Zigeuner*.

³⁷ RAPER, M. 1788. Dissertation on the Gipsies. In *The English Review or an Abstract of English and Foreign Literature*. London, Volume XI. printed for J. Murray, No.32, Fleet-Street, M,DCC,LXXXVIII.

³⁸ HANCOCK, I. 2007. *The Hungarian student Vályi István and the Indian connection of Romani*. [online]. 2007-2008, [cit. 2014-01-23]. Available on the Internet: <http://www.radoc.net/radoc.php?doc=art_b_history_stefanvalyi&lang=pt&articles=true>.

nineties, but he failed to find any evidence that Vályi would have been its student. However, he collected fairly accurate indication of the three students from southern India and Sri Lanka, who, at the time appointed, studied at the university. They were: *Johannes Jacobus Meyer* (adopted in September 4, 1750), *Petrus Cornelissen* (registered October 7, 1752) and *Antonius Moyaars* (September 23, 1753).

They were registered as *Ceylonensis* (inhabitants of Ceylon)³⁹ and they talked most likely Thamizh, Drava, Creole or Sinhala language at that time. It can be revealed from their family names that there were probably the townspeople whose native languages were Portuguese and Dutch. It is not known whether these students speak fluent Indian dialect.

Hancock (2007), nevertheless, managed to find out more about our scholar. István Vályi studied at the University of Utrecht, not in Leiden in 1753. He was registered under the name Stephanus Waali. We can therefore only assume that Vályi visited Leiden University from time to time and there he met the inhabitants of Ceylon and discussed with them. However, it is possible that this great discovery should not belong to Vályi himself, but it could be one of Szathmáry family (Daniel and Michael Pap Szathmáry) who worked in the Netherlands, but a little later (1758, 1761). The names Szatmáry appear most frequently in our story.

But the fact is that the work of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis is the first ethnographic work dealing with the Romany in our country! The importance does not lie only in this legacy. He is also the first author who published Vályi's discovery. Whether he was a student in Komárno, or one of Szatmáry family, Ab Hortis was indubitably the first person to publish the thesis. In the next section, we present lists of words that he collected during his research. The second column shows the words that we collected in the summer of 2013.

Words are thematically classified according to the model of the author. The first table represents numerals, second farmstead (mostly farm animals) and the final one introduces the most frequent words of the period.

³⁹ Ceylon (Sri Lanka) is an island in the Indian Ocean, which is connected to India via Adam's bridge. At the time of the study of the three students, the island was the centre of the Dutch East India Company and the Dutch colony. [author's note]

Table 37 Numerals (comparison 1775 - 2013)

Numerals		
1775	2013	meaning
eck	jekh	one
doj	duj	two
tri/trin-tri	trin	three
sthar	štar	four
pantsch	pandž	five
scho	šov	six
ephta	efta	seven
ochto	ochto	eight
enya	eña	nine
desch	deš	ten
bisch	biš	twenty
tranda	tranda	thirty
branada	saranda	forty
pontsandis	penda	fifty
scho-andis	šovardeš	sixty
eptha-andis	eftavardeš	seventy
octo-andis	ochtovardeš	eighty
emy-andis	eňavardeš	ninety
schell	šel	hundred
mylly	mil'a/tišic	thousand

Ab Hortis also introduces the two basic forms of a Christian prayer "Our Father" - the older and new Roma translation. Unfortunately, did not find out the Roma version of the prayer in any of the villages we surveyed. We have no information that the Romany pray "Our Father" in Romani in the contemporary environment of the settlements. We have dealt with the religion of the Romany in the previous chapter: *On religion of the Romany* (Von der Religion der Zigeuner).

- **OUR FATHER (older translation)**

- *"Dáde! gula dela dica mengi Čaoreng hogodoleđen, avel ogoledel hogoladhem, e a felpes, trogolo anso Čarchode, ta vela mengi stre Kedapu, maro mandro, Kata agjes ígiertisara a more besecha, male džame, andro vo lyata, enkala megula, dela enchala zimata. Seskes Kistrio eothem, banistri, putyere, ferisamamre, á Kana andre veči, ale Vakos, Piho.*

- **OUR FATHER (new translation)**

- *Muro Dad, Kolim andro theros; Ta veltro sventanao, Ta veltro t'him; Ta weltri olya, Sarthin andro theros, Ke dajn t'he pre p'hu: se Kogyes damante mandro agyes a mingi; Ertica amare bezecha, sar, t'hamin te ertingisama rebezecha; Mali sa men andre bezna, mika men le džungalin mansátár. Ke tirino t'hnin, tiro hino baribo sekovari. Amen.*

Table 38 Farmstead (1775 - 2013)

Roma words		meaning
1775	2013	
karodi	o rakos	crayfish
grást	o graj	stallion
grásni	e grasni	mare
schukél	o rukono	dog
gurni	o bykos	ox
guruni	e guruvni/e gurunni	cow
balo	o balo	pig
baro peng	o levos	lion
tschiriklóro	o čiriklo	bird
máss	o mas	meat
bust	?	spit
löve	o love	money
angár	o angar/o angara	coal

Table 39 Comparison of basic vocabulary (1775 and 2013)

Roma words		meaning
1775	2013	
dewla	Devla/o Del	God
ttherosz	nebo	heaven
tschornut	e čhon	moon
tscherhenja	e čerčeň	star
cham	o kham	sun
pangi	o paňi	water
phu	e phuf	earth
kutehálo	tengerica/kukurica	corn
skaurnin	o skamind/stolko/stolkos	chair
schuri	e čhuri/šhuri	knife
schach	jarmin	sauerkraut
schero	o šero	head
nak	o nakh	nose
wáss	o vast	hand
manuseh	o manuš	man
dadi	o dad	father
dadi	e daj	mother
grate	o phral	brother
tchawo	o čhavo	boy
tschaj	e čhaj	girl
gadsí	e romňi	wife
raj	o raj	mister
baro raja		nobleman
Romé	o Rom	Romany/ Gypsy
Romnyi	e Romňi	Roma/ Gypsy woman
rachlyo	o raklo	young man
rachsyi	e rakl'i	miss
mánru	o maro	bread
moll	e mol	wine
papardimoll	e palenka/e thardi mol	alcohol
jak	e jakh	fire
poscháin	o kožuchos	coat
gat	o gat	shirt
kálciss	e cholofú/o cholov	trousers
schoste	e gača/táti gat'a	long johns
marschu	o mačho	fish

Augustini ab Hortis realizes that Vályi's discovery he published may not be correct and calls for further research to confirm this view. However, he sees it much more likely than the presumption that occurred at the time of the thesis (for example, Husti and his work *Dacia Mediteranea* and that the Romany come from Asia Minor).

The most crucial findings of the research presented in 2012⁴⁰ prove he was right. They confirmed the Indian origin of the Romany, based on the latest approaches to linguistics and genetics. Their analysis is based on the study of the genome, which was received from the thirteen sub-ethnic groups of the Romany living in Europe. The result is a direct knowledge that the Romany originate from the north-western part of India. They began to migrate around 1500 years ago and all at once. Their main migration wave passed through the Balkans further into Europe about 900 years ago.

