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**ROMAS AND OTHERS – OTHERS AND ROMAS**  
**Social Distance**

“Ivan Hadjiyski”  
Institute for Social Values and Structures

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**ROMAS AND OTHERS – OTHERS AND ROMAS**  
**Social Distance**

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## CONTENTS

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Ilona Tomova PREFACE .....	1
Dragoljub B. Đorđević ROMAS AS A TRANSBORDER ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUP .....	5
Lela Milošević, Dragan Todorović ETHNIC AUTOSTEREOTYPES AND HETEROSTEREOTYPES AND ETHNIC DISTANCE AT THE BALKANS.....	15
Dragoljub B. Đorđević SERBIAN ROMA SUFFERINGS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR (Religiological Indications and Smaller Romological Precious Contribution) .....	25
Dragoljub B. Đorđević BURYING OF ROMA: A TEST OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE .....	35
Dragoljub B. Đorđević SOCIAL, ETNIC AND RELIGIOUS DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA OF SERBIA (Empirical report for 1999-2002).....	45
Dragan Todorović, Lela Milošević, Dragoljub B. Đorđević SOCIAL DISTANCE OF ROMAS OF SOUTHEASTERN AND SOUTHWESTERN SERBIA TOWARDS MEMBERS OF OTHER NATIONS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES.....	55
Dragoljub B. Đorđević THE ROMA FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA AND “THE OTHERS” .....	63
Dragan Todorović ROMAS ABOUT OTHERS (Social Distance of the Romas from Southeast Serbia from Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians).....	75
Dragoljub B. Đorđević BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS FOR ROMA INTEGRATION .....	89
Lela Milošević SERBS ABOUT OTHERS (Social Distance of the Serbs from the Members of Other Nations, National Minorities and Ethnic Groups in Southeast Serbia) .....	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	119
NOTE ON THE ESSAYS .....	127
NOTE ON THE AUTHORS .....	129

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**The book done within the project**

**CULTURAL AND ETHNIC RELATIONS AT THE  
BALKANS – POSSIBILITIES OF REGIONAL AND  
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION (1310),**

**carried out at the Faculty of Philosophy, Niš, and  
financed by the Ministry of Science and Environment  
Protection**

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## **PREFACE**

For many decades did the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia represent itself and was accepted as a model of the modern, democratic and multicultural country in the Balkans which not only successfully persisted despite centuries of offence, distrust, conflicts and pretensions among different religious, ethnic and language communities on its territory but also united their representatives in a trans-ethnic national community by building an approximately democratic political system that ensured the equality of all the citizens of the Federation regardless of their religious and ethnic adherence. This it did also by stimulating the preservation and further development of a specific culture of all the national, ethnic and religious communities in the country. These communities were given guarantees for their equal inclusion in planning, realization and management of the basic activities determining the lives of their citizens. A great interest in the successful building of a stable multicultural federative republic in the Balkans was expected and justified thus stimulating scientific research of the religious and ethnic communities on the federal level and within the framework of each individual republic in the country.

For decades were the social scientists in former Yugoslavia known as researchers with authority of history and culture of different religious and ethnic communities in the Balkan due to their active engagement in building up and promoting effective models of integration of the minority groups into the macro-society (one has just to think of a model of intercultural development in the regions settled by the Italian and Hungarian minorities in Slovenia), due to their contribution to the preservation and studies of the cultures of the communities liable to withering away such as the A-romanian one or due to their humanist support and understanding of the problems of the newly-created minorities such as Egyptians, Ashkalis and Banyash. Their success seemed even more important if the

background of political and ideological constraints is also taken into consideration, namely, the fact that there was no such scientific research in the neighboring countries, due to the exertion of an active assimilation policy towards national minorities in Bulgaria, Romania and Greece.

Yugoslav scientists were also proud of their traditionally strong positions in their exploration of the Balkan Romas and others groups either close or derived from them. Already in 1970 did the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts treat as its priority the studies of history, culture and everyday life of Romas. Some of the most interesting research projects dealing with the fate of the Romas in the Osmanli Empire or at the Balkans are closely connected with the names of the famous Serbian historians. The anthologies are published that present poetic and fairy tale folklore of most of most of the Roma subgroups. Serious research projects are carried out exploring the problems of the Romas in obtaining a high quality education in Serbia (and Vojvodina), Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia or problems faced by the members of this marginalized group at the labor and housing markets as well as problems of social representation, social distance and prejudice towards the community.

The conflicts in the former Yugoslavia that led to its breakdown primarily focused the attention of politicians, scientists and common people upon religious differences and controversies; they somehow seem to have moved Romas problems away from the focus of public interest. At the same time, the social and economic position of Romas dramatically worsened while the low social status and the lack of experience in the political defense of the prominent requirements seem to confirm pessimistic prognoses about the Serbian society's agility for fast problem solving. In such a situation, the representatives of the Niš Romological School have undertaken, as their civil and moral obligation, the role of specific spokesmen and lobbyists of this ethnic community. They have continued to explore in the systematic way the movements in the Roma social and economic status, the influence of the discriminatory feelings of the surroundings upon the Roma life and

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the changes taking place in the ethnic and religious identity of particular Roma subgroups.

The new book by the romologists from the Niš Romological School *Romas and Others – Others and Romas* presents the preliminary results of the two subprojects, namely, “Romas as a Trans-border Ethnic and Cultural Group” and “Ethnic Auto-stereotypes and Heterostereotypes and the Ethnic Distance at the Balkans” as parts of the three-year comparative scientific-research project “Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration” carried out at the Institute for Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Niš. This book is less an attempt to present full-fledged research results; it is more a kind of invitation to new encounters that promise to be very interesting. It primarily addresses the readers who already know something about Niš School but are also less familiar with its achievements so far. That is why the authors have decided to present first and in short its profile, mission and some of its intentions and, then, in the most general way, the social and moral position they start from.

In the first two chapters they give in brief a part of the theoretical-hypothetical model of both the subprojects. On the basis of several indicators they describe the affective attitude and social distance of Serbs, Muslims, Albanians, Macedonians and Bulgarians towards Romas as well as those of Romas towards the mentioned ethnic and religious groups. They also point to the directions taken by the ongoing changes in the representations of ethnically and religiously “others” on the basis of a comparative analysis of the data obtained from the 1985 research till today. Very interesting are their attempts to measure the social distance towards Romas by means of a non-traditional indicator such as the burial place of the members of this community on the territory of Southeast Serbia but, this time, the reader’s curiosity is just aroused; no explanation of the perceived differences follows. Likewise, a peculiar illustration of the heuristic nature of the interdisciplinary approach in the exploration of a particular ethnic group is also

found in the presentation of the historic and archive material and data about the fate of Romas in Niš, Kragujevac and Leskovac during the Second World War.

All the present mosaic of data allows the reader to get at least partly familiar with the theoretical positions, methods and some of the basic results of the research work done the three interesting authors. Since the problems of Romas in other Balkan countries are similar and since the approaches to their studies are congenial, the expectation of an encounter with this publication with its presented research data is strong and honest. Great are also the expectations regarding an active cooperation of the prominent representatives of the Niš Romological School and their Bulgarian colleagues.

June, 2004

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## **ROMAS AS A TRANSBORDER ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUP**

*“Without Romas' integration in their domicile countries the chances for regional and European integration of the Balkan peoples, societies and states are poor.”*

### **TITLE OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC AND THE RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS**

*Romas as a transborder ethnic and cultural group* is the title of the research topic that is a part of the subproject entitled “Cultural and Ethnic Identities and Relations in the Balkans”. Both the topic and the subproject are the phases of a large three-year project entitled *Cultural and Ethnic Relationship at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration*, led by full-time professor Dr Ljubiša Mitrović, that is being carried out at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Niš.\*

The given research topic is realized by the team comprising Dr Dragoljub B. Đorđević, sociologist of religion and romologist, full-time professor of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty of the University of Niš, Dragan Todorović, sociologist of religion and romologist, assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Niš and Lela Milošević, sociologist of moral, assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Niš.

The research team is a good combination of the scientists with many years of theoretical-empirical experience and young associates, trained in modern methodological skills in accordance with information technology (L. Milošević). The team does not deal with the sociological study of the Romas for the first time. On the contrary, the oldest and the third member are quite ahead in their many-sided activities related to the “dark-skinned angels” within Yugoslav context. They are at the same time and with unequal contributions within the core of the so-called Niš romological school.

Since – as I once wrote in the anthology entitled *Romas at the Crossroads*<sup>1</sup> – there is not doubt about the fact that Niš has become the Serbian romological center and that the phrase “Niš romological school” is increasingly being used in the research descriptions: “The core of this school are sociologists, with associated politicologists, ethnologists, historians, linguists and publicists. The Group is not firmly structured, its members are mainly university affiliated, it does not have clear idea and platform and it is still in the process of profiling. The group has not arisen spontaneously, it is a result of intention in to, in 'fey town', firs, 'bread' strong romological core, than, develop sociological empirical research of Roma, than to improve romological publishing, and finally, to establish romology in academic institutions, namely, to establish a study group for romology, and romological institute at the University of Nis. Something of the mentioned has been advanced already, and for something we should invest hard work: Nis romological publishing is flourishing in the last ten years and, without faked humbleness, it is leading in

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\* Dragan Todorović is secretary of the project.

<sup>1</sup> Punta/DDA/KSS/Bahtalo drom, Niš 2002.

the country<sup>2</sup> by the quality and quantity; authors from Nis are the most represented in new romological bibliographies<sup>3</sup>; researches from Nis have realized or realize the biggest number of scientific projects<sup>4</sup>; teachers and associates from Nis have contributed the most on installation of romology in the academic network.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, the research team is theoretically, empirically and methodologically ready to respond to the challenges of the topic, that is, to explore, in the professional way, the problems comprised within its range and content.

#### ACTUALITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

To explore the relationship between democracy and national minorities, that is, the position of minority cultural and ethnic identities in the Balkan countries, especially in the states formed upon the ruins of former Yugoslavia, is almost impossible without paying special attention to the fate of the *Romas*. It is true that present Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (and Republic of Srpska within it), Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria and Moldavia are similar in their ways of solving the minority issue but they are absolutely identical in the following: in all these countries the Romas are pushed aside and their issues treated as marginal to the point of unbearability.

A recent study whose author is Siniša Tatalović<sup>6</sup> is permeated with a proper attitude that can be summed up as the statement that multi-ethnic societies can endure only if none of their minorities feels jeopardized in them. Following this statement, it can be claimed, quite properly, that the Romas are, at least within the Balkan region, the minority that can feel jeopardized for the longest period of time. The reasons for this are many and diverse but the crucial one among them all is the fact that they are the only ones, among many minorities, who are in the state of an *ethno-class*. This position is the most difficult to change.

The other minorities will, sooner or later, solve their "problem". It stands for Italians and Hungarians in Slovenia, Serbs in Croatia, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia and Herze-

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<sup>2</sup> For example, there are some of the titles in romology: *A Maple Tree above Head – Classical Faith and Roma-Orthodox Cemeteries in Villages*, KSE 1999; *Roma, Our Neighbors*, KSE 2000; *Roma – A Sociological Insight*, KSE, 2000; *Way Out*, DDA/JUNIR/KSS 2000; *Old Roma of Nis*, KSE 2001; *Romany-Serbian-English Dictionnaire of Religious Words and Phrases*, KSE 2001; *Roma of Grejac*, KSE 2001; *Roma – Ethnic and Religious Minority*, DDA/JUNIR/KSS 2001; *Religions of Minorities and Minority Religions*, JUNIR/Zograf 2001; *Gypsy Questionnaire – experiences, reports, recommendations*, KSE 2001; *Roma Souls – Different Paths to Roma Souls*, UN 2001; *Sociology of Roma Identity*, KSE 2002; *Roma from Nišava*, KSE 2002; *Roma on the Crossroads*, Punta/DDA/KSS/Bahtalo drom 2002.

<sup>3</sup> See: Todorović, D. (2002), *Selektivna bibliografija novijih romoloških radova (1991-2002)* (Selective Bibliography of Recent Romologist Papers /1991-2002/), *Kultura*, 103/104, pp. 213-219.

<sup>4</sup> For example, there are some researches: *Sociocultural Adaptation of the Romanies in Serbia in the Transition Processes – Integration, Assimilation or Segregation?* (1998-2000); *Religious Life of Orthodox and Muslim Romanies in Western-Southeast Serbia* (2000-2002); *The Romanies between the Srbs and Albanians in Bujanovac and Preševo (Political and cultural causes of conflicts)* (2001-2002); *Income Generating Activities for Roma People in South Serbia (Bujanovac, Vranje, Leskovac)* (2001-2002); *Romani Places of Cult and Culture of Death* (2002-2005).

<sup>5</sup> For example, there are some academic courses: *Sociology of Roma Identity*, MEF in Niš (2001-2002; 2002-2003); *Roma in Intercultural Surrounding*, AAEN in Belgrade (2001-2002; 2002-2003); *Roma between Multiculturalism and Interculturality*, SAS in N. Sad (2001-2002; 2002-2003).

<sup>6</sup> (2002), *Položaj nacionalnih manjina u Republici Hrvatskoj (Status of National Minorities in Republic of Croatia)*, in: Bašić, G. at al., *Demokratija i nacionalne manjine (Democracy and National Minorities)* (pp. 230-290), Centar za istraživanje etniciteta/Punta, Beograd/Niš.

govina, Serbs in Kosovo. Even Albanians who are now attracting everyone's attention and pushing aside the problems of numerous minorities will somehow find their place "under the sun" in Southern Serbia and the Republic of Macedonia. Under the outside pressure, that is, due to the pressure on the part of the international community and to inevitable democratization the ethnic tensions will calm down, at least for some longer period of time, between, one hand, the majority peoples and, on the other, national minorities in the states of our former homeland and the whole of the Balkans.

It is exactly the moment when the Romany issue will arise. It is assumed that their "fate" will not be solved since the need to face the truth is constantly pushed and put off. Naturally, the Romas will pose "their question" in quite an authentic way. They do not want - and neither can they - take to arms as Serbs, Croats, Muslims or Albanians did. will "equip" them with justified demands and an order that they should be fulfilled. They are *a transborder ethnic and cultural group* or, as some people already like to call it, a European minority. As such, the *Romas are a test of democracy of every society* and no state can boast with the fact that it has regulated the status of its minorities if they still feel jeopardized. Wouldn't it be fair that one of the criteria for admittance into the European Union would be the achieved level of the Romas' integration? Then, they would be the test for the whole Europe itself.

This is the general context within which I see actuality and importance of this research - Romas are truly a transborder Balkan and European ethnic and cultural group, a Balkan and European minority - also claiming that *without Romas' integration in their domicile countries the chances for regional and European integration of the Balkan peoples, societies and states are poor.*

#### SUBJECT MATTER, OBJECTIVE AND TASKS OF THE GIVEN RESEARCH TOPIC

The subject matter of the research topic refers to the Romas as a transborder ethnic and cultural group whereas the objective is to highlight their position in the socio-economic sphere, the legal-political domain and the cultural field of Serbia (always in comparison with their position in Bulgaria and Macedonia). The basic task is to arrive at, that is, to build a *model of Romas' integration* into Serbian society. (The "hidden" task of the research topic is also to contribute to the setting-up of romology at the academic level, especially that of the sociological studies.\*)

Many hold an opinion that on that road - namely, the road leading to the integration model implementation - the basic obstacle is a negative attitude of the majority population (Serbs) and other national minorities (Albanians and Bulgarians) towards Romas.

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\* However, Nis academic community (sociological of course), unbearably conservative, unwillingly accept news of any kind and it is hard open to - course, cathedra, institute - which could advance this group, secure its existence, and make it "famous" in regional, European, and even world contexts. Additionally, their main actors, due to unacceptable ignorance of contemporary university trends or simply because of human vanity, forget the fact that Nis is the biggest Roma town in Serbia. Instead of addressing "distant" problems, they should lead and support fragile intellectual forces to deal with the problems that are around us, and whose academic treatment - scientific, research, educational (high educational level), lectoral, cathedra, institutes, journals, publishing... - would be very fruitful, and recognizable in surrounding. We responsibly claim that multidisciplinary treatment of Roma national minority one of the chances of surviving, development, and promotion of certain groups, cathedras, and institute's branches within Nis University.

This attitude culminates in a highly present *ethno-religious distance* that I have personally recorded in the period from 1999 to 2002 while exploring the relationships between the Romas and the non-Romas by the socioempirical methods. In this case, what is more important than those empirical findings is the fact that I have found out that the national minorities, otherwise opposed to the majority population, are willing to share with the Serbs their attitudes towards the Romas. The Albanians, for instance, even express animosity that sometimes culminates into open racism.

In all the research projects, the starting point was the fundamental question concerning tolerance towards Romas. It culminates in the desire, that is to say, the decision to accept the believer of the same faith, though ethnically and racially different, as a relative: a wife or a husband, a sister-in-law or a son-in-law... We have assumed that, even when Romas, together with Serbs, Albanians or Macedonias, are worshipping the same god, there is still an outstandingly prominent ethnic-religious distance. There has been always the question asking: “*Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma? Would you yourself get married to a Roma?*” Let the facts speak for themselves. (Tables 1, 2, and 3)

Table 1  
(Town Nis, 2000)

*MARRIAGES*  
(Ethnic and Religious Distance)  
“*Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?*”

<i>Modality</i>	N	%
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	4	2,0
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	11	5,5
Regardless of religion and confession	27	13,5
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	158	79,0
TOTAL	200	100,0

Table 2  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001)

*MARRIAGES*  
(Ethnic and Religious Distance)  
“*Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?*”

<i>Modality</i>	Serb N / %	Albanian N / %
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	11 / 7,7	–
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	15 / 10,5	1 / 0,7
Regardless of religion and confession	18 / 12,6	2 / 1,4
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	99 / 69,2	143 / 97,9
TOTAL	143 / 100,0	146 / 100,0

N tabulated = 289  
Missing = 11

Table 3  
(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*MARRIAGES*  
(Ethnic and Religious Distance)  
“Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?”

<i>Modality</i>	N	%
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	15	5,1
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	20	6,8
Regardless of religion and confession	48	16,4
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	209	71,6
TOTAL	292	100,0

N tabulated = 292  
Missing = 8

An enormous majority of the population – the majority and the minority – manifests an ethnic-religious distance: *Romas are not welcomed for a husband or wife, daughter-in-law or son-in-law*. Even the religious or confessional affiliation does not help much. No matter if they worship the cross or the half-moon, or if they pray to Christ or Allah, or kiss the hand of the patriarch or reis-ulema or respect the priest or khoja – there is no help. Though it should be!

That is why the research would center upon the determination of the causes for stereotypes and prejudice about Romas among Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians.

#### THEORETICAL-HYPOTHETICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The theoretical-hypothetical research framework develops, in the first year of work, upon the basic *theory of interculturalism* and *M. Weber's scheme of social stratification*. The assumption is that the theory and practice of interculturalism together with the abandoning of the ethnoclass position without any conflict suit the Romas.

*Interculturalism*. The Romas are wonderful people and they can serve to us - peoples and national minorities in the states of the Balkans and of the disintegrated Yugoslavia - *as a model of practical ways of living according to the intercultural assumptions*. Paraphrasing the title of a well-known study written by Marcel Moss, Emile Durkheim's associate and heir at the Chair of Sociology at the Sorbonne – *An Essay on the Gift* – it can be said that the Romas are an example of the ethnic group ready for cultural gift-giving, for exchange, giving and taking.

And what else is interculturalism but an exchange? Of course, among Romas, this kind of behavior was not - nor is it today – rationally articulated and strategically conceived of; instead, it was a result of many centuries of living surrounded by majority ethnicities and cultures. Maybe it is a mere result of sheer struggle for survival. The people's “instinct” simply told them: *“We have always been surrounded by a majority and stronger culture, let's adopt ourselves to it, let's take from it what is good and useful and modify it in our own*

*way while giving it at the same time something that is genuinely ours, authentic – if we do that, we shall survive.”<sup>7</sup>*

It is true that the Romas have taken and accepted more than they have given and are still giving. But it is also true that they are ready for a creative cultural exchange. (For instance, I have shown it while exploring, together with D. Todorović, a Romany cult place *Zajde Badja*<sup>8</sup>; it will also be demonstrated by our treatment of another nine cult places within the project *Romany Places of Cult and Culture of Death*<sup>9</sup>.) Isn't a set of creative cultural exchanges with the Romas ranging from music to the model of the strategy for everyday survival?

The majority of people do not know that though they should. Hence the confusing ignorance of the basic attributes of Romany culture that very often and very easy turns into depreciation or even utter denial of its authenticity. There is only one step from ignorance to prejudices. The first move on the road of elimination of stereotypes and prejudices about Romas, our good neighbors, is surely to get fundamental knowledge about their past and present, culture and everyday living, religion and customs. This should, on one hand, contribute to better understanding of the Romany “otherness” which is undoubtedly an important background link for their humane integration into Serbian or any other society and, on the other hand, *demonstrate how an arrogant attitude, deeply rooted in an unduly understanding of one's own nation, culture and faith as more superior than one's own, that is, how ethno or cultural or religious centrism is absolutely out fo place regarding Romas.*

*Ethno-class.* In the settled communities – says Weber – the posiiiton of people, as individuals and members of various collectives, is determined by their *class, power* and *status*, that is, by three large and structural segments of the society: the socio-economic domain, the legal-political field and the cultural sphere. It simply means that we are divided according to our wealth and economic power, the reputation we enjoy and the power we have at our disposal. Thus, some of us, making up a small circle of people, are excessively rich and possess more than they need, while the second group, the most numerous ones, comprises those who have sufficiently enough for their existence while the third ones re those who have nothing or very little; the last ones live on the verge of poverty and depend upon social aid. Some of us are with the privileged status determined by the community; the majority of us are averagely estimated; but there are also those without any reputation, despised and humiliated. There are powerful people in the society who bring about crucial decisions for everyone and about each one of us; a great mass of people are not in any posiiiton to demonstrate power unless within their immediate vicinity; tehre are also many individuals with no chane to realize their interests despite the resistance. In the society all people are not equal - nor will they ever be - but only the *Romas* in the Serbian state, just like in any other Balkan one, are an *ethno-class* since they are “the third party”, namely, those who *'have nothing or have very little, live on the verge of poverty and depend upon social aid,'* “*have no reputation whatsoever, they are despised and humiliated*” and “*without any chance to realize their interests despite the resistance*”.

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<sup>7</sup> See: Golemović, D. O., Romi kao važan faktor života srpske obredne prakse (Romas an Important Factor in Serbian Ritual Practice), *Kultura*, 2002, No. 103, pp. 158-165; Zlatanović, S., "Zasevka" u svadbi Roma ("Zasevka" in the Roma Wedding), *Kultura*, 2002, No. 103, pp. 194-202.

<sup>8</sup> *Kultura*, 2002, No. 103, pp. 154-173.

<sup>9</sup> Tree-year long project (2002-2005) for OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE (*PROGRAM ROMA CULTURE IN CENTRAL&EASTERN EUROPE* – Budapest).

On principle, it stands for non-Romas and other layer and ethnic groups, that inequality is losing its sting, and, along with it, mutual conflict-liability, since the stratification criteria - education, profession, income, life style, religion and confession, racial and ethnic affiliation, political power and reputation - all these produce a multi-dimensional basis for stratification, namely: 'Every individual takes a particular place with respect to each of these criteria while the privileges with respect to one are often annulled with the lack of privilege with respect to another one (I. Kuvačić).'<sup>10</sup>

The question follows: how can many Romas and, later on, the whole national minority, can involve in the stratification match; do they advance, for example, regarding the social goods they have acquired while they are still fighting for the respect of their own kin as well as a wider surroundings? Or, do they advance in the political power though they are lacking material support? Or, do they advance when they finally acquire decent reputation with no assistance on the part of the power-holding establishment. What should be changed is way of life and behavior in the socio-economic domain, the legal-political field and the cultural sphere.

#### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH, METHOD OF RESEARCH AND REPORTING RESULTS

##### *Methodological Approach*

In three-year research of the Romas as a transborder ethnic and cultural group, while focusing upon those in Southeast Serbia, the qualitative and quantitative methodology and method techniques common in sociology and romology will be used, namely:

- 1) analysis of secondary sources /statistical reports, data from population census, reports of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, Romany press and publications, mass media reports /,
- 2) direct observation /two twenty-day stays in Romany urban quarters, *mahalas*, in Southeast Serbia /,
- 3) photo technique /digital camera recording of life and customs of Romas, their settlements, religious and secular leaders /,
- 4) scientific interview /guided in-depth audio interview on the basis of the procedure with two representatives of distinguished Romas, Bulgarians, Albanians and Serbs from Southeast Serbia as well as two scientists from Bulgaria and Macedonia that would be tape-recorded /,
- 5) survey questioning /a survey based on the standardized form for question-asking and answer-recording on a sample of 900 examined people of Southeast Serbia, namely, Romas, Bulgarians, Albanians and Serbs/,
- 6) SPSS analysis of the data obtained by the survey questioning,
- 7) qualitative analysis of literature about Romas in general, especially Southeast Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, and,
- 8) Method techniques stated at 2, 3 and 7 will also be used during the stays in Sofia and Skopje (seven-day stays).

On the basis of the evidence collected by the research methodology, along with the theoretical background of the theory of interculturalism and ethno-class, the final monograph about Romas as a transborder ethnic and cultural group will be written.

<sup>10</sup> *Sociologija (Sociology)*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1989, pp. 94.

*Research method*

The research will be mostly conducted upon the existing theoretical and empirical evidence. The abundant empirical data, primarily of sociological and ethnological sciences about Romas as a transborder ethnic group will be used. The results obtained in the research project done by the authors themselves will be abundantly used.<sup>11</sup> Since it is unreal, not only for financial reasons, to predict the empirical research on the territory of the whole Yugoslavia, let alone the Balkans, it is possible to plan empirical study and field work in Southeast Serbia.

The exchange of the research results, research experience and the findings obtained so far about the position of Romas in multiethnic and multireligious societies is of essential importance for the research of the proposed topic. Since the research is to be conducted in Southeast Serbia that borders with Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia and since the position of Romas in Southeast Serbia is similar, if not identical to the position of Romas in these neighboring countries, it is of utmost importance to establish contact, indirect and direct exchange of findings with Bulgarian and Macedonian scientists – romologists, ethnologists, sociologists, politicologists, lawyers – who have already completed series of research, scientific papers, studies and monographs dealing with the given issue.

First of all, in the theoretical preparation for any empirical study of the attitudes held by the national minorities – Romas, Albanians, Bulgarians – and Serbs as the majority population in Southeast Serbia, as well as 12 scientific interviews with the distinguished people from Southeast Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, what will be used are the findings obtained by Bulgarian and Macedonian experts that would be presented at the round table on *The Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration* (November, 23, 2002, Faculty of Philosophy, Niš). Then, in the second phase of the research topic realization, at the scientific round table on *Romany Religion and Religious Customs* (June, 28-30, 2003, YSSSR and Faculty of Philosophy, Niš) the results of our empirical research will be directly presented to our Bulgarian and Macedonian colleagues and we will exchange our experiences. Finally, in the last phase (2004), on the basis of the previous exchange of results, experiences and findings with Bulgarian and Macedonian colleagues, we will proceed to the preparation of the final material and reports, while expecting to realize the possibility of co-author cooperation in the writing of scientific papers, studies and monographs.

The research team members are University staff, scientists with rich research experience and cooperation with scientists from other institutions and non-government organizations. Some of them enjoy international reputation especially within the Balkans and neighboring countries. This would alleviate very much the process of establishing contacts and cooperation with scientists from Bulgaria and Macedonia, with institutes (Institute for Folklore, Institute for Sociological Research of the Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, Ethnographic Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Sociological Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Sofia) and non-government organizations. Before making contacts, the research team will examine scientific journals, referential journals, Internet presentations and web-sites of relevant scientists, institutions and non-government organizations. Direct contacts with scientists and institutions will be established by letters, e-mail and “face to face” encounters.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See footnote 4.

<sup>12</sup> The following Bulgarian and Macedonian colleagues are primarily to be contacted here: Prof. dr Petar-Emil Mitev, Dr Ilona Tomova, Assistant teacher, Dr Elena Marušijakova, Dr Petko Hristov, Prof. dr Divna Lakinska, Dr Trajko Petkovski and Ljatif Mefailleskoro Demir.



*Results Reporting*

The research results will be presented in the following way:

- 1) scientific papers and articles in domestic and foreign journals;
- 2) papers in respective anthologies of papers;
- 3) papers in the anthologies specially devoted to the given project and subprojects;
- 4) special studies;
- 5) presentations and papers at domestic and foreign scientific conferences;
- 6) by organizing scientific conferences devoted to the subject of the subproject;
- 7) at round tables dealing with the given research topic;
- 8) periodic reports to the Project Board and the Assembly of the Institute for Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy;
- 9) reports submitted to the project financier;
- 10) press conferences;
- 11) presentations at radio and television;
- 12) photo exhibitions;
- 13) lectures at romological courses and to students of sociology;
- 14) exchanges of findings and experiences with Bulgarian and Macedonian colleagues;
- 15) final monograph.

RESEARCH REALIZATION DYNAMICS

2002

- Making the theoretical frame work of the research
- The analysis of previously written ethnological and sociological literature about Romas
- The preparation of the methodology
- Collecting statistical data
- Collecting secondary documents
- Methodological preparations
- Making the procedure for conducting scientific interview with the leaders of Romas, Albanians, Bulgarians and Serbs in Southeast Serbia
- Making the procedure for conducting scientific interview with two Bulgarian and Macedonian scientists
- Getting familiar with the locations of the research Roma in south-east Serbia
- Planning and determining the terms for field work
- Planning the visits and photographing
- Round table involving Bulgarian and Macedonian experts on the *Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans - Possibilities of Regional and European Cooperation* (November, 23, 2002, Faculty of Philosophy, Nis)
- Preparation of the questionnaire
- Press conference

2003

- Interviews with the leaders of Romas, Albanians, Bulgarians and Serbs in South-east Serbia
- Interviews with two Bulgarian and Macedonian scientists
- Writing down the content from audio-tapes of recorded interviews and preliminary analysis
- direct observation / two twenty-day stays in local Roma mahals in south-east Serbia
- a seven-day stay and research at Ethnography Institute (Sofia, Bulgaria)
- a seven-day stay and research at Institute for Sociology of Faculty of Philosophy (Skopje, Macedonia).
- Methodological preparations: visiting Romany *mahalas* where the empirical investigation is to be conducted
- Scheduling team work
- Selection and training of the interviewers
- Survey implementation, monitoring surveyors' work
- Round table involving Bulgarian and Macedonian experts on *Romany Religion and Religious Customs* (June, 28-30, 2003, YSSSR and Faculty of Philosophy, Nis)
- Logical control of the interviews
- Forming the computer data base
- Making the plan for establishing the relationships between relevant variables
- SPSS analysis /Computer data processing /
- Press conference

2004

- Making a connection between the theoretical and empirical findings of the research
- writing and publishing scientific texts and articles in domestic and foreign journals
- writing and presenting papers at domestic and foreign scientific conferences
- Finalizing the final monograph "Romi kao transgranična etnička i kulturna grupa"
- Writing the final report about research
- Press Conference

**Lela Milošević**  
**Dragan Todorović**

## **ETHNIC AUTOSTEREOTYPES AND HETEROSTEREOTYPES AND ETHNIC DISTANCE AT THE BALKANS**

### **RESEARCH TITLE**

“Ethnic Autostereotypes and Heterostereotypes and Ethnic Distance at the Balkans” is the title of the research topic within the subproject “Cultural and Ethnic Identities and Relations at the Balkans”. Both the topic and the subproject are part of the three-year project *Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration*, carried out at the Faculty of Philosophy and headed by Professor Dr Ljubiša Mitrović, full-time Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, Niš.

