
Minorities Within Minorities

*Internal Discrimination Amongst Roma Living in
Dendropotamos, Thessaloniki, Greece*



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Introduction

Roma people have a long history of living in Europe, with a presence recorded from the 13th century. The term 'Roma' was first chosen at the inaugural World Romani Congress, held in London in 1971. The term is now widely accepted across the European Union to describe a diverse range of communities, tribes and clans of which members can differ in many linguistic and cultural ways.¹ Roma are estimated to comprise of twelve million persons in Europe and are thereby the biggest minority living there. Many Roma do not possess a passport or a residence permit and are thus not being considered as citizens by the authorities of European countries, which means they cannot fully participate in society and politics. This often drags them into conflicts with local authorities and contributes to the creation of distrust of Roma by local communities and vice-versa.² However, data collection about how many Roma live across the European Union is quite challenging. This is because Roma are descendants of a diaspora culture and lack ties or loyalties to an ancestral motherland. Ever since the onset of their diaspora from India twelve hundred years ago, Gypsies have lived on the periphery of more than forty host nations.³

Apart from the estimated population of Roma across Europe and the world, stories about their ancestry also differ and are just as challenging to map. Native perceptions of and loyalties to an ancestral homeland are rife with distortions, contradictions, and myths. Roma often do not express a commitment to the restoration of a mother country. Some Roma identify Egypt as the point of their migration, others insist on Persian descent. Still others speculate that Romania or Yugoslavia must be where their origins lie. Anyhow, most Roma express utter confusion about the nature of their race, their native language and their history.⁴ The most commonly quoted 'fact', however, is that Gypsies originated in northern India and moved west across the Middle East and Europe 1000 years ago: a 'fact' arguably created by Gypsiologists in the 19th century to consolidate a popularly held romantic idea that Gypsies were descended from the lowest class of Indians, which remains a popular idea today. It has been the study of the fragmented dialects of Gypsy language which has led to the general acceptance of an Indian origin for its speakers. Whilst linguistic evidence continues to reveal historic routes of certain groups, the wider take-up of discussions on the Indic-origin of Roma populations has not been positive. Indic origins often have been reduced from historical narrative to a source of stereotypes about India projected onto Roma'.⁵

¹ <http://newint.org/blog/2013/10/28/roma-minority-prejudice/>

² Kolev, D., 2013, p. 15.

³ A. Kozaitis, K., 1997, p. 166.

⁴ A. Kozaitis, K., 1997, p. 185-186.

⁵ Tremlett, A., 2014, p. 835.

In Greece, as in many countries, the Roma are an ethnic group that continues to survive within, yet remains considerably separate from, the dominant Greek social system. The Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) and the subsequent Treaty and Convention of Lausanne (1923) resulted in a compulsory exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece. Among the 1.5 million refugees who were expelled from Turkey and accepted into Greece, were an undesigned number of Gypsies. These tribes of Roma were reportedly former transient settlers who coexisted and earned a living among the Christian segments of Turkish society. The Roma differed from other groups of refugees in important ways: they did not possess citizenship documents, they did not speak Greek and they were not practicing Christians. Before the expulsion from Asia Minor, these Gypsies were living a nomadic life and participated in symbiotic economic relations with the local Christian population. Even though they did not possess a national identity card, they were lumped with all other Greek Christians and deported to Greece. In 1937 the Gypsies were designated an official minority group, but until then the Greek government would not issue the Roma a Greek national identity.⁶

Academics now argue over what is the basis for Roma identity and whether it is possible to see Roma people as one, with similar histories and identities. Question is whether this detracts from, for example, their particular cultures or languages. In the post-modern era, identity is no longer a stable subject but is formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. Terms such as pluralisation, hybridity and multiple-identifications are all used by scholars to describe the many influences and categories that people can embody or move between.⁷ The Roma use classifications amongst themselves, with the 'Atzigani' camouflaging the far more stigmatized label 'Yifti', which is Greek for "Gypsies" and disassociates them from the indigenous nomadic groups. 'Tsigani' is another category that the Roma use situationally and facilitates favourable crossing of social boundaries. This discriminating distinction is culturally important to the Roma. Yifti are reputed as dirty, thieves and uncivilized, epithets of indigenous nomadic Gypsies that Greeks maintain and that the Roma use to ascribe superiority to their own group. The Roma assert the us / them dichotomy consistently to erect sociocultural barriers between themselves and Yifti.⁸ Furthermore, it is said that the Yifti appeared in Greece during the 9th century, arriving in groups from Egypt and being predominantly Moslems. They are not related to the Atzigani, who are conscious of their Indian origin and present themselves as 'Rom',

⁶ A. Kozaitis, K., 1997, p. 170-175.

