Chapter 6 Razor blades amidst the velvet? Changes and continuities in the Gypsy experience of the Czech and Slovak lands

Chris Powell, Lecturer in Criminology, University of Wales

'Velvet' is the word widely used in order to describe the manifestly dramatic events which have taken place in the Czechoslovak lands since 1989. The argument is that given the collapse of a political and economic system which had been in place for forty years, followed four years later by the Czech/Slovak schism, potential catastrophes have been kept at arm's length by a combination of good will and calm heads. Clearly there is some truth in this version of events. This region has avoided the kind of militarised conflict which has plagued the old Yugoslavia, Chechenia and Azerbaijan, while the divide provided the opportunity for the newly formed states to respond to changed circumstances at the pace each preferred. Hence the Czech Republic could follow Prime Minister Klaus down the free market route just as fast as the West would permit, whilst Slovakia under Prime Minister Meciar was more reluctant to cast aside what many there regarded as benefits deriving from the old 'socialised' means of production. Velvet Revolution has, it appears, been followed by Velvet Divorce. It is clear, however, that such a cosy view ignores substantial numbers of people who have been adversely effected by the changes in economic terms. It is even more clear that it ignores the plight of the Gypsies, or *Roma,* whose situation has deteriorated in almost every way since 1989.

This was not, of course, the way it was meant to be. The activists in the struggle against the Communists were well aware of the adverse circumstances which most Roma endured under that regime. For example, Vaclav Havel (1982), prior to the Velvet Revolution had described the public attitude towards Gypsies in Czechoslovakia as somewhere between indifference and racism. The communist state in his view had done little or nothing to counter this attitude. "Czechoslovakia", Havel asserted, "demands a more enlightened and more tolerant policy". Charter '77 (Havel

1982) proclaimed "Gypsies are the least protected citizens – a third world culture in the midst of a European Culture" and went on to assert: "Rights and freedoms should benefit all people regardless of their nationality or ethnic origins. Belonging to a certain nationality or race cannot be a reason for limiting a persons rights or depriving him of his rights". The implication was that Gypsies merited ethnic status, something the communist regimes of Poland and Hungary had acknowledged but Czechoslovakia had not. In the course of the Velvet Revolution Roma had close ties to the Civic Forum (an outgrowth of Charter '77) and both Czech and Slovak states have enshrined the above principles in their respective new constitutions.

One might have hoped, then, that such political liberation would lead to steady improvements in the broader social circumstances of Roma. However, if we consider some basic social stratificatory variables we find that such is by no means the case. In 1989 Kostelancik observed that 36 per cent of all Romani households lived in one room buildings. Such is still the case. The Romani population is overwhelmingly concentrated in what are officially recognised to be the worst housing conditions.

Roma have been and are heavily employed in seasonal occupations, by definition somewhat tenuous and insecure, and in reality poorly paid. Kalibova (1992) has demonstrated that Romani people born in 1980 can expect to live approximately thirteen years less than can non-Gypsies. In terms of education it is still the case that only 29 per cent of them advance to vocational schools (Kostalancik 1989). The number of Roma entering higher education establishments is minimal and those teaching in such places virtually non-existent. Truancy rates are over eight times higher than those for non-Gypsies. Over a quarter of all Romani children are officially in special schools. As 20 per cent of all Romani children are officially designated as mentally retarded, this is perhaps predictable. Officially the Romani proportion of the overall population (4 per cent) is responsible for half the robberies, 60 per cent of the thefts and 20 per cent of overall crimes (Ulch 91). Such data parallel the Communist period during which Gypsies accounted for three quarters of all charges laid for endangering the morals of youth and a quarter of those for parasitism. Arguably then 'over-criminalised' by regimes old and new, Roma have remained massively over-represented amongst the imprisoned population for whom conditions have remained quite appalling.

Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect that in a period of rapid change such inequalities could be reduced in a short space of time. The status of Roma as an 'underclass' was by no means the product of the Communist Regime and hence should not be expected to alter as an automatic spin-off from its demise. Rather, the history of the Roma in the Czech and Slovak lands is one of continuous oppression since the mid sixteenth century when legislation was passed to expel them on the alleged grounds that they were spying on behalf of the Turks. The later part of the following century found the regime ravaged by the aftermath of the Thirty Years War. Guy (1975) refers to the country as "depopulated, plague-ridden, starving and continually troubled by serf uprisings and robber bands recruited from discharged soldiers. Meanwhile the Turks (and French) mounted new and more menacing attacks. It was a terrible time for Roma." Many Gypsies were expelled but many others, less 'fortunate' were slaughtered and their corpses left hanging from trees on the borders to deter future immigration.

