

ТМ	Г. XXVI	Бр. 4	Стр. 569 - 595	Ниш	октобар - децембар	2002.
----	---------	-------	----------------	-----	--------------------	-------

UDK 331.102.12(=914.99)

Оригинални научни рад

Примљено: 30.09.2002.

Dragoljub B. Đorđević
Faculty of Mechanical Engineering

Niš

Jovan Živković

Faculty of Philosophy

Kosovska Mitrovica

Dragan Todorović

Faculty of Philosophy

Niš

UNEMPLOYED ROMAS (POLL RESEARCH)

Summary

The success as well as short and long term results of an enterprising program, purport preparation – for what Romas are so indisposed – but also the implementation of the idea of solidarity, for what they are much more disposed. "Since we received help, we should be ready to help the others." What are unemployed Romas from Bujanovac, Vranje, and Leskovac (South Serbia) saying to all of that?

Key words: Roma, unemployed Romas, Roma micro-enterprising, solidarity

I *Why polling the unemployed?*

A research about the possibilities of Roma micro-enterprising should give a picture of the unemployed Romas' background in Bujanovac, Vranje and Leskovac, South Serbian towns with large Roma percentages.¹ ICS intends to provide in kind grants (working tools and mate-

¹ Prepared as a part of the project "*Income Generating Activities for Roma People in South Serbia (Bujanovac, Vranje, Leskovac)*", which research team – Dr Dragoljub B. Djordjevic, Full Professor at University of Nis, team leader, Dr Jovan Zivkovic,

rials) to unemployed Romas, stimulating their self-reliance, to train, enable and lead them into the world of self-employment. Why that poor people without social care should depend all their lives from someone's good will – state institutions', NGO's, foreign foundations'... - being a burden for the society, when they are "strong and toll", full of gumption and skills, and they could "earn their leaving by the sweat of their brow"?

But there's always that "But". Yes, Romas are officially the most unemployed ethnic group, but almost all of them are engaged in the "grey" economy, on the "black" market, smuggling and reselling; trading became "part of their lives"! It is true they are among the firsts in the lists of the Job Centres, but how and where to get a job when the majority are low educated and without qualifications? Of course, it is nice to stimulate them providing working tools, but which crafts and services should they enrol in, when many of the traditional ones vanished and nothing new came out? For sure, they deserve help and the historical injustice should be corrected, but how to select them from a bunch of raised hands? Yes - but...

And, that is why the research team had a complex task that should be solved in a month or two (December-January, 2001-2002). That path took three separate steps.

First, with the assistance of professional informers, and with on purpose "Procedure for gathering information by direct observing", we systematically analysed four flea markets in the three municipalities.² Flea markets are "the mirror" of Serbian economy and Romas are the majority there. Beside the trade of various smuggled goods, there are traditional and new typically Roma crafts and services that could fit into the micro-enterprising program.

Then, using the "Procedure for the interview with..." we had nine interviews with the representatives of Police Department, State Job Centres and Roma leaders. All the interviewed, well aware of the local Roma situation, helped in creating the picture of unemployed Roma people and suggested ways of realization of the micro-enterprising project.

Finally, methodologically, the clients themselves – *the unemployed Romas* – had their chance to speak. Who knows, better than them, their position, what is bothering them, what do they hope for and how they look at micro-enterprising. We interviewed a modest sample of them with a short questionnaire. Here is the analysis of the results.

D. B. Đorđević

Assistant Professor at University of Kosovska Mitrovica, first researcher, and Dragan Todorovic, Teaching Assistant at University of Nis, second researcher – undertakes for *Italian Consortium for Solidarity* (ICS).

² See: Ђорђевић, Д. Б., Живковић, Ј. и Д. Тодоровић (2002), *Romanies at Flea Markets (Mirror of Serbian Economy)*, *Теме*, 26 (1): 121-142.

II *The sample and the course of the research*

1. Sample

As we said, the researched population is the unemployed Roma population in the municipalities of Bujanovac, Vranje and Leskovac. Our sample couldn't be representative: simply there are no data, and no precise lists in Job Centres about unemployed Roma people. Even Roma associations don't have that kind of evidence, and NGOs could not pay less attention.

It shouldn't be strange; even the general Roma population has not been qualitatively counted in the census. The only "precise" references of Roma numbers date the last census in 1991. We must rely on them, although romologists know that they are not trustworthy, since Roma figures are bigger, but Roma ethnical mimicry and the incompetent census led to this data. So, according to the last census, in the researched area there are 15.783 Romas, and experts are claiming that there are as many just in Bujanovac (Table Y).

Table Y. Total and roma population ratio
(1991 Census)

Municipality	Total population	Roma population	
		Number	%
Bujanovac	19.328	4.408	8,9
Vranje	86.518	5.062	5,8
Leskovac	161.986	6.313	3,9
TOTAL	279.832	15.783	5,3

Out of these numbers, we determined a sample of 350 Roma unemployed, favouring a little bit Bujanovac (120) over Vranje (115) and Leskovac (115). In the frame of that figures we asked the interviewers to slightly direct the sample structure to the following criteria: Gender: 70% male, 30% female; Age: 18-30 30%, 31-40: 30%, 41-50: 30%, Over 51: 10%; Residence: Town and peripheral areas: 80%, Rest (villages): 20%; Education: Without primary school 50%, Primary school: 30%, Rest 20%.

The fieldwork was done in worst possible period for this kind of research. Because of the committer demands, but also of the suggested internal dynamics, the prospectors had interviewed unemployed Roma people in a period December 25th – January 13th, between the catholic Christmas and the orthodox New Year, i.e. Vasilica. But, beside that, the sample was completely realized, and the criteria respected. For example, the gender structure is like in Table 1.

Table 1. Planed and realized gender structure

Gender	Planed structure (%)	Realized structure (%)
Male	70,0	69,0
Female	30,0	31,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

The characteristics of the Roma family are: early marriage (male 14-15 and female 12-13 years old), large number of children (among the number of a household members the majority are children, usually less than 7 years old) and "extended"; a family in which the patriarchal customs and regulations determine the woman's and the man's place. The basic determinant of the family members' position is what they are doing to earn their living. The man, like the "head of the family" (mainly unqualified worker) has the monopoly over taking decisions, while the woman has a biological role: the responsibility for raising brood and, eventually, house and field works. Hitherto the research about the working-economical status of Romas shown that employment of both members of the couple is very rare and is not over 5%. Aware of these facts, in our sample we gave advantage to the male gender (70%); the planed structure is almost 100% respected.