### **RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS**

The research topic is realized by the team comprising: Lela Milošević, sociologist of morality, Assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy, Niš, Dragan Todorović, sociologist of religion and romologist, Assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš and Dr Dragoljub B. Đorđević, sociologist of religion and romologist, full-time Professor at the Mechanical Engineering Faculty, University of Niš. It is also the team that would cooperate in the realization of the research topic “Romas as a Trans-border Ethnic and Cultural Group” since both the topics are closely connected and are mutually supportive in the research activities.

### **ACTUALITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC**

Radical reforms that the transition period carries along with it assume an active support in attitudes and expectations of citizens in a given transition country. The question can be asked how much citizens of Serbia are open to the world and ready to participate in the proceses that the presumed integration would bring along with it. The results of many research projects show that there is a high degree of xenophobia among the citizens of Serbia, a considerable ethnic distance towards their neighbors as well as a series of prejudices and ethnic stereotypes that represent more than just a relevant psychological obstacle to any integrative process.

In his paper entitled “Images of National Minorities in Serbian Public Opinion” Srećko Mihailović (1996: 423) gives a short survey of empirical research of public opinion at the end of the eighties and in the early nineties in Yugoslavia.

According to the research results dating 1985, D. Pantić records that 30% Albanians accept Serbs as possible marriage partners while the Serbs would get married to Albanians in 44% of the cases. As for Hungarians, they are ready to get married to a member of Serbian nationality in 65% cases; in the reverse situation, 58% of Serbs would gladly get married to Hungarians. By examining the national stereotypes of the young in 1986, the same author has come to the following conclusions, namely, young people of Serbian na-

tionality from the Republic of Serbia (provinces excluded) mostly give negative estimates of Albanians, namely: they do not like other nations (54%); they are backward (51%), sly (34%), distant (33%), rough (20%), concordant (20%), rash (16%), lazy (14%), selfish (8%), courageous (5%). Finally, in his exploration of the national distance in 1990, Pantić points to a prominent ethnic distance of Albanians from Kosovo: 44% of the examined show the strongest distance towards other nations – and for a possible marriage partner s/he accepts only a member of his or her nationality.

According to the findings from Zagorka Golubović's research, 53% of the examined agreed with the opinion that all Albanians are primitive and uncivilized (18,9% – completely true, 34,2% – partially true), 28% of the examined did not agree with the assumption (20,3% – mostly is not true, 7,5% – not true at all), while 19% of them could not choose any of the offered answers.

The results from the 1992 research also show the lack of distance: 16% of Muslims from Raška stated that they do not want a Serb for a friend or a colleague at work while 78% said that they did not mind different national affiliation of colleagues at work. As for their neighbors, besides their compatriots, 73,5% would choose Serbs and Montenegrines, 21% would choose some others and only 5,1% would like only their own compatriots.

In the extensive research on the territory of Serbia, only 33% of citizens of Serbian nationality stated that they would accept friendship with Albanians, while 48% of the examined agree that Albanians should live in their state (Kuzmanović, 1994: 242).

While examining ethnic autostereotypes and heterostereotypes at Kosovo<sup>1</sup> the researcher Srećko Mihailović (1998) determined that both Serbs and Albanians think “all the best” about themselves and this even in the same categories, namely, the categories of hospitality, courage, love for peace, cleanliness... Albanians think of Serbs that they primarily hate other nations, that they are vile, that they use others to make careers, that they are selfish, rude... To describe Serbs Albanians use only 7% of positive traits and even 93% negative. Serbs think of Albanians as concordant people, that they hate other nations, that they are primitive, rough, industrious... Serbs ascribe to Albanians 32% of positive and 68% of negative traits.<sup>2</sup>

In their field research of public opinion<sup>3</sup>, Popadić and Biro (1999) detected a clear separation of autostereotypes from heterostereotypes, there are important differences between them in their positiveness. While on the positive pole there is a clearly distinct autostereotype about Serbs, on the negative pole there are clearly distinct stereotypes about Muslims and Albanians. Romanians are not distinctive regarding any of the listed, positive or negative, trait; they are only observed as dirty and uncivilized. The image about Bulgarians is very

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<sup>1</sup> The public opinion research at Kosovo and Metohija from 1997, carried out by the Forum for Ethnic Relations from Belgrade in cooperation with the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology in Priština (Dušan Janjić, Đerđ Rapi, Srećko Mihailović and others) with the intention to contribute to the answers related to the Kosovo crisis anatomy.

<sup>2</sup> The image that Serbs have about Albanians is extremely bad. It has been more than a decade that the same finding has been obtained constantly, namely, that the stereotype towards Albanians is worse than others and represented almost exclusively with negative traits. A brief survey of several research projects dealing with the ethnic distance exploration of Serbs towards Albanians can be found in Popović, 1990:133-141.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis of the research carried out in October, 1997, upon the quota sample of the examined of Serbian nationality from Serbia (without Kosovo) older than 18 years of age, entitled "Autostereotypes and Heterostereotypes of Serbs in Serbia" was done by Professor from Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy Dragan Popadić and his colleague from Novi Sad, Mikloš Biro; the research topic included stereotypes with Serbs, Montenegrines, Albanians, Slovenians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Croats, Muslims, Hungarians and Macedonians.

similar to that about Romanians; only this time it is slightly more negative in the sense that they are more often ascribed the negative characteristics of being dishonest, selfish, quarrelsome. Macedonians are not assigned any negative trait; yet, neither are they assigned a greater number of the listed positive traits. The Hungarian stereotype is made up of positive attributes. The Hungarians are observed as clean, cultured, industrious, civilized, intelligent. The stereotype related to Montenegrans is close to the autostereotype of Serbs but it is less determined and less positive. They are considered, it can be said, as more rude and less communicative than Serbs, less sensitive, kind, unselfish, etc. with respect to Serbs though, regarding these attributes, they are clearly distinct from other nations. The stereotype about Croats is built of positive and negative features. They are described as deceitful, as people who do not like other nations, as cold, selfish, quarrelsome, dishonest but also as clean, industrious, cultured, civilized. Slovenians are ascribed all the features that figure out with Hungarians but, this time, a whole set of negative traits is also ascribed to them. They are described as clean, industrious, civilized, cultured, clever but also as cold, selfish, dishonest, not ready to like other nations. The stereotypes about Muslims and Albanians have exclusively negative differentiated traits. Muslims are described as primitive, dishonest, do not like other nations, dirty, uncultured, quarrelsome, stupid, cowards, lazy. The Albanian stereotype is similar to that about Muslims. They are described as primitive, do not like other nations, dirty, uncultured, impudent, dishonest, quarrelsome, selfish, stupid, cold, cowards. Their other traits are on the negative pole but two of them, laziness and inhospitality, are ascribed to them as less prominent. The autostereotype about Serbs is exceptionally differentiated, composed exclusively of positive and very prominent traits. Serbs are hospitable, proud, sensitive, courageous, love other nations, honest, unselfish, clever, clean, kind, civilized. The only attributes that are somewhat less prominent are industrious, cultured and lovers of peace.

Analyzing empirical findings<sup>4</sup> about ethnic distance, xenophobia and ethnonational manipulation, our late politicologist Laslo Sekelj (2000) warned that in the FR of Yugoslavia at least one third or maybe even two-fifths of the population are made up of members of national minorities, including the minorities of Croats and Bosnians created by the disintegration of the SFRY. He considered a very much-diffused ethnic distance as an empirical manifestation of the dominant political matrix in Serbia and FRY.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The research was carried out by the agency "Argument" from Belgrade in August, 1997. The sample comprised 1007 examined from the strict territory of Serbia, the city of Belgrade, Vojvodina and Montenegro. The examined were offered a chance to choose one single answer out of the following six options: one negative ("I do not want any contact") – on the basis of which in the numerical value of the ethnic distance is determined in this interpretation – and seven positive ones: 1) "To be permanently settled in the FR of Yugoslavia" (lowest intensity acceptance), 2) "To elect and be elected", 3) "To be my neighbor", 4) "To be my associate at work", 5) "To be my superior at work", 6) "To be my close friend" and 7) "To get married to him or her".

<sup>5</sup> "Summing up the earlier research project about ethnic distance and inter-national relations done on the territory of the SFRY, Ljiljana Bačević states that the distance was very low, especially in Vojvodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina – two nationally most heterogeneous environments – as confirmed by the great number of inter-ethnic marriages. In the seventies, the research showed an increase of ethnic distance but it was still relatively low. Referring to the research done by Dragan Pantić in 1987, Lj. Bačević stresses an increase of ethnic distance in the mid-eighties and its stability in the sense of spatial, stratified and generation distribution and the dominant role of the religious and cultural factors, historical legacy, national stereotypes and prejudice. It was empirically manifested as a high degree of mutual acceptance of Southern Slavs, refusal to accept Albanians (and *vice versa*), relative closeness of Muslims and Albanians and a high degree of mutual acceptance between Serbs and Montenegrans (Bačević, 1996). Four years later Pantić (Pantić, 1991) stated a drastic growth of ethnic distance in the SFRY. It is evident, from the data he

The research team members (D. B. Đorđević and D. Todorović) were intensively, in the period of time from 1999 to 2002, socio-empirically questioned the existing *ethno-religious distance* on the part of the majority population (Serbs) and other national minorities (Albanians and Bulgarians) towards Romas. The obtained data confirmed its continually high intensity both when it comes to the relationship between Serbs and Romas and when the relationship was examined between members of other minorities and Romas. An expressed animosity was present in the answer (“Never even if s/he were of the same or of any other religion or confession”) to the question “Would you approve the marriage of your daughter, son, sister, brother... or would you personally accept to marry a Roma?”. In the research carried out on the territory of the city of Niš from 2000 the above-mentioned answer was given by almost 4/5 (79%) inhabitants of Serbian nationality; the empirical research of the attitudes held by Serbian and Albanian population in Bujanovac and Preševo in 2001 revealed 69,2% Serbs and incredible 97,9% Albanians reacting like this; in a large research project carried out on the territory of Southeast and Southwest Serbia in 2001 71,6% of the majority population declared themselves in the same way.

#### RESEARCH SUBJECT, OBJECTIVE AND TASKS

The subject of the research topic is to explore ethnic stereotypes and ethnic distance among members of the following nations, national minorities and ethnic groups: Serbs, Montenegrees, Albanians, Romas, Slovenians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Croats, Muslims, Bosnians, Hungarians, Turks and Macedonians.

The objective of our research is to answer the following questions, namely: 1, how does the majority population see members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups, and, *vice versa*, how other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups see members of the majority population, 2, how much is this image positive or negative and to what extent are different specific characteristics ascribed to different nations, national minorities and ethnic groups?

The basic tasks would comprise following up of the changes within the ethnic stereotypes and bringing these changes into correlation with a wider socio-historical context; in this way, it would be easier to see more clearly the problem of formation, stability and change of the stereotypes as well as to provide for conceiving of an all-inclusive campaign that would contribute to narrowing the gap between the majority and the neighboring nations, national minorities and ethnic groups.

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published, that the ethnic distance grew proportionally with the ethno-national manipulation carried out by the national oligarchies in their fights for power (data from this research of the ethnic distance among Serbs and Montenegrees are presented in the section entitled "Ethnic Distance in the FR of Yugoslavia") (...) In our research where the ethnic distance is determined at a much lower level of intensity – not as potential acceptance of a marriage partner but as acceptance to live together or not to live in the same country with a member of some other nationality – 45,2% of the examined in the sample in which over 4/5 of the examined are of Serbian and Montenegro nationality – do not want to have any contact with members of Croatian nationality. Just like a mutually doubled ethnic distance in 1990 between Serbs (Montenegrees) – Slovenians than between Serbs (Montenegrees) – Croats ( and *vice versa*), so is a drastic increase of the ethnic distance between Serbs and Croats recorded in 1993 (see Golubović, Kuzmanović, Vasović, 1995/ politically produced" (Sekelj, 2000).

## THEORETICAL-HYPOTHETICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

“An image about others – a set of beliefs about typical characteristics and ways of behavior of the other group – is the foundation upon which people develop their affective attitude towards members of the other group and behave towards them in a particular way” (Popadić, 1999). In the socio-psychological literature this image is denoted with the term “stereotype” and it is considered as a cognitive component of an attitude. In research project the greatest attention is paid to racial and ethnic stereotypes since they are widely spread and of importance for social life and relations between people. Walter Lippman introduced the concept of (ethnic) stereotypes into science as early as 1922. He saw in stereotypes a kind of representations or attitudes that provide for easier guidance and orientation of an individual in the complex world. Opposite to Lippman and his followers in the psychological literature another view came into being that assumes stereotypes to be “rationalization of the existing prejudices” regarding ethnic groups. This view was held by Gordon Allport and Hans Jurgen Eisenk as well as, in our country, Nikola Rot, Đorđe Đurić, Bora Kuzmanović, Dragomir Pantić and other authors.

Gordon Allport defines prejudice as “a repulsive or hostile attitude towards a person belonging to a particular group mainly because he belongs to that group; on the basis of group membership it is concluded that an individual has negative characteristics otherwise ascribed to that group “ (Allport, 1958: 8; quoted from Mihailović, 1998: 412). For Allport ethnic stereotypes are the first degree of expressing prejudice towards other nations (propensity to speak bad about other people); the second degree is manifested by avoiding contacts, that is, manifesting ethnic distance; the third degree is expressed as discrimination (limitation of various rights), the fourth assumes physical attacks while the fifth is in the form of genocide of other nations.

Rudi Supek thinks that social prejudice is a “form of social anti(sym)pathy that is expressed in a wrong and inflexible generalization and biased evaluation of members of other social groups that rests upon the dynamics of group exclusion or inclusion with a tendency to regression into primitive forms of aggressiveness in the case of an increase of inter-group tensions. This tendency towards aggressiveness is the rule in ethnic prejudices “ (Supek, 1973: 80). The author stresses the fact that the difference between common social prejudice and ethnic stereotypes lies “exactly in easy way of inducing regression regarding the group aggressive behavior, that is, group identification for the sake of mobilization against some external enemy” (Supek, 1973: 81).

Nikola Rot defines prejudices (in social psychology) “as a logically unfounded, consistently sustained and with intense emotions accompanied attitude towards different objects “ (Rot, 1975: 367). He defines racial and ethnic prejudices as negative attitudes towards foreign races and ethnic groups on the whole as well as towards particular individuals – members of these races and groups: “We consider as an ethnic stereotype part of the cognitive component of the attitude towards particular nations; this is such part of the cognitive attitude that is characterized by relatively simplified and rigid understanding about the characteristics of the members of particular peoples. The estimates about some peoples' attributes are simplified and inadequate since they are an outcome of the tendency towards simplification for the sake of an easier orientation” (Rot, 1975: 378). In his opinion, a negative attitude is manifested in underestimating attributes, lack of recognition of abilities, condemnation of behavior, lack of affection and hatred as well as readiness to undertake or support hostile actions against the groups themselves or some of their members.

Bora Kuzmanović regards stereotypes as “a schematic and rigid representation of character traits and behavior patterns of members of some group (in this case, ethnic) that is

rigidly transmitted and applied as a pre-made image about every single individual from that group“ (Kuzmanović, 1992: 120).

In his paper entitled “Changes in Ethnic Stereotypes of Serbs”, Dragan Pantić sums up the understanding of the notion of the stereotype on the basis of opinions presented by quite a few authors. “In social psychology what is assumed under the notion of stereotype is a rigid and mostly wrong or even prejudice-colored perception of other people and social group. Stereotypes are mostly result of deformed perception and incomplete generalization, of sometimes entirely incorrect conclusion-making that is conditioned by preconceptions, interests, emotions as well as a tendency towards psychic economizing manifested in a simplification of diverse and rich reality which is being reduced to several categories. [...] Yet, stereotypes are not quite inaccurate since the members of the groups under observation and estimate can possess some common traits or at least similar traits in the sense of modal types“ (Pantić, 1996: 562).

“Stereotypes, as extremely simplified images about oneself (autostereotypes) and others (heterostereotypes) become prominent and become especially widely spread at the time of great political, ideological, religious and all other confrontations and conflicts, turning into a dangerous means of propaganda with long-term effects whose poisonous influence is hard to neutralize”, says Milan Ristović (1996: 23). Ethnic stereotypes with an idealized image about one's own group and a negative view of the members of other ethnic groups are a standard consequence of *ethnic narcissi*, with its extreme forms of manifestation – *paranoia of ethnic group* and *ethnic delusion*” (Mihailović, 1998).

The fact that the examined describe members of their own group in terms of certain categories while they are using different categories to describe the “others” provides for the construction of the *coefficient of ethnic desirability* of the characteristics used to describe one's own and other nation.

The matter of this research would comprise the examination of the ethnic stereotypes towards the following 13 nations, namely, Serbs, Montenegrines, Albanians, Romas, Slovenians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Croats, Muslims/Bosnians, Hungarians, Turks, Vlachs and Macedonians. With every nation there would be a list of 15 attributes (industrious, brave, intelligent, sensitive, sincere, honest, cultured, clean, kind, hospitable, peaceful, unselfish, civilized, like other nations, proud) where the listed attributed would define extreme poles at five-grade scales. The examined are expected to encircle one of the five marks on the scale (Likert's scale<sup>6</sup>) thus indicating to what extent the typical representatives of these nations have each of these 15 attributes clearly manifested (See Table 1).

The modified Bogardus's scale<sup>7</sup> for measuring social distance (see Table 2).

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<sup>6</sup> Likert elaborated (1932) the following approach in measuring attitudes, namely, 1) collection of a great number of assertions that the experiment-maker finds they refer to the object dealt with, 2) presenting a group of subjects with these assumptions so that they could express their opinion about each of them, namely, whether they approve of it strongly or they just approve of it or they do not approve of it or they do not approve of it strongly, 3) determination of the overall sum of the marks for each individual by summing up his answers for all the issues while the first five categories are marked with 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 when they refer to favorable attributes while for the opposite is used for unfavorable attributes, and, 4) analyzing the issues (More about it in: Devid Kreč, Ričard S. Kračild, Igerton L. Balaki (1972), *Pojedinac u društvu (Individual in the Society)*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva; V. Gud and P. Het (1966), *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja (Methods of Social Research)*, Beograd, Vuk Karadžić).

<sup>7</sup> Bogardus (1925) first constructed the technique whose specific goal is measurement and comparison of attitudes towards different nations. By the social distance Bogardus assumed the extent of understanding and psychological closeness (that is, detachment) with respect to various individuals or groups. His *scale of social distance* consists of a certain number of assertions chosen *a priori* as appropriate for provoking the



#### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In a three-year study of ethnic stereotypes and ethnic distance the qualitative and quantitative methodology and method techniques otherwise usually used in sociology would be used, namely:

1. analysis of secondary sources /statistical reports, mass media reports /,
2. qualitative analysis of the most important empirical research from former and present Yugoslavia,
3. survey poll /pull on the basis of standardized questionnaire for asking questions and marking answers /,
4. Likert's and Bogardus's scales, and,
5. SPSS analysis of the data obtained by the survey poll.

On the basis of the collected data and an insight into the empirical material collected so far, both at domestic sites and by comparison with neighboring countries, the final monograph about ethnic stereotypes and ethnic distance would be completed.

#### RESULTS DISSEMINATION

The research results would be reported on in the following way:

1. by scientific papers and articles in domestic and foreign journals,
2. by papers in anthologies referring to the projects,
3. by special studies,
4. by presentations and discussions at domestic and foreign scientific conferences,
5. by organizing scientific conferences dealing with the project,
6. by periodic reports to the Project Collegium and the Assembly of the Institute for Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy,
7. by reports to the project financiers,
8. at press conferences,
9. at radio and television programs,
10. exchange of knowledge and experience with colleagues from Bulgaria and Macedonia, and,
11. final monograph.

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answers that would be indicators for the extent of acceptance of any national group on the part of the subject. There follows the list of 7 characteristic attitudes, namely, 1, close kinship through marriage, 2, membership in the same club as an expression of close friendship, 3, living in the same street, 4, employment in the same company, 5, citizenship in the same state, 6 visit to a country and 7, expulsion from the country. The examined should answer with "yes" or "no" and, in this way, they should say whether they are inclined to accept each of these relations with a member of some group (More about it in: Dejid Kreč, Ričard S. Kračfild, Igerton L. Balaki (1972), *Pojedinac u društvu (Individual in the Society)*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva; V. Gud and P. Het (1966), *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja (Methods of Social Research)*, Beograd, Vuk Karadžić).

## DYNAMICS OF THE RESEARCH REALIZATION

2002

- Making the theoretical framework for research project activities
- Analysis of sociological and social-psychological literature about ethnic stereotypes and ethnic distance
- Preparation of methodology
- Collection of statistical data
- Collection of secondary documentation
- Methodological preparation
- Preparation for carrying out scientific interviews with colleagues from Bulgaria and Macedonia
- Planning and determining the terms for field work
- Roundtable with participation of experts from Bulgaria and Macedonia – *Cultural and Ethnic Relationships at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration* (December, 12, 2002, Faculty of Philosophy, Niš)
- Questionnaire preparation
- Press conference

2003

- Interview with colleagues from Bulgaria and Macedonia
- Textual presentation of the audio records of interviews and preliminary analysis
- Selection and training of interviewers
- Monitoring interviewers' work
- Roundtable with participation of experts from Bulgaria and Macedonia – *Religion and Romas' Religious Customs* (June, 28-30, 2003, YSSSR and Faculty of Philosophy in Nis)
- Logic interview control
- Data base making
- Making plan for inter-crossing of relevant variables
- SPSS analysis
- Press conference

2004

- Relating theoretical and empirical research results
- Writing and publishing scientific texts and articles in domestic and foreign journals
- Writing and presentation of papers at domestic and foreign scientific journals
- Preparation of the final monograph “Ethnic Autostereotypes and heterostereotypes and Ethnic Distance at the Balkans”
- Preparation of the final research report
- Press conference

Table 1  
 HOW WOULD YOU ESTIMATE MEMBERS OF THE FOLLOWING NATIONS,  
 NATIONAL MINORITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS?

	Macedonians	Turks	Hungarians	Vlachs	Muslims/ Bosnians	Croatians	Bulgarians	Rumanians	Slovenians	Roma	Albanians	Montenegrins	Serbs		
	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree	Completely disagree		
	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree		
	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive	Indecisive		
	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree		
	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree	Completely agree		
industrious	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
brave	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
intelligent	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
sensitive	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
sincere	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
honest	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
cultured	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
clean	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
kind	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
hospitable	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
peaceful	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
unselfish	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
civilized	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
like other nations	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
proud	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1

Table 2

*IN WHAT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WOULD YOU ENTER WITH MEMBERS OF THE BELOW-LISTED NATIONS, NATIONAL MINORITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS (Codes 1, 2 and 3 for yes, no and neutral – inscribe codes)?*

*NATION*

RELATION	Montenegr.	Croat	Macedonia.	Serb	Mus/Bosnian	Slovenian	Roma	Bulgarian	Albanian	Hungar.	Vlach.	Romania.	Turk
1. Enter into marriage													
2. Have for a friend													
3. Live near													
4. Work in the same firm													
5. Have as a superior in rank													
6. Live in the same town													
7. Live in the same state													

**Dragoljub B. Đorđević**

**SERBIAN ROMA SUFFERINGS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR  
(Religiological Indications and Smaller Romological Precious Contribution)**

“Gypsies' sorrow is too big,  
Nobody knows what will happen to them.  
Ševket plays Turkish melodies,  
And most often *ternije borije*.”  
A song from Leskovac and surrounding

“According to the figures taken from German research projects (which are so far the most accurate ones), the number is approximately 350 thousand. However, it is certain that the data do not include hundreds and maybe even thousands of those killed at the spot in the Balkans and General province. Knowledge about these crimes can often only be found in the memories of the people, accidental witnesses, and local population, but not in the documents.”

Lech Mróz

INTRODUCTION

Lech Mróz (2002:114), the expert in the Romani culture and the author of the most important work on their execution – *Not remembering does not mean forgetting* – is right when he claims that the knowledge about crimes committed over the Roma in the Balkans “can often only be found in the memories of the people, accidental witnesses, and local population, but not in the documents”. For the former Yugoslavia, as the winner in the Second World War, and present Serbia and Montenegro, as its successor, the same claim can be applied, although, for the sake of the truth, a lot more has been done in it regarding filing and documenting execution of the Roma than in other Balkan states.<sup>1</sup>

Using the given opportunity, and this time not doing my own research but instead briefly reporting on what has been already done concerning the executions of the Roma in Nis, Kragujevac, and Leskovac, we would like to stress the necessity:

- For founding of a specialized Romani institution, or an division in already existing one, which would deal with extermination of the Roma in Serbia in the Second World War, but also in all previous and later wars;
- For founding of the Center for historical documenting of Roma in Serbia; and,
- For educating young Romani historians, who would devote themselves to studying of extermination of the Roma in Serbia, as well as the Holocaust in general.

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<sup>1</sup> Genocide on the Roma in the Ustasha's concentration camp Jasenovac, which was situated in the so-called Independent Croatian State, was the best documented. See more about it in B. Haliti (1997), L. Šteković (1998) and D. Acković (2001).

NIŠ: THE SERBS, ROMA AND JEWS TOGETHER  
AT THE “KILLING FIELDS”

As I have noted, “the fact is that the Roma in Serbia are an autochthonous ethnic minority, where they share common historical fate with the majority people. They have been living for centuries in Serbia, namely in the distant villages, in the suburban settlements, in the city fringes, in their separate city quarters or deeply hidden in the city center; they are ethnically and culturally different, Orthodox or Muslim by confession, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, famous and anonymous, excellent musicians or common old paper collectors, employed in industries or hired workers, workers at the conveyor belt or small-scale sellers, quiet citizens or noisy city hoodlums. The Serbs meet them at every step, but they have little or no immediate contacts. Still, the Serbs do not know them; they are ignorant of when and where the Roma come from, where and how they live, how and to which God they are praying to, where they hurry and what they do, why they are like 'that' and not like 'this'... From ignorance to prejudice – there is only one-step. Many citizens of Serbia have not made such a step yet, but on the other hand, many of them have accepted the stereotypes about the Roma, some express xenophobia towards them, while some express even open racism (Đorđević, 2003:8-9).” In the Second World War, the Roma shared with the Serbs (and Jews) even the fate of victims.

However, the it is also the fact that many Serbs, here citizens of Niš, do not know that Roma, our neighbors and brothers, like Serbs and Jews, have suffered and died in the notorious Nazi concentration camp “Red Cross” in Niš, that they were victims of mass killings in Bubanj, small hill near the town, which today serves as a famous picnic site.

The Concentration Camp “Red Cross” and the Place of Extermination in Bubanj. Miroslav V. Milovanović (1983), the most thorough researcher of the “Red Cross” Camp, writes about it (the author of this article wrote the subtitles in the text below):

*Founding of the Camp*

“In September 1941, the Military Command 809 founded concentration camp in Red Cross, Niš (Das Anhalter lager – Nisch)...

This camp, together with the place for executions in Bubanj, was organized by the chief of Gestapo in Niš, SS captain Hammer, a German from Štetin...

*Number of Prisoners*

The number of prisoners was a subject of constant change. Sometimes the camp was full, sometimes half-empty. While some were brought in, some were taken to Bubanj or Banjica, to internment in notorious camps and to forced labor in Germany, while some were released. Only a small number of prisoners were kept for longer than five months...

*The Composition of the Guards*

The composition of the guards has changed couple of times during the War. Those changes usually brought about new problems, new methods and treatment of the prisoners, and also complicated the usage of already created channels of communication with the world outside the camp. Majority of soldiers were afraid of the Eastern Front, so they did their best to be obedient ...

*Executions*

The Camp in Red Cross was mainly emptied by executions of prisoners, which was done in Bubanj...

The Nazis destroyed all the documentation about the Camp in Red Cross, so that we will never be able to know precisely the number of prisoners, nor the number of those executed in Bubanj...

*Testimonies of Roma about the executions*

- 'In February 1942, around four o'clock in the morning, I was taken by Nazi soldiers, together with 25 fellow Gypsies, in trucks to a place called Bubanj. When we arrived, the Nazis gave us shovels and pickaxes; we waited until six o'clock when trucks with Jews started to arrive. When a truck would arrive, Nazis would take out 12 people each time, and if they had better clothes, Nazis would strip them and then take them 30-40 meters away from the trucks. There, Nazis would line them with their backs facing the soldiers who were supposed to shoot them. 12 Nazis were standing 6 meters from the victims and they would shoot the victims in foreheads. After they finished the job with the first 12, Nazis would bring other 12. They would do that all they long, until 4 in the afternoon, so they would shoot 1000 people in one day. All executed people were Jews, and among them even 2 women and around 12 boys aged between 12 and 13 (witness Medo Omerović, execution on 17. February 1942).'
- 'When they shot the children, one boy of 14 kneeled down before the shooting, put his hands together and bagged – Bitte!, but he was shot too (Witness Anedži Kurtić, execution on 17. February 1942).'
- 'I don't even remember the date, but I know... when Nazis collected us in front of the Command building, from where they took us to Bubanj so that we would work on burying the shot people. Around 8 o'clock the first truck with the victims came. Nazis took 10 people to 50 meters from the truck, lined them and shot them in foreheads. After that we had to drag those shot people to already dug graves, which were even 30 meters long, and 5 meters wide. While we were piling those victims, Nazis lined the other 10 and shot them too. It lasted all day, until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. That day 700 people were shot (Witness Memet Kurtić).'

*Breaking out of the Camp*

- 'There were 150 Communists in the Camp in Niš. On the 12. February this year (1942 – author's comment), around 19.30, a Nazi guard was taking 10-15 Communists to the toilet. They attacked him, took his gun and killed him, and then opened the gate and released other Communists, who started to run. During the breaking out, German soldiers started shooting and killed 42 Communist in the closed area of the Camp, while 102 managed to escape. Nazis caught 6 Communists, so 96 ran away (German report – partially true).'