We are not linguists therefore the translations of words we presented cannot serve as a linguistic research. This is mainly because the localities where ab Hortis collected the words are not known. It is clear that he lived and worked in Spišská Sobota, Veľká Lomnica and surroundings, but from the knowledge observed under the field research of settlements in Poprad district it is obvious that the various dialects of Romani are different even in the neighbouring villages.

However, Samuel Augustini ab Hortis was wrong when he literally wrote (1775, sec.94): "*Und gesetzt wir leisteten dadurch weder der gelehrten Welt noch sonst jemanden einen besonderen Dienst; so wird es doch die Nachwelt ein Überbleibsel und einige Kennzeichen von dieser Sprache in unseren Blätter finden, wenn dieselbe in unserem Vaterlande erloschen und gänzlich untergangen seyn würde.*" He believes that he provides no service to the "scholarly" world when presenting the basic vocabulary of Romani language. He is therefore convinced that Romani will disappear in the future and it will be forgotten, and his words will serve only to the descendants as evidence that such a language existed. After nearly two hundred and fifty years, we can say that Romani not only survived, but

⁴⁰ MENDIZABAL, I. – LAO, O. – MARIGORTA, U. M. – WOLLSTEIN, A. – GUSMÃO, L. – FERAK, V. – IOANA, M. – JORDANOVA, A. – KANEVA, R. – KOUVATSI, A. – KUČINSKAS, V. – MAKUKH, H. – METSPALU, A. – NETEA, M. G. – DE PABLO, R. – PAMJAV, H. – RADOJKOVIC, D. – ROLLESTON, S. J. H. – SERTIC, J. – MACEK J. R. M. – COMAS, D. – KAYSER, M. 2012.

Reconstructing the Population History of European Romani from Genome-wide Data. In *Current Biology* [online]. 2012, Volume 22, Issue 24, 2342-2349 p. [cit. 2014-01-24].

Available on the Internet:

<<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0960982212012602>>.

also that many of the words are very similar to the period texts in Hungary.

3.17 ON THE INTERNAL SYSTEM OF LIFE OF THE ROMANY (Von der innerlichen Verfassung der Zigeuner)

The chapter of the work *Von dem heutigen Zustande, sonderbaren Sitten und Lebensart, wie auch von denen übrigen Eigenschaften und Umständen der Zigeuner in Ungarn* (1775) is not very extensive. It consists of two pages only. The content of the chapter predominantly treats the leadership. It states that there was a leader (also called 'vojvoda', meaning duke) at the head of every major migrant Roma group travelling around Europe. Among the well-known leading figures, we can mention for example the Duke Michal (Germany), Duke Andrei (Italy) and King Zindadel (or Zindelo) who led the Romany to Bavaria. We have not come across any similar legends in the environment of Eastern Slovakia settlements. Although our work is primarily focused on this area, we present one of the stories of the leaders of the Wallachian Romany from the environs of Nitra: *"Our leader 'vajda' is the most respected person. Anyone cannot become vajda in our community. Grandfather and father of the current vajda held this function in the past. In particular, his grandfather, called 'Great Ferko', was known throughout Europe, his family is widespread across whole Europe - Russia, Germany, France. Even when we were in France and Germany a few years ago, everyone knew him. Among the Romany, information and stories spread like the wind. The stories spread throughout our community at an immense speed, as if they jumped from leaf to leaf. We were very pleasantly surprised that they knew our great-grandfather. He was the first Romany in Czechoslovakia, perhaps in Europe or even in the world, who had his red boots tailored, and people still tell stories about them. He was able to do all of this in a relatively young age of twenty years, and he lived to be eighty-two. He had a mustache, silk dress with gold buttons and a stick. He travelled across almost the whole Europe during the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. He was poor. His both parents died and he was an orphan. He was the firstborn and had five young siblings. He brought them up, he found grooms for the girls and gave them a rich dowry. He knew how to take care, earn money and by this way of life and by an unshakable determination he gained respect and recognition. He built a brick house himself and he is known as 'Little Ferko' by every small child. We are all his offsprings. When we had to stop living a nomadic life, his descendants came to this place and we have lived here since then."*

(field research Nitra, 2006)

Although the informant talked about the period of Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, Augustini ab Hortis does not mention the personality of 'Great Ferko'. We can only assume the reasons. This important personality of the Wallachian Romany from the environs of Nitra might have lived in the monarchy a little later after the work *Gypsies in Hungary* (1775) appeared. It is also likely that the south-western part of Slovakia was not of the author's interest when investigating. It is very difficult to find the truth now, but it is clear that the leader was different from the other members of the community, as to his external appearance - the red boots, silk dress with gold buttons or proud, defiant walking, a big whip and expensive clothes as ab Hortis mentioned it.

The most important finding and cultural change captured by the author in the second half of the eighteenth century is *"Heutzutage ist die ganze Constitution gewaltig heruntergekommen .."* (1775, 119-120) and thus that this hierarchy begins to decline in the given period. The causes of reducing the need for leadership can be found in the reasons why such a function was created:

- In the early days of Hungary, four governors were appointed (from either side of the Danube and Tisza, who lived near Gyor, Levice, Satu Mare - Romania and Košice). This system was created so that in case of need and war it would quickly provide enough fighters to defend the country.
- In Transylvania, it was the duty of so-called 'Gypsy reeves' (*Zigeunerischer Richter*) to supervise their subordinates so that at the time of paying annual benefits and taxes to the princely chambers, any of them would not disappear.

The reasons for leadership of the Roma communities were therefore highly pragmatic. In the case of a military conflict, it was mobilizing forces, at the time of paying taxes, better control. Progressive changes in the military or introduction of more precise population register caused the decline in the need of a leader. However, it should seriously be noted that in sub-ethnic minorities (i.e. Wallachian Romany in western and southern Slovakia), this institute is still alive. It is a kind of moral authority, which operates in various areas of disputes - thefts, marriages, lack of respect and honour, and the like. But the East Slovak Romany most often give answers like: *"No, there is no vajda in our colony. Everyone handles things himself."* (field research Kravany, 2009)

A new phenomenon which has not been explored in the environment of the settlements yet is the reason for the current situation. This

phenomenon is a social distance⁴¹ among its members. In our view, this is linked to social exclusion, which Ondrejkoivič (2004, p. 25-26) perceives as a process through which the individuals, groups or even communities become isolated. European Commission (2001) defined the exclusion as a restricted access to the resources needed for participation in the social, economic and political life. Socially excluded people thus have unequal chances in comparison with the majority.

The concept of social exclusion is often associated with poverty. The third program of the European Community even uses the term of social exclusion as a practical alternative to the old concept of poverty. (Mareš, 1999) But these concepts are not identical. The difference between them is for example defined by Abrahamson and Atkinson (2004) who argue that social exclusion is the final result of extreme poverty. Poverty is thus a modern phenomenon and social exclusion its postmodern equivalent.

In the context of social exclusion individual authors identify several interrelated areas and indicators (Percy-Smith, In Džambazovič, et al., 2004, p.19):

- Economic dimension – it is manifested by long-term unemployment, income poverty, dependency on social benefits and participation in alternative ways of living.
- Political dimension – *disempowerment* – represents the lack of political rights, low participation in elections and in solving their own situation of community activities, and so on.
- Community dimension – is associated with the collapse of support networks, unavailability of social services and the devastation of the environment.
- Individual dimension – is reflected in the health condition, particularly in high pathological nature, low level of education and skills, loss of confidence and self-esteem.
- Spatial dimension – the most visible component which represents the concentration of excluded groups and communities in specific locations, which can be considered disadvantaged in terms of location, lack of infrastructure, unavailability of services, and the like.