Table 2. Planed and realized age structure

Age	Planed structure (%)	Realized structure (%)
18-30 years	30,0	32,6
31-40 years	30,0	28,9
41-50 years	30,0	20,6
over 51 years	10,0	18,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

The Improvement of the educational system – as each listed representative of Police Department and Job Centres and the Roma leaders agreed – it's the base of the future emancipation of Romas. Usually a large number of Roma kids are attending primary schools, but already in the third grade there is a high degree of schooling off, and a negligible number achieves the secondary school degree. Children at this age start actively to help their parents in economically supporting the family, and education is a big burden for the family budget. If we add a traditional defensive attitude towards the educational system's values, the members of the Roma minority enter the "working world" much sooner than the majority of the population.

So, we assembled the age groups according to an unusual model for empirical researches. We privileged Romas in the maturity age up to

50 years old, capable for work, but unemployed, divided in three equal-sized groups; elderly are not suitable to start a new occupation and this age is not typical in Roma societies. The planned sample percentages could not be respected concerning the last two groups: twice more than the planned Roma over 51 entered the sample.

Another correction, comparing with the planned sample, happened in the residential structure (Table 3).

Table 3. Planned and realized residence structure

Residence	Planned structure (%)	Realized structure (%)
Town	80,0	88,5
Village	20,0	11,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

The researchers suggested that Romas living in the villages should be partly covered by the research, although they are obviously a minority, compared to the urban ones. Since in the area of Bujanovac we could not find Roma unemployed in the villages, we had to correct the sample. (Some of the interviewers, by making rough lapse, didn't write down the place of residence in 11 cases.)

Table 4. Planned and realized educational structure

Education	Planned structure (%)	Realized structure (%)
Uncompleted primary school	50,0	58,9
Primary school	30,0	26,9
Rest	20,0	14,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

In the sample there are more Romas without primary school, less with it, and even less with secondary school and higher degrees. According to the interviewers, this happened because Romas with higher education than primary school are very rare. The educated Romas, so exclusive among the population, are mainly employed.

The answers show that Roma occupations, instead of being grouped around one kind of prevailing activities, are very dispersed. We can deduce that Roma unemployed apply various strategies of survival (Table 5).

The most dominant means of survivals among unemployed Romas are *agriculture* (19,7%), *black market labour* (14%) and *"grey" economy income* (18,6%), what makes 52,9% of those willing to live of their work. On the other side there is a ratio of 42,8% supported Romas without individual engagement – figuring in the *social help* and *supported person* lists.

The data should be interpreted according to both official, or legal, parameter and illegal occupations. In that sense in legal support types ("agriculture", social help" and "supported person") there are 62,5% (or 219 unemployed Romas), while those engaged in illegal or semi-legal occupations ("grey economy", "black market labour") are the 33,2% (116 persons).

Table 5. Self-support method through the year

Self-support method	N	%
Agriculture (seasonal workers)	69	19,7
Black market labour	51	14,6
"Grey" economy income	65	18,6
Social help	68	19,4
Supported person	82	23,4
Something else	2	0,6
TOTAL	337	96,3

N tabulated = 337

Without answer = 13

Since most of the inquired Romas belongs to household with more than five members every kind of family support means minimal existence. According to the poll the unemployed Romas are living in 93% of the cases in families with 3 and more members, and only 3% are single or in families with two members.

From the collected data it can be concluded that the situation is very alarming, because a large part of Roma population doesn't have any support from the employed members of their families (parents or some grown-up family members) (Table 6).

Table 6. Number of family members

Family members	N	%
Single	4	1,1
2 members	10	2,9
3-5 members	210	60,0
6-9 members	106	30,3
10 and more members	8	2,3
TOTAL	338	96,6

N tabulated = 338

Without answer = 12

Field interviews were carried out by: Svetlana Stojčić, sociologist, professor in Leskovac Chemical-technology school, Tatjana Jocić, psychologist, professor in Bujanovac Gymnasium, and Ana Veselinović, sociologist, apprentice in Vranje Centre for Social Work. They were also our professional informers. Questionnaire, logistic control and SPSS

analysis was carried out by Marijana Filipović, assistant-apprentice at the Philosophic faculty of K. Mitrovica University, and Vladimir Cvetković, sociologist, employed in Niš Council for Citizen Initiative.

D. B. Đ., J. Ž., D. T.

2. Question groups

Beside short explanations of the questionnaire style, the researcher introduction and thank-you notes to the inquired, the poll questionnaire contains few question groups.

The first group lists the independent variables, i.e. individual-social matrix marks. There are six of them: *gender, age, residence, education, support method* and *family members number*. It is assumed that individual, group and social characteristics crucially represent the situation, the attitudes and the system of value of researched population. Given their discrimination known by previous researches, their influence could be anticipated in the next segments of questions: the attitudes of unemployed, especially if they are Roma, are affected by age and gender, and even more by the education level, the form of survival and the family size.

The second group, made of two questions (7 and 8), determine two important facts for the insight in the past and present situation, i.e. the prospective of each unemployed: someone was once employed and got fired, many never stepped into the working world, some of them are respecting the scheduled checking in the Job Centre, others only occasionally, while the not few of them absolutely neglect it.

Next set of questions (9, 10 and 11) investigates the working background of the inquired person. Is there any distant or recent memory about traditional family old crafts and parents' or previous generations' occupations. Finally, a question concerning the occupation: Is there a link between traditional and modern crafts, as the ethnology literature describes, or are they lost forever?

Then the group of questions (12, 13 and 14) that searches for the concrete opinion of the inquired about ICS micro-enterprising program: is it acceptable or not, under what conditions and in what kind of activities. The acceptance of the program means getting help in performing some business and demands responsibility.

The questions 15 and 16 are formulated in a general way, asking about the unemployed Romas' predisposition for individual or teamwork, and also about the evaluation of the importance of resources and ideas for the success of small businesses.

Last group of questions (17, 18, 19 and 20) should get info about the readiness of the candidates towards two more conditions: skill training and later solidarity. Enterprising program, to prove its successfulness (meaning short and long term results) demand preparation - for which Ro-

mas are so unwilling - but also implementing the idea of helping others, to what they are disposed.

What are unemployed Romas saying about all that?

D. B. Đ.

III Basic results analysis

1. Employment - unemployment factor

If there is already an interest in the problem of unemployed Roma people, then we should connect it to the concept of "working discrimination". Thus we should answer the question: "Does it exist an objective socially consequent or tendentious ethnic-national discriminative process in which the Roma working absenteeism is alarmingly present?"