Guy tells that this kind of persecution collapsed throughout the Hapsburg Empire in the eighteenth Century. The Age of Enlightenment was defined by attempts being made to transform lands into national and 'rational' centralised states. The intention as far as Roma were concerned was to transform them into productive peasants ultimately controlled by the state. Such attempts at assimilation were proceeded by the provision of new houses and compulsory employment. To 'rational' ends then, Roma were to be prohibited from travelling and from owning wagons and horses. Furthermore they were forbidden to wear 'outlandish' clothes.

People were officially forbidden to speak the Romani language and Gypsies became abolished linguistically, to be reconstituted as 'New Farmers'. Happily all these assimilatory measures collapsed only (less happily) to be superseded by routine harassment of Roma throughout the nineteenth century. For example, they were required to register with the local police who very often tried to 'escort' them off their patch. In the 1920s Roma shared with convicted thieves the doubtful distinction of being required to carry identity cards. This was part of an attempt to restrict nomadism – a practice which became illegal unless formally sanctioned by the local police and local authority. The Nazi period brought about another, albeit a more 'successful' attempt at exterminating the Roma. Whilst those in the Slovak lands avoided this fate, the Czech-based Roma were virtually eradicated.

The post-war Communist government promised that anti-Gypsy discrimination would not be tolerated. The preferred form of social control became assimilation again. With this objective in mind, in the 1950s laws were passed aimed at the remaining minority of nomads, denying them the right to travel. Wheels were forcibly removed from carts and wagons and horses were shot. Even the Czech Circus was affected. This law on restricting movement could be applied to Roma who just happened to be travelling somewhere or visiting friends or relatives. Those officially categorised as nomads could be imprisoned for terms ranging from six months to three years. Essentially whilst such measures succeeded to some extent in limiting Romani patterns of movement, they failed to achieve assimilation. Indeed, rendering the population static resulted in the institutionalisation of the special segregation of Roma in terms of amenities and low quality settlements or ghettos.

The negatively differentiated treatment of the Romani populations of the Czech and Slovak lands thus needs to be understood in terms of important continuities. Whether by elimination or assimilation the intent has been to inhibit Romani autonomy and the outcome to consign Roma to the bottom of the social stratificatory heap. The aftermath of the Velvet Revolution and Divorce has further worsened the situation of the Roma.

It is abundantly clear that both the Czech Republic and Slovakia are currently rife with expressions of anti-Gypsy racism. This racism manifests itself in a wide variety of areas. For example, on the streets, people point to Roma, pull faces at them and obviously avoid them. One woman I was with visibly shuddered when she saw them. Everyone had a ready off-the-peg anecdote to tell about Gypsy criminality. Gypsy visibility on street corners, in city centres and on public transport (perhaps especially public transport) is a matter for public concern. Graffiti proclaiming 'Gypsy free area' are common. In public places such as pubs, clubs, discos and restaurants Roma

have been effectively blacklisted by many businesses. Signs contrary to the constitution declaring "Gypsies not welcome" have been ignored by local authorities. More blatantly Roma have had dogs set on them when they have attempted to go into bars. Owners typically deny their own prejudices. One restauranteur, for instance, was reported in the *Prague Post* in 1992 as excusing himself by saying: "Germans come to the restaurant, see them [the Gypsies] and leave".

Racism also occurs at sporting events. For example, soccer clubs from places like Trnava and Kosice (where there are relatively high proportions of Roma) are subjected to the kinds of racist chants most British soccer fans are used to hearing directed at black players.

There has also been a dramatic intensification in anti-Gypsy feelings amongst young people. Most obviously and violently skinheads have taken and continue to take their anti-Gypsy sentiments onto especially (but by no means exclusively) the Prague streets, calling for gas chambers to be introduced for the 'impure' race. A Ku Klux Klan group has been established. Possibly more worryingly, Nougayrede (1992) reported an upwardly mobile, rather "Americanised group of sixteen and seventeen year olds in Prague". They consider the slogan 'Foreigners out!' to be intolerable. "Tolerance and friendship between people ... especially the Europeans" they chant in unison but they make major exceptions to the rule, especially in the case of Gypsies, although not liking "Gypsies doesn't make you a racist, they assert serenely!" This kind of casual racism is allowed to seem normal. In the course of a televised beauty contest, one young woman quite matter of factly observed that her ambition was to become a lawyer so that she could help her community get rid of all the 'dirty' Gypsies. Her interviewer gave no indication that this was in any way controversial. The media indeed plays its part in expressing and reproducing anti-Gypsy prejudices. It has, for instance, run campaigns linking Roma with diseases such as typhoid. Furthermore, the crime-reporting policy has been to identify the ethnic origins of people involved only on the occasions when Roma have been the offenders, ignoring such an ethnic dimension when the victims have been Roma.