⁴¹ More you can find in: KAJANOVÁ, A. – KOZUBÍK, M. 2013. Sociální distance v romské osadě. [Social distance in a Roma settlement]In: LACA, S. – MÜHLPACHR, P. a kol. *Jinakost z pohledu konceptu sociální exkluze.*[Otherness in terms of the concept of social exclusion.] Brno: Institut mezioborových studií, 2013. ISBN 917-80-87182-39-0. s. 57-72.

In connection with the marginalization of Roma settlements we often speak about the so-called multiple, double marginalization (Vašečka, Radičová, 2002). This means that the Romany are "disqualified" on one hand by living in segregated settlements, which are remote from the territory of the village and are often separated by a natural barrier (e.g. a river), road or rail. On the other hand, most settlements are located in eastern Slovakia, which has long been among the regions with the highest unemployment rate. However, we believe that there is one more, still unexplored, phenomenon - social distance between individual layers of the settlement population. We can therefore speak about the so-called **triple marginalization**.

Social distance represents an alternative perspective to the study of social stratification. It consists of mapping the networks of social interactions creating social proximity or distance, that is the distribution of the stratification in the space (Šafr, 2008). Social distance is reflected in the distinguishing of categories of "us" and "them" (Šanderová 2000, p. 16). Social distance can be defined subjectively (attitude to different groups of people) and objectively (association within the friendly and partner networks) and usually an economic delimitation is concerned (Šafr, 2008). The distance defines social interaction and relationship to other people and characterizes both personal and social relationships (Ryšavý, 2003). The attitude of social distance is different from the original stratification models in its view of social structure as a multidimensional social space, which is formed by the interaction of people in different positions. Therefore, it does not concentrate only on the classical aspects such as income or employment (Šafr, 2008). Social distance which is attributed to the historical origin of the Romany and the Indian caste system (Dávidová, 2004) is interesting. Different, impenetrable status of each caste exists also at present (Giddens, 2000). We believe that to assess the Roma communities only according to the caste system can be just as misleading as to describe them according to the stratification models used for the majority population. We do not know any scientific papers dealing exclusively with social stratification in Roma communities. We will introduce the discussed issues in the context of field research conducted in the summer of 2012 and 2013. We focused on two areas: a) distance relationship of the Roma population and the majority; b) social distance between the inhabitants of the settlement, and we contemplated on the possible mechanisms of their origin.

Cardboards⁴²

We often start research with a lot of information that we have gained through study of literary sources. But in our opinion, it is not necessary to proceed from studying large number of books, because in order to come to an effective analysis, new categories often emerge that we, or no one else, have ever invented before. We should not be so immersed in literature and let our knowledge suppress and restrict our creative efforts. The notion of theoretical sensitivity comes from well-known authors of the qualitative method of data evaluation, Strauss and Corbinová⁴³. It is recommended to use new terms, which we have invented during our research and which suitably illustrate the studied environment. The more creative these notions are, the more they can attract the reader. We do not argue that to think creatively and at the same time to adhere to the reality of the researched phenomenon is difficult. There are some methods that the above-mentioned authors of *Grounded Theory* (In Ježek, 1999, pp. 29-30) suggest:

- Ask yourself regularly and with hindsight: What is it about? Does what I think I see correspond to the data?
- Keep sceptical attitude. Any theoretical clarification or categories used in research must be considered temporary until they are confirmed by the real data.
- The final point is essential for researchers who use all three types of coding according to Grounded Theory - open, axial and selective one. Theoretical sensitivity is also increased by the so-called *conditional matrix*. It is therefore inevitable to follow the proposed research practices.

By the use of the above mentioned methods, a researcher can overcome personal prejudices and distortions that can bring about misinterpretation in data summarizing.

The first category characterizing the relationship between the majority and minority in the examined area were *cardboards*. The name is derived from a specific event in the segregated community in Hranovnica. It was a joke that a resident of the settlement told us: "*What will happen when a*

⁴² Further information is provided in the author's monograph: KOZUBÍK, M. 2013. (Not)guilty and gadjo dilo.

⁴³ STRAUSS, A. - CORBIN, J. 1990. Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Newsbury Park: Sage, 1990. ISBN 0-7619-0747-5. More details on Grounded Theory can be found in the above-mentioned author's monograph.

roller runs over you? ... White cardboard. ... And when it runs over a Gypsy, black cardboard. (laughs) Got it?"

It is almost unbelievable that such a modest man, living in absolute poverty and having undergone various state institutions - orphanage, penitentiary or prison, may be so empathic. Education, academic degrees are not a measure of humanity in us. The man told a joke that could be felt as mockery in the eyes of us "white" people. Without any hesitation, he immediately likened himself to the "*black cardboard*." We have experienced similar episodes in the settlements many times. The question arises: By what right do we judge others? How is it possible that we look down on someone and we believe we are superior? How many of us can make fun of themselves? And especially: In what way are we better than those who have to adapt to us – the majority?

The previous studies (e.g. Jurásková, 2002) indicate that the Romany have much friendlier relationship towards the majority, than the majority towards them. Social distance towards the majority is significantly lower. The Romany perceive the majority as part of their social life; respectively they want to see themselves as part of the majority, they identify with the majority. The author of the joke serves an example in the moment when he adds the black cardboard to the joke about the majority.

The informants evaluated the situations of coexistence as a relationship between people who may or may not behave well to each other and not as a clash of two ethnicities: "*When a white behaves well, we have to show respect, too.*" Or else: "*Not the colour, but the soul is important ...*"

The majority distance towards the Romany is visible on some levels. First of all, it is prejudice and suspicion: "*When we go to the shop, they follow us so that we do not steal anything. When Roma children go to the shop, shop assistants follow them. How can the child feel?*"⁴⁴ Second is a real discrimination that is reflected for example in limited access to services. In the village, the location of our research, the Roma population was informally banned from local catering facility "*In M *** (anonymised), they do not serve Gypsies, nor in G *** d *** (anonymised). They got drunk my son and then beat him up.*" Social distance is reinforced by segregation in the sphere of Church, which we described in more detail in the chapter On religion of Gypsies (*Von der Religion der Zigeuner*).

⁴⁴ Thanks to this, the Romany people prefer shopping in food facilities located in the area of settlements, but where the prices are significantly higher, as noted in the text below.