But, we must notice that the picture of work engagement in Serbia is not simple, especially because it did not start in the recent past. In another words, Serbia is a country where everything was done in a way that the syntagma "working absenteeism" loses its sense, being that in Serbian economy from long time nothing is as it would be by standardized processes. It is enough to remember that at the end of 1999 there was 780,000 people on Job Centres, and 700,000 more on so called paid absence. Having in mind that at the beginning of 2002 the transition process is occurring, then the relation between employment and unemployment, i.e. work absenteeism is by all means a *general* burning and specific problem.

Table 7. Roma working absenteeism
"Were you employed?"

Previous employment	N	%
No	292	83,4
Yes, but I resigned	13	3,7
Yes, but I was fired	42	12,0
TOTAL	347	99,1

N tabulated = 347

Without answer = 3

What kind of situation can be expected in Roma population concerning this matter when they have been affected by at least two factors more? First the educational level: i.e. the level of their education is so low that they can't be perceived as other national minority. Second their religious belonging: being South Serbia the most undeveloped part of the country, it is hard to say in advance that the level of unemployment has a *crucially* discriminative character, although that factor can't be neglected.

Following the collected data it must be mentioned that it is more than obvious that the majority of unemployed Romas, i.e. 83,4 %, have

never been employed, what in nominal expression means that they never had the opportunity to have social and other legal safeties in the society. According to mentioned statements only 15,7% worked in some organization or enterprise (and they quitted or got fired).

Having in mind that, during next years, in Serbia firing and unemployment will be expected for higher qualified structure of people than Romas, and that the municipal authorities will not offer specialized programs (qualification and skill-training) for Romas, we can understand why the Job Centre representatives are stating, *that the overall situation is more and more complex and insecure and it will affect Roma population more than the others. But, as Roma population has entered every EU program, it is our society's duty to unfurl the social integration of Romas like an urgent social and democratic matter.*

J. Ž.

2. Romas and the registration in Job Centres

If Roma employment is a problem to be seen in general, then the key word is reform, meaning that society change process is in recession, but through reformation it could be drown out from rapid worsening of every human position. Every class, and we could say every entity can fit in some new mosaic of economic adaptation - especially Romas that have not completely lost not only their traditional crafts, but also the work attachment. If it is really so, it can be seen through Romas' searching for official and legal works. That's why the researcher wonders: what is their relation toward registration in Job Centre?

Registration of unemployed or fired workers in Job Centre is common in all countries, but, at the same time, with great chances of being employed in new-opened firms. That is reason why Romas do register in Job Centres. What makes it different from the routine in other countries is the impossibility of finding new jobs or starting the working cycle in the right age.

Romas' high rates of unemployment are not a mirror of their lack of interest in finding a job (see Table 8). Romas that have no work engagements, in dominant number (260 out of them, i.e. 74,3%) are regularly coming to the Job Centre, thus they rely on eventual legal sources of employment. On the other hand, only 12,9% has no faith or for some other reason don't visit the Job Centre, and that is minor percentage referring to the above, especially if one has in mind that the rest 12,3% of unemployed Romas are occasionally registering their status.

Table 8. Interest of romas in legal work
"Do you regularly check in to Job Centre?"

Job Centre	N	%
I am not registered	45	12,9
Yes, I check in regularly	260	74,3
I occasionally check in	43	12,3
TOTAL	348	99,5

N tabulated = 348

Without answer = 2

If Romas registration in the Job Centre shows a responsible and conscientious behaviour and those who don't want to live on work results out of others, then it can be said that their dominant orientation is interest for legal work.

J. Ž.

3. Romas and craft "heritage"

At the end of XIX century, Tihomir Đorđević presented the thesis that Romas differed from other people and sustained themselves like separate ethnic community by their *occupation* and because of their special way of life. Romas' Migrations through Minor-Asia and the Balkan Peninsula, started from India, Persia and Armenia, territories known by quality wood and metal processing. Therefore, in first amulets Serbs are mentioning them like good craftsmen above all, masters of various crafts: blacksmith, mining, wood processing, knitting, music. Unaccustomed to other works, adjusting to the new environment, they performed their crafts and offered products from place to place on lowest prices or for little food and clothes. In village environments they have been accepted like cheap quality producers of wide assortment goods for households. That's how Romas completely repressed their traditional wood and metal products and replaced it with new (nails, hobnails, spurs, drills, racks, arbores, spoons, baskets, etc.). It will remain written that after Turkish deliberations, there were Romas in agriculture, like additional occupation.

Crafts were mainly were inherited from the family and the kin and they have always been the main Romas' economic branch; on their economic power through the centuries, reposed the survival of Roma ethnic group. Romas were doing all sorts of jobs in Serbia, so people distinguished them according to their occupation: blacksmith, mining, nail-makers, hobnail-makers, spurs, drill-makers, rack-makers, arbores-makers, spoon-makers, basket-makers, wood processing, knitting, musicians. What were the ancestors of today's Bujanovac, Vranje and Leskovac Romas doing?

Table 9. Romas and "ancestors" occupations
 "You come from a family that long ago used to be involved in:"

Ancestors' occupation	N	%
Blacksmith craft (production of axes, ploughshares, drills, nails, wedges, sickles, horseshoes, etc.)	20	5,8
Wood processing (production of troughs, hems, spoons, spools, chairs, bowls, etc.)	2	0,6
Knitting craft (production of baskets, glass bowls cover, chairs, etc.)	2	0,6
Hemp craft	152	43,8
Coppersmith craft (production and maintenance of copper dishes, kettles, etc.)	1	0,3
Horse-seller craft	1	0,3
Music	43	12,4
Agriculture	12	3,5
Tenant for half the production (all sorts of day-labour jobs)	50	14,4
I don't know what did they do.	64	18,4
TOTAL	347	100,0

N tabulated = 347

Without answer = 3

Amet Arifi from Bujanovac talks about his ancestors as well known blacksmiths an rope-makers, to whom products even foreign markets didn't resist; in Vranjska Banja the majority was engaged in hemp growing and processing, Bekan Silistarević from Vranje told us; Tane Kurtić from Leskovac didn't miss the chance to separate "gypsy's" music, "like a determinant forever linked to Romas". A proof that Roma leaders know the history of their people is the answers of theirs unemployed brothers. Blacksmith craft, hemp-craft and music was a "mark" of the ancestors, claim the respondents in 62% (5,8% + 43,8% + 12,4%). Every seventh respondent adds that his or her ancestors were exploited in bare hiring work labour, and statistically significant is almost one fifth, whose memory doesn't go so deep in the past. Beside music, as "out of time" category, crafts tools and products from ancestors' days are no longer decorating Romas homes and settlements, claim Roma leaders in their statements.