*Liquidation of the Camp*

The Nazi concentration camp in Red Cross was liquidated on 14. September 1944. The day after there was nobody left in the Camp from the Camp management and guards. On that day, Gestapo also withdrew from Niš, leaving the town to operational and Nazi military and police squads. The building of the Camp, as well as other buildings in the Camp area, was (14. October 1944) used by some German working groups until the liberation.

*The Number of the Dead*

On the bases of until now known archive documents, that we managed to collect during the research, testimonies of survived prisoners and incomplete data of the Committee for Ratification of War Crimes of Nazis and their Helpers, according to which 'a couple of thousand of people of both

<sup>2</sup> History is repeating: during the last war in Kosovo, like Nazis, Serbs and Albanians abused the Roma and used them for burying enemy's victims. They didn't forgive me that after the war – especially Albanians. Here lies one of the reasons for mass exodus of Roma from Kosovo (Živković, 2000).

gender' were shot in Bubanj, we established only partial number of something more than 5.000 people killed in Bubanj and its surrounding, out of which 1.910 by their names.”

#### THE ROMA IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP “RED CROSS” AND IN BUBANJ

##### *The Background of executions of the Roma*

Background of the executions of the Roma is to be found in Dr. Turner's order dated from 26. October 1941 (Zlatić, 1990:89), in which subordinate commanders were told:

“One should start with the universal assumption that Jews and Gypsies in general are distrusted elements and that as such represent danger for the order and security. Jews' intellect is the one which started this war; it has to be destroyed. Gypsies cannot be useful members of the community because of their psychological and physical characteristics. It has been affirmed that Jews' element has significantly participated in leading the gangs and that Gypsies are responsible for brutalities and jobs of military intelligence. This is why all male Jews and Gypsies have to be taken as hostages. Withal, there is intention to gather all Jews and Gypsies women and children into a concentration camp.”

##### *Phases in Executions of the Roma*

Stages in extermination of the Roma are somewhat different in comparison to Jews and Serbs. Historian Vjenceslav Glišić divides the extermination into three phases: the first – April-August 1941 – characterized by filing, marking, restricting the freedom of movement, robbing Jews' property, introducing forced labor and other taxes for Jews; the second – August-December 1941 – characterized by gathering Jews in concentration camps and finding ways of executing them; and the third phase – December 1941-May 1942 – during which gradual killing of Jews and Roma have started. Dr. Jovan Zlatić (1994), who wrote more than others about extermination of Serbs, Jews and Roma in the war region of Niš, thus states that *in Niš, killing of Jews was hastened, while there was some hesitation with killing the Roma.*

##### *Description of mass arrest of the Roma*

M. V. Milovanović (1983:194-195), already cited chronologist from Niš, gives distinct, and for now the only available, description of mass arrest of Roma in Niš. While doing this, he also informs us about some, *not enough researched and theoretically explained*, moments of fate of Roma from Niš:

“In October 1942, Special Police Forces brought to the Camp in Red Cross big group of Roma from Niš and surrounding towns. Until then they were not disturbed, mostly because of interventions from some Albanian-Muslim religious superiors, who served the enemy. With the help of *reisul-ulema*, the chief of Muslims in Yugoslavia, they convinced German command in Niš that their fellow citizens in Niš were neither Gypsies, nor Travelers, that they had their occupations, that they were Muslims and that they belonged to Albanian national group. Roma, servants of the enemy, reassured Nazis that their fellow citizens not only were loyal to the Nazi government, but also were ready to fight in the Nazi army



When in May 1941, the order about Jews and Gypsies came out, they had to wear yellow ribbon and their moving in the town was restricted.<sup>3</sup> Right after the capitulation, the quisling Albanian People's League was founded in Kosovo, led by Ali-beg Dragi and Džafer Deva, an agent of Abver. They contacted two quislings from Niš, Kasim M. Čehajić, a judge in County Shari'ah Court, who graduated from Faculty of Theology in Constantinople and whose two sons served in the Nazi army, and Sulejman Babić, a clerk in that Court, who before the War was an agent of German Intelligence Service and clerk in the County Court in Niš. The latter was the leader of national Albanian Muslim group in Niš. Preserving his connections with the Military Command, and especially with Dietrich, in 1942, he asked the Commander to remove yellow ribbons from Roma's arms; the Commander replied that German Commander of Serbia was responsible for that issue. In Belgrade, Čehajić managed to convince Germans that Roma in Niš should take the ribbons off and could get jobs. They had an office in Šumatovačka street, No 7, in which they gathered and discussed how to save this or that fellow national who was arrested; they also gathered significant amount of money to bribe officials to release prisoners.

Relative peace of Roma in Niš was interrupted on 20. October 1942. On that day, at 10 pm, quisling army blocked all five Romani *mahalas* (Stočni trg, Beograd-mahala, Stambolkapija, Čair and Rabadži-mahala). They arrested all men, boys of 16 years, even very old people. Romani mahalas' mayor was leading the soldiers and yelled in Serbian 'People, get up and get out' and in Romany 'Run away'. Thanks to mayor's resourcefulness many people ran away. Yet 370 Roma were arrested and taken to the Camp in Red Cross. There were many musicians among them. One was allowed to bring his violin, so its music helped them forget sufferings, at least for a while. In this way, the famous song 'Gypsies' sorrow is too big, nobody knows what will happen to them', was created in the Camp.

From towns nearby, like Prokuplje, Aleksinac, Svrljig, Bela Palanka and other places, more than 170 Roma were brought to the Camp; they were later killed. By the end of summer, a circus troop of 30 people, who spoke Romany and German<sup>4</sup>, was also brought in; however, after 20 days, it was taken somewhere.

Accommodation of Roma in the Camp was terrible. There were more than 200 people in a single room, so they were practically suffocating. They could not even lie down. One pail was not big enough for everybody to satisfy their physiological needs, so they had to do it on the floor. Those who were not arrested were trying to save the others from the Camp. One delegation managed to make a connection with Ali-beg Dragan, who, with his connections in Gestapo, succeeded in releasing the Roma. They were released after 20-30 days, in groups - first those who worked in the factories. However, one group of 90 Roma was transferred to Correction Institution and from there, on 23. February 1943 was shot in Bubanj. After these tragic events, many Roma voluntarily went to labor in Germany.

German collaborators Kasim Čehajić i Sulejman Babić used the fear from new arrests and killings to mobilize Roma for German army. After the capitulation of Italy, Ali-beg Dragan made Babić a leader of national Albanian Muslim group not only for Niš, but also for entire Serbia. As a leader of that national group, which included Roma too, he had correspondence with Nazi Command 809, issued certificates, embossed with official stamp

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that German and Bulgarian Army have forbidden Roma from Niš to worship their big sanctity – Zajde Badža. On this original Islamic-Christian Romani place of cult (see more in: Đorđević and Todorović, 2002b).

<sup>4</sup> It did not occur to our historian that those could have been Sinti. This valuable episode should be researched.

of the group (Grupe Popullore Shqiptare, Die Albanische Volksgruppe, Nisch) and with Babić's signature. From the accusation of the Military Court of XIII Corps of People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and testimonies of witnesses at the Kasim Čehajić i Sulejman Babić's trial, it is obvious that they pressured Roma to declare themselves as Albanians and to get into Albanian quisling units. As a result of Čehajić's cooperation with Germans, 14-16 Muslim Roma from Niš, one from Aleksinac, and one from Bela Palanka were filed and put into German uniform, while the others were not accepted. Babić also mobilized Roma in the county of Leskovac. In Sijerinska Banja, he mobilized 120 people, and propagated in Prokuplje, Leskovac and other towns. One such squad of mobilized and uniformed people, under the command of German officers, was situated at first in Leskovac and then in Niš."

*The Number of Executed Roma*

On the bases of available data and here mentioned bibliography, it could be concluded that 260 Roma in total were executed in the "Red Cross" concentration camp and in Bubanj. However, there are reasons to doubt that this is the final figure. Thus, our future task will be to undertake detailed archive and any other research.

#### KRAGUJEVAC: MONSTROUS EXECUTION OF ROMANI CHILDREN

Kragujevac, a town in the heart of Šumadija, that is, Serbia, famous in the second half of the last century for its car industry, "was famous" even during the Second World War because of its "October". Namely, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1941, Nazis shot almost entire male population, and among them whole classes of children and pupils, together with their teachers. This bestial Fascists' act was stirringly described in the poem "Bloody Fairytale", written by Desanka Maksimović, the most famous Serbian female poet.<sup>5</sup>

Among people who died, there were both adult Roma and Romani children. From the Ilić sisters' book *Customs and tradition of the Roma from Kragujevac*, we are quoting two records about that.

Thus, M. Stojilović writes:

"On those tame slopes, German Fascists in only one day, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1941, killed hundreds of innocent people, among which there were high school students, 18 of their professors and 12 children – little Roma not older than 10-12. The killed were buried, better to say only covered by earth, in improvised mass graves couple of days after the execution.

A couple of members of Ljotić's army, under the supervision of commander Žil Zdravković started gathering all Roma. There were 4 old men among Roma, who could not walk. Ljotić's people threw them into trucks like they were bags (Ilić and Ilić, 2002:12-13)."

A J. Nešić testifies:

"After the execution, miserable mothers crawled in all directions, on the earth boiling from the human blood. The sight was terrible; piles of deformed corpses were lying on the tame slopes of our town. By the road, which leads to Erdoglija's stream, three headless children's corpses were found, and not far from there, 15 corpses of very small children from 8 to 10 years were found; five little Serbians and 10 little Roma. The corpses of those small, feeble and innocent beings were scattered all over, just like little birds after the storm has taken and destroyed them...

How did this crime happen?

The enemy has ruined the country; poverty and famine were constant companion of the people. Many families were without food bearers. Moreover, these unfortunate children had to feel

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<sup>5</sup> Jean Paul Sartre was moved by Kragujevac's October and Desanka's poem: "Whenever Yugoslavia is mentioned, I always remember Kragujevac; I remember heroism of the people".

how difficult life was; they had to feel all the faces of the war and penury. Instead of joyful and cheerful childhood they faced misery and starvation.

In order to help their mothers, the children purchased little boxes, brushes and paste for shoes and became shoe-cleaners; they were food bearers; the whole family lived from what they earned.

Poor mothers, when the night fell they used to peer and wait for their food bearers, who came home tired and exhausted, bringing their money. That picture of waiting had been repeating until the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1941. On that day, evil destiny could not bypass these children (Ilić and Ilić, 2002: 13).”

### LESKOVAC: MASS EXECUTION OF THE ROMA

The largest execution of Roma took place in Leskovac, a town in the South Serbia. Tane Kurtić (1996: 120-121), a local chronicler of the life of Roma from Leskovac, quotes the report of the partisan who fought from the beginning of the Second World War and who witnessed this tragic execution:

“On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1941, Gypsy district in Leskovac was surrounded by members of Serbian state guard. In order not to provoke panic, the news was spread that a transport with some groceries arrived at the train station and the labor was need for debarking. After that, they visited all houses and gathered in the center of the district all men, who had more than 16 years.

Gendarmerie gathered and took away around 120 Gypsies. They put them into the building of elementary school, situated by the river (now called Elementary School 'Svetozar Marković') which was being prepared for the concentration camp, surrounded by high fence made of barbed wire; all windows had bars.

On Sunday, the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1941, one squad of Gendarmerie blocked again the Gypsy district, starting from Špitaljsko cemetery to Podvrc. The blockade was organized in such a way that it was almost impossible to run away. Machineguns were put on certain crossroads.

After the district had been blocked, another group of Germans came by trucks in the center of the district and started to arrest all men older than 16 years. As soon as a truck was full, it would leave for the improvised camp in the school. At the same time, Gypsies in other districts were arrested, in Sahat mahala and in Gypsy district of village Vinarac...

During these arrests, paid workers, engaged by Germans, were digging graves in Hisar, on a place called Arap's valley. Germans explained to the workers that they were digging canals for anti-aircraft guns in the case of air-attack on Leskovac. The workers dug in total 8 graves, 6-8 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 2.5 meters deep. When everything was finished, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1941, Germans started from early in the morning to put arrested and tied Gypsies and other captured partisans, Party activists into trucks; in the groups of three trucks, they were then driven outside the town, to the bottom of the Hisar, to the place where today is situated restaurant 'Park'. From that point, prisoners had to walk to the place of execution. Germans would first strip them in a cottage, made exclusively for that purpose; after that, they were taken to execution.

Fire from machineguns echoed almost all morning and after that one could hear pistol shots, by which Germans finished the wounded. On that day, Germans shot 500 people, out of which 320 Gypsies.

Among killed Gypsies, was also famous clarinet player, Ševket Ibrahimović. From that time dates famous and very often sang song, which is dedicated to him; we are quoting only one part of it:

“Gypsies' sorrow is too big,  
Nobody knows what will happen to them.  
Ševket plays Turkish melodies,  
And most often *ternije borije*.”

## CONCLUSION: RELIGIOLOGICAL INDICATIONS

We find it important to mention here – for somebody maybe less significant – a phenomenon of *conversion* as often unique chance for saving Roma's "bear" life in the region of Niš, as well as in other places of South Serbia. In fact, from the wider aspect, *religious* and *confessional* membership of Roma has been, apart from racial, the second key base of their execution under Hitler's rule. As Rajko Đurić (1987:192) notes, Roma somewhere, for example in Croatia, "have become a target for *Ustashas* because of two reasons: racial and religious. Big number of Roma who then lived in Croatia was Christian Orthodox, while Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina were mainly Muslims". *Ustashas*, while executing the entire non-Catholic element, molested and killed, besides Orthodox Serbs, their religious fellows – Roma. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where *Ustashas'* forces were mainly made of Bosnian Muslims – now called "Bosniaks" – Muslim Roma were saved, although the same rules applied for all Roma at the entire territory of Independent State of Croatia (Hadžijahić, 1984).

However, when we talk about the phenomenon of conversion in South Serbia, we have in mind conversion for the sake of surviving during the War: "Priests, doing well for the honor of the Serbian Orthodox Church, helped by local population, christened Roma and in that way kept them and their families alive and away from the concentration camps (Đorđević and Todorović, 1999a: 51)."<sup>6</sup>

In both above-mentioned examples, Roma – Bosnian Muslim Roma and Serbian Roma, converted into Christian Orthodoxy – stayed Roma: they stayed what they were as a nation. In the Niš's case, Albanian quislings, while helping the Roma, were actually abusing the situation by openly wanting to convert them into Albanian national corpus, that is, to make Albanians out of them. By doing this, a noble intention, which saved a number of Romani heads, loses a lot from its humanitarian glory and leaves the sense of insincerity.

## APPENDIX:

### SINTI IN THE "RED CROSS"

#### (SMALLER ROMOLOGICAL PRECIOUS CONTRIBUTION)

As we noted in the first footnote, this article was written in the beginning of May and by the end of the same month, it was presented in Berlin at the *Europäische Konferenz über den Holocaust an den Roma und Sinti*. At that occasion, while commenting the writings of M. V. Milovanović, the historian from Niš, on the "Red Cross" camp ("By the end of summer, a circus troop of 30 people, who spoke Romani and German; however, after 20 days it was taken somewhere.") in the fifth footnote we wrote the following: "It did not occur to our historian that those could have been Sinti. This valuable episode should be researched." Exactly this happened, that is, it happened something which happens all the time in science.

We could not describe our surprise when on the first working day of the Conference in Berlin, an old, proud woman, dressed in lively colors and invited by Rajko Đurić, addressed the participants. We got the impression that Mrs. Regina Angelokastritis, who could not stop tears during her stirring testimony about the execution, opened and immedi-

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<sup>6</sup> "Informers report: The Roma from Velepoltje haven't been Orthodox forever. A priest, Živojin Savić, collectively *converted* them during the Second World War and gave them Serbian names; by doing this, he saved them from German execution /Ž. Jovanović./ – Ђорђевић и Тодоровић, 1999а: 51)"

ately closed the story of Holocaust over Roma. In that moment, I caught myself thinking, how can we compare rational analyses of historians, sociologists and romologists and authentic experience of this woman, who, not without difficulties, 'carried' her age, helped by her young granddaughter? *We cannot!*

Still, Mrs. Angelokastritis mentioned that the circus troop of Sinti from Köln, running away from the Germans, reached Greece, where they were caught and deported to the homeland. When she said a couple of sentences about the Camp in Niš – about the second station of that road with no coming back; the first one was Skopje, and the last one notorious Birkenau – we had goose pimples and cold sweat, and soon after that we felt some heat from the satisfaction because our assumption from the fifth footnote appeared to be true. The article we presented was more a review, without original insights, except insisting on the phenomenon of religious and confessional conversion of Roma as prevention of pogrom. However, we then justified our article because we contributed to resolving historical puzzle, that is, a *detail* about short stay of unknown group of foreign Roma in the “Red Cross” Concentration Camp in Niš. Those were *Sinti*.<sup>7</sup> (We attach to this article a photo of the last living Sinti from this group, taken in Berlin.)<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> A Romani group which arrived to the territory of contemporary Germany before XVI Century and which led nomadic life until XIX Century. In their Romani dialect there are a lot of words from the German language. The name comes from Indian province Sindh or from old Indian word for "community".

<sup>8</sup> Regina, still a child in the time of the Second World War, lost her entire family in the Birkenau and survived only by chance. She later married a Greek man and carried his last name. Their son, Mihael Angelo lives in Munich, while she a part of the summer, although her husband has died, still spends in their family home in Stavros, little town near Thessalonica.

Photo 1. REGINA ANGELOKASTRATIS

**Dragoljub B. Đorđević**

## **BURYING OF ROMA: A TEST OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE**

### INTRODUCTION

A couple of years ago (Djordjevic and Todorovic, 1999a:8), while starting long ranged research project dealing with Romani culture of death, we wrote the following: “Apparently, a question of attitudes towards burying of Roma could be perceived by a number of people as trivial or made up, even as scholarly 'nit-picking'; however, although it is narrow, the question is very significant – if we want to follow a path of full comprehension of the faith of Roma people.

*Death is, among other, a special social act which gathers a number of group and societal phenomena, a true picture of particular community and culture, that reveals rope, for example, of economic, class, stratum, status, religious, ethnic, and racial relationships.”*

Answers to questions concerning *the place of burial* of Roma are crucial for us even today, because the whole story of interculturalism and multiculturalism, collectiveness and tolerance in multiethnic and multireligious society depends on decision of will we 'allow' ethnically, racially, and religiously different people to be buried in 'our' graveyards. People are at least equal in death; so, many people cannot understand why there still are separated “Gypsy” cemeteries, even prohibitions of burying Roma in places where they live.

We decisively claim: *the place of burying of Roma is specific test of ethnic and religious tolerance*. This claim is supported by data obtained from a few socio-empirical research projects among Roma in Serbia. These projects were supervised by the author and were undertaken in the time period between 1999 and 2002 (1999, 2000, 2001/I, 2001/II, 2002/I, 2002/II – the last two are still in process. While conducting these research projects we used original “*Procedures*” for gathering data about Roma, Romani-Orthodox and Romani-Muslim cemeteries, as well as *typology of Romani cemeteries*.

### TIPOLOGY OF ROMANI CEMETERIES

In 1998, while preparing instrument for empirical research of Romani culture of death and on the bases of personal observations of the local terrain, we constructed typology of Romani cemeteries, that is, four types of burying of Roma. According to this typology, Roma people are being buried in the following ways:

- a) *In own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated from cemetery of majority people;*
- b) *In own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected with cemetery of majority people;*
- c) *In cemetery of majority people;*
- d) *In some other cemetery outside the place of living.*

This typology was verified by detailed, almost exhaustive multiple research in the areas of Nis municipality, Southeast, and Southwest Serbia. Field work comprehended direct visits and taking pictures of numerous and specific examples of all types of burial, about which there is a large photo-documentary and a number of articles (Djordjevic and Todorovic, 1999a; 1999b; 2000a; Todorovic and Djordjevic, 2001; 2002). Besides such direct insights, material for supporting the typology was also gathered in the following ways: a) by engaging informers, experts from these areas; b) by filling in the “Procedure” by officials from the town halls, most often chiefs of local offices, to whom that was official job to do (see “Procedure” at the end of the paper); and by c) interviewing Roma themselves. However, the most precise verification, by visiting each and every Romani cemetery, we will undertake in research project “ROMANI PLACES OF CULT AND CULTURE OF DEATH” which has just been started and will last three years under support of PROGRAM ROMA CULTURE IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE (OSI, Budapest).<sup>1</sup> This verification is a need because it appeared to be another type of cemetery – *burial at one's own hold*. Informer from municipality of Ljubovija says about this type: “In Selenac and Uzovnica, and it is true for other MK, it is registered that people, both Serbs and others, do not have habit to bury dead people in for that marked places. This is the reason why there are no cemeteries as such but dead people are buried in private ground, mostly meadows – so-called, *bašča*”. This example is to be examined in details and decision should be made of what it represents: a separate type, with which our typology should be broaden, or a variation of local, irrelevant case for typology.

#### MAJORITY ABOUT BURYING OF ROMA PEOPLE

Roma everywhere live as a minority, always surrounded by some ethnic majority, which is sometimes consisted of majority people – for example, Serbs in Central Serbia – and sometimes by ethnicity and national minority (Muslims in Sandzak or Albanians in Presevo and Bojanovac). Roma most often share religion or confession with the majority surrounding, the same as they share other cultural characteristics. It would be thus natural they to be buried in the same cemetery. If this was not the case earlier, because of one or another reason, local population should have tolerant attitude towards distribution of “eternal houses”. This is why, while interviewing citizens, we always claimed that *small majority of population would not have anything against Roma to be buried in the local cemetery, completely mixed with other citizens*. Here are the results from couple of research projects done on the different samples and in different areas.

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<sup>1</sup> Project team consists of Dragoljub B. Djordjevic, head of the team, Dragan Todorovic, the first researcher, Baja Saitovic Lukin, Ibrahim Osmani, and Rade Vuckovic Niski, researchers.



Table 1

*NATIONALITY AND CULTURE OF DEATH OF ROMA PEOPLE (1999)<sup>2</sup>*

*“Let's assume that earlier there was no Roma and there is no separated Romani cemetery in your place of living (village or town). Would you be against burying dead Roma in your local cemetery?”*

## Nationality

<i>Types of Cemeteries</i>	Serb N / %	Muslim N / %
No, he should be buried in local cemetery (C)	259 / 61,2	3 / 6,0
Maybe there should be separate place for Roma as a part of local cemetery (B)	93 / 22,0	12 / 24,0
Completely separated cemetery so-called Gypsy cemetery should be made (A)	63 / 14,9	34 / 68,0
I would be against, Roma should be buried outside our place of living (D)	8 / 1,9	1 / 2,0
TOTAL	423 / 100,0	50 / 100,0

N tabulated = 500

Missing = 27

Opposite to Serbs, 68.0% of Muslims intercedes in favor of forming completely separated so-called Gypsy cemetery. If we add to this 24.9% of them who think that forming separate part for Roma in the local cemetery is reasonable, it is obvious that there is no culture of death among Muslims. We can name a number of tragic examples of funeral of Roma and it seems that there will be more of them if interviewed Muslims represent *majority attitudes* of this people. (This should be investigated)

Table 2

*PEOPLE FROM NIS AND ROMANI “ETERNAL HOUSES” (2000)<sup>3</sup>*

*“Let's assume that earlier there was no Roma and there is no separated Romani cemetery in your place of living (village or town). Would you be against burying dead Roma in your local cemetery?”*

Modality	N	%
No, he should be buried in local cemetery (C)	85	42,7
Maybe there should be separate place for Roma as a part of local cemetery (B)	62	31,2
Completely separated cemetery so-called Gypsy cemetery should be made (A)	45	22,6
I would be against, Roma should be buried outside our place of living (D)	7	3,5
TOTAL	199	100,00

N tabulated = 199

Missing = 1

<sup>2</sup> Research project SOCIOCULTURAL ADAPTATION OF THE ROMANIES IN SERBIA IN THE TRANSITION PROCESSES – INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION OR SEGREGATION? (1998-2000) was financed by Research Support Scheme (Prague). Research team consisted of Dragoljub B. Djordjevic – team leader, Dragana R. Masovic and Bogdan Djurovic, researchers.

<sup>3</sup> Research project PUBLIC OPINION IN LOCAL ABOUT LOCAL PROBLEMS (2000), financed by Civic Alternatives (Belgrade). Dragoljub B. Djordjevic supervised project segment “*What are like Roma, our neighbors?*”.

People from Nis in small majority (42.7%) have positive attitude towards completely mixed burial of Roma in local cemetery, 31.2% prefers separated parts, 22.6% is in favor of completely separated “Gypsy” cemetery, while 31.5% stands for racist attitude and it would relegate Romani eternal houses outside their place of living. The last ones represent drastic case and demonstrate non existence of any kind of culture of death.

Table 3

*ROMANI CEMETERIES (2001)<sup>4</sup>*

*“Let's assume that earlier there was no Roma and there is no separated Romani cemetery in your place of living (village or town). Would you be against burying dead Roma in your local cemetery?”*

Nationality

Types of Cemeteries	Serb N / %	Albanian N / %
No, he should be buried in local cemetery (C)	19 / 13,1	25 / 17,0
Maybe there should be separate place for Roma as a part of local cemetery (B)	49 / 33,8	76 / 51,7
Completely separated cemetery so-called Gypsy cemetery should be made (A)	76 / 52,4	44 / 29,9
I would be against, Roma should be buried outside our place of living (D)	1 / 0,7	2 / 1,4
TOTAL	145 / 100,0	147 / 100,0

N tabulated = 292  
Missing = 8

Results are unexpected: on one side, there are Serbs with attitude that there should be completely physically separated Romani cemetery (52.4%); on the other side, Albanians with attitude that there should be separate part for Roma in the local cemetery (51.7%). If the fact that culture of death among Serbs and Albanians is not developed, so a number of those who accept possibility to bury dead Roma with others, in local cemetery (13.1%; 17.0%), then it is encouraging the fact that they, in huge majority, refuse burial of Roma outside local cemetery because there is a number of tragic examples of Roma burials.

Our research showed that Roma in Presevo and Bujanovac are only buried in their own cemetery, physically separated from Serbian or Muslim (type A).

What about this think non-Roma from Southeast and Southwest Serbia? We this time also claim that small majority of population would not have anything against Roma to be buried in local cemeteries, completely mixed with other citizens (table 4).

<sup>4</sup> Research project THE ROMANIES BETWEEN THE SRBS AND ALBANIANS IN BUJANOVAC AND PREŠEVO (Political and cultural causes of conflicts) (2001) was supported by Program on Global Security and Cooperation Social Science Research Council (Washington). Research team consisted of Dragoljub B. Đorđević – team leader, Jovan Živković and Vladimir Jovanović, researchers.

Table 4

*BURYING OF ROMA (2001)<sup>5</sup>*

*“Let's assume that earlier there was no Roma and there is no separated Romani cemetery in your place of living (village or town). Would you be against burying dead Roma in your local cemetery?”*

<i>Modality</i>	N	%
No, he should be buried in local cemetery (C)	157	52,7
Maybe there should be separate place for Roma as a part of local cemetery (B)	89	29,9
Completely separated cemetery so-called Gypsy cemetery should be made (A)	42	14,1
I would be against, Roma should be buried outside our place of living (D)	10	3,4
TOTAL	298	100,0

N tabulated = 298

Missing = 2

*Our assumption was confirmed: a small majority (52.7%) of non-Roma citizens does not have anything against burying of Roma in local cemeteries, and those who have racist attitude towards burial of Roma outside place of living are statistically irrelevant.*

However, as previously undertaken research projects show this majority is not constant and sometimes depends on nation, area of living, and political situation in that area (tables 1, 2, and 3).

## INTER-ROMANI PROHIBITION OF BURIAL

Roma claim for themselves that they are religiously tolerant people; non-Roma recognize this claim as true. There are hints that Roma are more tolerant towards outside, that is towards non-Roma members of different religions and confessions, than towards nationals of different religions and confessions. It can also happen that two normally confronted religious bodies ally against the third, as it was the case with animosity of Orthodox and Muslims towards Protestant Roma.

We here analyze conflict between Orthodox and Muslim Roma about burials. Not that often, but sometimes one can hear or read in the newspapers that a Muslim group of Roma obstructed burying of their Orthodox brother in their cemetery and vice versa. We asked Roma if there were such incidents in their places of living, that is, if they heard of such incidents (research project referred in footnote 5) (table 5).

<sup>5</sup> Research project RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORTHODOX AND MUSLIM ROMANIES IN WESTERN-SOUTHEAST SERBIA, was undertaken with support of Research Support Scheme (Prague). Dragoljub B. Dorđević was supervisor, while Jovan Živković, Dragan Todorović and Vladimir Jovanović were researches.

Table 5

*ROMANI CONFLICT ABOUT CEMETERIES*

*“It happens that Orthodox Roma prohibit burying of Muslim Roma in their cemetery and vice versa – Muslim Roma obstruct burying of Orthodox Roma. What is the situation in place where you live; are there such cases in your cemetery?”*

<i>Modality</i>	N	%
Yes, there is unwritten prohibition.	95	14,3
Yes, there were such cases, but there is no rigid prohibition.	69	10,4
No, both Orthodox and Muslim Roma are buried with no difference.	114	17,2
I do not know, I have not heard about such prohibitions.	386	58,1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>664</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabulated = 664

Missing= 1

It seems that gossips and reports about it are not without bases. The biggest number of Roma (58.1%) does not know and has never heard of such prohibitions. However, one cannot neglect 14.3% of them who claim that there is unwritten prohibition of burying Roma of different faith, and 10.0% knows about such cases, despite nonexistence of rigid prohibition.

Tragic irony lies in the fact that Roma obstruct burying of Roma of other religion or confession in their cemeteries. As if problems about burying and cemeteries that they have with majority surrounding are not enough. It is not enough that they swallow racial eruptions but they demonstrate on themselves religious intolerance.

What is distribution of responses in respect to religious membership (Orthodox and Muslim Roma) and domicile area (Southeast Serbia and Southwest Serbia) (Table 5a)

Table 6a

<i>Modality</i>	<i>Orthodox R</i>		<i>Muslim R.</i>		<i>Roma in SES</i>		<i>Roma in SWS</i>		<i>Orthodox R in SES</i>		<i>Orthodox R in SWS</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	65	14,8	15	20,8	76	15,3	19	11,4	58	18,2	7	5,8
Yes, but...	48	10,9	11	15,3	55	11,0	14	8,4	40	12,5	8	6,6
No	71	16,1	17	23,6	89	17,9	25	15,1	53	16,6	18	14,9
I don't know	256	58,2	29	40,3	278	55,8	108	65,1	168	52,7	88	72,7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabul.	440	100,0	72	100,0	498	99,8	166	100,0	319	100,0	121	100,0
Missing	-	-	-	-	1	0,2	-	-	-	-	-	-

It seems that obstructing of burying of Orthodox Roma is more numerous among Muslim Roma (20.8% + 15.3% = 36.1%) than vice versa (14.8% + 10.9% = 25.7%). This is also more common in Southeast Serbia (26.3%) than in Southwest Serbia (19.8%). We can find verification for this in preliminary analyzed data gathered in the field.