We can also observe a significant distance in the relationship municipal council - Roma "colony". Our key informant is a member of the municipal council, whose members often openly express their hostility: *"If you were at the last council ... They are terribly against the Romany. I have such an impression that they will begin to kill us. They openly suggested taking a submachine gun and shooting everybody"*. Or, for example: *"My brother wanted to buy a tavern, but the mayor did not allow it to him. They did not want any Romany there."*

More cases of segregation at schools resonate in the society. At present, we can witness the case of Šarišské Michal'any. Integration is threatened according to non-governmental organizations.⁴⁵ Activists do not like that instead of integration of the Roma children among others at primary schools, they plan to create a new school for the children from the settlement. The state and local government want to build a new container school for pupils of the first level of primary schools in neighbouring Ostrovany, from where the majority of the Roma children come. But the state authority of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic argues that in order to build a new school, three conditions need to be satisfied: non-segregation, economic profitability and accessibility. If the school was established with the free decision of parents who could choose between the school in Michal'any and Ostrovany, the first condition – non-segregation would be fulfilled. According to the state, the social exclusion would be concerned only if the school itself decided on acceptance or non-acceptance of the children. The residents are for the construction of the school in the settlement. If the Ministry of Education gave the green light to the construction of the school, the first pupils could be accepted in September 2014. In Ostrovany, the settlement is separated from the village by a fence. After establishing the school, the Romany will live in complete segregation. Let us remind that the court has forbidden to segregate Roma pupils and to create separate classes for Roma children and the majority population in Šarišské Michal'any, as the first school in Slovakia. Municipal authorities argue with low capacity spaces of the school and they state better access for students from Ostrovany as an advantage. By construction of a container school, the state and local governments can avoid the original court decision on non-segregation of the Roma children. It is highly probable that a school will be established in Ostrovany and it will be attended only by the children

⁴⁵ Hás, R. 2014. *Integrácia verus kontajnerová škola. [Integration versus container school]*. Hlavné správy RTVS. [online]. 2014. Available on the Internet: <<http://www.rtv.s.sk/tv.programmes.detail/archive/4173>>.

from the settlement. In the long term perspective, we can talk about the confirmation of segregation of the settlements not only in terms of space, but also in terms of participation in social life, such as education. The school management agrees with the decision to build a school in Ostrovany, because the capacity of the school does not meet the prerequisites for quality education. On the other hand, they are aware of the fact that it is more difficult to integrate fifth graders than if a student attended an integrated school since the first grade. In such cases, a child may have considerable difficulty to adapt to new environment.

Although the children's parents agree to build a school as well as the municipal authorities and school management in Michal'any, we do not consider this decision to be lucky. Initially, the residents of Šarišské Michal'any will be happy that their children have no Roma classmates. Parents of the Roma children from Ostrovany will be also happy as their children will not have to commute to school. Everybody seems to be happy. However, from the long term perspective, the children who will spend their entire childhood behind the wall in Ostrovany will have little contact with the outside world. They may be deprived of those very few moments they can spend in other villages in contact with the majority. What is the future of these children? Will not this segregation return as a boomerang to the village, locality and society? What will follow provided that such pupils will not complete primary education? And if they will, how will they cope with the integration at secondary schools in a bigger town? Such decisions can be compared to indifference of all of us. We throw away a plastic bottle to the beauty of nature and we say to ourselves: "The forest is large; the bottle will overgrow with moss and will disappear." But we are wrong. As the bottle will stay in the lap of nature for hundreds of years, our decisions we make today are reflection of our future. Parents from both sides of the wall agree with the decision: first ones because their children will not be "held back" by the Romany in education progress, the others due to the proximity of the school. It is up to us to point out the potential negative effects and avoid them. However, it seems that the flow of history in relation the Romany - majority is unstoppable. *Aleia iacta est* (from Lat. "The die is cast", author's note) - it is up to us to clearly describe the current situation and introduce a prognosis, what may happen in the relationship between the majority and the Roma minority. Diverse political elites' opinions, transfer of the Ombudsman to eastern Slovakia, release of extremists and in particular growth of radical ideas in the political environment - these are all signals that bode ill and have nothing to do with humanity. Decisions that cause

pain, fear or segregation cannot lead to a positive image of interpersonal relationships.

In our research, as well as in the above mentioned case, we may observe many distance practices, which are based on a structured system in the domain of education. Within the scope of this structure, the Roma men and women are equally segregated into ethnically decided schools and classes *"Here we have a Roma school, Roma kindergarten and I do not like this."* A similar situation is presented in the labour market: *"Whites do not want to employ us. My husband has contacts, so they employ him for a month, or two. Otherwise we have no chance ... You call, you go, they do not need, and they employ a white man ... "*. They subjectively perceive the situation and the majority often do not realize how many skills and abilities a man living in poverty, on the margins of society, needs to show: *"A Gypsy working with gadjos must be a hundred times better; otherwise he is just a stupid Gypsy."*

It should be noted that "cardboard distance" is supported by business. To sponge on extremely poor is typical especially for companies offering various services - from mobile operators to widespread loans. Almost every family from the researched environment is burdened with loans (often even executions) at high interest rates. These activities are offered by the targeted advertising, but especially during personal visits of the members of majority to the natural environment of the informants: *"They offer us loans P ***, they go to our house. And if we do not pay, they also come to our house. They give especially to the young because they get the benefit"* (meaning parental allowance).

In addition to loans, there are some other services that the residents of the settlements hardly find useful - for example the Internet, television, and so on. Many of these Internet and cable television "users" have problems with electricity. There is no electrification in the settlement and provisional car batteries are often insufficient, so in some cases, access to the internet sounds almost grotesque.

Annulment of insurances also encounters various administrative and legal barriers, *"They offer life insurances and then also the internet. (laughter - the Internet is really an unusual thing in a hut).*

*"Last time some young people came from *** and offered me a TV. Two hunks offered it to me and I had an old TV and I told them that I have three phones and I do not pay for them. So they said, do not worry madam, we'll do it somehow. And they forcibly offered and offered. And I take the TV to a pawnshop and pay off an old debt, but a new debt is there again. Gadjos,*

when they want to offer something, why do not they go to the whites, but to us? I'm not from another planet; I'm not an alien, I told them." (laughter) (field research Hranovnica, 2012)

A hustler opened a shop with a variety of goods in the settlement. In 2012, it was a small housing unit. After returning to the settlement in the summer of 2013, he has already bought a decaying barn at the entrance to the settlement and he has extended his shop. If you want to get rich, expand your shop network in settlements and you will not lose. The profitability of this business is proved by the words of our informant: *"We ensure sales to whites. He trusts us, even when we do not have money, we'll give him tomorrow; he notes it down. It is our fault that we buy expensive food. And sometimes even rotten."*

To conclude the first designated area (relationship Romany - majority), we can confirm that the conclusions of realized above mentioned surveys are comparable to ours. Their result is a realization that the Roma people perceive their relationship to the *whites* (as they often call the members of the majority) much more positively compared to the majority population. We can say that the members of the dominant culture regard the population of settlements through the optics of ethnocentrism. They see themselves as bearers of good, modern and advanced culture. They do not have in mind technology and scientific progress, but above all, virtues and values they bear. So is superciliousness, hostility, or even open racism our asset? Every coin has two sides – as there are morally mature people among us, so there are also less generous and bitter. Some of us sponge on poverty of others, and some of us devote whole lives to helping people in need. Life in the settlement is a mirror to us - our society. There can also be found rich and poor, good and bad, virtuous and dishonest. There is a widespread opinion among the majority about much cohesiveness of the Romany. The internal structure of life in settlements is however more complex than one might think, and it raises several questions. The most important one characterizing the second investigated area (social distance between the residents of settlement themselves) reads as follows:

May stratification be seen in the environment of extreme poverty?