Although Roma past counts various occupations, in Vranje, Leskovac and Bujanovac area it has been reduced to two-three typical professions, from which today we have just a blurry memory.

D. T.

4. Romas and the last century employment

At the end of 19th and the beginning of last century, Romas started to settle down, this was intensified after Second World War. "Travellers forever" - nomads, with tents by the river, as long as the wealth of surrounding area and the need for their crafts allows, are disappearing. On bought soil Romas started building their own houses. Besides their tradi-

tional crafts, which use is lessening, they are doing the fieldwork for wages or life supplies in private farms. Somewhere, as in Grejač for example, "they gain the trust of citizens to be field watchers" (S. Stajić).

Economic life intensity in towns is developing whole new scale of professions, characteristic for Romas, beginning with the hardest and dirtiest jobs - cleaners, dog catchers, shoe-shiners, street cleaners, porters, washers... - to professions connected with metal processing (blacksmiths, farriers, nail makers, coffee mill repairers, knife and scissors sharpeners, umbrella repairers). Romas became: seed-sellers, house painters, tailors, musicians in well-organized orchestras, military musicians, etc. In industry they worked as physical labour, locksmiths, ironsmiths, turners, welders, engine-drivers, electricians, technicians, and in the other part of last century they were engineers, medical technicians, teachers, doctors, etc. "City crowd" gave birth to the first gatherers of secondary row materials, "from door to door" beggars, street beggars with out of tune instruments, children beggars... What of those "new" crafts have lived in towns of south Serbia?

Table 10. Romas and parents occupations
"Your parents, grandparents were:"

Parents' and grandparents' occupations	N	%
Cake-shop workers and seed sellers	-	-
House-painters	-	-
Washerwomen (laundresses)	1	0,3
Wet-nurses	1	0,3
Tailors	3	0,9
Butchers	11	3,2
Shoe-cleaners	10	2,9
Bearers	3	0,9
Coachmen	3	0,9
Fiacre drivers	-	-
Merchants	15	4,3
Blacksmiths	10	2,9
Coffee – miller	-	-
Knife and scissors sharpeners	-	-
Umbrella craftsmen	-	-
Musicians	45	13,0
Beggars	-	-
Dog catchers	-	-
Street cleaners	22	6,3
Day-labourers, physical workers	124	35,7
Collectors of raw materials	7	2,0
Rope craftsmen	75	21,6
Agriculture workers	11	3,2
State enterprise employees	6	1,7
TOTAL	347	100,0

N tabulated = 347

Without answer = 3

Our responders didn't "commend" confectioners and seed-sellers ancestors, house painters, coffee mill repairers, knife and scissors sharpeners, umbrella repairers, beggars and dog catchers; very few are "successors" of washers and wet-nurses, tailors, porters and coachmen, a little more came from butchers, shoe-shiners, sellers, blacksmiths and nail makers, street cleaners, gatherers of secondary row materials and workers in state enterprise. Beyond half of them (over 70%) are children of musicians, day labourers and rope-makers.

We are notifying the continuity in doing the same job between the first and the second generation: hemp-processors are still good rope-makers, the knowledge of playing on instruments is prolonging, with innovations and improvements, and successors of day labours still are engaged in the field. Lone, individual starts of "urban crafts" are not enough to testify in favour of a stronger separation of "traditional" and "modern" enterprising. Partly the inertia of "south railroad" could be blamed for it, partly the weak dynamics in education of Roma people. All in all, *the non-existence of some support from the surrounding majority and the slavery to the ghetto-conscience of a patriarch community disabled Romas to take a group step out from the existing social state.*

D. T.

5. Production orientation of Roma people

Despite the data say Romas are mostly unemployed, although they are regularly registering in the Job Centres, the following information is giving almost the right basis for overcoming the most bad stereotyped attitudes about what they do. Nowadays the unemployed Roma population can be seen in two ways.

First approach of classification of actions can divide legal and suspicious jobs, so according the *character of actions from a social perspective*, while the other approach would notify the type of activities, as *production* and *trade* activities. In the first approach we can notify that Romas, beside all, are not dominantly engaged in criminal business. That conclusion is based upon the data from Table 11. In socially positive valued actions, in this case, we count all the below mentioned, except "resale of goods on rented counters", "resale of goods outside from allowed spaces", "dealing foreign currencies and bonds" and "something else". Relation between those two approaches follows: 64,3% (or 225 persons included in research) deals with it's unemployment through finding legal jobs, while the rest 31,6% (111 respondents) don't do that. Less than one-third of Romas is composed only by smugglers or in other ways compromises its social group.

Table 11. Romas and production engagement
"What do you concretely do?"

Actual occupation	N	%
Agriculture	17	4,9
Resale of goods on loaned counters	47	13,4
Resale of goods out of allowed places	60	17,1
Craft production and services	21	6,0
Handicrafts	1	0,3
Housewife	68	19,4
Playing musical instruments	15	4,3
Dealer of currency and bonds	4	1,1
Collectors of raw materials	6	1,7
Day-labourers, physical workers	97	27,7
Something else	11	3,1
TOTAL	347	99,1

N tabulated = 347

Without answer = 3

A more relevant approach according to the purpose of the research is the second one. Then professions, which satisfy the needs of unemployed Romas, include: "agriculture" (4,9%), "manual production (6%), "domestic work" (0,3%), "instrument playing" (4,3%), "gathering secondary raw materials" (1,7%) and "day labour physical work" (27,7%) - what totals 44,9% (or 157 respondents) out of those who decided to concentrate on production or production services. Less than one-third of respondents (31,6%) chooses trading, independently whether the existing means are legal or not; in few words, *Romas are not too much prone to trade, but they are much more oriented to production and production services. Also, about Romas' ethnic characteristics, we cannot talk exclusively about smugglers or about in other ways compromised social group.*

J. Ž.

6. Romas and alternative and individual employment programs

Possibilities for alternative employment, especially of Romas, stands like general actions that should start from the state behalf, therefore in principle *from common to special*. But, as till now the characteristics of economic potentials have not been perceived at the municipality and regional levels (through competent analysis and researches of market and carriers), every individual initiative is evidence that individual engagement must be understood like part of an open system. Taking into consideration the recession of Serbian economy, every action is welcomed, especially those of foreign agencies willing to work on the social and economic situation of Romas. Especially significant would be the initiative, according to ours symptomatic economic activities, to bring back all activities in legal frames, but also the permanent monitoring of

given help. With a complete approach to this kind of managing reality Romas gave answers that could represent a pattern in stating.