⁷ Tremlett, A., 2014, p. 839-841.

⁸ A. Kozaitis, K., 1997, p. 181.

descendants of the Indian tribe of the 'Romni'.⁹

In 2012 the total population of Greece was 11.319.048, of which 175.000 were estimated to be Roma, meaning they comprised of 1,55 % of the total population.¹⁰ Around Athens there are several small cities and areas where Roma live. The city of Aspropyrgos is comprised of 5000 Roma, with 1500 of them living in the particular area of Sofos. This place is well known for its school segregation problem. Agia Varvara, a suburb of Athens, is considered to be one of the few places in Greece with a high level of social inclusion of Roma. Spata, a small town 20 kilometres east of Athens, has a Roma settlement of 150 persons and most of them are registered as citizens in the municipality. The housing conditions of the settlement are very poor and there is a lack of water and electricity facilities. Komotini is a city in the district of Thrace where the Muslim minority of Greece lives. This Muslim minority is composed of three ethnic groups: Turks, Roma, and Pomaks. Lefkada, one of the Ionian Islands, also has a significant number of Roma people who have permanently settled there. There are no official statistical data, but their population is estimated to be a few hundred. With the help of activists from Amnesty International, Roma people in the area created a local association which aims to promote access to education for Roma children. The housing conditions of the Roma settlements in Lefkada are very poor. Chrysopigi is a suburb of Heraklion, the capital city of Crete, where there are several neighbourhoods with Roma. The biggest Roma settlement is in New Alikarnassos. There are no official statistics on the Roma population around Heraklion. However, civil society organisations estimate that its population is more than one thousand and that they are very mobile: families will move around to various places in Greece for professional reasons. Finally, Dendropotamos is the biggest Roma neighbourhood of Thessaloniki, located 5 kilometres from the city centre and inhabited by 5000 people. The Roma children enrolled in the neighbourhood schools represent the vast majority of the pupils. In one of the three primary schools of Dendropotamos, their representation reaches 97%.¹¹ Dendropotamos is part of the municipality of Ampelokipoi-Menemeni. The Roma were the first settlers in the district. Nowadays, it is a neighbourhood beset with social problems where many families live in poverty. With limited access to appropriate housing, education and healthcare combined with high unemployment, the area has become one of the poorest in Greece.¹²

⁹ Bartsocas, C. S., 1997, p. 5.

¹⁰ <http://www.coe.int/nl/web/portal/roma>

¹¹ ROMA children in segregated education: testimonial, 2013, p. 5-20.

¹² <http://www.dare-net.eu/press-release/ngos-visit-greece-to-discuss-successful-practices-on-roma-education-and-desegregation/202>

Objective

Discrimination is a form of human rights violation and is prohibited under human rights law. Human rights are based on principles of equality and non-discrimination, as we read in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood’.¹³ Discrimination is one of the most common forms of human rights abuse and violations. When looking at the Roma population, discrimination is deeply rooted and a common reality all over Europe.¹⁴ Apart from external discrimination, there is also the phenomenon of in-group discrimination, which may occur on many different levels, such as ethnicity or origin, gender, structural poverty, social exclusion, low levels of education or unemployment. In this case study I want to explore on which levels Roma are discriminating, and being discriminated against by, other Roma within their community. My research is carried out in the neighbourhood of Dendropotamos in Thessaloniki, Greece. Furthermore, I want to examine the underlying factors causing this discrimination and which consequences this discrimination has. I also ask the Roma of Dendropotamos about the measures that should be taken to decrease internal discrimination and who, according to them, would be the most integral party to implement these measures. Antiziganism, the term used for discrimination against Roma as a minority, has been brought to the attention before. However, intra-community relations and internal discrimination faced by Roma as a topic has not gained as much attention as external discrimination, which is exactly the reason why I chose this topic for my research. Minorities might easily be conceived of as one big happy family, but the unfortunate truth is that discrimination is not limited to how some Caucasians treat ethnic minorities. To solve the problem of discrimination, I think it’s important to start from scratch and look at the internal issues Roma face amongst each other as well, before tackling external obstacles.