ROMA AND BURIALS

As we argued above, Roma have been buried in different cemeteries. Our respondents also bury their family members in all variants of the established typology (research project referred to in footnote 5) (table 6).

Table 6

*ROMA AND CEMETERY*  
*“In which cemetery do you bury your family members?”*

<i>Modality</i>	N	%
In local cemetery (mixed with majority population) (C)	266	40,1
In local cemetery (separated from the majority population) (B)	166	25,0
In separate Romany cemetery, physically detached from local cemetery (A)	229	34,5
In some other cemetery, outside place of living (D)	3	0,5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>664</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabulated = 664

Missing = 1

The most prevailing is mixed burial of deceased persons (40.1%), which is in the same time the most preferable type of cemetery from the point of intercultural view. Type of separate Romani cemetery is close to it (34.5%). There are only three examples of racist burial of Roma outside the place of living.

Are there differences in burial of Roma in respect to confessional membership and area (6a)?

Table 6a

<i>Modality</i>	<i>Orthodox R</i>		<i>Muslim R.</i>		<i>Roma in SES</i>		<i>Roma in SWS</i>		<i>Orthodox R in SES</i>		<i>Orthodox R in SWS</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mixed	228	51,9	6	8,3	162	32,5	104	62,7	136	42,8	92	76,0
Separated	99	22,6	25	34,7	123	24,7	43	25,9	82	25,8	17	14,0
Separate Romany cemetery	111	25,3	41	56,9	212	42,6	17	10,2	100	31,4	11	9,1
Outside place of living	1	0,2	-	-	1	0,2	2	1,9	-	-	1	0,8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabul.	439	99,8	72	100,0	498	99,8	166	100,0	318	99,7	121	100,0
Missing	1	0,2	-	-	1	0,2	-	-	1	0,3	-	-

The most preferable burial (type D), that is, cemetery where there is mixed burial of Roma and members of surrounding peoples, almost completely does not exist in the case of Muslim Roma (8.3%). This corresponds with declared attitude of Muslims towards mixed burial of Roma, although they are brothers by religion. In somewhat better situation are Orthodox Roma people in SES, especially in SWS – in 76.0% they are buried with Serbs.

#### CONCLUSION

In their recent and somewhere distant past, Roma have always been buried in separate and from their place of living remote areas because of at least three reasons: a) *sharp segregation and stigmatization of the surrounding majority*; b) *internal characteristics of their culture and culture of death*; c) *turbulent socio-historical events*. If we put aside the third cause, since it predisposed movement and destiny of Roma from the time of their arrival on these areas and worked despite their differentiation in respect to religious and confessional slots, it is obvious that the first two reasons transformed during the last decades, that is, they lost their sharpness in cultural space of Serbian Orthodoxy.

General explanation follows the logic according to which, from the angle of integration and intercultural living, except burial outside place of living (D), the other types of cemeteries (A, B, C) legitimate and preferable. Since it is justifiable by civilization, culture, confession, and infrastructure, one will not make a mistake if one favors *mixed burial*, if such integration does not end in complete assimilation. Isn't it natural for two religiously same ethnos to be buried in one cemetery, but that should not end in confluence of weaker into stronger, of minority into majority; while, isn't it unnatural for the members of the same religion to separate places of their final shelter, differentiating only by skin color and striving – minority to self-ghettoization and majority to segregation.

*Cemeteries, place and type of burying of Roma are specific test of ethnic and religious tolerance.*

#### PROCEDURE

PROCEDURE DBDJ2001 FOR GATHERING OF DATA ABOUT ROMA,  
ROMANI-ORTHODOX AND ROMANI-MUSLIM CEMETERIES IN  
VILLAGES IN SOUTHEAST AND SOUTHWEST SERBIA  
(Professor Dr. Dragoljub B. Djordjevic)

<p><b>Name of the place, village:</b></p> <p><b>Distance from municipality place (in km):</b></p> <p><b>It has a church:</b> a) <i>yes</i>      b) <i>no</i></p> <p><b>It has a mosque:</b> a) <i>yes</i>      b) <i>no</i></p> <p><b>Population</b> (census from 1991):</p> <p><b>Number of Roma</b> (exactly or approximately):</p> <p><b>Prevail</b> (circle): a) <i>Orthodox Roma</i>      b) <i>Muslim Roma</i></p> <p><b>Does the number of Roma increase or decrease?</b> a) <i>Increases</i>      b) <i>decreases</i></p> <p><b>Reasons for moving:</b> _____</p> <p><b>If there are no Roma, were there any before?</b> a) <i>yes</i>      b) <i>no</i></p>
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**Orthodox Roma celebrate:** 1) *Only Đurđevdan* 2) *Only Vasilica (so-called. Romany New Year)* 3) *Only slava (name day)* 4) *Đurđevdan and Vasilica* 5) *Đurđevdan and slava* 6) *Vasilica and slava* 7) *Đurđevdan, Vasilica and slava* 8) *They do not celebrate anything from the above*  
**Orthodox Roma celebrate** *litije (religious procession), zavetina (village religious festival)*, a) **yes** b) **no**  
**Are Orthodox Roma so-called believers of three-four rites** (baptizing, marriage, slava, funeral service): a) **yes** b) **no** (describe):

**Muslim Roma celebrate:** 1) *Only Đurđevdan* 2) *Only Vasilica (so-called Romany New Year)* 3) *Đurđevdan and Vasilica*  
**Some Muslim Roma celebrate** *litije (religious procession), zavetina, that is village religious festival*: a) **yes** b) **no**; *slava*: a) **yes** b) **no**  
**Muslim Roma:**  
 1. *circumcise children*: a) **yes** b) **no**  
 2. *Go to mosque on regular bases*: a) **yes** b) **no**  
 3. *bury according to Muslim law*: a) **yes** b) **no** 4. *Fast for Ramadan* : a) **yes** b) **no**  
 5. *celebrate Ramadan and Kurban Bairam*: a) **yes** b) **no**

**Roma are buried:**  
 a) *In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated (how and how much) from so-called Serbian, that is Muslim;*  
 b) *In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected (how) with so-called Serbian, that is Muslim;*  
 c) *In so-called Serbian, that is Muslim cemetery (how) mixed with other citizens;*  
 d) *In some other cemetery, outside place of living (reasons: prohibitions, tradition and so on.)*

#### Description of cemetery

Brief description should be on the back side of the paper general condition of cemetery (hygiene and keeping); is it fenced or not; condition of grave (fenced or not, elements of kitsch, craft elements or elements of so called peoples' craft, which colors prevail); condition of monument (quality, keeping, deceased person information and its grammatical correctness); epitaphs (note); are there any busts, chapels and similar; cases of Muslim Roma who were buried in Orthodox cemetery and vice versa; if it is separate Romany cemetery compare it with the condition of Serbian, that is Muslim; name cases of shabby Romany cemeteries and graves and similar.





**Dragoljub B. Đorđević**

**SOCIAL, ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DISTANCE  
TOWARDS ROMA OF SERBIA  
(Empirical report for 1999-2002)**

*“Social distance would thus represent a continuum  
which goes from intimate and warm  
relationships through indifferent to hostile.”*

Rudi Supek

INTRODUCTION

A fact which shows that Roma, that ethnic group with unique status of ethno-class in contemporary acumen, are always and everywhere marginalized to the threshold of endurance, socially, culturally and economically moved away, discriminated, segregated and cleansed, has already become a general statement. Everywhere and always they have been stigmatized, not accepted and mistreated, expelled and exterminated, Roma became – not because they wanted to – specific test of democratization for any society and nobody can say that the status of national minorities is solved if they feel threatened (Djordjevic, 2002b). As trans-border ethnic and cultural group, or European minority, Roma are the litmus test for the condition of social, ethnic, and religious relationships in Europe in general and in each country in particular. Noticeable variations – reported growth or reduction of – ethnic distance towards them precisely demonstrate expansion or drop of xenophobic atmosphere, outbursts of nationalism and chauvinism and racist deeds. In peaceful times, those without waves in the public, the amount of *social-ethnic-religious distance* towards Roma are constant and, by rule, are the highest. Population of Serbia also acts in accordance with this rule (see more in the collection of papers Theoretical and Methodological outline written by D. Todorovic and L. Milosevic).

This is why the following article, on the bases of a number of empirical research projects undertaken under my supervision from 1999 to this year, reports on ethnic distance towards Roma. The article will thus firstly concentrate on the research project that studied the citizens of Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija, which was undertaken in 1999.<sup>1</sup> Then, we will discuss public opinion analysis of citizens of Nis (population that belongs to town of Nis), which was undertaken during summer that followed.<sup>2</sup> In 2001, we studied popula-

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<sup>1</sup> Research project SOCIOCULTURAL ADAPTATION OF THE ROMA IN SERBIA IN THE TRANSITION PROCESSES – INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION OR SEGREGATION? (1998-2000) was financed by Research Support Scheme (Prague). Research team consisted of Dragoljub B. Djordjevic – team leader, Dragana R. Masovic and Bogdan Djurovic, researches.

<sup>2</sup> Research project PUBLIC OPINION IN LOCAL ABOUT LOCAL PROBLEMS (2000), financed by Civic Alternatives (Belgrade). Dragoljub B. Djordjevic supervised project segment "What are like Roma, our neighbors?"

tion in Southeast and Southwest Serbia.<sup>3</sup> And finally, at the end of 2001 and beginning of 2002 we studied population of Bujanovac and Presevo.<sup>4</sup> I will first present tables and then first, raw conclusions for the further discussion.

TABLE REPORTS

*Ethnic and social distance*

Table 1

(Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija, 1999)

*ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA*

*(Bogarthus)*

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>marriage</i>	<i>friends</i>	<i>neighbor</i>	<i>company</i>	<i>boss</i>	<i>town</i>	<i>country</i>
Serb	79,5%	24,0%	30,0%	18,0%	51,5%	16,9%	15,0%
Muslim	92,0%	23,5%	59,0%	25,5%	60,8%	23,5%	14,0%
Hungarian	55,0%	20,0%	17,0%	10,5%	15,6%	5,2%	6,0%
Yugoslav	58,0%	13,0%	16,0%	9,7%	16,1%	6,5%	6,0%

*Legend:*

Percentage is given for negative attitude

Table 2

(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA*

*(Bogarthus)*

*Serb and Muslim/Bosnjak*

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Yes</i> N / %		<i>No</i> N / %		<i>Neutral</i> N / %		<i>TOTAL</i> N / %	
Marriage	32	11,0	226	77,4	34	11,6	292	100,0
Friends	166	56,8	87	29,8	39	13,4	292	100,0
Neighbor	153	52,8	103	35,5	34	11,7	290	100,0
Company	185	63,6	80	27,5	26	8,9	291	100,0
Boss	110	37,8	141	48,5	40	13,7	291	100,0
Town	198	68,0	67	23,0	26	8,9	291	100,0
Country	199	68,4	66	22,7	26	8,9	291	100,0

<sup>3</sup> Research project RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORTHODOX AND MUSLIM ROMA IN WESTERN-SOUTHEAST SERBIA, was undertaken with support of Research Support Scheme (Prague). Dragoljub B. Đorđević was supervisor, while Jovan Živković, Dragan Todorović and Vladimir Jovanović were researchers.

<sup>4</sup> Research project THE ROMA BETWEEN THE SRBS AND ALBANIANS IN BUJANOVAC AND PREŠEVO (Political and cultural causes of conflicts) (2001-2002) was supported by Program on Global Security and Cooperation Social Science Research Council (Washington). Research team consisted of Dragoljub B. Đorđević – team leader, Jovan Živković and Vladimir Jovanović, researchers.

Table 3  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001/2)

*ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA  
(Bogarthus)  
Serb and Albanian*

<i>Modality Relationship</i>	Yes N / %		No N / %		Neutral N / %		TOTAL N / %	
Marriage	15	5,6	251	93,0	4	1,5	270	100,0
Friends	151	55,9	111	41,1	8	3,0	270	100,0
Neighbor	153	56,7	114	42,2	3	1,1	270	100,0
Company	169	62,6	101	37,4	-	-	270	100,0
Boss	44	16,3	226	83,7	-	-	270	100,0
Town	170	63,0	99	36,7	1	1,4	270	100,0
Country	186	68,9	84	31,1	-	-	270	100,0

Table 3a  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001/2)

*ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA  
(Bogarthus)  
Serb*

<i>Modality Relationship</i>	Yes N / %		No N / %		Neutral N / %		TOTAL N / %	
Marriage	13	8,9	129	88,4	4	2,7	146	100,0
Friends	76	52,1	62	42,5	8	5,5	146	100,0
Neighbor	70	47,9	73	50,0	3	2,1	146	100,0
Company	80	54,8	66	45,2	-	-	146	100,0
Boss	36	24,7	110	75,3	-	-	146	100,0
Town	86	58,9	59	40,4	1	0,7	146	100,0
Country	95	65,1	51	34,9	-	-	146	100,0

Table 3b  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001/2)

*ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA  
(Bogarthus)  
Albanian*

<i>Modality Relationship</i>	Yes N / %		No N / %		TOTAL N / %	
Marriage	2	1,6	122	98,4	124	100,0
Friends	75	60,5	49	39,5	124	100,0
Neighbor	83	66,9	41	33,1	124	100,0
Company	89	71,8	35	28,2	124	100,0
Boss	8	6,5	116	93,5	124	100,0
Town	84	67,7	40	32,3	124	100,0
Country	91	73,4	33	26,6	124	100,0

*Marriage – Ethnic and Religious Distance*

Table 4  
(Town Nis, 2000)

*MARRIAGES*  
(Ethnic and Religious Distance)  
“Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?”

*Nationality*

Modality	Serb N / %	
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	4	2,0
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	11	5,5
Regardless of religion and confession	27	13,5
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	158	79,0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Table 5  
(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*ETHNIC DISTANCE: MARRIAGES*  
“I would marry a Rom”  
*Serb and Muslim/ Bosnjak*

Modality	N	%
Yes	32	11,0
No	226	77,4
Neutral	34	11,6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabulated = 300  
Missing = 8

Table 5a  
(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*MARRIAGES*  
(Ethnic and Religious Distance)  
“Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?”

*Serb and Muslim/ Bosnjak*

Modality	N	%
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	15	5,1
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	20	6,8
Regardless of religion and confession	48	16,4
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	209	71,6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100,0</b>

N tabulated = 292  
Missing = 8

Table 6  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001/2)

*MARRIAGES*

*(Ethnic and Religious Distance)*

*“Would you approve of your daughter, son, sister, brother... getting married to a Roma?  
Would you yourself get married to a Roma?”*

*Nationality*

Modality	Serb		Albanian	
	N	%	N	%
Only if he/she is of the same religion (Christianity, Islam)	11	7,7	–	–
Only if he/she is of the same confession (Orthodox, Sunnite)	15	10,5	1	0,7
Regardless of religion and confession	18	12,6	2	1,4
Not at all even if he or she is of the same religion or confession	99	69,2	143	97,9
TOTAL	143	100,0	146	100,0

N tabulated = 289

Missing = 11

*Neighbor – Ethnic and Social Distance*

Table 7  
(Town Nis, 2000)

*ROMA AND MAHALAS*

*“Many people claim that it is better for the Roma to live in their mahalas such as the  
Beogradmala, the Stočni trg, the Nišavsko korito, etc., than to mix with others.  
What do you think about it?”*

*Serb*

Modality	N	%
Yes, I completely agree	61	30,7
Yes, I partially agree	33	16,6
I cannot make up my mind about it	31	15,6
No, I do not agree with it partially	13	6,5
No, I do not agree with it at all	57	28,6
I do not know	4	2,0
TOTAL	199	100,0

N tabulated = 199

Missing = 1

Table 8  
(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*ETHNIC DISTANCE: NEIGHBOUR*  
*“I would live in the same neighborhood with a Rom”*  
*Serb and Muslim/Bosnjak*

Modality	N	%
Yes	153	52,8
No	103	35,5
Neutral	34	11,7
TOTAL	290	100,0

N tabulated = 300, Missing = 10

Table 8a  
(Southwest and Southeast Serbia, 2001)

*ROMA AND MAHALAS*  
*“Many people claim that it is better for the Roma to live in their mahalas such as the Beogradmala, the Stočni trg, the Nišavsko korito, etc., than to mix with others. What do you think about it?”*  
*Serb and Muslim/ Bosnjak*

Modality	N	%
Yes, I completely agree	73	24,6
Yes, I partially agree	47	15,8
I cannot make up my mind about it	60	20,2
No, I do not agree with it partially	31	10,4
No, I do not agree with it at all	75	25,3
I do not know	11	3,7
TOTAL	297	100,0

N tabulated = 297, Missing = 3

Table 9  
(Presevo and Bujanovac, 2001/2)

*GHETTO CONSCIOUSNESS*  
*“Many claim that it is better for Roma to live in their mahalas than to mix with others. What do you think about that?”*

*Nationality*

Modality	Serb		Albanian	
	N	%	N	%
Yes, I agree completely	35	24,0	–	–
Yes, I partially agree	29	19,9	9	6,3
I am in two minds about that	29	19,9	30	20,8
No, I partially disagree	4	2,7	14	9,7
No, I do not agree at all	41	28,1	62	43,1
I do not know	8	5,5	29	20,1
TOTAL	146	100,0	144	100,0

N tabulated = 300, Missing = 10

## CONCLUSION

B. Djurovic (2002b: 680) discussed in details results of the research project that dealt with social and ethnic distance that population of Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija have towards Roma, that is attitudes of Serbs, Muslims, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs (Table 1). "Taking into consideration the research done so far that has pointed to a high degree of the Roma' social exclusion as well as a discriminatory attitude towards them in all the environments they live in, this research has confirmed their troubled adaptation in Serbia as well. Exposed to discrimination and negative stereotypes they (subconsciously) create various defense mechanisms thus building their own socio-cultural model that would probably alleviate the effects of the negative attitude towards them. Still, this model would, on the other hand, contribute even more to their segregation or assimilation while, at the same time, it would create among other nations a prejudice about the impossibility of their integration. The research data point to a very high degree of the social, ethnic and racial distance towards the Roma in Serbia and this has, unfortunately, confirmed almost all of our hypothesis."

The conclusion of our research (see footnote 1) is unequivocal, namely, the greater assumed social closeness, the greater social distance is. One can find stronger social distance among Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks than among Hungarians.

Results<sup>5</sup> which relate only to Serbs, Muslims/Bosnjaks, and Albanians allow having the following conclusions:

*I Ethnic and social distance**Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks in Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija*

1. If we exempt marriages (77,4%), than social distance among both Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks goes below 50%.
2. Mean of ethnic and social distance is 31,2%.
3. Mean would be even lower if there was not somewhat bigger ethnic and social distance towards Rom neighbor (35,5%) and boss at work (48,5%).
4. We confirmed that ethnic and social distance linearly decreases with social remoteness.
5. Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks in Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija do not accept a Rom for boss at work.

*Serbs and Albanians in Presevo and Bujanovac (A)*

1. If we exempt marriages (93,0%), than social and ethnic distance among both Serbs and Albanians goes below 50%, except in the case of accepting a Rom for boss at work (83,7%).
2. Mean of ethnic and social distance is 45,4%.
3. Mean would be even lower if there was not extremely high rejection of Roma for being bosses at work (83,7%).
4. Ethnic and social distance of Serbs and Albanians from Presevo and Bujanovac is for 15% higher in comparison to Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks in Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija (45,4%>31,2%).
5. We confirmed that ethnic and social distance linearly decreases with social remoteness.
6. Serbs and Albanians from Presevo and Bujanovac do not accept a Rom for a boss at work.

<sup>5</sup> Percentage is given for negative attitude.

*Serbs and Albanians in Presevo and Bujanovac (B)*

1. If we exempt marriages (Serbs = 88,4%; Albanians = 98,4%), than looking separately, ethnic and social distance goes below 50% both among Serbs and Albanians, except in the case of accepting a Rom for a boss at work (75,3%; 93,5%)
2. Mean of ethnic and social distance is somewhat lower among Serbs (48,1%) than among Albanians (42,2%).

*II Marriage – ethnic and religious distance*

1. Ethnic and religious distance on the example of marriage with a Rom, measured with Bogarthus and D. B. Djordjevic scale, is extremely high and it is always above 70,0%.
2. Ethnic and religious distance on the example of marriage with a Rom is the lowest among Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks (together) in Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija (71,6%), measured with D. B. Djordjevic scale, and is the highest among Albanians from Presevo and Bujanovac (98,4%), measured with Bogarthus scale.
3. Majority of citizens of Nis, Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks (together) from Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija and Serbs and Albanians (separately and together) from Presevo and Bujanovac would not accept a Rom for a family member.

*III Neighbor – ethnic and social distance*

1. Only among Serbs from Presevo and Bujanovac, using Bogarthus scale, distance towards Roma as neighbors is 50%.
2. Using Bogaarthus scale as a measure, ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors decreases as we go from Serbs and Albanians (together) from Presevo and Bujanovac (42,2%), Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks (together) from Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija (35,5%) to Albanians (separately) from Presevo and Bujanovac (33,1%).
3. Measured indirectly with Djordjevic's scale – by using modality: “I completely agree that it is better for Roma to live in their mahalas than to mix with others” – ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors decreases (citizens of Nis – 30,7%; Serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks /together/ from Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija – 24,6%; Serbs from Presevo and Bujanovac – 24,0%).
4. Measured indirectly with Djordjevic's scale – by using modality: “I completely agree that it is better for Roma to live in their mahalas than to mix with others”- none of the Albanians expressed ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors.
5. Measured indirectly with Djordjevic's scale, when we add modalities “I completely agree” with modality “I partially agree”, ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors increases (citizens of Nis – 47,3%; Serbs from Presevo and Bujanovac – 43,0%; serbs and Muslims/Bosnjaks /together/ from Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija – 40,4%) and at average is higher than figures affirmed with Bogarthus scale).
6. Measured indirectly with Djordjevic's scale – by using modality: “I partially agree that it is better for Roma to live in their mahalas than to mix with others” – irrelevant 6,3% Albanians (separately) from Presevo and Bujanovac shows ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors.



*IV Summary*

1. There is still inadmissibly high ethnic-social-religious distance towards Roma among Serbs, Muslims/Bosnjaks, and Albanians.
2. Ethnic-social-religious distance towards Roma among Serbs, Muslims/Bosnjaks, and Albanians is the highest when we talk about marriage – it is always higher than 70,0% and in some cases is even 98,4%.
3. Among Serbs, Muslims/Bosnjaks, and Albanians ethnic and social distance towards Roma reaches high percentage also when we talk about accepting a Rom for a boss at work – it goes from 48,5% to 93,5%.
4. Among Serbs, Muslims/Bosnjaks, and Albanians ethnic and social distance towards Roma as neighbors is never higher than 50% - measured with Bogarthus scale it goes from 33,1% to 50,0%, and by Djordjevic's scale from 6,3% to 47,3%.
5. We confirmed that ethnic, social and religious distance decreases with social remoteness but not always linearly.



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## **SOCIAL DISTANCE OF ROMAS OF SOUTHEASTERN AND SOUTHWESTERN SERBIA TOWARDS MEMBERS OF OTHER NATIONS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES**

### INTRODUCTION

In the sociopsychological research projects dealing with Romas in Serbia, the measurement of the social distance of the majority population towards Romas has mostly suffered from two kinds of shortcomings, namely, a) either the samples were small and with professionally and generation-limited groups (pupils, students) or, b) when the sample was representative, these problems were taken into consideration only marginally. For its comprehensiveness and representativeness of its samples the work done by Bogdan Đurović, “Social and Ethnic Distance towards Romas in Serbia,”<sup>1</sup> stands out. The results of the empirical research have confirmed the author’s basic hypothesis that “the greater the assumed social proximity is, the greater social distance is” (2002b: 82). Yet, when the attitudes towards Albanians and Macedonians were checked up, it turned out that Romas were not lagging in expressing a relatively high degree of social distance towards other nations.

Are Romas, as undoubtedly marginalized ethnic group, inter-ethnically more tolerant than members of other nations and national minorities? Among other nations the stereotyped view confirms it but is it really like that? We will try to highlight, by a brief analysis of the data from our research, this – so far unduly neglected – domain of the social and ethnic distance.

### THE DETERMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE “SOCIAL DISTANCE”

The concept of the social distance is defined in different ways but it is most often related to E. Bogardus since he in 1925. first constructed the technique whose specific goal is measurement and comparison of attitudes towards different nations. By the social distance Bogardus assumed the extent of understanding and psychological closeness (that is, detachment) with respect to various individuals or groups. His *scale of social distance* consists of a certain number of assertions chosen *a priori* as appropriate for provoking the answers that would be indicators for the extent of acceptance of any national group on the part of the subject. There follows the list of 7 characteristic attitudes, namely, 1, close kinship

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<sup>1</sup> *Kultura*, 103-104: 77-96, 2002. The paper presents presentation of a part of the research project entitled *SOCIOCULTURAL ADAPTATION OF THE ROMANIES IN SERBIA IN THE TRANSITION PROCESSES – INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION OR SEGREGATION?* (1998-2000) financed by the Research *Support Scheme* (Prague, Czech Republic). The research team included: Dragoljub B. Đorđević – team leader (Romas' religiosity), Dragana R. Mašović (Culture and education of Romas) and Bogdan Đurović (Social and ethnic distance towards Romas).

through marriage, 2, membership in the same club as an expression of close friendship, 3, living in the same street, 4, employment in the same company, 5, citizenship in the same state, 6 visit to a country and 7, expulsion from the country. The examined should answer with “yes” or “no” and, in this way, they should say whether they are inclined to accept each of these relations with a member of some group.<sup>2</sup> The scale is in its original or modified form still in use today.

#### ABOUT THE RESEARCH

The paper presents a part of the results of the three-year long socio-empirical research of the classical religion of Romas that was carried out, under the title of *RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORTHODOX AND MUSLIM ROMAS IN WESTERN-SOUTHEAST SERBIA* (2000-2002), for the *Research Support Scheme* (Prague, Czeck Republic). The field interviewing was done in July and August, 2001. The research team consisted of Dragoljub B. Đorđević (leader), Jovan Živković, Dragan Todorović and Vladimir Jovanović (researchers).

The sample on which the interviews would be carried out was formed by the statistical analysis of the data from Census 1991 and the secondary analysis of other data and facts to be gathered after field research of the population over the age of 18. According to the quota sampling model, the sample consists of 700 Romanies and 300 non-Romanies (200 Serbs and 100 Muslims), situated proportionally in ten counties. All of the activities mentioned had a contribution in the creation of the *Standardized questionnaire*, which is composed of four parts: individual-social matrix, general set of questions for Romanies and non-Romanies, a number of questions exclusively for Romanies and, finally, a number of questions exclusively for non-Romanies.

#### INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

The examined Romas were required to circle one of the offered five answers in order to show which of the offered relations they are ready to accept or refuse with the average member of each of 13 listed national and ethnic groups, namely, Montenegro, Croat, Macedonian, Serb, Bosnian, Slovenian, Roma, Bulgarian, Albanians, Hungarian, Muslim, Romanian and Turk. It should be said that the examined could, apart from a making a firm choice between “yes” and “no”, choose the solution “indecisive” which alleviates the strictness of the obtained answers.

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<sup>2</sup> More about it in: Dejvid Kreč, Ričard S. Kračfild, Igerton L. Balaki (1972), *Pojedinac u društvu (Individual in the Society)*, Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva; V. Gud and P. Het (1966), *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja (Methods of Social Research)*, Beograd, Vuk Karadžić.

Table 1

“GET MARRIED TO”	NO
Albanian	72,8
Turk	62,1
Croatian	59,1
Muslim	57,1
Bosnian	52,5
Bulgarian	50,2
Romanian	47,5
Hungarian	47,2
Slovenian	46,8
Macedonian	41,2
Montenegro	37,9
Serb	21,4
Roma	1,8

The majority of Romas, comprising more than a half of them, would never get married to an Albanian, Turk, Croat, Muslim, Bosnian and Bulgarian. Less than a half of Romas - though still high in percentage in the negative sense - would not marry a Romanian (47,5%), Hungarian (47,2%), Slovenian (46,8%) and Macedonian (41,2%). “The most privileged” are Montenegros (37,9%) and Serbs (21,4%).

Table 2

“HAVE HIM OR HER AS A FRIEND”	NO
Albanian	51,3
Turk	37,8
Croatian	34,7
Muslim	32,1
Bosnian	27,4
Bulgarian	24,9
Hungarian	23,7
Romanian	23,4
Slovenian	21,9
Montenegro	15,0
Macedonian	15,0
Serb	3,3
Roma	0,9

More than half of Romas would not accept an Albanian even as a friend (51,3%). Any friendship with a Turk or Croat would be rejected by more than a third of Romas, with a Muslim or Bosnian more than a fourth of Romas while with a Bulgarian, Hungarian, Romanian and Slovenian more than a fifth of the examined Romas. The most desirable as friends (15% each) are Montenegros and Serbs.

Table 3

“LIVE IN HIS OR HER NEIGHBORHOOD”	NO
Albanian	49,2
Turk	36,4
Croatian	31,9
Muslim	31,2
Bosnian	25,7
Bulgarian	24,7
Romanian	23,7
Hungarian	22,9
Slovenian	20,1
Macedonian	14,0
Montenegro	11,2
Serb	2,4
Roma	1,1

Again, almost half of Romas (49,2%) is unfavorable towards members of Albanian national community – they would not have them as neighbors. More than a third (36,4%) would have a Turk in their neighborhood, more than a fourth a Croat, Muslim and Bosnian while more than a fifth would have a Bulgarian, Romanian, Hungarian and Slovenian. There are considerably fewer Romas who have objections against a Macedonian (14%) and Montenegro (11,2%), while the distance towards Serbs in this case is negligible (2,4%).

Table 4

“WORK IN THE SAME COMPANY”	NO
Albanian	40,8
Turk	31,6
Croatian	27,4
Muslim	26,0
Bosnian	21,2
Bulgarian	21,0
Romanian	19,4
Hungarian	18,2
Slovenian	17,3
Macedonian	13,0
Montenegro	11,6
Serb	2,1
Roma	1,1

The work in the same company with an Albanian is problematic for 40,8% Romas. About one third of them would not work together with a Turk while more than a fourth with a Croat or Muslim. Less negative percentage relations are evidently related to Macedonians and Montenegrans while the least are related to Serbs.

Table 5

“HAVE HIM OR HER AS A BOSS”	NO
Albanian	54,0
Turk	42,3
Croatian	38,2
Muslim	37,1
Bulgarian	35,6
Romanian	33,6
Bosnian	33,4
Hungarian	31,3
Slovenian	24,6
Macedonian	22,4
Montenegro	20,3
Serb	3,8
Roma	3,7

To have an Albanian as a boss at work is rejected by 54% Romas, while 42,3% would not like to see a Turk in this position; more than a third of the examined Romas also refuse cooperation with Croats, Muslims, Bulgarians, Romanians and Bosnians. The negative distance does not fall below one fifth in the case of Hungarians, Slovenians, Macedonians and Montenegros, either while it is almost non-existent with Serbs.