We have already mentioned so-called triple marginalization of the Romany in relation to the surrounding social environment, which is manifested by:

- *spacial segregation* (environment of settlements separated from the village by a natural barrier - e.g. river, road or rail, and so on.

These are usually remote areas, several hundred meters or more far from the village, - in our research for example the settlement "under the forest" in Spišské Bystré),

- *regional disadvantage* (Prešov region belongs to the regions with the highest unemployment rate in Slovakia. Since most settlements are located in eastern Slovakia, position in the labour market is thus more difficult for its population).
- *in-group segregation*.

The third phenomenon reflects the stratification of individual groups within the *colony*. These are:

- "*entrepreneurs*"⁴⁶ (hierarchically highest group in the imaginary scale of wealth and prestige in the community). It is represented by two main groups:
 - families, clans that really develop their business activities - notably building works - digging, demolitions, as well as painting and stone pavement and ancillary work in forestry - planting trees, cleaning the forest, and the like.
 - strong extended families whose main occupation is usury. Their strength lies mainly in the strong bond among its members not only in nuclear, but also in extended family.
- "*decent Romany*" or "*middle class*" (include those often referred to as "decent Romany" by the majority. We have often met with statements such as: "*We have no problems with them here. We have decent Romany here.*" Or: "*Decent Romany live here, not like elsewhere in the villages.*" On the other hand, these are also the Romany themselves who do not claim allegiance to the poorest layers of the community. There is a question they asked: "*Why don't you write about us, but about those in the settlement? I have lived here for more than fifty years, but I have never been there!*").
- "*degeš*" (a community whose marginalization is most noticeably manifested in the form of cultural dependence - towards the majority society as well as their own community. Typical features are low level of education, long-term unemployment, poor health condition resulting from poor quality housing, etc.).

⁴⁶ Different groups' appellations correspond to the expressions used by our informants. Some of them may be metaphorical or pejorative, but they are the most faithful reflections of the environment that we are describing.

- "hallelujah" (members of various religious communities, churches or sects. A typical feature of this group is its heterogeneity. We can find there any members of the above mentioned groups. For that reason, this community stands outside the secular typology. More on religiosity of the Romany can be found in the previous chapters).

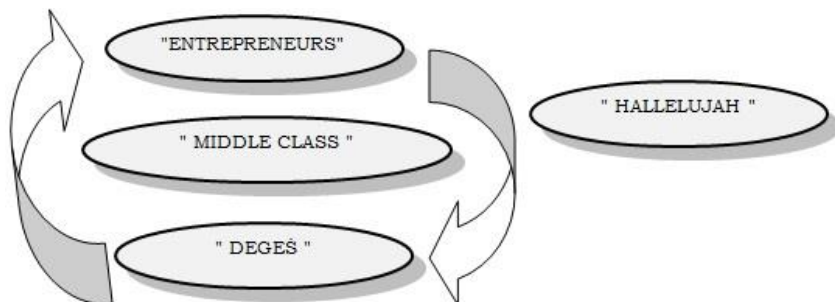


Figure 14 Social stratification in settlements (Source: Kozubík, 2013, p. 127)

Paradoxically, entrepreneurs, whose main income is profit from money lent or goods, are not perceived negatively in any way. *"Who would lend us if not him?"*, we have learnt from poverty. We have found from recurring statements that "entrepreneur" is perceived as a synonym for a skilled, but also exploiting human *"M *** is an entrepreneur. (one of the community's members, author's note, anonymised) I ask him: What for you are a businessman when you pay us? (laughs).*

However, there are families that are permanently trapped in a cycle of usury, which is not just about the money:

"There is usury, but not in the form of cash, but in the form of food aid. They try to sell for the best prices and then they demand it back through the allowances. Some families are for it, the others already know where to go, whom to ask. It's on a regular basis, it's such a vicious circle, and then they cannot get out of it. Now I have heard that they import meat from Poland. They can sell it for a great sum of money. "

"There is such usury that he buys a litre of wine let's say for € 1.30 and must give € 3.40. Now it is all oriented to food, it is better business for them (usurers). And particularly they buy tobacco, cigarettes and wine." (Kozubík, 2013, pp.127-128)

There are the cases when families themselves exploit each other: *"Today, it is such a time, there are entrepreneurs who pay and there are also those who do not pay their employees. I know many entrepreneurs in V***, there are Š*** (name kept secret) such entrepreneurs, but now they say that who does not want to go to work he can stay at home. Why do they go then when they do not get money. They can stay at home."* It is common that the Roma "entrepreneur" do not pay for the work done: *"Statistics show how many Gypsies do not work, but they did not notice that there are twenty Gypsies around one white working at a building site. They say that this building was built by a white, but the Gypsy did the hard work. There are many such buildings where Gypsies worked hard, but the merit is credited to the white. Nobody will mention it because the Gypsy work there illegally. I would say that it is such invisible hands. He, for example, (pointing to the man seated next to) worked there for thirty days, came home, brought the money and went back. If there was no usury, Gypsies would definitely live better lives. The vast majority of the workers are from the settlements. They seek for less educated because they know that they can cheat on them. But wiser Gypsy cannot be fooled. They also do it like this: they take them to work promising to dress them, and they buy clothes from second-hand. But they are so happy to have this, this ... A Gypsy from P*** (anonymised) gave employment to some of them from H*** (name of the village kept secret) and treated them as if they were soldiers – they had to be clean, shaved, toothpaste because of the control. They came shaved, but without a penny. It was selfish and only in his interest in order not to be ashamed of his workers. What they did at the one from V*** (name of the village kept secret), he bought them two litres of plonk a day."* We have often encountered similar cases during our field research. Life in the settlement is not as transparent as it may look from "behind the wall". There exist hidden mechanisms of mutual support and understanding, but also exploitation and sponging on the poverty of "degeš" group of people.

"Degeš" represents the lowest person in the traditional Roma caste system, who does not comply with the rules of ritual purity and other norms. The term is also used as an insult. Degeš clans, for example, ate impure kinds of meat (David, 2004). Degeš group paradoxically have the greatest degree of social distance between them. Fraud, thefts and violent manifestations are spread among the poorest. An old Roma saying states that "A Romany would not steal from the Romany". However, we have met the opposite during our research. The most valuable material is of course inevitably important wood. It serves not only as heating material in winter months, but it is also important in any activity in the kitchen, as they have no electricity in the poorest huts. The fact that thefts occur is

confirmed by the following words: *"It happens that something disappears ... They steal ... When parents send them that they have nothing to heat with. It happened to me that a ten or twelve-year-old kid stole metal plates which I kept in the back."* Or a similar statement: *"The Romany help each other, but on the other hand, they fight. I help you with wood, but in the morning, there will be none. I chased one at half past ten at night. Ten or eleven-year-old boy, I would break his leg. And they steal all the time and even come to sell it me! I said: "Well, I'm taking it." He emptied the barrow and I shouted: "Get out, it is mine!" He shouted that he would call his father. "Call him, but it is mine!" I replied.*