Methodology

Apart from doing some research on the history of Roma in general and their history with the problem of discrimination, which was the starting point of my analysis, this case study was implemented on the basis of a questionnaire I made and handed out arbitrarily to Roma living in Dendropotamos. The original plan was to hand out 50 questionnaires to both male and female Roma of different generations. However, it should not be underestimated that Roma

¹³ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

¹⁴ Fremlova, L., 2014, p. 8.

communities are being 'used' for research quite often, while most of the times no solutions are being given to the appalling conditions they live in. This means I was relying on the good will of the Roma, since some of them were reluctant to volunteer. Moreover, as an outsider it is quite difficult to enter the community for these kind of purposes. Therefore, I was relying on a colleague who has worked with Roma during several projects and thus knows the neighbourhood and its residents quite well. Eventually, I ended up with 29 completed questionnaires, 12 done by women and 17 by men. Furthermore, the age of the women varied from 14 to 62, while the men were all youngsters with an age varying from 12 to 23 years old. For the above mentioned reasons, this was beyond my control. I chose questionnaires to conduct my case study, because it gave the participants the option to remain anonymous and this would probably result in more honest answers. Likewise, I wanted to respect the privacy of the Roma and there was simply not enough time to conduct so many interviews.

Levels of discrimination

The 12 women who participated in this research were all Greek Roma, but amongst the 17 men there was one Roma whose nationality was Turkish. All 12 women were Orthodox Christians, while out of the 17 men 3 were practicing a different religion; 2 were Muslims and 1 was a Jehovah's Witness. Out of the 12 women, 6 were married, 5 were single (of which 3 had children), and one was widowed. Only 2 out of the 17 men were married, the rest was single. When asked about their education qualification, 5 out of the 12 women stated not to have finished any education. Out of the other 7, one of them had a university degree and the other 6 either finished or were still attending high school. Only one of the 17 men claimed not to have an education qualification, the rest of them were either attending high school or university. I also asked them for how long they were living in Dendropotamos right now. Out of the 12 women 10 were born there, one woman of 40 years old was living there for twenty years and one woman of 60 years old 53 years. Out of the 17 men, 12 were born there, one was living there for 15 years, 2 of them for 10 years, one for 5 years and one for 3 years.

The first question was if they have ever been discriminated against by other Roma. Out of the 12 women, 9 answered with 'yes', meaning 75% of the respondents has had experience with discrimination personally. I asked those 9 women on which level they have been discriminated against (table 1.1):

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
4	0	3	0	1	6

1.1 Levels on which 9 Roma women have been discriminated against by other Roma

As we can see, 44% of the women have been discriminated against on the basis of gender, 33% on the basis of origin, 11% due to disability and none of them on the basis of sexual orientation or religious beliefs. Other reasons were given by 66% of the women, namely: 3 claimed they have been discriminated against because of their financial conditions, 1 because of her appearance, 1 because of her profession and 1 because of personal choices she has made in her life.

Out of the 17 men who were asked the same question, 8 answered with ‘yes’ and 9 with ‘no’, meaning 47% of the male respondents has personal experience with discrimination. When asked on which level, the following results came in (table 1.2):

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
0	0	3	2	1	4

1.2 Levels on which 8 Roma men have been discriminated against by other Roma

A noteworthy, but perhaps not unexpected difference is gender, as none of the men claim to have been discriminated against on this level. Just like the women, sexual orientation has not been the reason for any of the men either. When it comes to origin, 37,5% states he has experienced discrimination on such a level. For 25% of the respondents, namely one of the 2 Muslims and the Jehova’s Witness, religious beliefs has been the reason for discrimination. Disability has only been confirmed as a cause for discrimination by one of the respondents, just like the women, which makes it 12,5% of the men. Other reasons have been claimed by 50% of the men: one of them claims that he has been discriminated against due to his lack of education, one because of his appearance and 2 because of their social status.