The results of the 12th question confirm the following conclusion. Namely, it is obvious that a conscious approach to work as a way of life has reached seriousness and maturity in Roma population, especially among unemployed, as the answer to the question: "*If ICS offered you help in working tools, would you accept it?*" shows. 92,9% (325 respondents) positively answered in two variants and just 6,9% would, as they said, "refuse it". (Table 12)

Table 12. Romas and example of foreign agencies work methods
"If ICS offered you help in working tools"

Grant offer	N	%
I would accept, legalize and improve the actual occupation	127	36,3
I would accept and legally start a new occupation	198	56,6
I would refuse the offer	24	6,9
TOTAL	349	99,7

N tabulated = 349

Without answer = 1

The shown data unequivocally states that *in the future social and international programs, no matter who suggest or carry them out, it can be counted on the seriousness of the Roma population, i.e. Romas will be in the next transition period a subject worthy of investments. And foreign agencies' work methodology is a good example for state structures also, about a possible employment contribution and not only for the Roma population.*

J. Ž.

7. Romas and responsible micro-enterprising

Serbia suffered very much during the 90's: falling apart of the ex motherland, wars, bombing, economic blockade and sanctions, international isolation, cruel regime, transition crises... The world helps a great deal through: credits and donations, in nature and logistics, staff and programs - the least is "in cash". This strategy doesn't accept wastes and demands reliable usage of donations.

Often, donors' methodologies are not understood. For example, even Italian Consortium of Solidarity (ICS), having in mind the noble cause of helping the social-economic emancipation of Romas through micro-enterprising program, set a condition to future grant-bearers: the work must be legalized. How is it seen by unemployed Romas, used to "grey economy" activities and work on "black market", and with no obligations? Is that obstacle insurmountable? (Table 13)

Table 13. Reasons of (UN) acceptance of enterprising help
 "It is assumed that many Romas would refuse the offer because:"

Reasons for refusing	N	%
They are afraid of complicated book-keeping	30	8,6
They are afraid of unfulfilling the state tax obligations	40	11,5
They prefer cash help	73	20,9
It is not true, most would accept the offer	206	59,0
TOTAL	349	100,0

N tabulated = 349

Without answer = 1

During the interviews, Roma's leaders were warning us about the difficulty of demanding the introduction of legal business. The *leader* from Leskovac, Tane Kurtić, noticed that the interest of Romas' small manufacturers for help in labour tools is high, "but there is certain reserve in legally registering this kind of occupation. Roma people are worried that by official registering they will not be able to fulfil their obligations to the state: social security, pension security, taxes, etc.". There is another obstacle – the fear of complicated bookkeeping - which Bekan Silistarević, leader from Vranje, is commenting with a fact "the majority of poor Romas don't have elementary school degree and they could hardly manage to maintain business books and other obligations that include serious involvement in some business".

However, unemployed Romas declare that it could be the cause of refusal in much lesser number than their leaders feared (8,6% + 11,5% = 20,1%) - one-fifth of them. Other fifth of the unemployed sample (20,9%) emphasizes the wish of every human living bellow the minimum standards: to gain help in cash money, right here and now. ("Romas are, above all, interested in money help, because it resolves some burning problems"). Romas here, like other social cases, were through decades, habituated to passive receiving assistance, but never enough, always spinning in vicious circle of poverty. On the opposite, escaping from the chains of poverty culture and sincere care for neglected Roma population, like developing micro-enterprising, implies strengthening of personal liability and self-reliance ability.

Most of the unemployed – (59%) – don't agree with the stereotype about Roma's non-disposition to obligations that come out from regular activities. So, *the legal micro-enterprising among Romas is possible, because they know that accepting the program and getting help in labour tools demands reliability. They would be acting legally and the state must be satisfied by taxes.*

D. B. Đ.

8. Romas and "future planning"

For decades, the presence of Romas in the Serbian economic structure and activities has been clearly polarized to: 1) unstable participation and chronic unemployment in the formal sector and 2) involvement in alternative forms of enterprising in the "grey economy".

Legal engagement mainly alludes to employment in municipal enterprises, town cleaning, construction sites, or physical works. By rule these are badly paid jobs with a high level of flexibility: Romas are designated to the worst job places and they are among the first to lose their job. The majority of Romas searching for employment is unsuccessful: the basic feature of their presence in the labour market is the long term searching for employment. That means that the attribute of Romas' participation in the formal economy is a distinct marginalisation, even in the secondary labour market.

On the other side, the informal economy represents a relatively stable work field for Roma households and the skeleton of their surviving strategies at the margins of the economic system. The forms of activity are various: gathering of second hand material, part-time and short-lasting engagement in the informal labour market: seasonal jobs in agriculture and construction, wood cutting, load and unloading goods, help in households, etc. Moreover, there are "traditional" Roma jobs: carter, basket making, music, metal, wood or brushwood processing, cattle marketing, augury, fortune-telling, begging. Rough conditions in the last decade produced "modern" professions: market sellers, cigarette and currency traders, car spare parts traders in the flea markets, and so on. Among those "with education" the prevailing skills are *learned by working*, and not by institutional schooling; therefore the strongest indicator of their low social conditions and pauperism is the homogeneous social-professional structure.

Is it possible to step out of, how A. Mitrović called it, the "curse of the poverty circle"? (Table 14)

Table 14. Romas and the choice of the kind of micro-enterprising activity
"If you accepted the offer of working tools for the start-up of a new legal occupation, you would choose:"

The choice of activity	N	%
Old, traditional Roma occupations (blacksmiths, wood craftsmen, knitters, hemp craftsmen...)	17	5,0
Newer occupations of urban Romas (house-painters, tailors, butchers, sharpeners, musicians, collectors of raw materials...)	104	30,0
Contemporary production occupations (plastics production, scrapers, gypsum workers, mechanics, tinsmiths...)	74	21,0
Contemporary sales and services occupations (boutique, tobacco shop, exchange-office, fast food, taxi...)	154	44,0
TOTAL	350	100,0

N tabulated = 350

Without answer = 0

Recent researches have shown that belonging to the "curse of the poverty circle" is mainly due to the exclusion from the formal economy and profitable occupations, other than to a "stubborn" Roma culture and tradition. It seems that the new generations, learning by the recent economic experiences, are more aware than the older ones, that it is better to demolish the barriers than to accept their destiny.