Table 6

“LIVE IN THE SAME CITY”	NO
Albanian	44,6
Turk	33,0
Muslim	29,4
Croatian	29,2
Bosnian	23,6
Bulgarian	23,2
Hungarian	22,5
Romanian	22,4
Slovenian	19,5
Macedonian	13,2
Montenegro	10,2
Serb	1,7
Roma	1,4

Neither is living in the same town with Albanians desirable for a great majority of Romas (44,6%). About a third of the examined would not accept it in the case of Turks, Muslims and Croats while more than a fifth do not want to have Bosnians, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Romanies as their co-citizens.

Table 7

“LIVE IN THE SAME STATE”	NO
Albanian	44,6
Turk	34,0
Croatian	29,7
Muslim	29,0
Bulgarian	23,8
Bosnian	23,3
Romanian	22,7
Hungarian	22,6
Slovenian	19,8
Macedonian	13,2
Montenegro	9,9
Serb	2,0
Roma	1,4

Not even the most benign form of social life records any less social distance of Romas towards Albanians, namely, even 44,6% of the examined Romas do not want the members of this national group in the common state. The other percentages correlate with the statements considering living in the same town.

#### CONCLUSION

The most prominent social distance the Romas manifest towards Albanians both when it comes to proximity (readiness for making kinship relations through marriage – 72,8%) and when it comes to the lowest form of proximity (life in the common state – 44,6%). In each of the given forms it does not fall beneath forty percent and it can surely be interpreted as an exceptionally high social distance towards other nations. There is an evident xenophobic orientation with an almost unchanged sequence in all the options, namely towards the citizens of Turkish, Croatian, Muslim and Bosnian nationality. In somewhat lower percentage the distance is evident towards Bulgarians, Romanians, Hungarians and Slovenians. Macedonians and Montenegrines are not experienced as a “danger” (except in the cases of marriage and acceptance as one's superior at work, the negative attitude is expressed by less than 15% of the examined). The majority population enjoys an almost limitless confidence of Romany people: even every fifth Roman man or woman would not be married to a Serbian woman or man.

The ethnic distance towards Romas has been written about a lot. The researchers, however, have not questioned the opposite process enough, that is, acceptance or refusal of other national and ethnic groups by the Romany people themselves. Our research has covered the territory of Southeastern and Southwestern Serbia; thus, the interpreted results do not have a universal significance for the overall Romany population in Serbia.

The need for adaptation into the existing dominant social and cultural models of the majority population induced in Romas the desire not to be distinct from the surroundings. Not very rarely it also means silent adherence to the deeply rooted stereotypes with negative implications so as not to induce any doubts about their loyalty. Romas really want to be respected and accepted by the majority, Serbian population as equals regardless of



how the majority population is ready for it or not. The future scientific research would have to deal much more seriously with answering the following questions regarding the *worrying social distance towards members of other nations, except for the majority one, a) a matter of mimicry and avoiding any decisive statement in order to avoid being ascribed the role of the constant guilty party for numerous misfortunes that occurred in the region in the last ten years or b) a real expression of intolerance of the Romany people.*



**Dragoljub B. Đorđević**

## **THE ROMA FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA AND “THE OTHERS”**

*“We – ‘the whites’ – know what we think, but  
Those – ‘sooty’ – boys, what do they think of us?”*

### INTRODUCTION

Today, at the crossing of centuries, for many reasons among which are not only scientific ones, interest for sociological study of the Roma has increased. This is why Romology, as a synthetic discipline about Roma, has been developing and spreading fast, embracing many areas: from studying social poverty, through the analysis of Romani intellectuals, to the research of religion and customs. It is thus reasonable to expect the directing of attention towards having a detailed and valid picture of social distance towards the Roma. As it has been noticed before, that picture represents a precise indicator of the general spread of nationalism and chauvinism, xenophobia and racism among populations (Đorđević, 2002c:257). The so-called Romology School of Niš was mostly occupied by this task, especially while undertaking a series of empirical research projects and working on standardization of a number of methodological tools (Đorđević, 2001c, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003c; Đurović, 2003; Milošević and Todorović, 2002, Milošević and Stojić-Atanasov, 2003). On the other hand, it is very surprising that, although Sociology of Roma is progressing, there has been almost no research done about social distance of the Roma towards non-Roma. Apart from the article *Social Distance of Roma of Southeastern and Southwestern Serbia towards Members of Other Nations and National Minorities* (Todorović, Milošević, Đorđević, 2002), written again by members of the above mentioned school, we could hardly find another bibliographical unit with the same topic in the domestic literature.

We would like to say that Serbs, Macedonians, Albanians, Bulgarians... have always been asked about their opinion of Roma, while the reverse was very rare. Well, the time came for the things to change, following the formulation of the motto: *“We – ‘the whites’ – know what we think, but those – ‘sooty’ – boys, what do they think of us?”* Since at least among Serbs there are positive stereotypes about Roma's opinion of them. We will first present religious-confessional and religious panorama of the Roma from the Southeastern Serbia (further in the text SES), since it is considered to be significant background determinant of attitudes towards “the others” and “different”. After that we will analyze their willingness practice religious rituals with non-Roma and accept blood from them, as well as the issues of burial of Roma and general attitude towards non-Romani population.

Background for this will represent results from empirical research *Quality of Interethnic Relations, Consciousness about Regional Identity and Possibilities of Cooperation and Integration in the Balkans*, undertaken in 2003 in SES, under my management and as a part of the project “Cultural and Ethnic Relationships in the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration” (Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, 2002-

2004). There were 600 respondents in the sample, which was also formed in respect to national affiliation (Serbs, Roma, Bulgarians, and Albanians), whereas there were 108 Roma, that is 109<sup>1</sup>, distributed in the following places: Niš and Merošina, Prokuplje and Žitorađa, Leskovac and Bojnik, Preševo and Bujanovac (see Table 1). In very comprehensive questionnaire (82 questions), only Roma answered 78-82 battery of questions, the one here interpreted, while they did not answer 68-77 group of questions. Roma have been interviewed by highly qualified interviewers, among which there were Roma too.

Having in mind until now undertaken research projects, that we by chance partially or totally coordinated, we have very nice opportunity to reveal results, compare data and state valid conclusions.

Table 1

*DISTRIBUTION OF ROMA BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE*

COUNTY-MUNICIPALITY	N Roma
<i>County of Niš (in total)</i>	34
Niš	30
Merošina	4
<i>County of Toplica</i>	20
Prokuplje	10
Žitorađa	10
<i>County of Jablanica</i>	42
Leskovac	32
Bojnik	10
<i>County of Pčinja</i>	12
Preševo	6
Bujanovac	6
TOTAL	108

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

*Denomination of the Roma*

Traditionally, the Roma from this area belong to Christian (since Stevan Nemanja – XII century) and Islamic religious culture. In Serbia in general and in SES in particular *Christian Orthodox Roma and Muslim Sunni Roma* make majority. The former have primacy in past and present, although there were reversals during certain periods in history and migration movements. Namely, as we explained in the recent article (Đorđević, 2003c:93-94), the first immigrants belonged to Coptic Church, a confession close to East Christianity; these immigrants then traversed to Christian Orthodoxy and painlessly fitted into the new community. Not before XV century, the second, much more numerous wave of Roma plashed Serbia. These Roma accompanied Ottomans – Turkish invaders, who ruled over Serbian lands for five centuries, until XIX century – and as members of Islam

<sup>1</sup> One of the interviewers unilaterally decided to add one more Romani respondent.

had some small but still privileges. In those times even Christian Orthodox Serbs converted to Islam. After the Ottomans had left, the natural process took place – forcefully or not, Muslim Romani population returned to Christian Orthodoxy or it was converted to it – East Christian Roma gained numerical victory.

Again referring to the above mentioned article (2003c: 94), we emphasize that “this historical destiny is so deeply cut into the sub consciousness of the populations, especially in SES and other regions, that even today Roma, not only by surrounding people (Serbs, Bulgarians, Macedonians and Albanians) but also by themselves are divided into two groups: 1) *Gadžikano Roma* /Christian Orthodox, domicile, aboriginal; Serbian Gypsies, that is for those nobody knows when they arrived or they arrived long time ago/; and 2) *Korane – Xoraxano Roma* (Turkish, Muslim, Koran Gypsies, for whom people remember when they came to Serbia”.

Academics warn that in SES, thanks to breach of *Christian-Protestants*, this Romani twofold religious-confessional scheme – Christian Orthodox and Muslim Sunni – is being violated and transformed to threefold one. What lies behind this phenomenon?

Table 2

CONFESSONAL AFFILIATION OF ROMA  
 “What is your confessional affiliation?”

MODALITY	N	%
Serbian Orthodoxy	11	10,1
Muslim (member of Islam)	39	35,8
Protestant	29	26,6
Roman Catholic	1	0,9
Something else, what? _____	1	0,9
I do not recognize any confessional affiliation	4	3,7
I do not know what is my confessional affiliation	6	5,5
I do not want to say	18	16,5
TOTAL	109	100,0

N of tabulated = 109

No answer = 0

This year's research project supports the hint of *protestantization of Southern Roma*: what would be the other way of interpreting the data that witness that Roma Protestants are the second largest group in SES, which 26.6 % confirm – right after Muslim Roma but before Christian Orthodox Roma. Although the data are exclusive, since this trend is noted for the first time in the short history of studying religious culture of Roma, they are not so unexpected for members of Romology School of Niš, unlike other sociologists of religion.

Protestantization of Roma takes place in the whole of Serbia, but not in the same extent and intensity as it is the case in SES to be statistically relevant; for example among population of the Republic of Serbia without Kosovo and Metohija (Table 2a) or Bujanovac and Preševo, region with majority Muslim population (Table 2b); *protestantization of Roma is immediate future*. Until then Christian Orthodoxy will still prevail among total Romani population, whereas Muslim Roma will prevail in traditionally Islamic regions.

Table 2a (Đorđević and others, Research Project 1999)<sup>2</sup>

*CONFESSSIONAL AFFILIATION OF ROMA IN SERBIA WITHOUT KOSOVO*  
*“What is your confessional affiliation?”*

MODALITY	N	%
Serbian Orthodoxy	437	66,2
Muslim (member of Islam)	102	15,5
Something else/I do not recognize any confessional affiliation/I do not want to say	63	9,6
I do not know what is my confessional affiliation	58	8,8
TOTAL	660	100,0

Table 2b (Đorđević and others, Research Project 2001 I)<sup>3</sup>

*CONFESSSIONAL AFFILIATION OF ROMA IN THE “PREŠEVO VALLEY”*  
*“What is your confessional affiliation?”*

MODALITY	N	%
Serbian Orthodoxy	9	6,1
Muslim (member of Islam)	100	68,0
Something else	18	12,2
I do not recognize any confessional affiliation	8	5,4
I do not know what is my confessional affiliation	9	6,1
I do not want to say	3	2,0
TOTAL	147	100,0

There is no more *urgent* job for sociologists of religion than to study protestantization of Roma, since the phenomenon is current and “alive”, still taking place and boiling, it should be encircled before it stops, “dies out” and “stones”, becomes institutionalized and part of the routine. There is no more *appreciative* job for sociologists of religion than researching protestantization of Roma since the phenomenon is so complex, far reaching and determining that involves in itself everything that Sociology of religion should investigate. They should start with solving the riddle: “*What is protestantization of Roma – evangelization, conversion or pure proselytism?*” Or maybe a little bit from everything.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Research project SOCIOCULTURAL ADAPTATION OF THE ROMANIES IN SERBIA IN THE TRANSITION PROCESSES – INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION OR SEGREGATION? (1998-2000) supported by Research Support Scheme (Prague). Members of the research team were Dragoljub B. Đorđević – coordinator, Dragana R. Mašović and Bogdan Đurović, researchers.

<sup>3</sup> Research Project THE ROMANIES BETWEEN THE SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN BUJANOVAC AND PREŠEVO (Political and Cultural Causes of Conflict) (2001), supported by Program on Global Security and Cooperation Social Science Research Council (Washington). Members of the research team were Dragoljub B. Đorđević – coordinator, Jovan Živković and Vladimir Jovanović, researchers.

<sup>4</sup> We have tried to answer the question in the followings articles too: Đorđević, 2003a, 2003d, 2003f; Đorđević and Todorović, 2003; Todorović, 2002a.

*Religiosity of the Roma*

A couple of months ago a fruitful methodological discussion decisively recommended study of *religiosity of Roma* (Đorđević and Todorović, 2003). The problem was that some ethnologists and sociologists recklessly and often mixing them used a couple of terms: "religion of Roma" and "religiosity of Roma". In the same time ethno-linguists objected to sociologists' usage of methodology for research of Romany religiosity. Standing point is now clear: it is difficult, if not even inadmissible, to talk about some genuine religion of Roma, whereas it is justifiable to use notion "religion" only when we have in mind Romani belonging to a specific religion and confession. Sociologists easily dismissed the second objection, since if it is allowed to talk about religiosity of Roma, as members of a specific religion, then there is no reason not to use the same approach in the research, the one which is being used during empirical research of religiosity of Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians...

A number of our researches of religiosity of population in general, and Romani in particular – which was a flywheel and the object of methodological discussion – confirmed that this time we should measure religiosity of Roma by using personal religious identification (Table 3). It is clear that the scale does not state the quality of non/religiosity; nevertheless, the instrument has been checked a number of times and it gives very precise information of the spread of the phenomenon among population.

Table 3

*RELIGIOSITY OF ROMA*  
*"What is your relation towards religion? Are you personally:"*

MODALITY	N	%
Religious	65	60,7
Indifferent towards religion	23	21,5
Not religious	17	15,9
Atheist	2	1,9
TOTAL	107	100,0

N tabulated = 109

No answer = 2

*Personally 60.7% of Roma declared as religious.* This was expected and it complies with already observed results. As it says in the Table 3a, Romani religiosity varies from 50 to 80 %. An average for five researches, undertaken in five years time (1999-2003), on different samples and territories, is 64% and if for the purposes of this analysis we remove the data which stands out (81.6%), then the average is 59.7%. The average for SES is 65%. *It would be necessary to make correlation between confessional and personal religious identification and analyze influence of Protestant and Islamic background in respect to Christian Orthodoxy.*

Whatever the case is, and whatever the essence of the confession is, *Roma constantly show strong religiosity*, which is not a characteristic that majority peoples in surrounding – Serbs, Albanians, and Bulgarians – have.

Table 3a

*RELIGIOSITY OF ROMA*  
 “What is your relation towards religion? Are you personally:”

RESEARCH	Modality: RELIGIOUS	
	N	%
Socio-cultural adaptation of the Romanies in Serbia in the transition processes – integration, assimilation or segregation? (1999)	440	66,7
Religious life of Orthodox and Muslim Romanies in western-southeast Serbia (2001) <sup>5</sup>	259	52,9
The Romanies between the Serbs and Albanians in Bujanovac and Preševo (Political and cultural causes of conflicts) (2001)	86	58,5
Social consciousness, human rights, and activism of citizens in south and east Serbia (2002) <sup>6</sup>	71	81,6

*The Roma and performing of religious ceremonies with non-Roma*

We have analyzed the attitude of non-Roma towards Roma as believers many times. Since Roma from this area are *minority in two senses – ethnically and religiously* – it seems that the main principle of that attitude is to be found in readiness to practice rituals together. That readiness, as well as the general acceptance of Roma as “good” believers, is not equally spread among surrounding peoples. For example, Hungarians are in respect to that more tolerant than Serbs are, while Serbs are more tolerant than Muslims/Bosniaks (Đorđević, 2003a).

We are now making a step forward and asking Roma if they apt for conducting religious rituals with non-Roma, having in mind that this readiness represent an extreme characteristic of majorities (Table 4).

Table 4

*BEING TOGETHER IN RELIGION WITH NON-ROMA*

*“Would you, together with non-Roma coreligionists, take part in religious rituals and celebrations (communion, prayers, bowing, circumcision, patron’s days...)?”*

MODALITY	N	%
Yes, certainly	85	78,7
I doubt it, I would have second thoughts	16	14,8
No, never	7	6,5
Something else, what?	-	-
TOTAL	108	100,0

N tabulated = 109

No answer = 1

<sup>5</sup> Research project RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ORTHODOX AND MUSLIM ROMANIES IN WESTERN-SOUTHEAST SERBIA (2000-2002), funded by Research Support Scheme (Prague). Dragoljub B. Đorđević was a coordinator and research team consisted of Jovan Živković, Dragan Todorović and Vladimir Jovanović.

<sup>6</sup> Research project SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACTIVISM OF CITIZENS IN SOUTH AND EAST SERBIA (2001-2002), funded by European Commission (Strasbourg), and conducted by OGI. Dragoljub B. Đorđević was coordinator for Roma section.



Prediction appeared to be true: big majority of Roma (78.7%) is religiously tolerant and ready to take part in rituals and rites together with non-Roma coreligionists, which is far from declarations of "white" boys. *Here "sooty" boys send positive signals about "the other" as well as readiness for religious interaction, which represents spine of any social traffic and intercultural practice.*

Some may argue that it is so because Roma belong to religious minority and thus one should hold the conclusion and see what will be the attitude towards religious minorities in their, pure Romani religious communities. Until now this exclusivity is to be found only among so-called small religious Protestant communities, which again states protestantization of Roma as very important and urgent research field.

*Burying of the Roma*

By introducing the topic of burying of Roma, that is, Romani graveyards, in realms of national Sociology of religion and Romology, we suggested fourfold typology, since they really bury in the following places: A) *in their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated from cemeteries of majority people*; B) *in their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected with cemetery of majority people*; C) *in the majority people's cemetery*; D) *in some other cemetery outside domicile place*. While interpreting so far collected empirical data, we firmly argue that burying of Roma represent unique test of ethnic and religious distance (Đorđević, 2002a). This test surely has to be combined with other instruments for measurement of ethnic-religious distance.

What does testing of SES show (Table 5)?

Table 5

*BURIAL OF THE ROMA FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA  
"When a member of your family dies, where do you bury that person?"*

MODALITY	N	%
At the local cemetery, together with non-Roma	5	4,8
At the local cemetery, separately from non-Roma	11	10,5
At the special Romani cemetery	89	84,8
At some other cemetery, outside of the place of living	-	-
TOTAL	105	100,0

N tabulated = 109

No answer = 4

Check on the representative sample confirms that southern people did not pass the test: in as much as 84.8% of cases Roma are buried in Romani cemetery, the one which is physically separated from "eternal homes" of surrounding peoples. Only pure Albanian regions could be "praised" because of the fact that Roma are sent to "the other world" exclusively in the separated place (Table 5a). *However, it is comforting that there was not any racist example in the sample, like for example, burying "in some other cemetery, outside of the domicile place".*

For the sake of honesty the truth, visible in the Table 5 and confirmed in the territory of Serbia (without Kosovo and Metohija), should be stressed: completely separate burial of Roma happens in one third of the cases.

Table 5a

*BURIAL OF THE ROMA*  
*“When a member of your family dies, where do you bury that person?”*

RESEARCH PROJECT	Modality: ROMANI CEMETERY	
	N	%
Socio-cultural adaptation of the Romanies in Serbia in the transition processes – integration, assimilation or segregation? (1999)	190	28,8
Religious life of Orthodox and Muslim Romanies in western-southeast Serbia (2001)	229	34,5
The Romanies between the Serbs and Albanians in Bujanovac and Preševo (Political and cultural causes of conflicts) (2001)	150	100,0
Romani settlements, life conditions and possibilities of integration of Roma in Serbia (2002) <sup>7</sup>	256	36,6

*Distance from non-Roma*

Distance between people usually rests in social, ethnic, religious and racial otherness. *For example, “I”, being: rich, a Serb, Christian Orthodox and white, and the one over there – “the other”, who is: poor, a Rom, Muslim and black, the two of us are very distant and our contacts should be rear and accidental; I have nothing against “the other” living in the same state and town, here beside me and in the next street, but there is no way I will accept him to be my boss, to marry his daughter or to save my life with his blood.*

What “the other” one says; is there any doubts, that is, why there wouldn't be doubts!? Can life be jeopardized because of extreme social distance (Table 6)?

Table 6

*DISTANCE TOWARDS NON-ROMA*  
*“Would you agree to direct transfusion of blood (from arm to arm) from non-Roma?”*

MODALITY	N	%
Yes, in every case	65	60,2
Maybe, I am not sure	24	22,2
Only if I am in a life threatening situation	16	14,8
No, not in any case	2	1,9
TOTAL	108	100,0

N tabulated = 109

No answer = 1

<sup>7</sup> Research project ROMANI SETTLEMENTS, LIVING CONDITIONS AND POSSIBILITIES OF INTEGRATION OF ROMA IN SERBIA (2002), funded by OXFAM GB and Federal Ministry for National and Ethnic Communities, and conducted by Ethnicity Research Center. Božidar Jakšić was team coordinator, whereas Dragoljub B. Đorđević, Miloš Marjanović, Đokica Jovanović and Goran Bašić were team members.

One could have assumed that Roma were not so distant from “the others”, since 60.2% of them would always accept blood. If we add to this 22.2% of those who are not completely sure and have doubts, then more than 80% of Roma have positive attitude. *These data are also significant because compared with those from Table 6a, they demonstrate much weaker social distance of Roma towards “the others” than vice versa.* What would be the other way of interpreting the fact that no more than one third of non-Roma, only in life threatening situations, would accept direct blood transfusion from a Rom's arm (26.4%; 14.8% of Roma), and one tenth (10.1%; 1.9% of Roma) decisively refuses this exchange of “life liquid”.

Table 6a (Đorđević, Research project 2002)

*DISTANCE TOWARDS ROMA*  
“Would you accept direct blood transfusion (from arm to arm) from a Rom?”

MODALITY	N	%
Yes, in every case	865	41,6
Maybe, I am not sure	455	21,9
Only if I am in a life threatening situation	548	26,4
No, not in any case	211	10,1
TOTAL	2079	100,0

*The Roma and non-Romani population*

If we asked Roma about performing rituals together with others, about being buried together and exchange blood with non-Roma, then, in the end, it is logical to ask them to evaluate their general relationships with non-Romani population. Many will see this question as a trap, which cannot be avoided in questionnaires and shows respondents' consistency, since if somebody advocates such and such attitude about specific relationships with others, then his/hers general evaluation of the relations should comply with it. Let us see how Romani community, renowned as closed, evaluates relationships with Gadje; and more than that, if it declares consequently (Table 7).

Table 7

*THE ROMA AND NON-ROMA*  
“How would you assess your relationships with non-Romani population?”

MODALITY	N	%
Very good	29	27,6
Satisfactory	69	65,7
Bad	4	3,8
Very bad	1	1,0
I do not have contacts with non-Roma	-	-
TOTAL	105	100,0

N tabulated = 109

No answer = 4

*Results are socially promising: big majority of Roma (93.3%) thinks that relationships with non-Roma are very good (27.6%) or satisfactory (65.7%).* (This is the second time the instrument was used in empirical research projects. A research, undertaken in 2002 on the territory of Serbia without Kosovo, brought about almost the same results – see table 7a.) Big majority of Roma is also consistent in stating the opinions, which can be seen from the Table 7b.

Table 7a (Jakšić et al., Research project 2002)

*RELATIONSHIPS WITH NON-ROMANI POPULATION  
OF SERBIA WITHOUT KOSOVO*

“How would you assess your relationships with non-Romani population?”

MODALITY	N	%
Very good	315	45,0
Satisfactory	306	43,7
Bad	60	8,6
Very bad	14	2,0
I do not have contacts with non-Roma	5	0,7
TOTAL	700	100,0

Table 7b

*THE ROMA FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA  
AND “THE OTHERS” (POSITIVE ATTITUDES)*

MODALITY	N	%
Performing religious ceremonies together with non-Roma (“Yes, certainly” + “I doubt it, I would have second thoughts”)	101	93,5
Blood transfusion (“Yes, in every case” + “Maybe, I am not sure”)	89	82,4
Relationship with Gadjé (“Very good” + “Satisfactory”)	98	93,3

CONCLUSIONS

Modest and preliminary analysis of the results obtained during empirical part of the research project *Quality of Multiethnic Relationships, Consciousness about Regional Identity and Possibilities of Cooperation and Integration in the Balkans*, undertaken in 2003 in Southeastern Serbia, allows stating six specific and a general conclusion:

*Protestantization of Roma from Southeast Serbia has started and it represents near future.*

Until then Christian Orthodox Roma will prevail in the general Romani population, while Muslim Roma will prevail in traditionally Islamic regions.

*Roma from Southeast Serbia constantly show strong religiosity*, which is not a characteristic that majority peoples in surrounding – Serbs, Albanians, and Bulgarians – have.

Roma from Southeast Serbia are very religiously tolerant and ready for collective practice of religious celebrations with non-Roma coreligionists, which is far from attitudes of “white” boys. *Here “sooty” boys send positive signals about “the other” as well as*

*readiness to interact in religious sense, which is the spine of any social traffic and intercultural practice.*

Roma from Southeast Serbia are mainly buried in Romani cemetery, the one which is physically separated from "eternal homes" of surrounding peoples. *However, it is comforting that there was not any racist example in the sample, like for example, burying "in some other cemetery, outside of the domicile place".*

*Roma from Southeast Serbia are not so distant from "the others" since more than half of them would take blood from non-Roma.*

*Big majority of Southeast Serbia believes that relationships with non-Roma are very good or satisfactory.*

*Results are socially promising: Roma from Southeast Serbia are not socially distant from Gadjé – unlike they are – and are ready for interaction and intercultural practice.*

Of course, conclusions will be checked during detailed analysis of overall results of the research project undertaken in SES, North West Macedonia and Bulgaria (V. Trnovo, Šumen). Only then the results will become essential too.



**Dragan Todorović**

**ROMAS ABOUT OTHERS**  
**(Social Distance of the Romas from Southeast Serbia**  
**from Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians)**

INTRODUCTION

The paper presents an analysis of some of the data obtained by the empirical research *Quality of the Inter-ethnic Relationships, the Awareness about the Regional Identity and the Possibilities of Cooperation and Integration at the Balkans* carried out in the summer of 2003 on the territory of Southeast Serbia. It represents a part of the three year (2002-2004) project *Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration* of the Institute for Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. Within the sample of 600 examined, stratified with respect to gender, age and schooling, there were 109 members of Roma nationality questioned.

The social and ethnic distance towards the Roma has been a frequent topic of research in Serbia; this time we present mostly the results of the empirical research projects that dealt with the assumption that the greater the assumed social closeness is, the greater the social distance towards the Romas is. Yet, the opposite process inevitably imposed itself, that is, the formation of certain attitudes of the Roma national minority members towards members of other nations.<sup>1</sup> The same theme will also be dealt with in this paper by analyzing the answers of the examined Romas to the questions from the so-called Bogardus<sup>2</sup> and Luckert's scales<sup>3</sup> that project a Roma view of others, that is, more precisely, of Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians in Southeast Serbia.

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<sup>1</sup> See summary representation of the Romas' attitudes towards other peoples on the Bogardus exploration scale in the research project "The Religious Life of the Orthodox and Muslim Romas in Southwest and Southeast Serbia" carried out in the summer of 2001 as presented in the paper: Todorović, D., Milošević, L. and D. B. Đorđević (2002), "Social Distance of Romas of Southeastern and Southwestern Serbia towards Members of Other Nations and National Minorities", in: *Globalizacija, akulturacija i identiteti na Balkanu (Globalization, Acculturation and Identities at the Balkans)* (p. 267-273), Niš, Institut za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, Niš.

<sup>2</sup> Social distance scale in which 7 characteristic relations are stated, namely: 1. close kinship through marriage, 2. close friendship, 3. living in the neighbourhood, 4. employment in the same company, 5. acceptance as superior at job, 6. living in the same town, and 7. living in the same state. The examined should give "yes" or "no" answers and thus they should say if they are ready to accept each of the given relations with members of some groups.

<sup>3</sup> With every nation there would be a list of 15 attributes (industrious, brave, intelligent, sensitive, sincere, honest, cultured, clean, kind, hospitable, peaceful, unselfish, civilized, like other nations, proud). The examined are expected to encircle one of the five marks on the scale thus indicating to what extent the typical representatives of these nations have each of these 15 attributes clearly manifested.

SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS SERBS, BULGARIANS AND ALBANIANS

*Social Distance towards Serbs*

Table 1

*ETHNIC DISTANCE TOWARDS SERBS  
in %*

<i>Relationship</i>	Yes	No	Neutral
Get married to	<b>68,6</b>	25,7	5,7
Have him/her as a friend	<b>98,1</b>	1,9	-
Live in his/her neighborhood	<b>97,1</b>	2,9	-
Work in the same company	<b>97,1</b>	2,9	-
Have him/her as a boss	<b>89,3</b>	5,8	4,9
Live in the same city	<b>98,1</b>	1,9	-
Live in the same state	<b>98,0</b>	2,0	-

Table 2

*ETHNIC STEREOTYPES TOWARDS SERBS  
in %*

Modality	Completely agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Completely disagree
Industrious	<b>14,3</b>	<b>69,5</b>	12,4	1,9	1,9
Brave	<b>22,9</b>	<b>61,0</b>	13,3	2,9	-
Intelligent	<b>15,1</b>	<b>67,0</b>	13,2	3,8	0,9
Sensitive	18,9	54,7	18,9	4,7	2,8
Sincere	8,6	41,9	<b>38,1</b>	10,5	1,0
Honest	7,7	41,3	<b>32,7</b>	16,3	1,9
Cultured	<b>11,4</b>	<b>68,6</b>	15,2	4,8	-
Clean	<b>13,3</b>	<b>71,4</b>	11,4	2,9	1,0
Kind	13,3	56,2	24,8	5,7	-
Hospitable	<b>21,0</b>	<b>62,9</b>	10,5	4,8	1,0
Peaceful	10,5	53,3	<b>29,5</b>	6,7	-
Unselfish	9,5	48,6	<b>30,5</b>	11,4	-
Civilized	14,3	64,8	15,2	5,7	-
Like other nations	10,5	56,2	23,8	7,6	1,9
Proud	<b>32,4</b>	<b>59,0</b>	8,6	-	-

More than 4/5 of the Romas think that the Serbs are industrious, courageous, intelligent, well mannered, clean, hospitable and proud. A somewhat smaller number of them (and yet over 2/3) ascribed to the Serbs that they are sensitive, kind, civilized and that they love other peoples. There is no complete agreement regarding other characteristics such as being candid, honest, peace-loving and unselfish but even the number of those who are unwilling to ascribe these things to the Serbs does not drop below half of the examined.



About the Serbs as the majority nation that is their most frequent neighbor in Southeast Serbia, the Romas have an exceptionally positive opinion. As many as 68,6% of the examined are even ready to get married with a neighbor of Serbian nationality which is the highest degree of social closeness. Also, the other values on the scale, except for acceptance of Serbs as superiors at job, are approximating hundred percent.