The "middle class" of the settlement consists of working Romany, who have found work in various fields - from community social workers and teaching assistants to skilled masons, or other craftsmen. A special position is taken by pastors of religious communities. Representatives of the "middle class" manifest distance towards "entrepreneurs" as well as "degeš". We have also noticed the smallest social distance towards the majority population in this group. The representatives of this group understand the contempt of the poor Romany ("degeš") by the majority, but at the same time they condemn illegal exploitative practices of "entrepreneurs": *Some of our Romany tell me: you are not Romany anymore, you are a gadjo. I can excuse poverty, but I don't like dirt ... So in my free time, I have to go and I cannot be afraid of visiting the ("degeš") family. I tell them: "You are young woman! And you bear and you bear those kids! But they are not from love; they are from stomach, so that they nurture you!"* The evidence supporting the distance between the individual layers of the Roma population is demonstrated by the testimony of a Roma women living in the city, in the asylum house: *"I don't like a lot of things. I would imagine it like this. Although I'm a Gypsy, I wish these people were not here. Bang and they are not here anymore ... These people will never become better. When they cook, they would take that bucket (pointing at it), they do not throw things into a container, but they make mess ... I suffer because of their mistakes. They bear children all their lives. All their life they receive benefits, maternity allowance. One or two of them go to work."*

As we have already mentioned, the social distance of the individual layers of the Roma community is clearly visible at the entrance to the village. "Middle class" and "entrepreneurs" do not understand the reason for our visit to "degeš" and they tend to persuade us not to visit this part of the community for various reasons: for example the threat of disease or uselessness of the visit, whereas members of the "middle class" consider themselves to be "experts on the life of degeš", and so they can provide

any information that "degeš" would provide themselves. "Entrepreneurs" expect the researcher will not go past, but will visit them.

Even though we are aware of the limits of our research of the selected locality (and therefore our aim is not to generalize our results), we suggest to consider the social distance within the Roma settlements in the following sense. Besides the distance between the Romany and the majority population, which is well known and described in a number of research studies (e.g. Jurásková, et al., 2002, and many other works), we can also talk about the distance between the individual social classes of the Romany themselves. In this respect, we may classify three groups: "entrepreneurs", "middle class" and "degeš". A separate group consists of members of religious communities, churches or sects.

The distance of the middle class, which avoids both "degeš" and "entrepreneurs" and has the majority population as its model, seems to be the most significant. Attitudes of its members towards other groups of the Romany seemed to be even more decided than the attitudes of the majority. Other groups perceive the representatives of "middle class" as *gadjos* rather than the Romany. "Middle class" is significantly closer to the majority also by its way of life. In the village, it is even difficult to distinguish whether it is a house of the Romany or of the member of the majority population (if we did not take into account that the communities are separated by a fence). "Middle class" participates in common employment positions, where a member of the majority is usually their superior. Members of the majority population, however, do not distinguish the Romany; they perceive them as a homogeneous group.

Although "entrepreneurs" distance themselves from both the "middle class" and "degeš" groups, they need them as a target group for their "business activities". "Entrepreneurs" are financially independent from the majority population (compared to the other two classes); they rarely come into contact with each other.

"Degeš" distance from another "degeš", they do not consider themselves as members of this class. They perceive "entrepreneurs" positively, despite the fact that they realize they profit at their expense, but it is often the only option how to survive in extreme poverty conditions. They meet the "middle class" only if its member works as social workers or assistants, or teaching assistants.

We have used the term "**settlement culture**" to define internal organization of the Roma community. It is a complex area characterized by high degree of social stratification, which is closely interdependent. It's

not just family ties (often dysfunctional; as in imaginary hierarchy of families wealthier layers do not come to contact with poor ones) or locally - geographically defined (that is, segregated areas separated from the dwellings of majority by a natural or artificially created barrier), but this is about an important goods exchange or literally usury business. Triple marginalization of the poorest is perceived as the most visible manifestation of absolute poverty of Slovak society in the 21st century.

4 TRADITIONAL ROMA CULTURE - MYTH OR REALITY?

The answer to this clear and easy question offers several explanations. Firstly, we had to deal with the phenomenon of culture itself and its perception. The most challenging was to combine a "complex" Tylor's definition the way it least contradicted with Geertz's attitude. Finally, we decided to adopt thoughts and opinions of either of them and to slightly modify them. Tylor sees culture as a complex whole that encompasses law, morals, customs, traditions, religion, etc. (whole class of cultural phenomena), which a man acquired as a member of society. It is thus not an innate form, but extrasomatic level. Geertz sees this perception as too broad. He thinks that it is more adequate to perceive culture in a reductionist way – by focusing on certain sectors of socio-cultural reality from which we can paradoxically learn more. What has inspired us the most in Geertz's work? It is undoubtedly his individual style of literary expression and interpretation. He gained many supporters due to it, but also opponents who questioned scientism of his perception and explanation of cultural phenomena.

We were facing a difficult task. How can we bring a complex image of the Roma culture, when each part deserves a separate habilitation thesis? In this respect, an almost forgotten work of Samuel Augustini ab Hortis *Zigeuner in Hungary* helped us. This enlightened man (devoted among other things to mineralogy - his collection was known also abroad), a native from under the Tatras, devoted to the study of Roma culture in the times of Hungary. He collected and summarized irreplaceable and invaluable material about their life in the eighteenth century. He served as a major springboard for our work. In the years 1775 - 1776, 39 continuations of his monograph were published in Viennese *Anzeigen*. He believed he would provide a picture for future generations, as he predicted absolute assimilation of the Roma people in Hungary. Surely, he would have wondered when, after more than two centuries, he had found out that not only the Romany were still there, but also the problems that the then Hungarian society had struggled with had not disappeared yet. How big could have been his surprise if he had learned that, in the area of

Eastern Slovakia, there did not exist a complex work that would approach his monograph.

We decided to expand the knowledge of the culture of the Romany by the sphere of helping professions. Field social work is an integral part of municipalities with marginalized or separated concentrations. We believe that a social worker needs to know socio-cultural particularities of the target group. His work is much more difficult, if he does not know to orient himself in the given environment. In our book, we have therefore tried to describe the current legal documents, for example, the so-called pillars of the Roma reform or changes and revisions of legislation in helping citizens who find themselves in material need. The above mentioned has served as an object of analysis, especially in the first chapter of the work.

Our main objective was to provide an overview of the current image of culture of Roma communities in Podtatranský region in the context of social work. The work is not a result of the entire research team work or financially supported project. This is the field we have examined and analysed individually. But we have to admit that the timing of data collection for Atlas of Roma communities helped us, as we were a member of the research team in Poprad District. We could select more easily the representative locations for our research. We have decided to include our selection in the so-called external typology of Roma settlements. The city of Poprad represented the culture and life of the Romany living integrated. In the text, we also touched the issue of the concentration of poverty in the environment of a city, which has significantly different meanings compared to the rural environment. The village of Kravany (where we lived our childhood) is characterized by its separated concentration. The Roma community has lived here from time immemorial, although in the territory of the village, but located at the very end. We considered segregated settlement very sensitively. Our activity would have been considerably more difficult without a key informant. A field social worker from the Roma community in Hranovnica helped us a lot. He received us not only "under his protective wings", but also in his house, where we were staying in the summer of 2013.

