

**Analysis of the Migration Climate and Migration Tendencies to Western European
Countries in Romany Communities in
Selected Cities in the Czech Republic**

(Research Report)
For the IOM Prague

Prague
May 2000

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1. Assignment

The main task of the project as formulated by the IOM Prague is to research and identify the current inclination towards emigration of Romany communities in profiled regions and to assess the causes and acuteness of migration. The task is also to estimate the number of migrants and their determining motives as well as to estimate the extent and possibilities of communication into Romany communities on given themes and the creation of a final research report.

1.1. Main Goal of the Project

The main goal of the project was the research, mapping and indication of the migration climate in chosen areas of the Czech Republic with the largest concentrations of Romany populations and in them to specifically identify the following:

- a) regions with the greatest migration potential
- b) determining motives and instigating mechanisms of emigration behaviour of Roma
- c) identification of areas for appropriate information intervention
- d) identification of possible forms of communication and mediums for communication with Romany communities with strong pro-migration climates

1.2. The Wider Context of the Project Realisation

The project is primarily directed at migration of the Romany population. The proportion of this community involved in the migration process constitutes the majority of citizens of the Czech Republic in migration and is recorded according to statistics of the EU destination countries. Migration of Roma is characterised by an attempt at permanent relocation of entire families almost entirely through application for asylum. The request for asylum is almost entirely – according to available information – argued on the basis of violent forms of racism and discrimination against the Romany minority in the Czech Republic. For this reason emigration of Roma is distinctly different from the mostly short term, limited migration of other citizens of the Czech Republic. The majority of this group does not make an attempt at permanent relocation of entire families but pursue individual, short-term, migration for economic reasons.

The migration of Romany families has been occurring for several years and has had a steadily increasing tendency. This is true not only for the exodus of Roma from the Czech Republic to Western

Europe and overseas but it is also true for the flood of Roma to the Czech Republic particularly from Slovakia and the Balkan countries. Immigration of Slovak Roma reached its peak with the break up of Czechoslovakia in 1992-93, but continues to this day in varying degrees of intensity. This, however, is a long existing trend whose components were already evident in the first post-war waves of Czechoslovak government supported resettlement of Slovak Roma in the border regions and specifically in the Sudeten lands after the expulsion of resident Germans in the end of the 40's and beginning of the 1950's. In Bohemia and Moravia an entirely new Romany minority began to be formed. The original Czech Roma were practically all murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Immigration of Slovak Roma continued into the 1960's when aft [1] and assimilation [2] policies seriously inhibited the mobility of Roma, but their continued flood from Slovakia to the industrial areas of Bohemia and Moravia did not completely stop even in the 1970's and 1980's.

The extent of immigration from Slovakia later came to light in connection with the controversial citizenship law in the Czech Republic after the demise of Czechoslovakia. A large number of long-term resident Roma in Bohemia and Moravia originally from Slovakia (some for example only after their parents) found themselves, not of their own fault, in the position of being foreigners or persons without state citizenship. This destabilising legislative step as well as the large wave of immigration of

Slovak Roma during the division of the country (1992-3) who came to the Czech Republic seeking better living conditions, because of relatives or in fear of growing Slovak nationalism significantly weakened the integrity of the Romany minority with regard to Czech society. It even effected internal relations in individual Romany communities. The increasingly heterogeneous character of the Romany minority strengthened the significance of family bonds and local communities in regions and towns.

In the 1990's after the fall of communism the economic and social position of Roma markedly deteriorated in the context of the transformation of the centralised communist economy to the market economy. Roma fell to the lowest social strata or, more precisely, their position in the labour market quickly worsened as a result of poor qualifications, a decline in manual and unqualified jobs, a drop off in the entire sector of heavy, construction and agricultural industries in which many times Roma were only "employed" in the communist sense of "having a job". Very few Roma were able to orient themselves in the accelerated spheres of the private sector of business and self-employment. The Communist mandatory work regulation disappeared and in the face of increasing social inequality Romany families quickly began to lapse into complete dependency on welfare unemployment payments and to move on the fringes of society. With the growing social distance between Roma and the majority population, ethnic tension, conflicts and a new phenomenon of racist violence began to appear on one side just as before unknown crime (drugs, prostitution) began to spread through Romany communities.