*Social Distance towards Bulgarians*

Table 3

*ETHNIC DISTANCE TOWARDS BULGARIANS*  
in %

<i>Relationship</i>	Yes	No	Neutral
Get married to	32,7	<b>51,9</b>	15,4
Have him/her as a friend	<b>76,7</b>	12,6	10,7
Live in his/her neighborhood	<b>79,6</b>	13,6	6,8
Work in the same company	<b>84,5</b>	9,7	5,8
Have him/her as a boss	<b>62,1</b>	23,3	14,6
Live in the same city	<b>87,3</b>	7,8	4,9
Live in the same state	<b>87,3</b>	7,8	4,9

Only every third Roma would get married to a member of the Bulgarian national minority while less than two-thirds Romas would not accept any of their fellow citizens of Bulgarian nationality as their superior at work. Other forms of co-existence are also positively characterized and move around 80%.

Table 4

*ETHNIC STEREOTYPES TOWARDS BULGARIANS*  
in %

Modality	Completely agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Completely disagree
Industrious	<b>4,8</b>	<b>52,9</b>	35,6	6,7	-
Brave	3,8	44,2	42,3	9,6	-
Intelligent	<b>4,8</b>	<b>46,2</b>	42,3	6,7	-
Sensitive	1,9	34,0	43,7	13,6	6,8
Sincere	1,9	31,1	48,5	16,5	1,9
Honest	1,0	27,5	44,1	<b>26,5</b>	1,0
Cultured	2,9	35,0	42,7	18,4	1,0
Clean	5,8	35,0	48,5	10,7	-
Kind	3,9	33,3	46,1	13,7	2,9
Hospitable	5,8	36,9	44,7	8,7	3,9
Peaceful	2,9	38,8	41,7	15,5	1,0
Unselfish	3,9	26,2	<b>54,4</b>	14,6	1,0
Civilized	3,9	35,0	<b>52,4</b>	8,7	-
Like other nations	4,9	28,2	<b>54,4</b>	10,7	1,9
Proud	<b>9,7</b>	<b>40,8</b>	45,6	3,9	-

The Romas do not ascribe to the Bulgarians positive characteristics as they do to the Serbs; we have made such a conclusion on the basis of a high degree of indecision that

ranges, in all the proposed solutions, from 42,3% to 54,4%. More than a half of positive answers are obtained when it comes to the characteristics such as “industrious”, “intelligent” and “proud” while the highest indecision is noticed with such traits as “unselfish”, “civilized” and “love other peoples”. Of all the characteristics that can be ascribed to a nation, the Romas most doubt Bulgarian honesty.

*Social Distance towards Albanians*

Table 5

*ETHNIC DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS*  
*in %*

<i>Relationship</i>	Yes	No	Neutral
Get married to	16,5	<b>66,0</b>	17,5
Have him/her as a friend	51,0	<b>36,5</b>	<b>12,5</b>
Live in his/her neighborhood	<b>60,6</b>	32,7	6,7
Work in the same company	<b>66,0</b>	29,1	4,9
Have him/her as a boss	45,6	<b>41,7</b>	<b>12,6</b>
Live in the same city	<b>66,0</b>	29,1	4,9
Live in the same state	<b>63,7</b>	29,4	6,9

Table 6

*ETHNIC STEREOTYPES TOWARDS ALBANIANS*  
*in %*

Modality	Completely agree	Agree	Indecisive	Disagree	Completely disagree
Industrious	<b>23,8</b>	<b>41,9</b>	20,0	13,3	1,0
Brave	10,5	37,1	23,8	22,9	5,7
Intelligent	7,6	38,1	28,6	21,0	4,8
Sensitive	4,8	41,3	21,2	23,1	9,6
Sincere	9,6	30,8	33,7	19,2	6,7
Honest	<b>13,6</b>	<b>42,7</b>	25,2	11,7	6,8
Cultured	2,9	28,8	41,3	17,3	9,6
Clean	4,8	21,2	34,6	<b>28,8</b>	<b>10,6</b>
Kind	7,7	41,3	26,0	20,2	4,8
Hospitable	15,4	33,7	23,1	20,2	7,7
Peaceful	4,8	24,0	37,5	<b>23,1</b>	<b>10,6</b>
Unselfish	5,8	23,1	44,2	<b>20,2</b>	<b>6,7</b>
Civilized	4,8	23,1	42,3	<b>21,2</b>	<b>8,7</b>
Like other nations	3,8	17,3	45,2	<b>20,2</b>	<b>13,5</b>
Proud	<b>26,9</b>	<b>30,8</b>	23,1	18,3	1,0

The highest degree of social distance and of the stereotypes about other peoples the Romas exhibited towards the Albanians which makes them no different from the Serbs regarding the answers given in some former research projects. As many as 66% of the examined would not get married to the national minority; only half of them would have

them as friends while 45,6% would have them as superior in the factory. The percentage of those who would work together with them in a company or live in the neighborhood, town and state is about 60%.

More than a half of the examined recognize the fact that they are industrious, honest and proud while the other values do not exceed 50% (it is interesting that the lowest values are obtained when it comes to such traits as “clean,” “peace-loving”, “unselfish,” “civilized” and “love other peoples”).

\* \* \*

An insight into the answers given by the examined Romas on the Bogardus scale enables us to conclude that the least social distance the Romas have towards the Serbs, that it is somewhat more expressed towards the members of the Bulgarian national minority and that it is convincingly largest towards the Albanians. As much as their openness towards their Serbian and Bulgarian neighbors is (not) surprising, so is evident their reserve towards the Albanian environment.

While as many as 68,6% of the examined accept marriage with the Serbs, as many of them, along with 17,5% of the neutral ones, refuse it if the partner would be an Albanian man or woman. The other values of the Bogardus scale range from about two-third majority on the part of positive answers.

Towards one form of social life, however, the Romas express continual reserve, namely, when it comes to the superior at job. In the case of the Serbs, it drops below 90%, hardly sixty percent of positive answers remain when the Bulgarians are at issue while negative answers exceed positive ones in the case of the Albanians. It is obvious that such answers are consequence of the traditional, “socialist” understanding of the place of the worker in the production process in state and social companies that has not yet undergone any change under the influence of the transition. After the inevitable process of privatization of the ownership when the working culture of the employed will change, a different view of one's own role as well as those of other actors in the production process will be formed.

As for Serbs, Bulgarians and Albanians, the Romas have exhibited absolute agreement about only two of their traits, namely that they are “industrious” and “proud.” The Serbs fared best: 15 characteristics offered as options on the Luckert scale are ascribed to this nation always with more than a half of positive answers. As for their being “sensitive,” “kind”, “love other peoples” and “civilized”, there is somewhat less agreement comparing to the former character traits while the greatest hesitancy is shown when it comes to honesty, sincerity, love of peace and unselfishness of Serbian nation.

With surety the Romas would, when it comes to the Bulgarians, in addition to the already listed traits, add that they are also “brave” and “intelligent.” Yet, regarding the subsequent traits, resoluteness is suppressed by uncertainty in ascribing some concrete features to the Bulgarian people that ranges between 42,3% and 54,4%. It is exceptionally expressed in judging whether the Bulgarian people are “unselfish”, “civilized” and that they “love other peoples”. We also register disagreement that is almost as high in percentage as agreement about “honesty” as the Bulgarian characteristics.

One character trait is especially ascribed to the Albanian people that the Romas least put their trust in. While in the case of Serbs, the Romas are in two minds about judging them as honest while in the case of Bulgarians they openly express the doubt that they are gifted with such a character trait, the Roma people, to an important percentage,

agree that the Albanians are “honest.” As for all other positive traits, the positive answers (“I completely agree” and “I agree”) do not exceed the sum of indecisive and negative answers. The Romas would say, to a slightly higher percentage, that the Albanian people are “brave,” “intelligent,” “kind” and “hospitable” but, on the other hand, they would also refuse to accept the assertion that they are clean, peace-loving, unselfish, civilized and that they love other peoples. These traits are not ascribed to the Serbian and Bulgarian peoples, either.

#### FREQUENCY OF ROMAS' DISTANCE

For the sake of further analysis, the overall distance measure is intersected with the invariable factors (gender, age, schooling, profession, habitation, marriage status, religious and confessional identification). The overall distance measure is achieved by giving one point to each refusal of some relationship while acceptance was marked with zero (that is, distance is measured instead of closeness). The overall result ranged from 0 (meaning no distance without implying complete acceptance since the examined could also give “neutral” answers and this is something that should be kept in mind in doing the analysis) to 7 (since there are 7 relationships tested) which marks complete distance. All the examined are divided, with respect to the distance scale results, into 4 groups, namely:

- no distance and “neutral” (0 points)
- small distance (1-2 points)
- moderate distance (3-5 points)
- large distance (6-7)<sup>4</sup>

Table 7

#### *FREQUENCY OF ROMAS' DISTANCE*

*in %*

<i>Social Distance</i>	Serbs	Bulgarians	Albanians
No distance and “neutral”	67,0	38,5	26,6
Small distance	26,6	41,3	32,1
Moderate distance	-	9,2	10,1
Large distance	1,8	5,5	25,7
No answer	4,6	5,5	5,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

#### *Frequency of Romas' Distance towards Serbs*

Only slightly more than the fourth of the Romas in our research manifest negative distance towards Serbs and this even being the smallest one.

<sup>4</sup> See Kuzmanović, B. (1994), *Socijalna distanca prema pojedinim nacijama (etnička distanca) (Social Distance Towards Particular Nations (Ethnic Distance))*, in: M. Lazić i saradnici, *Razaranje društva (Jugoslovensko društvo u krizi 90-ih) (Destruction of the Society) (Yugoslav Society in the Crisis of the Nineties)*, Belgrade, Filip Višnjić.

Among those who manifested it, in one of the three varieties, the number of women is more prominent (43,4%) than that of men (16,1%). The examined are between 50 and 59 years of age (40%) (it is the least present among those who are older than 60 /21,1%/ and in the age group of 40-49 years /24,1%/). The negative distance declines with the increase of schooling (no schooling /35%/, three-year school /22,2%/, high and university/no such schooling at all, though more than 20% of high school students did not want to give any answer /). The most prominent distance is among housewives (48,4%) while the least is among workers (22,2%). It is higher in the town (31,1%) than in the village (21,4%). It is exhibited by 27,7% of the married women and men who were otherwise the most numerous in the sample (76,1%). It declines with the increase of religiosity (non-religious /35,3%/, indifferent to religion /34,7%/, religious /23,1%/). It is most expressed by the members of the Protestant religious communities (36,7%) and those who do not accept confessional identification (27,8% – 22,2% small and 5,6% high). It is less present among the followers of Islam (23,1%) and the least by the Orthodox (9,1%, though as many as 18,2% Orthodox Romas did not want to give any answer).

*Frequency of Romas' Distance towards Bulgarians*

More than half of the questioned Romas exert a negative distance towards Bulgarians, small, moderate or high. Taken as a whole, in percentage, this distance is twice as large as the one expressed towards Serbs though it is still within the category of the “small distance.”

Even in the case of a negative distance towards members of the Bulgarian national minority the Roma women are ahead (67,9%) of Roma men (44,6%). The distance is the least in the age group between 40 and 49 years (41,3% though including 17,2% of those who avoided giving an answer) while it is the largest between 19 and 29 (68%). It declines with the increase of the achieved education and it is once again recorded among housewives (77,4%) (though it is not smaller among workers – 48,1%). This time it is more present in the rural (71,4%) than in the urban population (54,5%). It is present among more than a half of the questioned married people, single and widowed ones. Again, it is least liable to occur among religious people (49,3%) comparing to those indifferent to religion (60,8%) and non-religious ones (70,6%). It is expressed by 61,2% of confessionally indecisive people, every other Muslim (56,4%) and Protestant (53,4%) while it is far less expressed by Orthodox (36,4% though again there were even 27,3% of those who avoided giving an answer to the question).

*Frequency of Romas' Distance towards Albanians*

We have stated that the negative distance that the Romas manifest towards their “neighbors” of different nationality is by far the largest towards Albanians. It is worrying that a fourth of them do not express it but yet it is far more worrying that there is another fourth of those who expressed to the utmost degree as a “large one.” Due to such results, we shall schematically present the frequencies of intersection of the negative distance with some independent variables.

Table 8

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to Gender in %)*

<i>Gender</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Male	21,4	12,5	23,2	56
Female	43,4	7,5	28,3	53

There are clearly more Roma women (79,2%) than Roma men (57,1%) who manifest a negative distance towards Albanians. Yet, the intensity of the manifested distance is stronger among Romas: there is approximately twice of those whose distance is moderate or large than those whose distance is small. With Roma women a small distance is prevailing.

Table 9

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to Age Group in %)*

<i>Age Group</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
19 – 29	28,0	8,0	24,0	25
30 – 39	46,2	3,8	26,9	26
40 – 49	34,5	6,9	17,2	29
50 – 59	20,0	20,0	30,0	10
over 60	21,1	21,1	36,8	19

In the overall score, the negative distance is the smallest with age groups 19-29 (60%) and 40-49 (58,6%) while it is the largest with the oldest population (79%). It is exactly the last two age categories of population, that is, the population older than 50 years of age, that express an otherwise high negative distance as moderate and large. There are even twice as many of them comparing to those who express a small distance. Young Romas between 30 and 39 years of age should not be neglected, either; almost a half of them exert a small negative distance while more than a quarter of them express the highest intensity one.

Table 10

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to Profession in %)*

<i>Profession</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Worker	33,3	7,4	18,5	27
Unemployed	26,3	5,3	31,6	19
Housewife	41,9	12,9	35,5	31

We have singled out three professions that the examined in our sample are mostly engaged in and that are otherwise most spread in Roma population. While it is among workers and unemployed workers about 3/5 (though it is of stronger intensity among unemployed) only 10% of Roma housewives do not manifest it towards Albanians.

Table 11

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS*  
(Distribution with Respect to Schooling in %)

<i>Schooling</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
No schooling	20,0	15,0	50,0	20
Incomplete Elementary School	37,5	12,5	16,7	24
Elementary School	41,2	8,8	23,5	34
Three Years of Professional School	-	11,1	55,6	9
Completed Secondary School	41,2	-	5,9	17
High and University Education	20,0	20,0	-	5

A negative distance towards members of the Albanian national minority is also expressed by uneducated and educated alike. Since the acquisition of the institutionally acknowledged education has never been an imperative for the Romas, the most worrying are high values of the negative distance among common, uneducated and poorly educated Roma people, namely 85% among those with no education, 66,7% of those with incomplete elementary school and 73,5% with elementary school. Not even among those with completed secondary, high or university education does the negative distance drop below 2/5 though they are present, in percentage, much less in the total sample.

Table 12

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE AMONG ALBANIANS*  
(Distribution with Respect to Habitation in %)

<i>Habitation</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Village	64,3	-	-	14
City	27,8	11,1	30,0	90

A negative attitude towards Albanians is present only to a small percentage within the total score, less in the village than in the city. But, on the other hand, the urban Romas are much more characterized by a large and moderate distance while among the rural people it is located in the category of a small negative distance.

Table 13

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to the Marriage Status in %)*

<i>Marriage Status</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Married	30,1	12,0	24,1	83
Single	41,7	-	16,7	12
Widow/widower	25,0	8,3	50,0	12

Though they are not significantly present in the total score, the information is still alarming that there are 83,3% of widows/widowers who have a negative attitude towards Albanians while it is of noticeable intensity in every other one. Not even the married ones are lagging behind them (66,2%) though their distance is of lower order.

Table 14

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to Religion in %)*

<i>Attitude to Religion</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Religious	33,8	3,1	32,3	65
Indifferent to Religion	21,7	26,1	17,4	23
Not Religious	41,2	11,8	11,8	17

Though there are no drastically prominent differences in percentage, the case of a negative attitude towards Albanians takes a new turn when it comes to the religious identification of the questioned Romas, namely, the least tolerant are religious Romas (69,2%) while the most tolerant are non-religious ones (64,8%). The religious ones almost without exception fall into the category of a large negative distance comparing to those indifferent to religion and non -religious ones.

Table 15

*FREQUENCY OF DISTANCE TOWARDS ALBANIANS  
(Distribution with Respect to Confessional Affiliation in %)*

<i>Confessional Affiliation</i>	Small	Moderate	Large	Examined total
Orthodox	27,3	9,1	18,2	11
Muslim	33,3	12,8	17,9	39
Protestant	20,0	6,7	60,0	30
I don't want to declare myself	44,4	5,6	-	18

At all the modalities on the confessional affiliation scale the Romas' negative distance towards Albanians exceeds 50%. While it is relatively uniform among Orthodox and Muslims, it shows that Protestants and those who do not want to declare themselves as members of any confessions are quite prominent. In the former case, the situation is almost



alarming, namely 86,7% of Protestant Romas do not want any contact with the Albanian national minority while with 2/3 of those who declared their confession within that percentage threaten to turn into open enemies. A group of the examined that refuse confessional identification is an example of the lowest extent of the negative distance.

\* \* \*

It has been shown that the Roma women are more susceptible to the social distance than the Roma men, least towards Serbs (43,4%) and most towards Albanians (79,2%).

The most tolerant turned out to be the examined in the category of 40 to 49 years of age. They have manifested the smallest distance towards the majority Serbian and minority Bulgarian and Albanian population. The contradictory data, however, are obtained for the youngest and the oldest Roma population. While the youngest clearly show resistance towards Bulgarian that is lacking when it comes to Albanians, the oldest are openly more in favor of Serbs but not of Albanians.

When we speak about the smallest (in the case of Serbs) and the largest negative distance (in the case of Albanians), we can see that it is always most present among the uneducated and poorly educated Roma population (with no schooling, with incomplete or complete elementary school). They are dominant in the sample of our research as much as in real, everyday life since for centuries the Romas have not been given any genuine help in the acquisition of the institutional education.

Roma housewives are most liable to the negative influence of the stereotypes. They are followed by unemployed workers while the stereotypes are least effective among employed working population. Such a result could have been expected regarding the registered negative distance among women and uneducated and insufficiently educated population. The Roma woman, most often without any single day of work and permanently preoccupied with child rearing and household chores, has always remained on the margin of social developments and under devastating influence of the traditional views of the immediate surroundings.

The Roma urban population has a larger negative distance towards Serbs and Albanians while it is larger towards Bulgarians in the rural population.

The greatest number of the questioned Romas are married (83 of 109 of the examined). The distance, when there is one, is the least towards Serbs followed by Bulgarians and Albanians (a manifested negative distance towards members of other nations and minorities is, in percentage, concentrated in the category of "a small distance"). The most unfavorable data are only in the case of the distance towards Albanians as manifested by widows and widowers: though they make up only ten percent in the sample, half of those who show it describe it as prominent.

Religious persons are more tolerant than those indifferent to religion and non-religious ones as shown by the data about the distance with respect to confessional adherence. Such an expected result, however, is missing in the case of the negative distance towards Romas. The religious persons share the same attitudes as those of non-religious nature or are even more prominent in their negative attitudes towards the national "otherness": about 2/3 of the religious persons show a distance; in half of them it is small while in the other half it is prominent.

Three kinds of conclusions impose themselves while considering the confessional identification of the examined Romas. The Orthodox Romas have the smallest distance but this result is as a rule clouded up by a high percentage of those among the Orthodox

believers who have avoided giving concrete answers (18,2% towards Serbs and 27,3% towards Bulgarians, that is, Albanians) so that we do not know what group they would have belonged to if they had given the required answers. Not to accept confessional adherence is a legitimate answer on the scale used to examine religious affiliation. It is exactly this category of the examined Romas (they make up slightly less than 20% in the overall sample) that gave contradictory answers; while, on one hand, they are ahead of those distancing from Serbian and Bulgarians, they are, on the other hand, together with the Orthodox believers, an example of a peace-loving attitude towards Albanians. It is somewhat strange to notice a negative distance among the Romas of Protestant affiliation. They are at the very top regarding their negative attitudes towards their surrounding peoples; at the same time, while in the case of Serbs and Bulgarians, their attitudes are within the limit of a small distance, in the case of the Albanian nation, their attitudes take on the characteristics of an open hostility: as many as 86,7% Protestant Romas manifest a distance; of them all, 60% Romas describe it as large.

#### INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

The problems of the Balkans depend to a large extent on the historical development. That is why the contemporary political and economic moment of the Balkans is so firmly determined by it. In addition, being what it is, it represents a new challenge to the Balkan traditional spirit of small and permanently jeopardized peoples. The centuries-old attempts directed to integration and state-forming organization have not changed what remained constant, namely, the feeling of jeopardy shared by the small peoples as well as by common man. Are jeopardy and antagonism, lack of tolerance and sufferings really a Balkan doom?

The nineties of the previous centuries gave rise, at the Balkans, to a high degree of intolerance as well as tragic conflicts among members of different nations, especially on the territory of former SFRY. Without any special wish to penetrate more deeply the social and economic causes of the conflict, in the eyes of the common citizens they were simplified and reduced to religious animosity. This was largely encouraged by the widely-spread "Balkan" identification of religious and national adherence and (ab)use of religion by the militant political and religious leaders. The leaders have skillfully used the mobilizing role of religion and that is how they succeeded in giving legitimacy to the actions they undertook. Even after the passions calmed down, very little was done by the warring parties to expose the difference between the genuine religious tradition and the use of religion for the sake of justifying violence.

In the era of globalization, it is of crucial importance for the national communities at the Balkans to develop cooperation. This goal makes it important to identify the differences; yet, it is even more indispensable to identify the common values and similarities as well as the common interests in the sphere of security and peace, culture and economic development.

Unlike many European states, Serbia is economically underdeveloped but it is a nationally, culturally and religiously diversified country. It shares the fate of the controversial Balkan space in which - not rarely and without any true reason - these differences are punctuated and experienced as barriers on the path of general prosperity. On the other hand, the transition wave that has spread throughout most of the Balkan societies has imposed entirely specific dynamics of development and changes in the national and global framework. A multicultural Serbian society, after decades of stumbling upon so

many barriers, is in the process of critical re-questioning itself and its adjustment to the spirit of the times, namely, the idea of pluralism, civil democracy, human rights and tolerance. These ideas are yet to take roots here.

Thus tolerance, that is, acceptance and respect for differences becomes a fundamental need of individuals, ethnic groups and the whole social community.<sup>5</sup> The disturbed interpersonal and inter-national relations in Serbia were mainly fostered by the already-mentioned misfortunate happenings in the last decade of the previous century as well as the opening-up of the new points of conflicts (Kosovo and Metohija). But, this is not all. The lack of a better grounded democratic tradition, along with deeply-rooted patriotism, authoritarianism, exclusiveness and populism, have given rise to the fact that the so far prevailing dominant patterns of behavior on the political scene (such as party single-mindedness, condemnation of differences in opinion, instrumentalization of differences, inability to overcome differences through dialogue), accompanied with uncritical publicity in mass media, have been easily transferred to people *en masse*. That is why, in addition to the lack of information, the old stereotypes have been publicly or interpersonally encouraged just as the new stereotypes and prejudices about members of other nations and ethnic communities have been promoted. Such a (non)cultural pattern has been supported and implanted by primary socialization in the family and extended socialization in the educational institutions.

Regarding all this, a very conspicuous example is that of the Roma position in Serbian society. Though the last year's *Act on the Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities* represented the first instance of a state act acknowledging the status of the national minority, though for the first time the interest of the general public in the real state in which the minorities find themselves became evident to everyone, there are still so many things to be done in order to improve the legal-political position, social and economic and cultural position of this nation. In addition to poverty and lack of education, the main "arbiter" of the Roma's social status are prejudice and stereotypes of the environment in which they live. Both the members of the majority as well as those of other minority nations regard them as lazy and dirty, liable to frauds, alcoholism and violence. Under the above-mentioned pressure of their surroundings, and partly because of their specific mentality, they are most often dwellers of isolated, closed and non-hygienic settlements. They are, in fact, *a culturally closed* nation, with a specific historical fate and a rich cultural treasury based upon oral tradition, folk legacy, myths and legends.

On the basis of examining the Roma answers on the Bogardus and Luckert's scales, it is difficult to conclude if their attitudes are a result of the culturally implanted views or just impressions created by personal contacts. It is known that tolerance is primarily an individual attitude towards someone different but it is also the attitude that is to be adopted through the process of upbringing and education, that is, socialization process. It is upon the society to find, with respect to its own potentials, adequate means for cherishing a tolerant attitude among the members of different national communities and ethnic groups.

<sup>5</sup> In the survey "Religious, Cultural and Civil Tolerance" carried out in September, 2002, by the Center for Media and Communication of the Institute for Political Studies and the Yugoslav Society for Religious Freedoms, Belgrade, on the random sample of 1004 examined (741 in Serbia and 263 in Montenegro), to the question "Are there in Serbia/Montenegro good and tolerant interpersonal and social relations?", a negative answer was given by 67% of the examined in Serbia and 55% of the examined in Montenegro. More about it in Popović, N. A. (2001), *Da li smo tolerantni (Anketno istraživanje o pitanjima i problemima tolerancije u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori)? (Are We Tolerant? A Survey of The Issues and Problems of Tolerance in Serbia and Montenegro)*, Belgrade, Jugoslovensko udruženje za verske slobode.



**Dragoljub B. Đorđević**

## **BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS FOR ROMA INTEGRATION**

*Integration – without assimilation, not to mention segregation – i.e. the interculturalization of life and non-conflict renouncement of the ethno-class condition, must be carried out by Romanies themselves. It will be their own burden to become stronger and capable of using the benefits of society as much as possible, to start demonstrating their social power, and to become fully respected by the community. Certainly, it is also the duty of the state to support the Roma integration in various, especially legal and material ways, and the majority nation should offer the Roma a genuine desire for intercultural giving and receiving. The state and the surrounding nations will indeed act this way not only because of pangs of conscience. Whether or not one likes this statement, they are the ones who bear the historical blame for the undignified position of the Roma. Thus their changed behaviour is a pledge for the future*

### **INTRODUCTION**

In the recent years, especially after the victory of the democratic opposition in Serbia, efforts at the change of the overall Roma condition have multiplied and strengthened. In this noble endeavour the forces of the state, local and international organizations, and science have joined. The number of actions and their diversity soon grew tremendously, so that there came a need to define a general strategy and a number of specialized strategies of Roma emancipation. For such an enterprise, local scholars lacked experience in defining these integration models, and in particular in the operationalization of particular steps. Therefore, expert assistance was often asked for, since only experts were considered capable of transforming high-flown ideas into successful incorporation of the Roma in the life of society.

However, this course of development has certainly not provided a pretext for Serbian sociologists and romologists to stop developing new models of Roma integration. In early 2001 we were among the first to offer a specific integration model, entitled: *Towards a Roma Integration Model – Let Us Change Life*.<sup>1</sup> This model is based on two theoretical paradigms, which I hope are not mutually exclusive: Max Weber's *interculturalism* and the pattern of *social stratification*. I presume that the Roma find favourable the theory and practice of interculturalism and non-conflict renouncement of the position of the ethno-class. This calls for a synchronized change of the position of the Romanies in the spheres *socio-economic*, *legal-political*, and *cultural*. During this period, as mentioned in the motto, it is on the Roma themselves to carry out this integration in practice. The state is there to secure the legislative framework and some money, and the majority and surrounding nations to create the necessary setting.

One must admit that the model still lacks details. We are still in the phase in which basic assumptions are being tested. None of my esteemed colleagues question Weber's

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<sup>1</sup> Published in : Đorđević and Živković, 2002. The following year the model by B. Jakšić and G. Bašić – appeared: *Roma Settlements, Conditions of Living and Possibilities of Integration* Apart from myself, the important contribution to this model was given by dr M. Marjanović and dr Đ. Jovanović.

social stratification pattern, but some of them object to my view of the Romanies as “alleged” interculturalists. They claim that the Romanies are forced to so behave and this behaviour of theirs is not articulated. Very well, I say in my defence, even if this were so, and it is not so quite fully, should this be more important than the product, i.e. the Roma interculturalist practice.<sup>2</sup> In a similar fashion we check their readiness to integrate, and the attitude of the majority nation and surrounding nations to the life with Romanies (Đorđević, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003a, 2003c, 2003f, 2004; Đurović, 2002a; Todorović, Milošević and Đorđević, 2002).

Towards the end of 2002, within the Roma section of the large empirical research *Social Consciousness, Human Rights and Civic Activism in South and East Serbia*, conducted by the Committee for Civic Initiative, Nis (OGI) within the project *Strengthening the Non-Governmental Sector in South and East Serbia*<sup>3</sup>, we were given a good opportunity to preliminary test the attitude of the population to Roma integration in a few questions. Actually, we checked the opinion of the citizens of South and East Serbia (further S-E S) on whether they saw the Romanies as an ethno-class, what actors they believed to be the most important to change the unfavourable Roma position, which most radical changes should be initiated first, and whether they would agree to the positive discrimination of the Roma. We also tested a number of what we will further term background assumptions of Roma integration. In the text to follow we will give a preliminary interpretation of results.

## INTERPRETATION

### *Romanies as an ethno-class*

There is an almost undisputed concurrence in romological literature on the position of the Romanies in social stratification: as no other group, they are an *ethno-class*. After Weber's social stratification pattern, it is easy to show that most Romanies, in fact all their ethnic community, live(s) under the borderline of total poverty. They have no social power, and the respect given to this community is very low. In Europe there seems to be no other such community, fully deprived of its economic, political, and cultural power.

Naturally, citizens of S-E S do not need to agree with this scientific insight. The S-E S population is after the decade of well-known conditions itself close to the verge of social tolerance, and there is already a strong feeling of subjective poverty. We asked these people whether they agreed with the statement that in our country and any other, the Romanies were an ethno-class (table 1)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> To support the thesis of their interculturalism, we are currently within a three-year research (2002-2005) in southeast Serbia *Roma Cult Locations and the Culture of Death*. For early results, see: Đorđević, 2003a; Đorđević and Todorović, 2002b, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> This three-year project is supported by *European Commission*, Strasbourg. Research coordinator is Nenad Popović M.A., teaching assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy, Nis.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first time in Serbia that a research surveys the position on the Roma as an ethno-class.

Table 1

*ROMANIES AS AN ETHNO-CLASS*

*“In our country, as in any other, the Romanies are an ethno-class: they have nothing, or have very little, they live on the verge of poverty and depend on social support.*

*Do you agree with this statement?”*

MODALITY	No.	%
I fully agree	429	20,4
I mostly agree	481	22,8
I am undecided	251	11,9
I mostly do not agree	555	26,3
I do not agree at all	386	18,3
I have no position, I do not know	6	0,3
TOTAL	2108	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 29

It was expected that the citizens would not fully agree with the well-substantiated scientific fact of the Roma as an ethno-class. The majority population itself is today low in its own eyes. Therefore in the relation with the Romanies citizens of S-E S single out only the rare cases of newly-made tycoons. Some reactions were therefore along the following lines: “Yeah, right, poor – just look at their villas!”; “Well, Gypsies live even better than we do, they have everything, just look at the things they buy!”. The population this way sides with the sociologists in noticing this division of the Roma into social layers. These ordinary citizens however make a mistake when identifying these one or two percents of the wealthy with the entire Roma community.