The second chapter represents a detailed description of the history of surveyed villages and the town of Poprad. In each of the villages, we had access to the chronicles where we collected the data. We analysed the City Chronicles of Poprad in the State regional archives of the Ministry of

Interior of the Slovak Republic in Poprad – Spišská Sobota⁴⁷ under the direction of the archivist doctor Zuzana Kollárova.

The third chapter of the work is the most extensive in terms of content. It analyses ab Hortis' data, compares them to the current situation and tries to implement them in the context of helping professions. We went through open data coding and their categorization. We analysed the enlightenment work and interpreted it by the means of *thick description*. We often used verbatim testimonies of people living in settlements, so that we brought the reader closer to the atmosphere and socio-cultural perceptions of regulations by inhabitants themselves. When interpreting, we used the general scheme of ethnographic analysis:

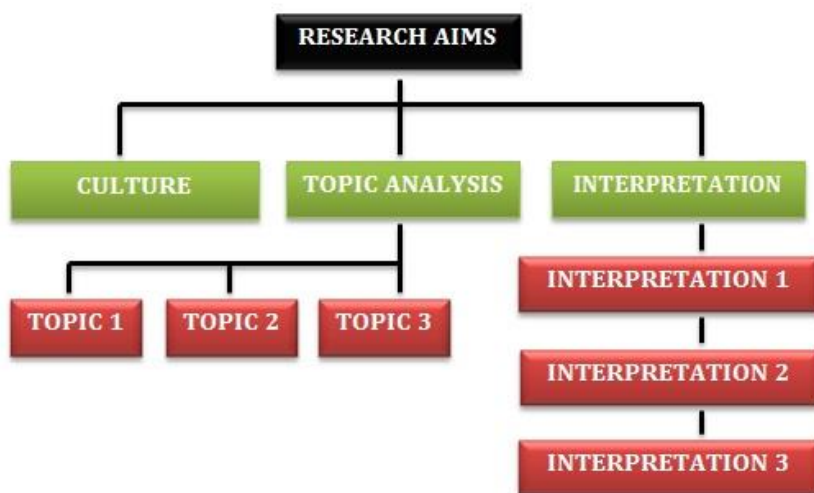


Figure 15 General scheme of ethnographic analysis

The following sections will summarize previous findings described in detail in the second and third chapters. Originally, we were thinking of including a summary in each individual subchapter about a particular socio-cultural regulation. However, we abandoned this idea and decided to summarize the class of cultural phenomena separately. We believe it will allow the reader to navigate easily through the conclusions.

⁴⁷ Information from the chronicles was partially published in our monograph (Not) guilty and gadjo dilo (2013). We have completed the data in the work and put them into context of its focus.

4.1 CONCLUSION OF RESULTS

To what extent can the results be generalized? We can talk about the application of the nomothetic approach in our study only in a strictly defined local community of surveyed localities. The largest differences in cultural phenomena were observed in the rural and urban environment. Segregated and separated locations and their residents do not differ very much in the perception of individual spheres of life. Our findings cannot be applied to the entire territory of Eastern Slovakia. It is essential that our work had a continuous character and completed the information on the Wallachian *Romipen* (Romahood, author's note). The findings are based on our long-term stay in the field and are based solely on observation, interviews, and stay in the settlements. Key findings will appear in chronological order inspired by Augustini and his work *Gypsies in Hungary*.

Appellations of the Romany and speculations about the origin of their home country

- The Romany themselves sensitively distinguish the ethnonym Gypsy versus Romany. Romany is synonymous with dignity and respect; Gypsy with lies and inferiority.
- The poorest have no knowledge of their own history. Middle and upper classes do not know the origin with certainty, too. Speculations represent a wide range – from the tribes of Israel through Hungary to India.

Education

- A common feature of all the classes is a strong relationship with the children and family.
- The poorest parents, despite the unquestionable love of children, fail to provide adequate living conditions. Such children are brought up by the "street" and they come home only when they are hungry, thirsty or want to sleep. In this case, we can talk about the culture of poverty and not about a cultural feature.
- Education of children in the Christian mission Maranata represents a specific approach. Children are led to believe from early childhood not only by their parents, but also by other members of the religious group.
- Parents do not support further study of their children. The reasons are several: fear of the unknown environment, distrust of the educational institutions of the majority, but also financial profit of families (starting a family, cohabitation).

Food and eating

- *Gója* - traditional Roma food from the past is not prepared any more. This is the *food of poverty*, also known by the older residents of the majority and called "fl'aky" in their dialect.
- The most popular food is *risky* (schnitzel), some Romany referred to *halušky* (dumplings) as to their national dish.
- The only traditional snack is called *marikl'a*. This flat cake is popular mainly among socially disadvantaged families, who cook most often dry dishes and pasta.

Houses and housing

- A typical example of social stratification of settlement - from luxury houses to almost hundred-year-old shacks.
- Interior is mostly clean in each class of the community, filled with religious artifacts, modest decorations, artificial flowers – a "pleasant kitsch".
- Holy images and idols, however, are not present in the houses of members of the mission Maranata.

Household utensils and chores

- Seasonal tools - buckets, *rafáč* (a tool, often from iron, used for picking berries - especially blueberries), working tools related to kind of works performed (e.g. digging).
- Male and female chores are not specifically delimited.

Clothing

- Determined by the social position of the community member, an important sign of status.
- Emphasis on *designer clothes* even among members of Maranata.
- Shopping in second-hands, Chinese shops, charity.
- Contact with the majority (post office, school, shop, etc.) activates the poor to care for their look.

Sources of livelihood and skills

- Manual labour – most often construction works - masonry, painting and ancillary works (landscaping, digging, etc.).
- Forestry –planting trees, cleaning the forest.
- Seasonal works - gathering blueberries, cranberries, raspberries, mushrooms.
- Minor municipal services.

- Preaching, pastors - mission Maranata.

Anatomy and physical appearance

- Different anatomy compared to the Wallachian Romany occupying the west and south of Slovakia.
- Human beauty visible at every step – among the rich as well as the poor.
- No records of obesity or malnutrition.

Character

- Hospitality.
- Empathy.
- Mirroring of ourselves - good and bad – hurting and helping - positive and negative – not the Romany - not the majority.

Fortune-telling and witchcraft

- Weakening of traditional customs and fading away of the elements of fortune-telling and witchcraft.
- However, belief in "subduing" ("cursing from the eyes") still remains.
- Belief in folk medicine (Hranovnica).
- Knowledge of the occultism (Kravany).

Natural skills and abilities

- Any enumeration could sound like stereotyping and unsupported assertions. Again, mirroring of the society - clever and clumsy, lazy and hardworking, talented at sport - good at science, and the like.

Music talent

- *Phurikane gil'a* (old Roma songs, author's note.) disappear from Podtatranský region.
- Gospel boom - Maranata.
- Popular musical ensembles include local groups from Teplička, Slovenská Ves, Miro - Marián and others.
- Traditional musical instruments are replaced by modern, keyboards.

Literature and talent to sciences

- Aversion to works written in the Romani language, the dialect that the Roma children do not understand.

- Significant lack of interest in reading literature in general.
- An exception is the Bible and literature on Roma issues - Maranata.

Military service

- "Dead domain" - included in the research only because of Augustini ab Hortis' chapter.
- Memories of compulsory military service remain alive and Roma men highly appreciate it.
- Heroism of Roma partisans is well known (Hranovnica).