I asked the respondents how often this discrimination against them occurred (table 1.3):

	Continuously / often	From time to time	Seldom
Women (9)	2	7	0
Men (8)	2	0	6

1.3 How often Roma are being discriminated against by other Roma

As we can see, 78% of the women answered from time to time and 22% said it occurred quite often. Out of the 8 men, 75% claimed it happened seldom and 25% said it happened quite often or even continuously. Overall, the female respondents seem to suffer from discrimination more regularly. When I asked them how they responded in a situation of being discriminated against, the following results came in (table 1.4):

	Indifferent / calm	Depends on situation	Nervous / aggressive
Women (9)	5	3	1
Men (8)	3	4	1

1.4 How Roma would react when they get discriminated against by other Roma

Out of the 9 women, 56% said they acted indifferent, 33% said it depended on the specific situation, so they would either act indifferent or nervous, and only 11% said she always acted nervous and sometimes got into a fight. Out of the 8 men, 37,5% stated that they always acted indifferent in such a situation, 50% said it depended on the situation and 12,5% said he reacted aggressive and got into a fight. When asked if this discrimination against them ever turned into hate crime, 2 out of the 9 women (22%) said 'yes' and 7 (88%) 'no', while all men replied with 'no'. I asked the 2 women to describe this situation of hate crime they had experienced personally. One, aged 42, only answered that she got into a physical fight and did not find a solution, while the other woman, aged 14, explained they laughed at her because of the financial situation of her family, whereupon she insulted the perpetrator and they hit her.

In the next part of my questionnaire, I asked the Roma if they have ever experienced discrimination against other Roma except themselves. All 12 women answered 'yes' to this question. Below, in table 1.5, we can see the levels on which they have experienced discrimination between other Roma:

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
5	2	8	4	3	10

1.5 Levels on which 12 Roma women have experienced discrimination between other Roma (except themselves)

When it comes to gender, 42% of the women have seen a situation in which other Roma women were discriminated against exactly because they are women. Discrimination because of someone's sexual orientation has been witnessed by 17% of the female respondents, origin by 67%. Religious beliefs as a reason for discrimination has been witnessed by 33% and disability by 25%. Other reasons for discrimination are stated by a good 83% of the female respondents: 7 women name financial conditions and 3 social status as a cause for discrimination.

Out of the 17 men, there were 14 who said they have experienced discrimination between other Roma except themselves. In table 1.6 we can see on which levels:

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
0	4	10	8	5	3

1.6 Levels on which 14 Roma men have experienced discrimination between other Roma (except themselves)

None of the male respondents has seen other Roma being discriminated against because of their gender, while 29% has seen other Roma who were discriminated against because of their sexual orientation. Origin as a reason for discrimination has been witnessed by 71%, religious beliefs by 57% and disability by 36%. While a lot of women named other reasons for discrimination, only 21% of the male respondents did so: all 3 of them named financial conditions as the reason.

When asked how often they saw this occurring, 92% of the women responded with 'very often' and only 8% with 'from time to time'. Out of the 14 male respondents, 29% stated it happened

‘often or even continuously’, 14% ‘from time to time’ and 57% ‘seldom’ (table 1.7).

	Continuously / often	From time to time	Seldom
Women (12)	11	1	0
Men (14)	4	2	8

1.7 How often Roma see a situation where a Roma is being discriminated against by other Roma

Again we can see a difference regarding the female and male respondents’ experiences. The female respondents have not only been the victim of discrimination more often, they have been witness of a situation in which another Roma was being discriminated against more often as well. Regarding their reacting when they would witness other Roma in such a situation, the following was stated (table 1.8):

	Indifferent / calm	Depends on situation	Try to control situation or defend victim	Nervous / aggressive
Women (12)	8	1	3	0
Men (14)	8	0	4	2