By the answers to the 9th and 10th questions we concluded that the range of "traditional" Roma occupations in the researched area is not so rich, consisting only of hemp and rope making, apart from music. It's not a surprise that only 5% of the interviewed would recognize their engagement in these occupations, which require experience and skills learned by years of work. Newer and modern occupations are leading. The low educational profile and the absence of qualified skills are still excluding Romas from all sorts of production (plastic moulder, lathers, mechanics, tin crafts...) - only 20% of them would find themselves in such occupations. They prefer crafts quickly manageable, not connected to long education (e.g. tailor, butcher, sharpener - 30%) or occupations that don't require any recognized education, but rather resourcefulness and trade spirit (boutique, tobacco shop, taxi - even 44%).

It's not surprising that the Roma population, compelled by years of isolation from the formal economy, filled in the gap with vivaciousness and dexterity behind or on line of legality. Romas are aware that nowadays, their existence cannot be secured by reselling rarely needed second hand goods; the profit lays in modern trade that demands initial highly risky investments. We conclude that *Romas changed their attitude in the direction of adapting themselves and finding solutions for the changes in the economical environment (higher involvement in "modern" compared to "traditional" economic activities), which could be also an inclination to micro-enterprising.*

D. T.

9. Romas and team work

It is already obvious that in developed economics, business and production methods are articulated through principles of team cooperation and through the respect of inevitable functional parameters: solidarity, sharing of goals, specialized professionalism, flexibility, as well as smooth hierarchy, conformed to different levels of responsibility. That model is the actual approach to every kind of production and management, never mind on which scale. Nevertheless, it would be too much dogmatic to transfer an already established praxis from one environment to another, especially if in the second environment the fundamentals for that kind of human interrelation do not even exist. In usually quite individualist surroundings, we can recognize the growing of a certain level of awareness, but it is far away from being the rule. Romas confirm the as-

sumption answering to the question about their approach to self-employment.

The expressed preferences differed from the above-mentioned "modern" approach to business: 67,4% better sees their social security and integration through separate individual work, more adequate to some of the new enterprising initiative. While, only 30,9% of the poled unemployed Romas would consider the opportunity of cooperative occupations, stating that "something can be achieved through team work". (Table 15)

Table 15. Roma affinity to team working
"My choice for a certain occupation is because I could manage it:"

Team working affinity	N	%
Alone, independently from other people and producers	236	67,4
Through team work, because today it's the only way to succeed	108	30,9
TOTAL	344	98,3

N tabulated = 344

Without answer = 6

According to the proportion of the declared preferences between individual or team work, but also taking into consideration the present low educational structure of the Roma population, we can conclude that *at least part of them is mature enough to conceive their engagement not only through an individual approach to the market, but also through cooperative work.*

J. Ž.

10. Romas, ideas and resources

Every enterprising thought, in the starting as well as in more advanced phases, will evaluate the basic elements that determine the working activity. Every entrepreneur needs to look at his own activity using the following methodology: evaluating ideas and actions, but also judging the available resources, pillars of every business. In that sense, planning an activity means listing the priorities, the needed changes, innovations, etc, elements that determine its success or failure. It can be seen if Romas are capable of enterprising though through the answers to the 16th question.

Romas think in long-terms, i.e. their present level of consciousness has reached a quite advanced phase. The answers suggest that enterprising success cannot relay only on resources or ideas, but on their combination in an integrated approach, the only one that could lead to the development of the activity. 60% (213) of the poled choose this answer. (Table 16)

Table 16. Romas and elements of successful enterprising
 "Choosing certain occupation, it must be considered the:"

Elements of successful enterprising	N	%
Basic resources (for i.e. land, water, coil, etc.)	58	16,6
Ideas a man has, the rest is easy to find	74	21,1
Both, resources and ideas	213	60,9
TOTAL	345	98,6

N tabulated = 345
 Without answer = 5

Relying only on eventual resources, or, alternatively, only on ideas, would show a beginner approach to enterprising, but the trap is avoided by the interviewed: *in spite of their poor official education they are mature to fit the modern demands of enterprising*. The last conclusion fits also with the interviewed understanding of next question.

J. Ž.

11. Romas open-mindedness for new knowledge and skills

Considering the obvious connection between working potentials, strategies of survival and possessed resources, the program for Roma income generation start from the assumption that developing the working and entrepreneurial potential could open possibilities for the development of cooperative forms of enterprising, the improvement of the life quality and a change of Roma social status. We want to stress that the enhancement of enterprising capacity should be aimed to: 1) skill-training and improvement of practical skills and knowledge, 2) job creation for unemployed Romas through public works or employment subsidies to employers willing to hire Romas and 3) improvement of self-employment.

Usually, estimating the potential future changes in the sphere of self-employment, it is asserted that Romas have no clear enterprising plans. As restraining factors to Romas' conscious projection of the future, the struggle for bare existence and the low educational level are quoted; even when a plan exist, it will not change radically the starting situations. Does this apply to Romas in Vranje, Leskovac and Bujanovac? (Table 17).

Table 17. Romas open-mindedness for skill-training in micro-enterprising
 "If you personally have been offered the working tools for some occupation, under the condition that you take part in brief training, would you accept the offer?"

Romas open-mindedness	N	%
Yes, I would accept it, for my benefit	173	49,4
Yes, but if the training doesn't last too long	115	32,9
No, because I don't need training	62	17,7
TOTAL	350	100,0

N tabulated = 350
 Without answer = 0

The compensation for the institutionalised marginalisation and for the low level of participation in the formal economic structures offered to Roma people is consisting mainly in social subsidies, i.e. officially acknowledged rights of material support (social welfare) for the family and children allowances. By combining these income and "grey" economy jobs they have managed to survive. It seems that Romas themselves became aware that in the future their existence would be less and less based on state's generosity, and more on their own activism and business.

It is encouraging that over 80% of Romas declared to be ready for additional education finalized to their integration in the enterprising environment. The education is, together with age and work experience, the most precious pre-condition for labour placement in the Job Centre and a priority task, for the future generations as much as for the present "army" of unemployed. New skills and knowledge are crucial coping with modern forms of self-employment. On the same time, this behaviour could support young Romas making efforts in education and qualification acquisition. *In a frame of Roma struggle to step-out from poverty and as their expression of authentic interest, the interviewed Romas from Bujanovac, Leskovac and Vranje motivate a long-term process of economic changes in the Roma community by their open-mindedness towards new "survival strategies".*

D. T.

12. Romas, micro-enterprising and self-support ability

Few years ago Serbs dreamed about state office jobs or social enterprises. The realization of that dream provided them with stable income and some kind of existence; at least they didn't have to think about developing some strategies for self-support and survival. The state was in charged to take care of everything and prize everyone. There was no place for the nurture of enterprising spirit and preparation for the cruel competition in the job market.