The police have proved to be reluctant to act where violence has been targeted against Roma. Indeed, such is their anti-Gypsy reputation that Romani victims often decline to report incidents for fear of becoming doubly victimised. Those events which are reported are by no means automatically recorded and those which are recorded are left bereft of their ethnic dimension. Helsinki Watch (1992) has provided evidence to the effect that the police routinely interact aggressively with Roma and regularly conduct unauthorised searches of their houses. Express efforts have been made to 'cleanse' the streets of Roma, especially in tourist areas and in those areas where businesses wish to locate themselves. The police might also use the low credibility of Roma as a good opportunity to steal from them. It seems that many police officers use coercive measures against Roma as a means of re-establishing their credibility amongst the population at large. In recent years a number of businesses have been established offering private 'security services'. The so-called 'black' sheriffs are developing a real reputation for their vigorous anti-Gypsy actions. Public opinion polls indicate that 85 per cent of Czechoslovaks wanted Roma to be excluded from their neighborhoods and 92 per cent believe that all Gypsies are

criminals. Hardly anyone could countenance having a Gypsy as a friend and 83 per cent believed that Gypsies should be denied all welfare benefits.

Such rampant racism is both rooted in and reproduces the social stratificatory characteristics identified above. Since the two 'velvets', for example, Romani housing conditions have actually declined. Helsinki Watch (1992) found that throughout the region landlords had felt at liberty to remove windows and turn off electricity and water supplies so that Roma would be forced out of their apartments. In terms of the labour market those state employment agencies, whose responsibility it is to enforce equal rights legislation, largely fail to do so. They 'justify' advertising jobs with private companies which expressly exclude Gypsies in terms of avoiding mutually embarrassing encounters. However, positions in the public sector are also openly declared as not for Gypsies. Whilst legislation prohibits firms from requiring job applicants to identify their ethnic origins, in practice Roma are required to declare themselves as Gypsies. Finally, Roma are experiencing new forms of discrimination in formal educational terms. In 'mixed' schools their children are often segregated 'for hygiene reasons'. Increasingly 'dirty' children are sent home. This results in the state withdrawing welfare payments from their parents for refusing to send their children to school! One has to draw the conclusion that since the Velvet Revolution and Divorce, the structural position of the Roma has deteriorated. There is a tendency, perhaps understandably, for concern over the treatment of the Czech and Slovak Gypsies to be focused on manifest expressions of violence and symbols of such violence. It is relatively easy for liberals in the West to be horrified by the racist graffiti which is now commonplace and by the knowledge that skinhead razor gangs frequently rampage through towns and cities looking for Gypsies. Consciences are almost as easily pricked by an awareness of the discriminatory practices identified earlier. The reality is, however, that the latter are potentially dialectically linked with the structural location of the Gypsies.

'Potentially' is the key word here. Throughout the Communist period the Gypsies in structural terms constituted an 'underclass'. The Romani activist Scuchka (1993) refers to a situation of "State Racism". During that time, the official policy of assimilation required, however, that discrimination against Roma should remain relatively invisible. Whilst anti-Gypsy prejudices were held and expressed by a large proportion of the public, discriminatory powers were substantially within the control of the state. The state-controlled media restricted overt anti-Gypsy output and the authorities stamped down hard on public acts of violence against Roma. In an important sense the collapse of the communist state has 'liberated' people; they are now free (and are more likely to have the power) to discriminate and indeed to engage in physical violence. Scuchka observes that state racism has been replaced by citizen racism. It is now in the open.