Still, the percentages of subjects who do and do not see the Roma as an ethno-class are equal. Thus 20.4% of the subjects fully agree with the statement, 22.8% mostly agree (43.2% total), and 18.3% do not agree at all and 26.3% mostly do not agree (44.6% total). Even this divided opinion on the basic Roma position should become a good grounds for a changed position of the Roma, for their integration, and for the resort to an affirmative action. This will be seen in tables 2, 3, and 4.

*The actors for the change of the Roma position*

Table 1 analysis has shown that almost a half of the S-E S population sees the Romanies as an ethno-class, and admits their extremely unfavourable circumstances. If this is so, and if there is an agreement on the need to change something, the next key question is – who is the one to initiate the change (table 2)?

The opinion on *transformation actors* is divided. The Roma and their leaders hold that they could finish the job themselves or with some help of the state. The state would be there as a the provider of services and material resources. Majority people representatives, however, think they are the ones who should bear the part of the burden of the strengthening of Romani community. This primarily means some control of the money intended for the purpose. In reconciliation of these two radical views, our integration model recommends a solid and harmonic action of the Romanies themselves, the majority community, and the state. It is warranted, however, to stress that the burden of this

integration largely belongs to Romanies themselves. Let us now take a look at the position of our subjects.

Table 2

*ACTORS OF THE CHANGE OF THE ROMANI POSITION*  
*“Who should change the unfavourable position of the Romani community?”*

MODALITY	No.	%
Romanies themselves	511	24,7
Romanies, helped by the majority community and the country they live in	1045	50,4
The majority community and the country they live in	347	16,7
Nobody, their position should not be changed	170	8,2
TOTAL	2073	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 64

We first notice that only 8.2% respondents state that the position of the Romanies should not be changed, which is negligible within the discussion on the transformation participants. Furthermore, this indirectly confirms that the vast majority of the population is convinced of the bad position of the Roma (91.8%), even though they do not necessarily agree with the term “ethno-class”. Additionally, the number of those supporting the “Roma thesis” – that of the Romanies themselves being solely responsible for the improvement of their circumstances – is low (24.7%). The same goes for those supporting the “majority thesis” – that of the majority people and the state being the only ones to decide on the Roma policy (16.7%).

Although they have probably never even heard of an articulated integration model, most our subjects, citizens of south and east Serbia, intuitively or experientially realize that the change of the disadvantaged position of the Romanies can be *adequately implemented* only within the triangle of actors: the Romanies – the majority community – the state.

*Areas of Roma integration*

We determined an undeniable wish of the Romanies to integrate. There are, however, disagreements on the model, and consequently on priorities, or *major social areas* where the process should start. The feeble Romani elite is indecisive and sometimes mutually quarrelsome. Some vote for the immediate economic strengthening of the community, after which everything would soon come to its proper place. Others insist on the Romani political power, a prerequisite for a social, economic, cultural, and educational development. The third group, however, insists on education to boost the respect of the Roma in the environment, after which they believe wealth and power would come of themselves.

Along with Romani leaders, many sociologists and romologists are in error when they vouch for the solution to the Romani destiny “by sectors”. The issue is actually relatively simple: *the vicious circle of poverty must be simultaneously attacked at all key points*, as it is written in our Roma integration model. Do subjects agree with this thesis (table 3)?



Table 3

*ROMA INTEGRATION*  
*“If we want Roma integration, their position should first be improved in:”*

MODALITY	No.	%
The social-economic realm	176	8,5
The legal-political realm	78	3,8
The realm of culture and education	440	21,3
In all three segments simultaneously	1376	66,5
TOTAL	2070	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 67

Indeed, the citizens in more than a half of the cases (66.5%) realize that the position of the Roma should be improved in the social-economic realm, legal-political realm, and cultural-educational realm. They thus grasp well the prerequisite of a *balanced advancement* of any ethnic group. A fifth of the population (21.3%) however favours the culture and education sector, understanding that education is the basic channel of social promotion, and bearing in mind the data on the catastrophic educational structure of the Romanies.

*Romani positive discrimination*

For the first time in our legislation one can today find the institution of *positive discrimination*, i.e. affirmative action in the *Federal law on the protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities*. Both the majority nation and other minority nations agree that this law is solely aimed at the Romanies. For only they need additional stimulation, for instance in employment or education, so they could get some boost along the difficult road to integration.

The *affirmative action* instrument, widely accepted and applied in the west, especially in the USA, has not been explained enough here as yet. It still seems to be foreign to our population: it reminds too much of the so-called national key, often demonstrated in the former Yugoslav People's Army, the Communist Party, or the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Even worse, the opponents of this policy often reduce it to the mere pre-reserved quota for the Romanies, and thus discredit it before ordinary folks. Its application, they say, reduces the chances for the majority population.

At the end of the section on the integration model, it is now time to ask our subjects about their position on affirmative action (table 4).

Table 4

*THE POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION OF THE ROMA*  
 “The Federal Law on the Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities pleads for affirmative action, i.e. positive discrimination of the Roma.  
 What is your position on this matter?”

MODALITY	No.	%
I fully agree	331	16,1
I mostly agree	280	13,6
I am undecided	659	32,1
I mostly disagree	329	16,0
I do not agree at all	415	20,2
I have no position, I do not know	41	2,0
TOTAL	2055	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137  
 No answer = 82

As expected, the affirmative action is not very popular in the population, and there is a *lack of majority support*: 16.1% fully agree with positive discrimination, and 13.6% mostly agree. 16.0% mostly disagree, and even 20.2% fully disagree. The 32.1% undecided, the biggest individual percentage, testify that an articulated position on this sensitive instrument has not yet been reached in the third of the population.

Social work might help the undecided accept positive discrimination in the future. Although it is not central to any proposed integration model, positive discrimination is an important ignition, the first major step in the strengthening of the Roma community.

*Skinheads and the Roma*

The subculture of the young – *skinheads* – appeared in our country in early eighties. In the West it is well-worn and always on the verge of delinquency, here it is marginalized and noticeable only when it provokes an incident.<sup>5</sup> The wider population marks skinheads only when there is a physical assault on the Romanies. Every now and then our “white guys” attack our “black guys”. An extreme incident occurred in 1997 when a group of Belgrade skinheads killed Dusan Jovanovic, a Roma boy, which was the first murder in Yugoslavia out of *racist* causes. Nis, the centre of S-E S is not spared the inhumane behaviour of “street soldiers”, either. A few years ago, three rural skinheads beat a young Romani in the very downtown.<sup>6</sup>

By now the state has been very strict and duly punished such behaviour of the “baldies”. It could be done because in the background there was a strong support of the population. Let us take a look at this support in S-E S towards the end of 2002 and in the beginning of 2003 (Table 5).

<sup>5</sup> More details available in the publication *An Essay on Skinheads* (Đorđević, 2003g).

<sup>6</sup> The event has been described in the book *Sociology of Roma Identity* (Đorđević, Filipović and students, 2002).

Table 5

## SKINHEADS AND THE ROMA

*“There is a group of young people – the skinheads – who openly show intolerance of the Romanies, believe Romanies should be expelled from the country, even physically maltreated.*

*What is your position on the behaviour of the skinheads?”*

MODALITY	No.	%
I support their behaviour	108	5,2
I do not support their behaviour	1974	94,8
TOTAL	2082	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 55

The results are socially acceptable. *An almost full majority of the population does not support the behaviour of the skinheads (94.8%).* This means that society (seen more broadly) and the state (seen more narrowly) have full support in putting an end to the violence of our “boys from the hood”. However, this also means that the action of the state must be based on the law, and rid of all intention to suppress any subculture of the young.

The five percent of support is not something that surprises a sociologist, either. In our experience this has been the usual local percentage. Due to the range of Serbian nationalism and chauvinism in the last decade and a half it would be logical to expect much more substantial agreement with the skins.

*Religious Practice with the Roma*

*Intra- and interreligious tolerance* is an important pebble in the mosaic of a civil, democratic community, since it should stand out as an example of tolerance for all other subsystems. For the Romanies it is very important, perhaps crucial, since their minority position is dual: they are both an ethnic and a religious minority (Đorđević, 2003f).

Religious majorities, some of them national minorities themselves, do not always welcome Roma to their creed. They often reject the Roma, doubting they can be “true believers”. This is why the Roma need to prove their faith time and again. Let us now see whether the inhabitants of S-E S show intrareligious tolerance of the Romanies (table 6).

Table 6

## RELIGIOUS PRACTICE WITH THE ROMA

*“Would you practice your religious rituals together with a Romani (eucharist, prayer, bowing, circumcision, the Slava, procession...?)”*

MODALITY	No.	%
Yes, certainly	1344	65,2
I doubt it, I would have second thoughts	368	17,8
No way	308	14,9
Something else, what?	42	2,0
TOTAL	2062	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 75

Two thirds of the subjects (65.2%) demonstrate religious tolerance and state they would practice rituals with a Romani of the same confession. (One should know that, in answering this question, the Roma show more tolerance than the Gaja). Around 18% of non-Romanies have second thoughts, and fifteen percent do not agree to sharing their rituals with the Roma at all. Both these positions cannot be interpreted from *a religious point of view*: religions do not divide their flock by language, ethnicity, or skin colour. This is why our religious communities, especially those traditional ones, should work on developing consciousness on intra- and interreligious tolerance among their believers.

*Blood transfusion from the Roma*

*Reserve* to the Roma is high in our society, i.e. there is a lot of social, ethnic, and religious distance. It is currently being reduced, but it is still very high and threatens to turn into all-out chauvinism, xenophobia, and racism. Along with other instruments to measure social distance, some believe that the issue of life and death, of *receiving or refusing blood transfusion from "the other"* is very discriminative. For, a common man thinks, I do not like "the other" – white or black, a Croat or a Roma, a Catholic or a Muslim... – however, this is a borderline human situation, such as death. Why shouldn't I then receive blood from this person arm-to-arm? However, there are those thinking along the following line: "I do not like "the other" – white or black, a Croat or a Roma, a Catholic or a Muslim... – I would not like him to be my cousin, neighbour, or superior. I wouldn't take his blood at the price of my life."

It is now time to take a look at table 7 and determine which one of the two has more supporters.

Table 7

*BLOOD TRANSFUSION FROM THE ROMA*

*"Would you accept to receive direct blood transfusion (arm to arm) from a Romani?"*

MODALITY	No.	%
Yes, certainly	865	41,6
Perhaps, I am not sure	455	21,9
Only if my life is in danger	548	26,4
No, under no circumstances	211	10,1
TOTAL	2079	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 58

It is obvious that the first person described above has much more supporters, since only 10.1% agree with the latter position. However, this percentage is not neglectable. Indeed, could my prejudice of the "other" and "different" be any deeper if I refuse contact with a Roma at the price of my life.

*Most citizens of S-E S are not really so distant from the Roma after all: 41.6% would always receive their blood arm to arm, and 26.4% if their life is jeopardized, which makes up the total of 68.0%. These data should certainly be compared with the Bogardus scale data. It would also be recommendable to determine the distance of the Roma from the Gaja (Đorđević, 2004).*

*The Roma and districts*

The history of our Roma shows that, if sedentary, they have usually had separate locations of living – the districts known as 'mala' or 'mahala' – in urban or rural conglomerations. Although not the only one, the most important reason of such Romani choice of locations of living is the fact the Roma are stigmatized by the majority population. In time this distance turned into xenophobia and racism, and these 'malas' turned into outright ghettos. In addition, the way of life in the malas created in the Romanies a *ghetto consciousness* with longterm consequences on their cultural patterns and possibilities of integration. In a word, as claimed by many, the perspective of the Roma is largely dependent on the decision: we shall stay in the malas, since it is better for us to live there, or we shall leave them, since our future is in mingling with the others. We shall now see what the population of S-E S thinks of this (table 8).

Table 8

*ROMANIES AND DISTRICTS*

*“It is better for the Romanies to live in their own districts and not to mingle with others?”*

MODALITY	N	%
I fully agree	320	15,2
I mostly agree	320	15,2
I am undecided	310	14,7
I mostly disagree	487	23,1
I do not agree at all	666	31,6
I have no position, I do not know	5	0,2
TOTAL	2108	100,0

No. tabulated = 2137

No answer = 29

It is good that a small majority (54.7%) of our subjects believe that it would be better for the Romanies to leave their ghettos, to mingle and start an exchange with the environment. The fact that 30.4% respondents want the Romanies to stay where they are – in a ghetto – is socially unacceptable. Since, as stated, integration will not be successful unless *the majority population* favours it. The task of a public campaign should therefore be to “convert” or reguide the undecided citizens in the right direction, even if those mostly deeply rooted are insensitive to any campaign.

*The relocation of the Roma*

The Romanies have always been exposed to racist behaviour. The range of such atrocities has been broad – from expulsion to taking their lives (Đorđević, 2003e). A mass destruction of the Roma – a Holocaust or genocide – is today unthinkable. However, their collective *relocation, expulsion, or deportation* is still often demonstrated.

Politicians and state leaders often just come up with the idea that Romanies should be “put up” somewhere for good. What are they doing here at our place, why not move them somewhere else, to another town, or even to another country? Many a commoner, with or without experience with the Roma, comes under influence of this monstrous intention, and starts propagating pure racism. Naturally, there is no Roma integration if

this racist intention prevails in the population. Let us see whether it is prevalent in S-E S (table 9).

Table 9

*THE RELOCATION OF THE ROMA*

*“Do you agree with the opinion that the Roma should be relocated to another town or country?”*

MODALITY	N	%
I fully agree	144	6,9
I mostly agree	118	5,6
I am undecided	229	10,9
I mostly disagree	451	21,5
I do not agree at all	1153	54,9
I have no position, I do not know	5	0,2
TOTAL	2100	100,0

No tabulated = 2137

No answer = 37

Only 12.5% subjects stick to the blasphemous thought on the final settlement for the Romanies somewhere else. This is still not a fully negligible percentage. The vast majority (76.4%) of S-E S population *rejects the racist idea on the expulsion of the Romanies*, their neighbours, and that way shows it is ready to live together, to help the Roma integrate. The population of this part of Serbia, though not in any scholarly or articulated fashion, knows from experience that the Romanies have been beside them and with them since times immemorial, that they are an autochthonous minority with which serious misunderstandings in the past have been rare.

CONCLUSION

Our previous analyses, and the results expressed in table 10, give us a good grounds to conclude that we have confirmed most important *chains* in our integration model. The population of S-E S has agreed (or has not agreed in some respects) with the following:

1. The Romanies are an ethno-class, i.e. their entire ethnic community lives on and below the borderline of total poverty. They have no social power, and respect paid to them is extremely low;

2. The actors to change the unfavourable Roma position are threefold: a determined and balanced action of the Roma, the majority community, and the state is recommended.

3. The vicious circle of Romani poverty needs to be attacked simultaneously at all key points. In other words, there is a need for a synchronized improvement of Roma position in the social-economic, legal-political, and cultural-education realms.

4. Affirmative action is not too welcomed by the population, i.e. there is a lack of majority support of Roma positive discrimination. However, a third of the population has still not reached an articulated decision on this issue.

Table 10

*COMPONENTS OF A ROMA INTEGRATION MODEL*

*Positive positions*

COMPONENT	MODALITY	No.	%
The Roma are an ethno-class	I fully or mostly agree	910	43,2
Status change actors	Romanies, majority nation, state	1045	50,4
Priority realm to change	All three realms simultaneously	1376	66,5
Positive discrimination	I fully or mostly agree	611	29,7

Table 11

*BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS OF ROMA INTEGRATION*

*Positive positions*

ASSUMPTIONS	MODALITET	N	%
The behaviour of skinheads	I do not support	1974	94,8
Common religious practice	Yes, certainly	1344	65,2
Blood transfusion	Always and only in matter of life & death	1413	68,0
Districts	I mostly and fully disagree	1153	54,7
Relocation	I mostly and fully disagree	1604	76,4

Our previous analyses and results seen in table 11 make us conclude that we have confirmed most relevant *background assumptions* from our integration model. The population of S-E S has mostly agreed (and partly disagreed) with the following:

1. The behaviour of the skinheads to the Romanies is not supported (94.8%);
2. Religious tolerance and common ritual practice with the Romani of the same confession is demonstrated (65.2%);
3. Arm-to-arm blood transfusion is accepted (68.0%) and social distance from the Roma is reducing;
4. It is better for the Romanies to leave their ghettos, to mingle and start a full exchange with the environment (54.7%);
5. The racist idea of the expulsion of the Romanies, our neighbours, elsewhere, to another town or country is rejected

In conclusion, *the population of S-E S shows it is ready to live together and support Roma integration. This is not a road of roses, so that the responsible and others called out for need to start removing the thorns.*





Lela Milošević

**SERBS ABOUT OTHERS**  
**(Social Distance of the Serbs from the Members of Other Nations,**  
**National Minorities and Ethnic Groups in Southeast Serbia)**

INTRODUCTION

The paper presents a study of the ethnic distance and of the majority population stereotypes, more precisely, Serbian people in Southeast Serbia regarding members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups such as Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, Bosnians (Muslims), Greek, Romas, Bulgarians, Albanians, Hungarians, Vlachs, Romanians and Turks. The paper is based on the data obtained by the empirical research project entitled *Quality of the Inter-ethnic Relationships, the Awareness about the Regional Identity and the Possibilities of Cooperation and Integration at the Balkans* carried out in 2003 at the territory of Southeast Serbia within the realization of the three-year project (2002-2004) "Cultural and Ethnic Relations at the Balkans – Possibilities of Regional and European Integration".

The three basic tasks were defined, namely:

- 1) To determine the extent to which the majority population is ready to establish certain kinds of relationships with members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups,
- 2) To determine the ways in which the majority, that is Serbian nation perceives members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups, how much this perception is positive or negative and to what extent different nations, national minorities and ethnic groups are ascribed different, specific characteristics, and,
- 3) To determine the nature of the relationship between the ascribed characteristics and the accepted relations with members of these nations, national minorities and ethnic groups.

BASIC CONCEPTS

The concept of the social distance was first used by the sociologist R. Park but today it is mostly related to E. Bogardus who created a characteristic scale for measuring social distance. By the social distance Bogardus assumed a certain degree of understanding and psychological closeness (that is, distance) between various individuals or groups. More closely, the social distance is in fact examined as readiness for establishing the relations of various degrees of closeness. Its measurement assumes that it is first operationalized via characteristic social relations that can represent different degrees of closeness or distance. A statistical analysis can concentrate on every separate item; it is also possible to speak about the overall distance (Kuzmanović, 1994: 226).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> More about the Bogardus scale in: Dejvid Kreč, Ričard S. Kračfild, Igerton L. Balaki (1972), *Pojedinac u društvu (The Individual in the Society)*, Belgrade, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva; V. Gud i P. Het (1966), *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja (Methods of Social Research)*, Belgrade, Vuk Karadžić; R. Supek (1968), *Ispitivanje javnog mnjenja (Public Opinion Research)*, Zagreb, Naprijed.

The concept of (ethnic) stereotypes was introduced into science by Walter Lippman as early as 1922. He perceived stereotypes as a kind of representation or attitudes providing individuals with easier ways of getting along and orientation in a complex world. Contrary to Lippman and his followers, the psychological literature offers another established assumption stating that the stereotypes represent “rationalization of the existing prejudices” regarding ethnic groups. This latter view was supported by Gordon Allport and Hans Jurgen Eisenk as well as, in our country, Nikola Rot, Đorđe Đurić, Bora Kuzmanović, Dragomir Pantić and other authors.

Bora Kuzmanović assumes the stereotype to be “a schematic and rigid representation of the personality features and the behavior patterns shared by the members of some groups (in this case, an ethnic one) that are rigidly transmitted and applied as a preconceived picture about almost every single individual from the given group” (Kuzmanović, 1992: 120).

In his paper “Changes in Ethnic Stereotypes of Serbs”, Dragan Pantić sums up the existing interpretations of the concept of the stereotype: “In the social psychology, the stereotype is usually understood as rigid, mostly false or even colored with prejudice<sup>2</sup> perception of other persons and social groups. The stereotypes are mostly the results of the deformed perception and incomplete generalization or sometimes even of incorrect conclusion-making that is conditioned by preconceptions, interests, emotions as well as the tendency to psychic economizing manifested as simplification of an otherwise diversified and rich reality and its reduction to several categories. [...] Yet, the stereotypes are not always completely false since the members of the groups that are the objects of perception and evaluation can possess some common traits or at least some similar features in the sense of the modal types” (Pantić, 1996: 562).

In the research care is usually most often devoted to racial and ethnic stereotypes since they are widely spread and are of importance for social life and interpersonal relations.

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<sup>2</sup> *Gordon Allport* defines the prejudice “as a repulsive or hostile attitude towards some person belonging to a particular group exactly because of his belonging to the given group; on the basis of the group belonging it is concluded that an individual has negative characteristics otherwise ascribed to the group” (Mihailović, 1998: 412).

*Rudi Supek* thinks that the social prejudice “is a form of social (dis)liking which is expressed in false and inflexible generalization and biased evaluation of the members of other social group which rests upon the dynamics of the group inclusion and exclusion with a tendency to regress towards primitive forms of aggressiveness in the case of an increase of intergroup tensions. This tendency to regression is a rule with ethnic prejudices” (Supek, 1973: 80).

*Nikola Rot* defines prejudices (in social psychology) as “a logically unfounded, persistently supported and with different emotions accompanied attitude towards various objects” (Rot, 1975: 367). The racial and ethnic prejudices are, in his opinion, negative attitudes towards other races and ethnic groups on the whole as well as towards particular members of these races and groups. “We assume ethnic stereotypes to be a part of the cognitive component of the attitude towards certain peoples, that is, that part of the cognitive attitude that is characterized by a relatively simplified and rigid understanding of the characteristics of particular nations. The evaluation of characteristics of particular nations is simplified and inadequate since it is an outcome of the tendency to simplification for the sake of easier getting along” (Rot, 1975: 378).

## RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The research was carried out in Southeast Serbia on the sample of 600 examined. Of them all, 258 examined are of Serbian nationality. For the acquisition of the data the modified Bogardus scale comprising seven kinds of social relations was used. The relations are ordered starting from the one with the smallest distance degree (greatest closeness) to the one with the highest distance degree (smallest distance). They are formulated in the form of assumptions while the examined were required to encircle the answers “yes”, “no” or “neutral” thus showing which of the offered relations they are ready to accept or reject with the members of the following nations, national minorities and ethnic groups, namely: Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians, Serbs, Bosnians (Muslims), Greek, Romas, Bulgarians, Albanians, Hungarians, Vlachs, Romanians and Turks. The offered relations are: 1. Getting married to, 2. Have as a friend, 3. Live in the same neighborhood, 4. Work in the same company, 5. Have as a boss, 6. Live in the same town and 7. Live in the same state.

Lickert scale<sup>3</sup> was used for examining what features are assigned to what nation, national minority or ethnic group. The following features were given: industrious, courageous, clever, sensitive, sincere, honest, cultured, clean, kind, hospitable, peace loving, unselfish, civilized, love other peoples and proud. By encircling one of the five divisions on the scale (completely agree, agree, indecisive, disagree, not agree at all) the examined actually marked the extent to which members of the given nations, national minorities or ethnic groups evidently manifest each of the above-listed features.

## RESULTS OF THE PREVIOUS RESEARCH

D. Pantić's research results show an increase of the ethnic distance in the mid-eighties. Judging from the results from 1985 D. Pantić records that 30% Albanians accept Serbs as possible marriage partners while Serbs would get married to Albanians in 44% of the cases. For Hungarians the marriage with a member of Serbian nationality is possible in 65% of the cases; *vice versa*, 58% of Serbs would gladly get married to Hungarians. While examining the national heterostereotypes shared by the young in 1986, the same author obtained the following results: young people of Serbian nationality from the SR of Serbia without provinces mostly evaluate Albanians negatively, that is, Albanians do not like other peoples (54%) and are backward (51%), sly (34%), detached (33%), rough (20%), unified (20%), rash (16%), lazy (14%), selfish (8%) and courageous (5%). The research from 1990 and 1993 show an even more increasing ethnic distance, especially towards Albanians, Muslims and Croats (Mihajlović, 1996: 423; Kuzmanović 1994: 233).

D. B. Đorđević and D. Todorović examined, in a period of time from 1999 to 2002, in the socio-empirical way, the existing *ethno-religious distance* on the part of the majority population (Serbs) and other national minorities (Albanians and Bulgarians) towards Romas. The obtained data confirmed its continually high intensity both when it came to the relations between Serbs and Romas and the relations between “members of other nations - Romas” (Đorđević, 2001a: 153-178; 2002a: 175-186).

<sup>3</sup> More details about the Lickert scale see in the references given in Note 1.

While analyzing the empirical data<sup>4</sup> about ethnic distance, xenophobia and ethno-nationalist manipulation, the politicologist Laslo Sekelj (2000) warned that, in the FR of Yugoslavia, at least one third or maybe even two-fifths of the population comprise members of national minorities including the newly-created one (Croats and Bosnians) that came into being due to the collapse of the SFRY. He regarded a very widely spread ethnic distance as an empirical manifestation of the dominant political matrix in Serbia and FR of Yugoslavia.<sup>5</sup>

While examining ethnic autostereotypes and heterostereotypes at Kosovo<sup>6</sup> Srećko Mihailović (1998: 411) found out that both Serbs and Albanians think “all the best” about themselves (hospitable, courageous, peace loving, clean...). Albanians think that Serbs more than anything else hate other peoples, that they are sly, rough... To describe Serbs, Albanians use only 7% of the positive traits and even 93% of the negative traits. Serbs think that Albanians are unified, that they hate other people, that they are backward, rough, industrious... They ascribe to them 32% of the positive and 68% of the negative characteristics<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The research was carried out by the agency "Argument" from Belgrade in August 1997. The sample comprised 1007 examined from the territory of central Serbia, the city of Belgrade, Vojvodina and Montenegro. The examined were offered a chance to select one answer out of six options, namely, one negative ("I don't want any contact") – on the basis of which the numerical value of ethnic distance is determined in this interpretation – and seven positive: 1) "To be permanently settled in the FR of Yugoslavia" (smallest intensity acceptance), 2) "To choose and be chosen", 3) "To have him as a neighbour", 4) "To be my associate at work", 5) "To be my superior at work", 6) "To be my close friend" i 7) "To get married to me".

<sup>5</sup> "In summing up previous research of the ethnic distance and inter-national relations done on the territory of the SFRY, Ljiljana Bačević states that the distance was very low, especially in Vojvodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina – as two nationally most heterogeneous environments – as also confirmed by a great number of inter-ethnic marriages. The research results from the seventies show an increase of the ethnic distance but it was still relatively low. Referring to the research done by Dragan Pantić in 1987, Lj. Bačević stresses the growth of the ethnic distance in the mid-eighties and its stability in the sense of spatial, layer and generation distribution as well as the dominant role of the cultural and religious factors, historical legacy, national stereotypes and prejudices. It was empirically manifested as a high degree of mutual acceptance among South Slavs, non-acceptance of Albanians (and *vice versa*), relative closeness of Muslims and Albanians and a high degree of mutual acceptance between Serbs and Montenegrins (Bačević, 1996). Four years later Pantić (Pantić, 1991) states a drastic increase of the ethnic distance in the SFRY. It is evident, from the data he presents, that the ethnic distance increases in proportion to the ethnonational manipulation carried out by the national oligarchies in their fight for power (data from this research of the ethnic distance of Serbs and Montenegro are given in the section "Ethnic Distance in the FR of Yugoslavia ") (...) In our research project in which the ethnic distance is determined at a much lower level of intensity - not as potential acceptance of marriage partner but as acceptance or rejection to live with anonymous member of other nationality in the same country – 45,2% of the examined in the sample including over 4/5 of the examined of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality – do not want any contact with members of Croatian nationality. Just like the mutually twice larger ethnic distance in 1990 regarding the relation Serbs (Montenegrins) – Slovenians comparing to the relation Serbs (Montenegrins) – Croats (and *vice versa*), so was a drastically greater increase of the ethnic distance between Serbs and Croats stated in 1993 (...) politically produced" (Sekelj, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> The mentioned project is the public opinion research of Kosovo and Metohija in 1997 carried out by the Forum for Ethnic Relations from Belgrade in cooperation with the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology in Priština (Dušan Janjić, Đerđ Rapi, Srećko Mihailović and others).

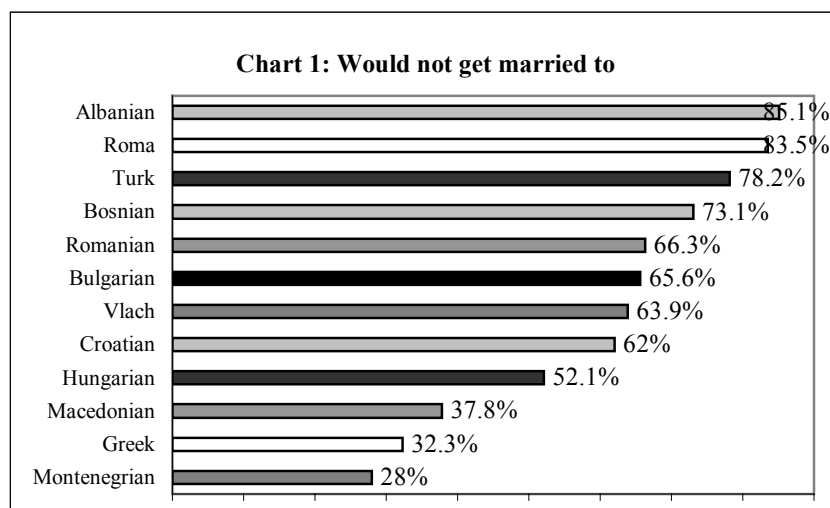
<sup>7</sup> A concise presentation of several research projects dealing with Serbian ethnic distance towards Albanians can be found in: Popović, 1990: 133-141).

In their public opinion research<sup>8</sup>, Popadić and Biro (1999) noticed that the stereotypes about Muslims and Albanians are saturated with negative characteristics. Muslims are described as primitive, insincere, disliking other peoples, dirty, uncultured, quarrelsome, stupid, cowards and lazy while Albanians are depicted as primitive, disliking other peoples, dirty, uncultured, impudent, insincere, quarrelsome, selfish, stupid, cold and cowards. The stereotype about Hungarians is made up of positive attributes. They are described as clean, cultured, industrious, civilized and clever while the stereotype about Croats is made up of both positive and negative attributes. Croats are described as insincere, disliking other peoples, cold, selfish, quarrelsome and dishonest as well as clean, industrious, cultured and civilized. Slovenians are ascribed all the attributes that are also prominent in Hungarians, only this time they are also assigned a set of negative attributes. They are depicted as clean, industrious, civilized, cultured and clever as well as cold, selfish, disliking other peoples and insincere. The autostereotype about Serbs is exclusively made up of positive attributes. Serbs are hospitable, proud, sensitive, courageous, liking other peoples, sincere, unselfish, clever, honest, clean, kind and civilized. The only attributes that are slightly less prominent are industrious, cultured and peace loving. The stereotypes about Montenegrins is close to the one about Serbs.