But now the reality changed and people have been overflowed with numerous and new troubles: work and life uncertainty, big outcome and small income, less rights and more obligations... while everyone talks about some big or small business, skill improvement, enterprising, surviving by self-support.

If that's the case of the majority, how will many Romas find their way: poor, socially helped, unemployed and unskilled, without education and support, marginalized to the aching limit? And what if the hard life made them think about some "business" way of survival and they just needed the starting capital to "stand on his feet" and self-support him self? Let's ask him! (Table 18)

Table 18. Small "business" and managing "on their own"
 "If you have good idea about your business and get the tools to start it,
 would it be enough for you to 'stand on your feet'?"

Business managing	N	%
Yes, the job that I am choosing has a future and I will be able to live on it	157	45,1
I couldn't guarantee that I could live of the job I'm choosing	70	20,1
Every job is a risky today, also this one	121	34,8
TOTAL	348	100,0

N tabulated = 348

Without answer = 2

Judging from the answers of the unemployed Romas, then it can be concluded that starting some micro-enterprise activity tempts them in a mature and very articulated way. Half of them are totally aware of a situation that they probably experienced: today - in the cruel market economy reorganization - nothing is guaranteed, everything is risky (20,1% + 34,8 % = 54,9%). The other half (45,1%) is convinced that some help in working tools would be enough to self-support themselves.

Both answers segments break apart the established and spread prejudice about unemployed Romas that they take easy existence, survival chances and the proper use of material support. They are gumptious (*"As a matter of fact, resourcefulness was their main characteristics during all these times, most of all because they couldn't manage to survive without it, for they were always in problematic and painful conditions. That period lasts since the war because no one cared about them in those political, economic and general social circumstances, and we are speaking about the less politically and economically organized part of the population. Because of all that, the resourcefulness survived through the generations.."* /A. Arifi/), but they are also improving their working principles (*"Roma people are very industrious, and as a proof, they accept any kind of job for the purpose of their families' minimal existence. Sometimes the jobs are below their level of education, but we should keep in mind the number of Romas waiting for job. That is why they are looking for some profit in the market, maybe not because of their will, but of their needs."* /T. Kurtić/) and they are socially more and more mature (*"Every Roma will accept any offered job, giving the current and past living conditions, as well as the number of children. From social cases, they will become responsible parents, taking care of their family."* /B. Silistarević/).

There is no argue, Roma unemployed confirm the words of their leaders, *the implementation of micro-enterprising could be important in the transformation of Romas' social status. If they embrace correctly monitored donation, if they are well guided and assisted, they will responsibly improve their own position - they will learn self-support.*

D. B. Đ.

13. Roma family micro-enterprising

Sociologists of work speak about times when manufacture and craft production had a family base. Also today, speaking in percentage, modern economies are based on a high share of the so-called small and micro enterprises. A number of traditional and new crafts and wide range of services still lean on a family base. Moreover, economists recommend micro-enterprising as an impulse for the development of the economies in transition.

Given the Roma patriarchal culture, the family, characterized by conservative and authoritarian relations, is among their priorities. Can the family micro-enterprising be the pillar of socio-economic emancipation of Roma people? Does Roma have it in mind when they accept ICS offer in working tools? (Table 19)

Table 19. Micro-enterprising offer and family engagement

"Would you accept the working tools (to improve the old or to start a new occupation) also because you would employ other members of your family?"

Family engagement	N	%
Yes, completely	200	57,3
I would like that, but we shall see	137	39,3
No, I would do it myself alone, or with someone I choose, but not the members of my family	12	3,4
TOTAL	349	100,0

N tabulated = 349

Without answer = 1

The data perfectly confirm what was always clear to romologists: Roma mostly connect to family members their crafts occupation - small and micro-enterprising - (57,3% +39,3% = 96,6%). It is irrelevant that they probably didn't come to that by using some theoretical knowledge: they rationalize an existing praxis. Their merchant experience is especially advisable, as it is evident in flea markets. When they are engaged in some business, there is work for everyone and everybody is useful: the wrinkled face granny with a cigarette in her mouth, the decent little woman with a pretty face and hairy head, the cheerful boy that run around the market counter, the middle age man, proud of his household. The family is an assembled entity, it works and self-support its members. Isn't that the seed of Roma enterprise spirit? Why the family diligence in the market cannot be transformed into a stable family micro-enterprise based on old or new crafts and services?

But on the other hand, the over-atomisation of micro-enterprises in household can have negative aspects. It is true that it improves the family self-reliance and welfare, but it could encourage egoism, if there is no

concern about the improvement of the whole population. Therefore experts, like Dragoljub Acković, alert on the fact that for Romas it is very important "collective earning" in the sense of emerging from the ethnic-class status. Rich individuals are nothing without a strong nation. ("In other words, an important question for every Roma is the individual, versus the collective, being. So, they put the question of richness in front of the question of existence. If we have in mind that the acquirement of material goods was a collective act, in which a number of individuals participated, than it is clear the overall material position of this population members.")

Whatever, *leaning to the family could be a guarantee for the unemployed Roma success in micro-enterprising.*

D. B. Đ.

14. Roma enterprising and solidarity

In civil and democratic, secular and market societies, there are determined rules of behaviour and everyone is obliged to respect it. Success depends mainly on ability, adaptability, efforts and gumption. Simply, the open society is rigorous: those that are stronger and more prepared, more skilful and competitive establish the rules. One should be ready for competition.

But than again, the extra functionality and efficiency of that society, which regularly margins and deprives numerous individuals, complete classes and ethnic groups, has implemented mechanism for the correction of injustice: solidarity. He, who has enough, however he got it, is obliged to devote a part to those that have nothing. Solidarity, raised to a socio-political level, determined by law, supported by religious doctrines, is a cultural model and doesn't depend on subjective needs and temporary mood.

Than, among certain social and ethnic groups, how big is the significance of solidarity principles in transition societies, like the Serbian one? It is even more evident when class and ethnical edginess and misery merge. Romas are a picture of that condition, because they are an ethnic-class, and they are those that really survived thanks to the others solidarity. Are they ready to reciprocate? Can they?

Table 20. Roma solidarity

"If you get the tools to start a business and it works out, would you be prepared to give part of your income, after a period of time, to an orphanage or collective centre (to those in needs)?"