For the majority of the Czech population, hectic efforts at attaining prosperity, realisation of new consumer and credit possibilities and the consequent rises in standard of living Roma began to become a foreign element that threatened social and economic stability. The majority perceived Roma as not willing to share neither the basic values of Czech society developing toward market economy nor even the basic rules required for civil coexistence. Czech society after the partition from Slovakia became practically ethnically homogeneous and afflicted by post-communist xenophobia, began to perceive Roma not only ethnically but to a certain extent also racially as a group that does not have the requirements to overcoming problems and is not able to "live like other Czechs". Therefore the basic solution of the situation is perceived as mutual segregation rather than integration. Likewise, from sociological research it is an evident reality that the perspective of the Czech majority is dominantly pro-assimilation accentuating ethnic and cultural homogeneity as opposed to heterogeneity [3].

In the last third of the 1990's the Czech economy went into deep recession in which the social situation of the lowest strata of society worsened as far as their hope of finding and willingness to seek and take on new jobs. Unemployment did not only affect Roma but also their non-Romany social and economic equals particularly in the most industrialised areas with economies of scale dominated by metallurgy, mining and antiquated heavy industry. The entire economic crisis was gradually worsened by an accompanying moral crisis. This crisis manifested itself in both political parties debilitated by financial scandals as well as in an unprecedented and deliberate organised decapitalisation (tunnelling) of businesses and banks. In these circumstances minor fraud in the areas of welfare payments and unemployment payments, which usually became a part of the process of the emigration of Romany families abroad, can be understood as tolerable misdemeanours or even a manifestation of inventive socio-market behaviour [4]. With the growing economic and moral crisis the Romany minority was pushed further onto the fringes of society. Only in exceptional cases were Roma able to successfully enter into educational channels of mobility leading to better work and career opportunities for their children. The work-career as well as cultural and societal exclusiveness of Czech society is a daily reality of Romany life, which consequently concentrates Roma even more within their own Romany communities.

In the ever increasing social, ethnic and societal distance between Roma and the majority population the Czech government continually refused to adopt any ethnic interpretation of the problem. They viewed the status of Roma as a problem of social policies and the growing ethnic tensions and racist violence as a fringe aberration of small groups of extremists. In assessing the situation the government conspicuously assumed an ideological perspective in which any form of support for Roma was seen as a residue of socialism and a manifestation of the left. The growing international and do-

mestic (NGO) criticism of ethnic conditions including the already mentioned law on citizenship in the Czech Republic was also perceived in a similar light. Total passivity and incompetence of the government and parliament on a central level in practical terms forced the solution of the problem onto the municipal level of local governments. This allowed for enormous variation in progress towards a solution depending on the will and competence of local politicians.

The Roma minority fell from public and political life. Previously, in the period of time leading up to 1992 parliamentary elections the Romany minority had its own strong representation in all parliaments and chambers. After 1992 only one Rom remained in the Czech Parliament. The Romany elite was not able to reach consensus and failed to exert concentrated, public pressure on the government from the framework of criticism of manifestations of violent racism. After dozens of years of assimilation Roma not only lacked experienced and determined leaders but also a sufficiently distinct feeling of their own identity and social standing.

The situation, as far as the Czech government is concerned, began to gradually change in 1997 when at least an exploratory government report about the situation of Roma was created for the first time. The report in part acknowledged the existence of not only social but also serious ethnic problems. Furthermore, and most importantly, the government acknowledged that it is a problem whose solution cannot come from the Romany minority alone but that the state must assist them and finally, in very basic, rough terms the report at least hinted at the extraordinarily difficult economic and social situation of the Romany minority[5].

Another change occurred in 1998 when the status of the Romany minority became the part of government programme declarations issued by two consecutive governments. After the election of that year the Office of Commissioner for Human Rights was created which concerned itself particularly with problems of integration of the Romany minority and suppression of racial segregation. Legislative and executive documents are being prepared which should lay the basis for active and positive integration state politics specifically directed at the Romany minority, their integration, status and self-government. These documents, however, as of yet have not had the opportunity to enter into practical integration policy to bring about any real change.[6] There is also noticeable movement in the actions of the police and judicial institutions that are starting to consistently prosecute violent and non-violent racist crimes. The Czech Ministry of Interior rejected registration of another extremist right-wing political party.

An important development in Czech society is the fact that in the 1998 election citizens voted the extremist Republican Party out of the Czech Parliament. The party did not receive enough (i.e. at least 5 %) votes probably because their election campaign was based on racist and anti-Romany slogans.