1.8 How Roma would react when they see a situation where a Roma gets discriminated against by other Roma

We can see that 67% of the women said they would act indifferent, 25% said they would try to control the situation and 8% said it would depend on the situation. None of the female respondents said they would react nervous or aggressive. Out of the 14 men, 57% said they would act indifferent, 29% would try to interfere to defend the victim and control the situation and 14% said they would react bad and probably start a fight. None of the male respondents said their (re)action would depend on the situation. Again, I asked if this discrimination they had witnessed ever turned into hate crime and the outcome was nearly the same: 5 out of 12 women (42%) replied with ‘yes’ and 6 out of 14 men (43%) answered ‘yes’. I asked the respondents if

they wanted to give a description of this hate crime and some of them were willing to do so. One of the female respondents explained that 2 adults killed a teenager, because of a fight over financial matters. One of the male respondents wrote that someone stole the phone of a friend of his, whereupon they started to insult each other. This ended up with the respondent helping his friend to beat up the perpetrator. Another male respondent explained he had a friend whose origin is from Albania. A Greek Roma guy was making racist remarks towards his Albanian friend and so he fought this guy to defend his friend. Another male respondent said he saw people insulting each other. The situation escalated and they ended up beating each other. According to him, he did not react, because they would have attacked him as well. Another male respondent explains: ‘Disagreements exist everywhere, but since Dendropotamos is host to many Roma who are uneducated, they behave accordingly, which results in a lot of discrimination and physical violence.’

In the next part of the questionnaire I asked the respondents if they considered themselves to be prejudiced or discriminating towards other Roma. Out of the 12 women 4 answered ‘yes’ to this question (33%), while 8 out of the 17 men did (47%). Again they were asked to fill in on which level they were prejudiced or discriminating (table 1.9):

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
0	0	1	0	0	3

1.9 Levels on which 4 Roma women consider themselves to be prejudiced / discriminating towards other Roma

Out of all options given by me, only one was chosen by the female respondents and only by one of them (25%), namely origin. The other 75% gave other reasons for being prejudiced: one of them said she was prejudiced towards Roma without education, the other 2 mentioned a different mentality to be a reason for them to discriminate or at least be prejudiced. When I asked them for an explanation, one of them said: ‘The mentality of the Roma changed. People used to be loving and peaceful towards each other, but now there is a lot of jealousy going on.’ The other woman who claimed to be prejudiced towards other Roma because of a different mentality, makes a difference between her and other Roma: ‘We differ from others, we are no gypsies, meaning we don’t beg. We don’t want to get a bad name.’ The woman mentioning education as a reason for her prejudices said: ‘Uneducated people are one step behind in

society.’

The male respondents are much more divided when it comes to levels on which they discriminate or at least have prejudices (table 1.10):

Gender	Sexual orientation	Origin	Religious beliefs	Disability	Other
0	2	6	5	4	3

1.10 Levels on which 8 Roma men consider themselves to be prejudiced / discriminating towards other Roma

Sexual orientation is a reason for 25% of the men to be prejudiced, origin 75%, religious beliefs 63% and disability is a reason for half of the respondents. Other reasons were given by 37,5% of the male Roma. One of them also mentions mentality as a reason and also says it used to be much more peaceful in Dendropotamos, but now people are acting in a weird and jealous way towards each other. Another male respondent names education as a reason for his prejudices and discrimination as well: ‘Education shapes people. If you have not gone to school, don’t open your mouth. You have not learned manners, you are not open towards society.’ The last male respondent who gave other reasons for himself to be prejudiced, mentioned marriage. According to him, some Roma get married just so they have a free pass to have sexual intercourse, since most of them do not have sex before marriage. He just cannot get his head around this.

Statements

In the next part, I asked the respondents to give an answer from ‘1’ to ‘5’ on some statements, ‘1’ being I strongly disagree and ‘5’ being I strongly agree.

1. I outwardly share my prejudicial views					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	10	2	0	0	0
Men (17)	4	4	4	1	4

At the first statement, we can see that all women disagree about publicly sharing their prejudices, with 17% disagreeing and 83% strongly disagreeing. The male respondents however, are more divided as regards to sharing their prejudicial views out in the open. While 23,5% strongly disagree, the same goes for 'disagree', 'neutral' and 'strongly agree'. One of the male respondents, so 6%, replied with 'agree'

2. I attempt to influence others with my view towards other people					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	7	1	0	1	3
Men (17)	6	3	3	1	4

When asked about their attempts to influence others with their prejudices or discriminating views, the majority (of both female and male respondents) chooses 'strongly disagree', with 58% of the women and 35% of the men. The second highest score is, again for both female and male respondents, on 'strongly agree', with 25% for the women and 23% for the men. Only 8% of the women chooses 'disagree' and only 8% 'agree' as well, while none of them chooses 'neutral'. For the men, 18% says 'disagree' and 18% 'neutral', with the lowest score on 'agree' with 6%.