Religion

- A significant departure from the Catholic faith of the majority.
- "Breeding ground" for missions, religious groups and sects.
- Specific nature of the community in Hranovnica.
- Changing the way of life - coffee, cigarettes, interior decoration - no idols, gospel music only.
- This sphere requires considerable attention. Despite several works dealing with the religiosity of the Romany, there have not been carried out any researches that would map the relationship between members and non-members for example of the Mission Maranata in one municipality. Potential impacts on the community and especially on the children in the future remain unexplored.

Language

- Great diversity of dialects of neighbouring municipalities.
- Differences in words collected by Augustini ab Hortis.
- It is worth considering strengthening of minority education - textbooks, teaching aids, and the like.

Internal organization

- Social distance:
 - "entrepreneurs",
 - "middle class",
 - "degeš".
- Usury - change of financial "aid" to goods.
- The specific status of members of the mission Maranata.

Diseases and death

- Animism is present in every *social class*, even irrespective of religion or belonging to a religious group.
- Guarding of the dead completely disappeared. The reason is building the houses of mourning in the villages of Hornádska valley and developing services related to the departure for the eternal rest.
- Accompanying at the last trip is important for every Romany. They even participate in funerals of members of the majority.
- They rarely put personal belongings of the deceased to the coffin.
- Customs at funerals do not differ from the traditions of the majority.
- At the time of our stay (2012 - 2013), we observed an increased incidence of tuberculosis cases.
- Low life expectancy. We seldom find people over seventy in the settlement.
- Canine fat is still used for treatment of pulmonary complications.
- Belák (2013) provides more information on the health condition of the population of the settlements, also in Poprad.



Figure 16 Sunset in settlement

4.2 FIELD SOCIAL WORK IN ROMA COMMUNITIES

Field social work in Roma communities occupies a specific position in the current typology of social work methods. We can observe the shift in theoretical background in expert literature. *Never ending* project of field social work in villages has an influence on the genesis of the method development. Its specificity lies in the fact that if the project proves successful, its sustainability can be ensured systemically by a given country, department or locality. But it does not work like this in the local conditions here. In the last year of operation of the project, all participants - state, municipality, social workers and their assistants, but especially clients - are worried about its future. This awaits us in the upcoming year 2015. We agree that the need for it is necessary. It may be important as an extended arm of control of poverty for the state and municipalities, a source of livelihood for social workers and an integral part of aid for many clients in need (unfortunately, in some cases only the directive adjoining humiliation).

Is it possible to define rules and instructions on how to proceed most adequately with the field work in such a specific environment that settlements undoubtedly are? A pioneer in this domain is Navrátil (2003), who defines the so-called pillars of social work with the Roma national minority. The pillars are numerous - on one hand, piles of social work, on the other hand a Roma reform. Is it possible to adopt generally binding rules so that the imaginary bridge of understanding between majority and minority did not fell down? Examples of good practice exist, but they are few.⁴⁸ However, they have a common denominator: quality cooperation between the state, municipality, field social workers and their assistants. But if the state adopts controversial legislative rules and the Social Development Fund bureaucratises, if municipal authorities prepare a poor plan for community development and social workers are recruited only on the basis of nepotism and not on the basis of qualifications for the job, we cannot expect quality results.

In our monograph (Kozubík, 2013), we have defined some rules that a social worker in the Roma community should keep in mind:

- 1) NOSCE TE IPSUM (from Latin 'Know yourself', author's note) - Navrátil (2003) also considers the self-knowledge necessary. A person, who does not like himself, cannot like miserable and

⁴⁸ Examples of successful activities at local level aimed at improving the situation of the Romamy can be found in the work: MUŠINKA, A. 2012. *We have succeeded*. Prešov: Prešov University, 2012. 198 pp. ISBN 978-80-555-0531-2.

needy. If you are prejudiced and stereotyped, you are not a good candidate. Therefore, we suggest taking into account personal and "life" attitudes of candidates as selection criteria for the post of field social workers. A combination of humanity and expert information is a necessity.

- 2) COMPLEX KNOWLEDGE OF THE ROMA MINORITY – we humbly believe that this is where we have filled the empty blank space of the forms of contemporary Roma culture. Social work is interdisciplinary. If you lack knowledge of relevant legislation, the client easily "tricks" you and instead of activation works he throws a shovel and goes to study, and so on. If you do not know anything about the culture of poverty and anthropological theory of cultures, how can you understand the context of life in the settlements? If you do not know the history of the Roma minority and basics of Romani, how can you gain honour and respect?
- 3) POWER IN SOCIAL WORK - The institute of a special beneficiary gives considerable power to the hands of municipalities and their delegated social workers. We have witnessed unpleasant directives bordering with dressage. It is imperative for social workers to have regular supervision and socio-psychological training. It is extremely important to develop a system of the quality of work measurement for the future.
- 4) SISYPHEAN SOCIAL WORK – a renowned sociologist Keller (2011, p. 123) believes that social work faces an impossible task. If social inclusion does not rest on professional inclusion, it is doomed to eternal inclusion. It can only believe that the social work will continue to be a profession helping the needy people, the poor and vulnerable and not an extended arm of state power, which will "keep the underclass under control".

If we all could live the mystery of love hidden in the opening quotation of the work "... love thy neighbor as thyself...", we would not have to worry that smile, understanding and humanity would disappear. Please, do not forget it ...

CONCLUSION

The way in which Monet painted the garden in Giverny is unique and unrepeatable. If thousands of painters were standing next to each other and were representing the identical model, none of their portraits would be the same. Metaphorically, artists could be likened to researchers exploring culture in context of symbolic anthropology or new ethnography. Conclusions of the researches representing the same phenomenon could have different character of interpretative quality, and according to radical opponents, also validity of such conceived research reports. However, the disadvantage of *thick description* and its supporters is at the same time its biggest benefit – not only lengthy coding, introducing categories into relationships, or statistical hypothesis verifying are important, but it depends mostly on the power of scientific imagination enabling to understand life of unknown people. Clifford Geertz sees anthropology as “soft science” in which the word “to verify” is too strong. Pursuit of culture knowledge should not arise only from description of primeval forest tribe traditions or from the providing an artifact of African warriors, but it should arise mostly from the fact to what extent the researcher is able to clarify what is happening in such communities and what is the cause for such acting. We modestly believe that knowing life in segregated locations and our findings can be valuable for field social work that lies in discovering utilitarian core of life strategies of people living in these communities.

To understand other people's culture means to reveal their “normality” without lowering their uniqueness. We may agree with this Geertz' idea. By understanding the activity of Moroccans themselves, these Africans seemed to him more logical and more unique. Our experience is also similar and it is superimposed by sincerity and immediacy of the poor Romany. Moral dilemmas of usefulness of our work accompanied us from the very first ideas and suggestions leading us to write it. Is the work itself only one step of our professional growth? Or, is it a personal and spiritual growth as well? How will the specific conclusions arising from the field research help the Romany in settlements? Samuel Augustini ab Hortis himself realized that solving problems is not in Romany segregation but in knowing these people which will enable to create better conditions for their life. The first steps of a successful progress are self-knowing multiplied by knowledge of cultural differences in the environment of settlements. We believe this is our main contribution.

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