Despite of the above mentioned changes, there was a scandal related to the building of a wall which separated predominantly Romany occupied houses for people who did not pay rent from their "white" neighbours who were constantly complaining to their elected representatives of the local town hall about outrageous violations of neighbouring relations. The attempt to separate both communities with a ceramic wall was another unfortunate step in series of mistakes committed by the local town hall in their work with Roma.[7] The final result and step back of the local government "from the wall" was literally "bought"[8] by the Czech government because the government wanted to put an end to the on-going crisis and international embarrassment at any cost. At the same time the Czech government was concerned that such a step of one town hall would set a precedent for other town halls in other parts of the Czech Republic[9]. A later ruling of the Constitutional Court which cast doubt on the right of the government and the Parliament to directly interfere into decisions of the locally elected institutions confirmed justifiable concerns of the Czech government that if they did not find a compromise agreement they would lose the trial. The attempt to build the wall had also positive effects. First of which was that it unified and "woken up" the Romany leaders and in no uncertain terms they demanded that the wall to be torn down which they also at one time achieved.[10] In the same time it showed to what extent the Roma minority was lacking a common identity, interest and a need of collective defence. The presence of Roma leaders from the across the entire Czech Republic sharply contrasted with the low attendance of Romany citizens at public demonstrations.

The scandal also had an awakening influence on the Czech intellectuals and leading public figures. Despite gradual improvements in the situation (at least from the perspective of governmental policy from 1998) there have not yet been any significant repercussions on Roma status and conditions in any way. It is not possible to associate the current wave of Romany emigration with purely contemporary circumstances. From developments in the statistics of target countries it is noticeable that the migration had already started in the middle of the 1990s. A pro-emigration campaign on the most watched Czech private television station TV Nova[11] which showed the lives of the Roma who left the country in 1995 and 1996 contributed to strengthening the already ongoing wave of migration. A strong increase in emigration followed and was even supported by some local representatives who had offered contributions for airline tickets abroad.[12] As far as Canada is concerned, Romany migration there was halted by the introduction of visa regulations by Canadian government. During the following years emigration was directed at European countries particularly – as far as Czech Roma are concerned – Great Britain. In general, however, during 1998 - 1999 a frightening development of Roma migration from the majority of the Central Europe countries began to become evident. In Czech circumstances this development was accelerated in 1999 by direct appeals of Roma leaders to for all Roma to emigrate.

This policy quickly “awakened” activity in some state institutions,[13] but it also evidently awoke an equally powerful desire to leave in Roma families and communities. 1999 was a year of presence of strong pro-emigration factors in public and communal life. How does the situation look in the year 2000?

2. Methodology of research

The starting point of the research of the project is a presumption that the tendency of the Romany population to emigrate is not equally distributed around the Czech Republic, but rather that this tendency is a projection of the interaction of at least the following specific local factors:

- a) the socio-economic situation of the Romany population in a given town/region
- b) the degree of self-distress and insufficiency of security of Roma citizens (for example threats from racially directed extremist movements and groups)
- c) the quality of communication of Roma citizens with non-Romany surrounding communities and especially with institutions of local public administration
- d) the level of communication and the climate inside a given Romany community regarding migration behaviour and experiences of families which are returning from long-term stays abroad.

The presumption of the important influences of socio-economic and security conditions of life in Romany communities on their migratory behaviour and climate involves the need for a combination of information about the migration climate with data about living conditions. Therefore, we attempted to frame researched qualitative data (feeling of security, climate inside the community, level of communication, migration experiences and intentions etc.) with quantitative statistical data (unemployment rate among the Romany population, the number of racially motivated conflicts, housing conditions etc...).

2.1. Methodology of data collection

For reasons of cultural, social and communication specifics of the Roma population and due to the sensitive nature of the central problem addressed we did not use a classical representative face-to-face sociological survey. As an alternative method – in accordance with the opinion of the contractor – a qualitative method of semi-standardised interviews was chosen. These semi-standardised interviews were conducted with a relatively small number of people who know the living conditions in Romany communities, their internal climate, experiences with migration respective the tendencies to emigrate outside the Czech Republic including families which have returned from trips and stays abroad.

In order to obtain the most complete overview specific interviews were arranged with Romany res-

pondents (beside the returned families we directed our interest mostly at local leaders in Romany communities) and with non-Romany experts who know the conditions on local levels based of their experience in local administration.

Before the field research started, expert consultations were conducted regarding the chosen method of research, choice of researched locations, available information and data about emigration to this point regarding its waves, extent, character, motivations and regional variations.