3. I am afraid to confront others on their prejudicial views					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	6	1	3	2	0
Men (17)	10	2	2	3	0

The outcome of the third statement is quite positive, with regard to the majority of the respondents saying they strongly disagree with the statement of being afraid to tell others off

when it comes to their prejudicial views, namely 50% of the women and 59% of the men. None of the female and male respondents say they strongly agree with the statement.

4. I discriminate because I have been discriminated against by others					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	8	2	0	2	0
Men (17)	9	2	3	2	1

The highest score on the fourth statement is again ‘strongly disagree’, which is a good thing as well: 67% of the female respondents and 53% of the male respondents say they do not find being discriminated against a reason to discriminate others in return. None of the female respondents replied with ‘strongly agree’ again, and for the men it is the lowest score with 6%.

5. I take time to understand other cultures					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	3	1	0	6	2
Men (17)	3	3	3	3	5

When asked if the respondents take time to understand other cultures in statement 5, the highest scores are on the positive side again. Half of the female respondents says they agree with this statement and another 17% even strongly agrees, while 29% of the male respondents say they strongly agree. However, the other 71% is divided evenly on all other options, meaning 35,5% of the men also state they do not, or at least seldom, put any effort in understanding other cultures. Out of the female respondents, 33% is on the negative side.

6. Prejudices and discrimination are hard to overcome					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	0	0	3	4	5
Men (17)	1	4	4	4	4

In the sixth statement, they were asked about their opinion on overcoming discrimination and prejudices. From the results, we can see both sexes are quite pessimistic on this matter. Out of the female respondents, 42% of them say they strongly believe it is hard to overcome these issues. Another 33% says they agree and 25% is neutral. Striking is that none of the women replied that they disagree with the statement. The opinions of the male respondents are more divided. Except for 6% strongly disagreeing with the statements, all other 4 options score 23,5%.

7. I feel uncomfortable in my neighbourhood because of discrimination going on					
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
Women (12)	0	0	1	6	5
Men (17)	3	0	2	7	5

The seventh and last statement also gave an interesting outcome. None of the female respondents mentioned feeling comfortable in Dendropotamos: 50% of them agrees about feeling uncomfortable in the neighbourhood and 42% even strongly agrees, making it a total of no less than 92%. The other 8% is neutral about this statement. Some of the male respondents do feel comfortable in Dendropotamos: 18% even strongly disagrees with the statement, while 12% is neutral. Another 41% of the men agrees with the statement and 29% strongly agrees, making it a total of 70% of the male respondents who do not feel comfortable in Dendropotamos.

Possible solutions to discrimination

At the end of the questionnaire, I asked all respondents a couple of questions about the cause of discrimination and possible ways to decrease or solve this issue. The first question required them to choose 3 factors which they thought were the main cause for discrimination to exist.

1. What are the main factors that you believe cause discrimination to exist (pick your top 3)							
	Cultural differences	Religious beliefs	Lack of education	Physical differences	Family views	Negative experiences	Other
Women (12)	7	2	12	1	10	3	1
Men (17)	9	10	12	7	7	5	1

Lack of education scored highest for both sexes. All women chose this option, while 71% of the men did so. Second highest on the side of the women was the option ‘family views’, with 83%, while it ranked a shared fourth position regarding the men (41%). At the side of the male respondents, religious beliefs clearly ruled as second highest with 59%. Remarkably, only 17% of the women chose this to be in their top 3. Since not all male respondents practice the same religion, it is very possible that this is the reason for this outcome. The third position is a shared one as well, with both sexes who chose ‘cultural differences’. I also gave the option to fill in other factors, and for both sexes one of the respondents did so. The female respondent said it is caused due to influences of all the people you hang out with, the male respondent named pure egoism as one of his main factors.