#### RESULTS OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST SERBIA

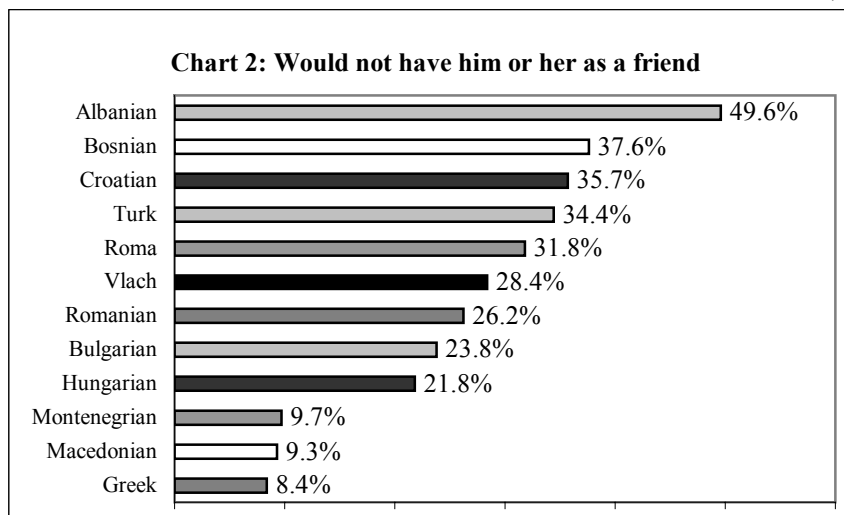
Results of the Empirical Research in Southeast Serbia carried out in 2003 showed that the greatest distance Serbs manifest towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas, Croats and Turks.

After the obtained data procession, every level of closeness on the Bogardus scale was analyzed. Figs. 1 to 7 show negative answers, that is, refusal to accept respective relations.

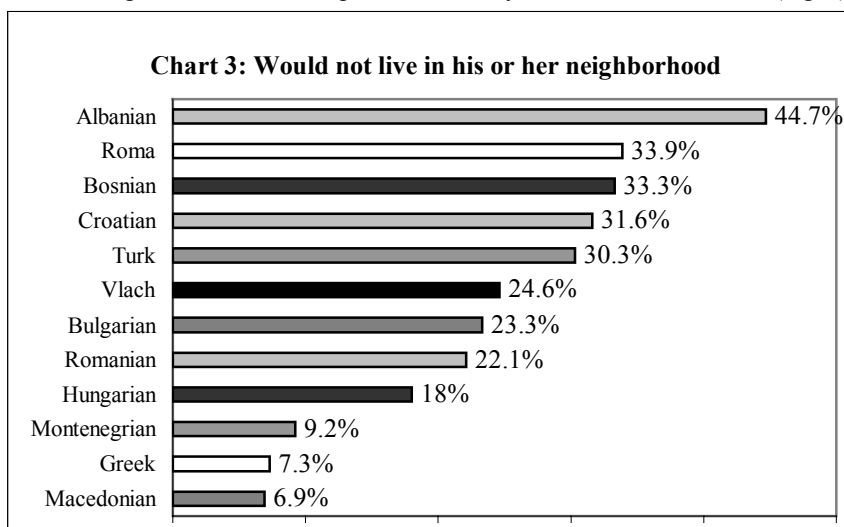


<sup>8</sup>The analysis of the results of the research carried out in October 1997 on the quota sample of the examined of Serbian nationality from Serbia (without Kosovo) who are older than 18, entitled "Autostereotypes and Heterostereotypes of Serbs in Serbia" was done by Dragan Popadić and Mikloš Biro.

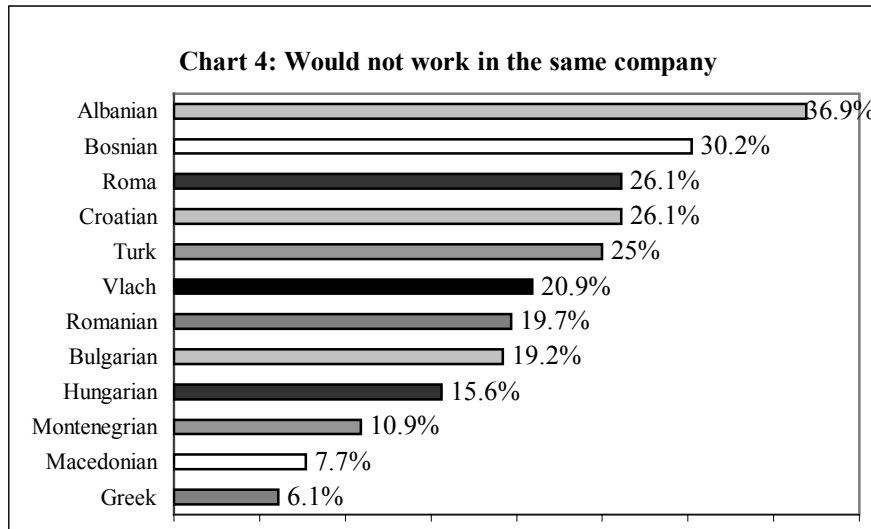
The distance is greatest when it comes to marriage (which is understandable since this is the highest degree of closeness) and who they would like to have as their superior at work. Thus, for instance, 85,1% Serbs would not get married to an Albanian, 83,5%, with a Roma, 78,2% with a Turk while 73,1% would not get married to a Bosnian (Fig. 1). To accept an Albanian as their superior at work was refused by 68,4% Serbs; to accept a Roma as a boss would be rejected by 62,4%, a Turk 56,1%, a Bosnian 52,7%, while 51,8% Serbs would not like him to be Croat (Fig. 5).



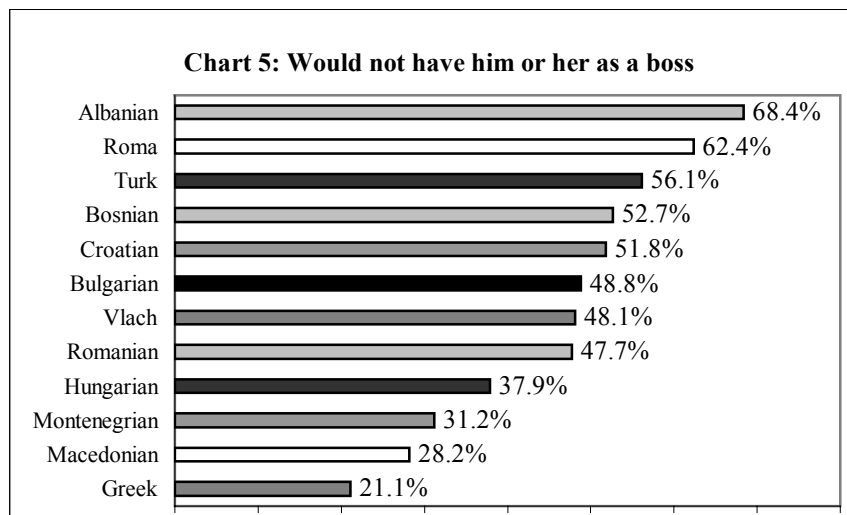
At the second level of the scale ('Have as a friend') the refusal was, when presented in percentage, considerably less present than the refusal to get married; yet, the percentage is still very high. Almost half of the examined of Serbian nationality refuse to have an Albanian as a friend while 37,6% of them do not want a Bosnian while 35,7% refuse to have a Croat as a friend. Romas are in this case more accepted than Croats and Turks. Just like with the first level on the scale, the most accepted are Greek, Macedonians and Montenegrins, the only difference being that in the first case Montenegrins were in the first place followed by Greek and Macedonians (Fig. 2).



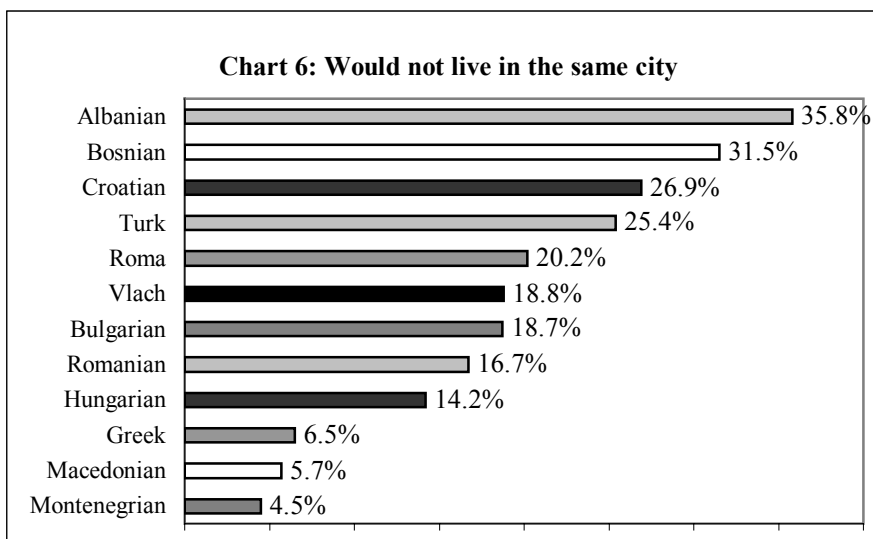
When it comes to neighbors, 44,7% Serbs do not like to have Albanians as neighbors, 33,9% of them do not like to have Romas as neighbors while 33,3% of the examined would not like to have Bosnians (Muslims) as neighbors. Regarding the second level of the Bogardus scale, there is a difference regarding Romas. The examined of Serbian nationality would rather accept Romas as friends than Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Croats and Turks; when it comes to neighbors, they choose rather Turks, Croats and Bosnians (Muslims) than Romas. Yet, the difference in percentage is not great (Fig. 3).



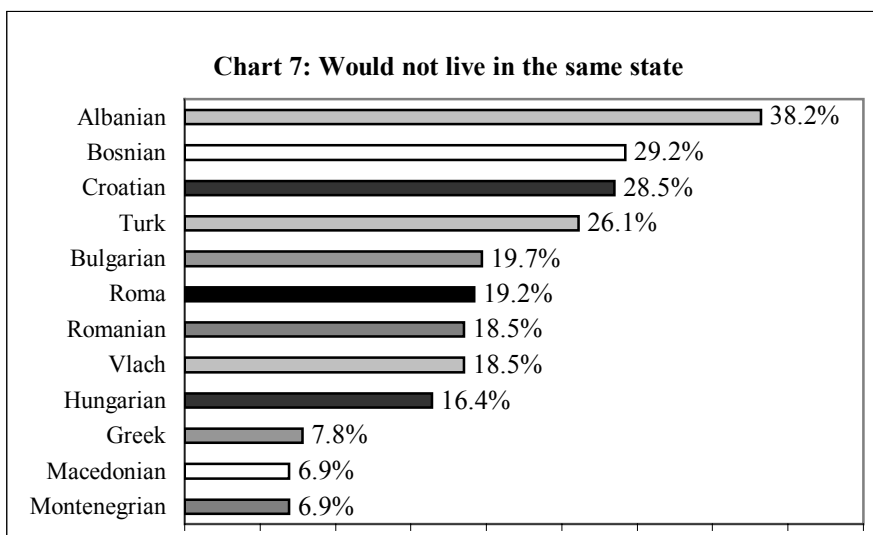
The best associates at work, as the majority population thinks, would be Greek, Macedonians and Montenegrins. Just like in the previous cases, they are most accepted though here and there is a difference in sequence. To have an Albanian as a colleague at work is refused by 36,9% Serbs while 30,2% of the examined Serbs do not like him to be a Bosnian. The percentage of rejection of Romas and Croats as associates at work is exactly the same while a slightly less percentage refers to Turks (Fig. 4).



Once the obtained results were compared it was found out that people find it harder to accept members of other nation or ethnic group at work than as a friend. Just like Bora Kuzmanović noticed in his own research of the social distance, some official relations are harder to accept than the private ones maybe because in this case an individual is not perceived as an individual but as a representative of the whole nation or because this kind of relations is much harder to break than the private ones that a person chooses for himself (Kuzmanović, 1994: 235).



The research results show that 35,8% of the Serbs would not live in the same town with an Albanian while 31,5% Serbs do not like to have Bosnians (Muslims) as the people living in the same town with them. Slightly less desirable as co-citizens are Croats and Turks followed by Romas. Montenegrins, Macedonians and Greek are still the most accepted (Fig. 6).





Life in the same state with Albanians is refused by 38,2% Serbs while about 29% refuse to share the same state with Bosnians (Muslims) and Croats (Fig. 7). However, if we observe the results showing acceptance of some relations, we can see that the examined of Serbian nationality still desire Albanians as friends, they would live in the same neighborhood with them, work in the same company and live in the same town and state (about 50%). This number is somewhat greater for Bosnians and then for Romas, Turks and Croats.

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As defined in the second task of the research project (namely, to determine the ways in which the majority, that is Serbian nation perceives members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups, how much this perception is positive or negative and to what extent different nations, national minorities and ethnic groups are ascribed different, specific characteristics) an analysis was done of the kinds of attributes assigned to particular peoples, national minorities and ethnic groups. The research results showed that the stereotyped representations that the majority population possesses are saturated with negative attributes. The stereotypes Romas and Albanians are the most negative as might have been expected regarding the results obtained by the Bogardus scale. As expressed by the examined of Serbian nationality, Romas are not clean (77,8%), not cultured (73%), not civilized (69,3%), not courageous (63,9%), not honest (59,7%), not industrious (59,2%) and not sincere (55,4%) while Albanians are not civilized (65,4%), not peace loving (64%), dislike other peoples (62%), are not cultured (59,2%) and are not clean (52,6%). Contrary to such a great number of negative attributes, Albanians are assigned other traits, namely that they are industrious (51,2%), proud (50,4%) and hospitable (44%) while Romas are sensitive (43,5%), peace loving (43,5%) and hospitable (42,5%).

When it comes to Bosnians, Serbs think that they are not peace loving (46,1%) and civilized (39,8%) but that they are proud 45,2% and hospitable 41,4%. The portrayal of Croats is made up of positive attributes, namely, that they are clean 61,1% and cultured 53,2% as well as negative, namely, that they are not peace loving 57,3% and that they dislike other nations 52,7%. Turks are assigned the attributes that they are not peace loving 36,3% and clean 35,6% but that they are industrious 47,5%, courageous 46,7% and proud 46,6%. Bulgarians are depicted as uncultured 44,8%, dishonest 42,3% and not peace loving 40,4%. Of the positive attributes, they are assigned to be proud 40,9%.

When it comes to Romanians and Vlachs, the percentage of the answers regarding both positive and negative characteristics does not exceed 30%. Romanians are described as dishonest, uncultured, uncivilized, dirty and unkind while Vlachs are not courageous and clean; they are dishonest, insincere and lack culture. Regarding positive attributes, Romanians are assigned to be proud while Vlachs are industrious.

On the basis of the analyzed data, it can be concluded that the stereotyped views of the majority population are not one-dimensional since other peoples, national minorities and ethnic groups are not only ascribed positive but also negative characteristics as well. However, the negative ones are predominant.

The presented results confirm that there is a direct correlation between the ascribed attributes and the accepted relations with members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups. Most of the positive attributes the examined of Serbian nationality assign to those that they manifest the smallest distance to and *vice versa*.

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In order to obtain more detailed data, the overall score of the distance is crossed with the independent variables such as gender, age, schooling, place of living and profession.

The overall distance score is obtained by denoting every rejection of any relation with one point while acceptance is marked with zero (therefore, distance is measured instead of closeness). The overall score ranged from 0 (no distance whatsoever which does not mean absolute acceptance since the examined could have answered “neutral” as well; this should be kept in mind throughout the analysis) to 7 (since there were 7 relations) implying absolute distance. All the examined were divided, according to the results on the distance scale, into 4 groups, namely:

- no distance and “neutral” (0 point)
- small distance (1-2 points)
- moderate distance (3-5 points)
- large distance (6-7 points)<sup>9</sup>

Due to the extent of the research, the data are represented in the Table only for Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims) and Romas since it is towards them that the distance on the part of the majority nation is largest.

Table 1

*Distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas / Gender (%)*

Gender	Albanians		Bosnians (Muslims)		Romas	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
No distance and “neutral”	13,1	11,3	28,7	20,0	18,0	12,7
Small distance	37,7	29,8	37,7	32,8	45,9	42,9
Moderate distance	25,4	17,7	11,5	16,8	22,1	26,2
Large distance	23,8	41,1	22,1	30,4	13,9	18,3
Total No of Examined (100%)	122	124	122	125	122	126

Table 1 presents the results about distancing regarding gender. It can be seen that a large distance is manifested to a greater percentage by women than by men while, when it comes to a small or moderate distance, there is a difference regarding the fact if the people in question are Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims) and Romas.

<sup>9</sup> According to B. Kuzmanović (1994), p. 236

Table 2

*Distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas / Age (%)*

	Age	No distance and "neutral"	Small distance	Moderate distance	Large distance	Total No of Examined (100%)
Albanians	19-29	9,7	33,9	25,8	30,6	62
	30-39	17,0	29,8	25,5	27,7	47
	40-49	14,3	40,8	16,3	28,6	49
	50-59	10,5	34,2	10,5	44,7	38
	over 60	10,0	30,0	26,0	34,0	50
Bosnians /Muslims	19-29	24,2	33,9	17,7	24,2	62
	30-39	34,0	27,7	14,9	23,4	47
	40-49	24,5	38,8	14,3	22,4	49
	50-59	21,1	36,8	5,3	36,8	38
	over 60	17,6	39,2	15,7	27,5	51
Romas	19-29	12,9	41,9	22,6	22,6	62
	30-39	20,8	52,1	14,6	12,5	48
	40-49	16,3	53,1	24,5	6,1	49
	50-59	13,2	44,7	18,4	23,7	38
	over 60	13,7	31,4	39,2	15,7	51

If we have a look at the data for overall distance score regarding age (Table 2), it can clearly be seen that the large distance is most expressed by the examined of 50 to 59 years of age, then by the examined of over 60 years of age and finally by the examined of 19 to 29 years of age with the exception of Romas where the situation is somewhat different. A large distance towards Romas, to a large extent, is shown by the examined of 19 to 29 years of age comparing to those of over 60 years of age.

Table 3

*Distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas / Schooling (%)*

	Schooling	No distance and "neutral"	Small distance	Moderate distance	Large distance	Total No of Examined (100%)
Albanians	No school	-	33,3	11,1	55,6	9
	Incomplete elementary	20,8	12,5	25,0	41,7	24
	Elementary	17,9	23,1	28,2	30,8	39
	Three-year trade school	5,3	26,3	42,1	26,3	19
	Secondary school	10,8	41,2	17,6	30,4	102
	High school, university or academy	11,3	39,6	17,0	32,1	53
Bosnians (Muslims)	No school	11,1	22,2	11,1	55,6	9
	Incomplete elementary	28,0	32,0	16,0	24,0	25
	Elementary	20,5	33,3	15,4	30,8	39
	Three-year trade school	21,1	36,8	15,8	26,3	19
	Secondary school	28,4	34,3	14,7	22,5	102
	High school, university or academy	20,8	41,5	11,3	26,4	53
Romas	No school	-	33,3	33,3	33,3	9
	Incomplete elementary	28,0	12,0	40,0	20,0	25
	Elementary	17,5	40,0	30,0	12,5	40
	Three-year trade school	10,5	47,4	36,8	5,3	19
	Secondary school	15,7	51,0	15,7	17,6	102
	High school, university or academy	11,3	50,9	22,6	15,1	53

Regarding schooling, the results for the overall distance score largely differ (Table 3). Namely, a large distance towards Albanians is least manifested by the examined with three- year trade school followed by those with completed secondary school. When it comes to Bosnians (Muslims) a large distance is least manifested by the examined with completed secondary school followed by those with incomplete elementary school. On the other hand, a large distance towards Romas is least manifested by the examined with completed three-year trade school followed by those with completed elementary school.

Table 4

*Distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas / Place of Living (%)*

	Place of Living	No distance and 'neutral	Small distance	Moderate distance	Large distance	Total No of Examined (100%)
Albanians	Village	8,0	48,0	30,0	14,0	50
	Suburbia	25,0	25,0	18,8	31,3	32
	Town	11,0	31,1	19,5	38,4	164
Bosnians (Muslims)	Village	16,0	44,0	20,0	20,0	50
	Suburbia	34,4	25,0	12,5	28,1	32
	Town	24,8	34,5	12,7	27,9	165
Romas	Village	15,7	60,8	15,7	7,8	51
	Suburbia	31,3	34,4	18,8	15,6	32
	Town	12,1	41,2	27,9	18,8	165

After analyzing the results obtained for the overall distance score regarding schooling, we cannot conclude that the percentage of the large distance presence declines with a high schooling level. A high extent of distance is also manifested by the examined with high and university education.

Of interest are likewise the data regarding the place of living (Table 4). The examined from the village manifest to a great extent a small distance while a large distance is, among them, considerably smaller in comparison with the examined from the suburbia and the town. Towards Albanians and Romas, a large distance is most often expressed by the town dwellers followed by those living in the suburbs and finally, by those from the village while the situation is slightly different when it comes to Bosnians (Muslims). A large distance towards them is most often manifested by the examined from the suburbs followed by those from the town and the village. However, as can be seen in Table 4, the difference is small.

Table 5

*Distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims), Romas / Profession (%)*

	Profession	No distance and 'neutral	Small distance	Moderate distance	Large distance	Total No of Examined (100%)
Albanians	Farmer	7,7	30,8	30,8	30,8	13
	Worker	16,3	32,6	18,6	32,6	43
	Clerk	5,1	41,0	7,7	46,2	39
	Professional	15,0	55,0	20,0	10,0	20
	Private entrepren.	20,0	46,7	13,3	20,0	15
	Unemployed	12,1	42,4	27,3	18,2	33
	Pupil/student	18,2	31,8	22,7	27,3	22
	Housewife	8,7	8,7	30,4	52,2	23
	Retired	11,1	19,4	27,8	41,7	36
Bosnians (Muslims)	Farmer	15,4	23,1	23,1	38,5	13
	Worker	30,2	27,9	14,0	27,9	43
	Clerk	23,1	28,2	10,3	38,5	39
	Professional	35,0	55,0	10,0	-	20
	Private entrepren.	40,0	46,7	-	13,3	15
	Unemployed	24,2	45,5	12,1	18,2	33
	Pupil/student	27,3	36,4	27,3	9,1	22
	Housewife	16,7	20,8	25,0	37,5	24
	Retired	13,9	36,1	11,1	38,9	36
Romas	Farmer	7,7	46,2	23,1	23,1	13
	Worker	18,6	51,2	14,0	16,3	43
	Clerk	10,3	51,3	23,1	15,4	39
	Professional	10,0	75,0	10,0	5,0	20
	Private entrepren.	20,0	46,7	26,7	6,7	15
	Unemployed	18,2	28,5	15,2	18,2	33
	Pupil/student	22,7	31,8	31,8	13,6	22
	Housewife	12,0	24,0	48,0	16,0	25
	Retired	16,7	25,0	33,3	25,0	36

Regarding profession, the professionals followed by private entrepreneurs, pupils/students and unemployed (Table 5) least manifest a large ethnic distance.

The largest distance towards Albanians is manifested by clerks and retired persons, towards Bosnians (\*Muslims) by retired persons, clerks and farmers while towards Romas the largest distance was by retired persons and farmers.

The presented results as well as the analysis of the other lead us to conclude that gender, age, schooling, place of living and profession have an influence over the scope of the ethnic distancing. Yet, there is not always a statistically significant correlation. The highest statistical importance can be noticed regarding the place of living, profession and schooling.

## CONCLUSION

The results of the empirical research carried out in 2003 in Southeast Serbia have shown that the extent of the ethnic distance is high and that the stereotyped views of the majority population are mostly saturated with negative attributes. Likewise, it has been confirmed that there is a direct correlation between the ascribed attributes and the accepted relations with members of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups while gender, age, schooling, place of living and profession affect the scope of the ethnic distancing just as the highest statistical importance can be noticed regarding the place of living, profession and schooling.

The research has determined the largest distance towards Albanians, Bosnians (Muslims) and Romas and then towards Croats and Turks while it is the smallest towards Macedonians, Greek and Montenegrins. The results have shown that the stereotypes towards Romas and Albanians are the most negative. However, although the stereotyped views of the majority population comprise negative traits, it has been determined that they are not one-dimensional since other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups are not only assigned negative but also positive traits as well.

The lack of trust and ethnic distance are not the same towards other peoples, national minorities and ethnic groups. They depend, of course, on historical circumstances, cultural and linguistic differences. However, the present ethnic distance can be partially explained by the current social and political situation. A large distance towards Albanian minority is an outcome of the political climate, that is, the problem of Kosovo. Likewise, a considerably smaller distance towards Croats than shown by the previous research projects is a result of opening up of the borders and normalizing the economic relations. The establishment of peace, the opening up of the borders and the economic relations brought back to normal - all represent an important step towards reducing the distance.

As shown by numerous research projects, the policy of isolation and ignoring others creates barriers and encourages stereotypes. The stereotypes, both positive and negative ones, are outcomes of ignorance and fear of the unknown, of the different.

It is necessary to continue the process of leaving behind the rhetoric of hatred and ethnic intolerance thorough educational, social and political programs. An important role in all this is played by the media as well<sup>10</sup> since in every society, regardless of whether it is the one in which democracy is developed or just being born the influence of the media is considerable.

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<sup>10</sup> There are numerous examples of media negative or inadequate treatment of other nations, national minorities and ethnic groups. The analysis of the printed media report on national minorities in Serbia has shown that the process of democratization which is taking place now does not automatically lead to an equal treatment of national minorities. The lack of the printed texts about the tradition, customs, culture and artistic creativity prevents a better understanding of the minorities. Instead of reducing the distance towards minorities by their ways of reporting, the media, by stressing conflicts, incidents and negative examples, affect the majority population to renew its negative stereotypes about minorities (L. Milošević, G. Stojić Atanasov, 2003: 60-78).

## ANNEX

**Table 1: Serbs Distancing from Montenegrins (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	56,4	28,0	15,6
Have as a friend	83,1	9,7	7,3
Live in the same neighborhood	83,5	9,2	7,2
Work in the same company	81,9	10,9	7,3
Have as a boss	58,7	31,2	10,1
Live in the same town	87,8	4,5	7,7
Live in the same state	87,0	6,9	6,1

**Table 2: Serbs Distancing from Croats (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	24,4	62,0	13,6
Have as a friend	52,0	35,7	12,3
Live in the same neighborhood	58,2	31,6	10,2
Work in the same company	64,5	26,1	9,4
Have as a boss	33,9	51,8	14,3
Live in the same town	64,0	26,9	9,1
Live in the same state	63,2	28,5	8,4

**Table 3: Serbs Distancing from Macedonians (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	45,8	37,8	16,5
Have as a friend	78,6	9,3	12,1
Live in the same neighborhood	82,7	6,9	10,5
Work in the same company	80,9	7,7	11,4
Have as a boss	57,7	28,2	14,1
Live in the same town	85,0	5,7	9,3
Live in the same state	83,3	6,9	9,8

**Table 4: Serbs Distancing from Bosnians (Muslims) (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	14,5	73,1	12,4
Have as a friend	52,2	37,6	10,2
Live in the same neighborhood	57,3	33,3	9,3
Work in the same company	59,2	30,2	10,6
Have as a boss	35,5	52,7	11,8
Live in the same town	59,8	31,5	8,7
Live in the same state	61,7	29,2	9,2

**Table 5: Serbs Distancing from Greek (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	50,8	32,3	16,9
Have as a friend	82,7	8,4	8,8
Live in the same neighborhood	83,1	7,3	9,7
Work in the same company	83,0	6,1	10,9
Have as a boss	66,8	21,1	12,1
Live in the same town	84,6	6,5	8,9
Live in the same state	83,6	7,8	8,6

**Table 6: Serbs Distancing from Romas (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	6,2	83,5	10,3
Have as a friend	53,9	31,8	14,3
Live in the same neighborhood	52,2	33,9	13,9
Work in the same company	60,4	26,1	13,5
Have as a boss	26,9	62,4	10,7
Live in the same town	67,8	20,2	12,0
Live in the same state	68,8	19,2	12,1

**Table 7: Serbs Distancing from Bulgarians (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	21,2	65,6	13,3
Have as a friend	63,9	23,8	12,3
Live in the same neighborhood	62,4	23,3	14,3
Work in the same company	68,2	19,2	12,7
Have as a boss	35,2	48,8	16,0
Live in the same town	70,1	18,7	11,2
Live in the same state	67,8	19,7	12,6

**Table 8: Serbs Distancing from Albanians (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	6,2	85,1	8,7
Have as a friend	41,4	49,6	9,0
Live in the same neighborhood	43,4	44,7	11,9
Work in the same company	52,9	36,9	10,2
Have as a boss	23,4	68,4	8,2
Live in the same town	56,3	35,8	7,9
Live in the same state	54,2	38,2	7,6



**Table 9: Serbs Distancing from Hungarians (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	29,6	52,1	18,3
Have as a friend	62,6	21,8	15,6
Live in the same neighborhood	66,4	18,0	15,6
Work in the same company	68,4	15,6	16,0
Have as a boss	44,0	37,9	18,1
Live in the same town	72,9	14,2	12,9
Live in the same state	69,7	16,4	13,9

**Table 10: Serbs Distancing from Vlachs (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	16,6	63,9	19,5
Have as a friend	55,1	28,4	16,5
Live in the same neighborhood	60,2	24,6	15,2
Work in the same company	62,7	20,9	16,4
Have as a boss	35,4	48,1	16,5
Live in the same town	67,5	18,8	13,8
Live in the same state	66,4	18,5	15,1

**Table 11: Serbs Distancing from Romanians (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	16,3	66,3	17,5
Have as a friend	56,1	26,2	17,6
Live in the same neighborhood	62,3	22,1	15,6
Work in the same company	67,2	19,7	13,1
Have as a boss	35,0	47,7	17,3
Live in the same town	69,2	16,7	14,2
Live in the same state	67,2	18,5	14,3

**Table 12: Serbs Distancing from Turks (%)**

	Yes	No	Neutral
Getting married to	10,7	78,2	11,1
Have as a friend	51,2	34,4	14,3
Live in the same neighborhood	50,4	30,3	19,3
Work in the same company	59,8	25,0	15,2
Have as a boss	32,0	56,1	11,9
Live in the same town	61,7	25,4	12,9
Live in the same state	60,9	26,1	13,0



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## NOTE ON THE ESSAYS

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