However understandable, Scuchka's conclusion is, it is somewhat limited. 'Citizen racism' is not a product of 'natural' impulses which any given state can inhibit as it chooses. Citizen racism cannot be analysed in isolation. It has to be understood in terms of a complex interplay between state, economy and global politics. A given state may attempt to inhibit, release or wash its hands of citizen racism but it makes its attempt within a far broader context which determines the parameters seeming to limit the 'choice' of the Czech and Slovak states appear to an alternation between

'handwashing' and 'releasing'. Many changes which have adversely effected Roma have been (on the surface at least) brought about by the state. Although skinhead razor violence has been publicly denounced, no measures have been forthcoming to deal with it. Indeed Leicht (1992) alleges that in at least one Bohemian town officials have gone so far as to engage skinheads to help in guaranteeing security and order. Police have been all too willing to victimise Roma in promoting the interests of more powerful social groups. Both the Czech and Slovak states have been quite prepared to break and bend their own rules when the issue concerns Gypsies. The case of employment rights has already been commented on. It is also the case that contrary to law 'Gypsy registers' have been compiled in some areas. Peoples' houses have been illegally entered and some Roma have been forcibly removed from the Czech Republic. In Slovakia a local authority imposed a curfew on Roma who were not allowed on the streets between the hours of 11pm and 4.30 am. The local police chief observed that this was illegal but effective. Apologists for the regimes argue that they are trying to contain 'citizen racism' by being seen to be actively engaged in controlling what they describe as anti-social behaviour perpetrated by Gypsies. The reality is, of course, that such state action actually legitimates rather than inhibits citizen racism. A 'kind' reading is that a strong state has been superseded by a relatively weak one, not adequately equipped and indeed somewhat reluctant to oppose public expression of opinion, even when racist. A harsher reading would be that the lack of response to citizen racism and the enacting of state-implemented racist measures is less an outcome of loss of power and more a policy designed to enhance state power. Such an account is supported by the increasing tendency for officials and researchers to make public pronouncements which are liable to promote anti-Gypsy feelings and actions. Academics for instance, now feel free (or are tacitly encouraged?) to refer to Gypsies as 'alien' and to repeat a catalogue of very familiar sounding anecdotes and prejudices.

For example Gypsies are alleged to:

- commit crimes to get a bed on a cold night
- coerce doctors into giving them false medical certificates saying they are unable to work
- breed more prodigiously than 'normal' people and thereby threaten to swamp the country
- have a large number of extended kin in limited accommodation
- not know how to live in a normal house and use the floorboards for firewood
- work with mechanical things, spoiling the neighbourhoods both visibly and audibly
- make and sell illicit alcohol
- urinate in bushes!
- dispatch the women to the tourist areas for the express purpose of prostitution.

During the communist period Charter 77 termed as 'genocide' state attempts to pressurise women into having abortions and sterilisations. There is no evidence of recent changes. Officials are still rewarded for meeting assigned sterilisation quotas and Gypsy women are given bonuses five to ten times those given to other women (Ulch 91).

Gypsies are seen as doubly deviant. They may be workshy scroungers but the state indulges them by providing undeserved welfare. For some reason provision of free buses to take Gypsy children to school (a clear social control measure, surely) seems particularly galling for those 'normal' citizens who do not get this service.

Alternatively Gypsies are seen as 'Gypsy Kings' driving around in Mercedes and mocking their less fortunate and more honest non-Gypsy neighbors. Of course, the academics are balanced. They talk of the positive aspects of Gypsy culture as well – how musical they are – perhaps they have 'natural rhythm'? (!) Such willingness to accentuate the victimisation of a social group which has been traditionally victimised bears a marked resemblance to the so called New Realism which has infected British political life throughout the past decade.

Official and quasi-official casting of the Gypsy as alien in the metaphorical sense is currently being reflected in the legal sense in the Czech Republic by their new citizenship regulations. After the Second World War many Roma were forced to leave 'shanty' homes in Slovakia to go to the Czech part of the Republic where they were employed as part of the industrial labour force. Given the virtual extermination of Czech-born Roma by the Nazis the overwhelming majority of Czech-based Roma since that time have had Slovak roots. In 1968 the Czechoslovakian Republic was fused into a federal state and every citizen assigned Czech or Slovak status according to birth. At the time that Rooker (1995) observes this did not seem very important. Regardless of where one lived, Czechoslovakian citizenship seemed to be all that really mattered.