Secondly, the respondents were asked to choose (what appeared to them as) the most integral party to solve the problem of discrimination.

2. Who is, according to you, the most integral party to solve the problem of discrimination?						
	The government	The general public	Social workers	NGO's	Ethnic groups amongst each other	Other
Women (12)	1	3	1	0	7	0
Men (17)	2	3	2	2	8	0

Both sexes scored highest on the same option: ethnic groups amongst each other. A good 58% of the women chose this option, compared to 47% of the men. A shared second choice goes to the general public, with 25% of the female respondents and 18% of the male respondents. I also gave them space to opt for their own answer instead of the ones given by me, but nobody did so.

Last but not least, I asked for the best way to solve the issue of discrimination.

3. What is, according to you, an effective way to decrease or even solve the problem of discrimination?				
	Education	More NGO's dealing with discrimination and racism	Better regulation by law	Other
Women (12)	7	1	4	0
Men (17)	9	3	5	0

Education was ranked highest again for both of the sexes, with 58% of the women and 53% of the men who chose this option. Better regulation by law scored second for both sexes, with 33% of the women and 29% of the men. The option of NGO's setting up projects that deal with the

problem of discrimination, racism and prejudices was chosen by only a few respondents: 9% of the women and 18% of the men. The option to give their own views on this matter was not used by any of the respondents.

Conclusion

Overall, the problem of internal discrimination is still very present amongst Roma living in Dendropotamos. When it comes to personal experiences, all levels mentioned have been a reason for being discriminated against, except sexual orientation. Gender has only been a problem for the female respondents. Besides the levels mentioned in the questionnaire, other reasons were given by the respondents as well: financial status seems to be very important and being uneducated causes problems. Luckily, except for 2 of the female respondents, none of the respondents has ever had experience with discrimination which turned violent, also known as hate crime. When being discriminated against, aggressive reactions by the respondents mainly remain off. The frequency of being discriminated against varies among the sexes: men mostly claim that it happens seldom, women argue it happens from time to time.

When it comes to other Roma except themselves, discrimination on all levels has been witnessed by the respondents, but gender only by girls. Other levels mentioned include financial conditions again. When asked how often they witness such a situation between 2 other Roma, women mostly reply with 'very often' and men with 'seldom'. Their reactions are again mostly calm, none of the women claim they would get nervous or aggressive. Despite the fact most of them have not been the victim of hate crime, nearly half of the respondents of both sexes has witnessed a situation in which discrimination turned into hate crime between other Roma.

Prejudices prevail in one-third of the women and nearly half of the men. Remarkably, men claim to be prejudiced on all levels except gender, while women claim they have experience with being discriminated against because of their gender as well as having witnessed discrimination on this level. Women, out of the options given by me, only state they are prejudiced when it comes to origin, but also mention no education and mentality as reasons. While all female respondents state they keep their prejudicial views to themselves, the male respondents are more divided in this matter. Trying to influence others with these views is not the case for the majority of the respondents, just as most of them are not afraid to confront others on their prejudicial views. Another positive thing, is that the majority of the respondents do not discriminate because they have the experience of being discriminated against and especially the female respondents take time to understand other cultures. The downside however, is that the majority of the respondents is pessimistic when it comes down to

overcoming problems of discrimination and prejudices; the women even more than the men. This negativity could be the result of Roma women experiencing more discrimination in general. Another downside, is that none of the women feels comfortable living in Dendropotamos, and only 3 of the 17 male respondents do.

Lack of education is claimed to be the main factor causing the problem of discrimination regarding both sexes. Second biggest factors are family views for the women and religious beliefs for the men; the latter probably scores high because not all male respondents practice the same religions. Third main factor is said to be cultural differences by both sexes. Solving the problem of discrimination must be done by ethnic groups amongst each other, claims the majority of both sexes. We can see this as a positive thing; even though there is a lot of internal discrimination going on in Dendropotamos, the Roma living there still have faith in solving it amongst each other. The most effective way to decrease discrimination is, according to a little more than half of the male as well as female respondents, education. There is still a great deal to be solved regarding internal discrimination amongst Roma living in Dendropotamos; decent access to education, with an emphasize on tackling problems of discrimination, seems to be the key to more understanding and tolerance towards each other.

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