Roma solidarity	N	%
Yes, by all means I would be glad	277	79,1
Maybe, if I know to whom I am giving	65	18,6
No, my profit is only mine, and everyone should take care of himself	8	2,3
TOTAL	350	100,0

N tabulated = 350

Without answer = 0

Elderly are saying that solidarity sustained Romas, and there are legends about it. For centuries persecuted and destroyed, exposed to xenophobia and racism from the surrounding nations, they managed to defend themselves and to survive thanks to their strong inner-solidarity and cohesion. But the youth say that now it is no longer like in the past. Romas have traditionally and morally changed; solidarity was lost on the way. Osman Balić, among the Serbian Roma leaders, even indicates this loss as crucial negative factor for the future of his ethnic group, the most damaging weakness.

Our interviewed do not agree. Unemployed Romas in the 79% of the cases would gladly agree to lend a hand, while 18,6% of them questions the destination of help. *If they get micro-enterprising grants, they will be absolutely solid, in accordance to the attitude: "Since we received help, we should be ready to help the others."*

D. B. Đ.

IV Short conclusions

Preliminary results analysis of poll research enabled us to reach of next conclusions:

1. The overall situation is more and more complex and insecure and it will affect Roma population more than the others. But, as Roma population has entered every EU program, it is our society's duty to unfurl the social integration of Romas like an urgent social and democratic matter.
2. If Romas registration in the Job Centre shows a responsible and conscientious behaviour and those who don't want to live on work results out of others, then it can be said that their dominant orientation is interest for legal work.
3. Although Roma past counts various occupations, in Vranje, Leskovac and Bujanovac area it has been reduced to two-three typical professions, from which today we have just a blurry memory.
4. The non-existence of some support from the surrounding majority and the slavery to the ghetto-conscience of a patriarch community disabled Romas to take a group step out from the existing social state.
5. Romas are not too much prone to trade, but they are much more oriented to production and production services. Also, about Romas' ethnic characteristics, we cannot talk exclusively about smugglers or about in other ways compromised social group.
6. In the future social and international programs, no matter who suggest or carry them out, it can be counted on the seriousness of

the Roma population, i.e. Romas will be in the next transition period a subject worthy of investments. And foreign agencies' work methodology is a good example for state structures also, about a possible employment contribution and not only for the Roma population.

7. The legal micro-enterprising among Romas is possible, because they know that accepting the program and getting help in labour tools demands reliability. They would be acting legally and the state must be satisfied by taxes.
8. Romas changed their attitude in the direction of adapting themselves and finding solutions for the changes in the economical environment (higher involvement in "modern" compared to "traditional" economic activities), which could be also an inclination to micro-enterprising.
9. At least part of them is mature enough to conceive their engagement not only through an individual approach to the market, but also through cooperative work.
10. In spite of their poor official education they are mature to fit the modern demands of enterprising.
11. In a frame of Roma struggle to step-out from poverty and as their expression of authentic interest, the interviewed Romas from Bujanovac, Leskovac and Vranje motivate a long-term process of economic changes in the Roma community by their open-mindedness towards new "survival strategies".
12. The implementation of micro-enterprising could be important in the transformation of Romas' social status. If they embrace correctly monitored donation, if they are well guided and assisted, they will responsibly improve their own position - they will learn self-support..
13. Leaning to the family could be a guarantee for the unemployed Roma success in micro-enterprising.
14. If they get micro-enterprising grants, they will be absolutely solid, in accordance to the attitude: "Since we received help, we should be ready to help the others".

D. B. Đ., J. Ž., D. T.

REFERENCES

1. Цигани/Роми у прошлости и данас /*Gypsies/Roma in Past and Present*/ (2000), САНУ, Београд.
2. Đorđević, D. B. (2002), Romi na tračnicama /*Roma at the tracks*/, in: Pruge i vozovi u Vojvodini /*Tracks and Trains in Vojvodina*/ (pp. 56-60), PČESA, N. Sad.
3. Đorđević, D. B., M. Filipović i studenti (2002), Sociologija romskog identiteta /*Sociology of Roma Identity*/, Cmyk/KSS, Niš.

4. Đorđević, D. B. i D. Todorović (1997), *Prosjachenje i Romi /Begging and Roma/*, In: *Cigane moj – Romi u Vojvodini /My Roma – Roma in Vojvodina/* (pp. 145-148), PČESA, Novi Sad.
5. Đorđević, D. B. and J. Živković (2002), *Romi na raskršću /Roma at the Crossroads/*, Punta/DDA/KSS/Bahtalo drom, Niš.
6. Ђорђевић, Д. Б., Живковић, Ј. и Д. Тодоровић (2002), *Romanies at Flea Markets /Mirror of Serbian Economy/*, *Теме*, 26 (1): 121-142.
7. Fonseca, I. (1995), *Bury my Standing – The Gypsies and Their Journey*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
8. Fraser, A. (2000), *The Gypsies*, Blackwell, Oxford.
9. Guy, W. (ed) (2001), *Between Past and Future – The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield.
10. Jakšić, B. (2002), *Roofless People*, Republika, Belgrade.
11. Jovanović, Ž. at al. (2002), *Integration without Assimilation*, CRS, Belgrade.
12. Stewart, M. (1997), *The Time of the Gypsies*, Boulder, Westview.
13. Trevor-Briscoe, T. (2002), *The Economic Situation of the Local Romani Population of Nis*, *Теме*, 26 (1): 79-120.
14. Тодоровић, Д. и Д. Б. Ђорђевић (2000), *О групама, занимањима, обичајима и вери Рома у делу Тихомира Ђорђевића /About Groups, Occupations, Customs, and Religion of Roma in the work of Tihomir Djordjevic/*, *Теме*, 24 (3-4): 445-455.

(На енглески превела Маријана Филиповић)

Драгољуб Б. Ђорђевић, Ниш
 Јован Живковић, Косовска Митровица
 Драган Тодоровић, Ниш

РОМИ БЕЗРАБОТНИЦИ (АНКЕТНО ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ)

Резиме

Предузетнички програм, ради успешности, краткоточних и дугорочних резултата, подразумева припрему – којој су Роми тако несклони – али и усађивање идеје помоћи иноме, чему су много наклоњенији. "Како је нама, колико скромно, неко изашао у сусрет, тако и ми треба да будемо дарезљиви када станемо 'на своје ноге'." Шта на све то веле Роми безработници (Бујановца, Враћа и Лесковца - јужне Србије)?

Кључне речи: Роми, незапошљени Роми, микропредузетништво, солидарност