Come the Velvet Divorce, however, this changed dramatically. Slovak-born Roma and their descendants (who may never have been to Slovakia) became obliged to apply for Czech citizenship should they wish to continue living there. The Czech state has made it clear that citizenship should be regarded as a 'gift' rather than a 'right' and has laid down criteria for the granting of citizenship which have proved very difficult for Roma to fulfill. One of these requires that applicants must have held permanent residence in the Czech Republic for five years. Zoon (1994) reports that many Roma discover that their apartments are classified as temporary rather than permanent. The 'temporariness' derives not from the length of time a property has been inhabited but from an official recognition that it is, in sanitation terms, uninhabitable. Citizenship is also refused to people with criminal convictions. The law does not distinguish between serious crimes and the petty offences of which many Roma have been convicted. Given the historical trend has been for an 'over-criminalisation' of Roma, their disadvantage is compounded. Another potential difficulty is a clause which requires that applicants have mastery of the Czech language. Whilst to date according to Rooker (1995) this does not seem to have been significant, it is clear that mastery is open to variable definition. Does the Czech language have to be the person's first language? Is the mastery required of oral or written language? What about the illiterate? What about primary Slovak speakers?

In 1994 the Tolerance Foundation interviewed ninety-nine Slovak Romani applicants for Czech citizenship. Forty-eight of them had been born in the Czech lands, the rest had lived there for up to thirty-five years. None had been able to acquire Czech Citizenship. As stateless people (applicants

have to renounce Slovak citizenship in order to apply for Czech) they became ineligible for welfare benefits from June 1994.

How can we explain the continuities in the Romani experience of discrimination and how can we explain the changes? Traditional theories of racism clearly have some value. At a sociological and a social-psychological level, for example, we must take account of the symbolic meanings the Roma have for the non-Gypsy population. Gypsies are stereotyped as unrestrained, rootless – indeed *free*. Romantic and romanticised tales of the roving life (sometimes, of course, recounted by Roma themselves) fuel these sorts of belief.

For the majority of the population this assumed freedom is the antithesis of their own life circumstances and is at one level an object of desire. The assumed holders of the freedom become objects of resentment. Jock Young (1971) put it in a different context: this hedonism is unlicensed and unmerited.

There is also perhaps an hypocritical element of resentful dependence and projection of guilt. Historically, Jewish traders and financiers faced prejudice from the very Christian population who used their services but simultaneously held them in contempt for doing so. Today, Roma provide services (alcohol provision, cheap motor repairs, unregistered labour) of which the majority population, slightly shamefacedly, take advantage while putting all the blame for illegality on the Roma.

Without defining sin, we cannot say who the saints are. If 'now' in the post-Communist era the Czech Republic is really a cultured and civilised nation ready to take its place in the bright new Europe, perhaps it is rather functional to have what Nils Christie (1984) has termed a 'good enemy' around enabling people to feel reassured as to their own virtue. 'Good enemies', of course, do not just remain so – they require combatting. In terms of the Czech Republic this is clearly happening with respect to the Roma.

Economic factors assist us with our understanding of both continuities and changes in anti-Gypsy racism. Kenedi (1986) shows how, in the communist period the poor officially had no excuse for their poverty and mainstream public consciousness saw the Gypsies as in some way degenerate. Now in the harsh new market-driven world Roma are even more likely to be scapegoated in doubly deviant terms. The few who make it are 'flash', getting above themselves, objects of envy and resentment. The majority who do not make it are to be condemned for their shiftlessness, their idleness and their stupidity.

For a society unaccustomed to it, the fear of unemployment is almost certain to generate dissatisfaction – dissatisfaction which requires an easy victim or scapegoat. For people whose wage level fails to enable them to afford the new consumer items available in the shops, seemingly unemployed and highly visible Roma constitute a predictable target for blame. It might also be argued that the nature and the sheer speed of economic change has led to a form of moral vacuum in which traditional solidarities wane and traditional hostilities wax. More contentiously this might be formulated as a suggestion that the adoption of a capitalist ideology by the state in a period of rapid change leaves it particularly susceptible to moral vacuum. Whilst officially abhorred, discrimination is both intrinsic to the logic of the system and renders considerable benefits

for those in positions of dominance within that system. Hence it may be argued that the intensification of anti-Gypsy racism in the Czech Republic is to a large extent the product of a choice made by that state to pursue the path that it did. That 'choice' was, however by no means an entirely free one, but rather a context-bound one.

An important and consistent policy objective of successive political regimes in the Czech lands has been to restrict Gypsy mobility. To the extent that the vast majority of Czech-based Roma can now reasonably be described as sedentary these policies might be said to have been successful. Nonetheless, much of the image of Gypsy culture remains that of unregulated mobility. Certainly some Roma have been mobile within Czechoslovakia and others have regularly crossed international borders. Communist policies fluctuated, proclaiming assimilation and but often achieving only ghettoisation but still repressing nomadism and discouraging mobility except when expedient for fulfilling specific localised labour needs. In the communist period, borders with the west were rigorously policed but within the old Eastern bloc some Roma did move around relatively unhindered. They followed harvests and went to warmer climates in Romania and Hungary, for example, in winter time.

In the light of contemporary developments in western Europe concerning open borders, eastern European states are increasingly coming under political and perhaps economic pressure to police their own national borders. Utrat-Milecki (1992) makes the point for Poland. "If we do not 'improve' our policy towards foreigners then the western countries will not open their frontiers for us." The 'open' borders sought during the Cold War have increasingly been restricted to those defined by the powerful as economically productive or tourists or the very rich. Governments do not intend to allow uninhibited free movement for all. The ideologically useful proclamation of open borders runs alongside attempts quietly, and sometimes not so quietly, to inhibit the movement of a variety of social and ethnic groups categorised as undesirable. In Czech public consciousness Gypsies are the archetypal mobile and disreputable section of the population -- a prime target for surveillance and control. This is reinforced by surrounding states. Austrian police have already operated in an assistance role on Slovakian soil. Agreements are also in place with Germany. An expansion of this rather one sided co-operation is likely, together with legislation which although ostensibly focused on the Romani population (which would of course virtually guarantee it almost 96 per cent support) in practice would afford the state the power to monitor general population movements both within and across borders. One Czechoslovak precedent for this kind of move was that in 1958 when the 'Nomad' legislation was passed. At that time 'everyone knew' it was meant for the Gypsies, but it did not specifically say so. In practice, the 'Nomad' legislation facilitated the control of movement of any undisciplined group the state or its functionaries felt merited control.

The collapse of the Iron Curtain has been succeeded by the construction of Fortress Europe. The borders of the old West have been rendered exceedingly tight by the implementation of rigorous anti-migration measures. One of the most important of these has been to engage the authorities of the old Eastern bloc to assist in this endeavour in exchange for various kinds of economic rewards. This assistance takes the

form of guaranteeing close monitoring of the movement of 'problematic' populations. The promise of controlling Gypsy movements provides part of the legitimisation for states such as the Czech Republic in terms of 'selling' such policies to its own citizens.

The New (Fortress) Europe promotes itself on the basis of maximising security and freedom for its citizens but can only do so by increasing levels of insecurity and control for those deemed ineligible or unwilling to accept the nationalistic and statist assumptions underpinning citizenship. Within the Fortress, Gypsies would seem to fit these categories. In the Czech Republic they are victims of internal razor gangs, racist local officials, scapegoating state politicians, local and international entrepreneurs and Fortress Europe. So much for Velvet!

References

CHRISTIE N 1984 "Suitable Enemies" Paper given to the Howard League conference, Oxford

GUY W 1975 "Ways of looking at Roms" in F Rehfisch ed. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers* Academic Press, London

HAVEL V 1982 *Human rights in Czechoslovakia* Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe, New York

HELSINKI WATCH 1992 *Struggling for Ethnic Identity* Human Rights Watch, NewYork

KALIBOVA K 1992 *Romany children in Czechoslovakia* Charles University, Prague

KENEDI J 1986 "Why is the Gypsy the scapegoat and not the Jew?" *East European Reporter*

KOSTELANCIK D 1989 "The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia" *Studies in Comparative Communism* Vol XXII, No.4

LEICHT L 1992 "Gypsies, a vulnerable minority in Europe", Paper submitted to Unicef

NOUGAYREDE N 1992 "All eyes on the New World" *The Guardian*, June 28

ROOKER M 1995 "Stateless and Marginal" paper given to conference *The Criminalisation and Victimisation of Gypsies in Europe*, Onati

SCUCHKA E 1993, quoted in *Het Parool*, (Dutch newspaper), January 13

ULCHO 1991 "Integration of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia" *Ethnic Groups* 9 (2)

UTRAT-MILECKI J 1992 "Poland, the bridge or the wall of Europe", paper given to European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control Conference, Padua

YOUNG J 1991 *The Drugtakers* Penguin, London

ZOON I 1995 *Notes on the Czech Citizenship laws* Tolerance Foundation, Prague