Field research (semi-standardised interviews) was carried out by a stable, two-member team where one researcher concentrated on local administrative offices, their information and perspectives while the second researcher concentrated exclusively on work in Romany communities. Thanks to this approach it is possible to compare the situation and conditions in individual locations. The researcher who researched exclusively the non-Romany field conducted: introductory consultations with experts, interviews with directors of social (prospectively housing) services, town halls (local governments), directors of city police forces and workers at the Labour Offices (see accompanying table). An undergraduate university educated teacher with fluent mastery of Romany, excellent communication skills (thanks to her Romany origin she also enjoys a high degree of trust of the Romany community) concentrated on the Romany environment, conducted interviews with Romany advisors, Romany teaching assistants, Romany representatives and selected Romany families and individuals with immigration experiences.

Field interviews took place from 12.4. to 12.5.2000.

2.2. Description and selection of locations, institutions and respondents

The selection of researched locations was undertaken on the basis of expert consultation at the beginning of the project. Experts from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic in the areas of social policy, employment and social policies towards the Romany minority, experts from the Council for Nationalities of the Government of the Czech Republic, The Intergovernmental Commission for Affairs of the Romany Minority, the non-governmental organisation specialised in education programs Nová škola, the director and representatives of the Association of Roma in Moravia and The Committee of Regional Romany Representatives were consulted on this question. The selection of researched locations and communities was undertaken in accordance the three parameters of the project:

- (i) Directed at locations with a presumed above-average pro-migration climate;
- (ii) The need to undertake research with a stable two-member team (preserving a constant methodology of interviews and as possible comparatively evaluation perspectives for Romany and non-Romany environments independently);
- (iii) Time parameter – according to the contracted client it was necessary to complete the project in the very limited time frame of 6 weeks.

On the basis of expert opinions and suggestions, locations with the highest potential for problems were selected as researched locations. On 10. 4. 2000 consultations took place with the client and on the basis of these consultations the final structures of the researched locations were defined.

The following locations were chosen for research: Prague 3, Prague 8, Most, Jirkov, Ústí nad Labem, Semily, Litoměřice, Ostrava, Orlová (for the parameters of these locations see 9.5 and 9.6).[14]

On the basis of expert consultation, institutions and individuals with direct regular contact with the Romany community were recommended. In all of the researched locations mainly Romany advisors[15] were usually recommended, some of them by local Romany leaders, directors of social services (i.e. the director of the housing authority), relevant town hall, the director of the City Police and a selected member of the labour office.

On the basis of recommendations and information gathered from Romany advisors and respective local Romany leaders the following interviews were carried out directly with Romany families returned from abroad.

3. Findings

3.1. Information about Respondents

In the course of our research a total of eight interviews were conducted in the Romany part of the project with local Romany leaders. Three interviews were conducted with Romany advisors and 34 Romany families with experiences with emigration abroad were visited. The data is summarised in the following table.

Location	Romany advisors	Romany leaders	Only one attempt at emigration (number of families)	Length of time of family in emigration (in months)	More than one attempt at emigration (number of families)	Length of time of family in last attempt at emigration (in months)
Prague 3	1	0	2	12,10	2	18,24
Prague 8	1	1	2	12,12	2	24,12
Usti nad Labem	1	1	2	12,11	2	24,10
Most	0	1	2	12,12	2	3,12
Jirkov	0	1	2	6,6	1	12
Litoměřice	0	1	2	6,6	2	12,12
Semily	0	1	2	3,4	1	6
Ostrava	0	1	2	12,18	2	24,24
Orlová	0	1	2	3,4	2	8,8

As is evident from the table above, communication with Romany advisors was not entirely easy. Three advisors were not willing to give information and refused to be interviewed. In the other three cases they did not arrive in the agreed time of the meetings. Necessary data were acquired from Roma who themselves attempted to emigrate and from leaders within Romany communities. Eventually, the research was completed with data received from the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic.[16] Data from the ministry to a certain extent filled in the information deficit from the Romany advisors.

In all, more Roma promised to take part in the interview process than appear in the table. Not all of them were willing, however, to speak with us. The reason for refusing to be interviewed was their fear about the publication of the content of the interviews. Roma did not believe our guarantees and the only sufficient guarantee for them was personal knowledge of or a personal relationship with the interviewer. Those who were willing to be interviewed received us warmly and often invited us into their homes for lunch or played video recordings for us showing their stay abroad (in emigration). In the non-Romany part of the project during the period of investigation a total of 40 clerks and public officials promised to provide information. 19 personal interviews were conducted. 12 officials were willing to provide information only over the telephone. 8 officials strictly refused to be interviewed on the theme of Romany emigration (three of them avoided the interview by requiring the submission of an ensuing application for an official request to superior authorities), one did not come to an arranged meeting. Data about the number of conducted interviews (either in person or over the telephone) can be found in the following table:

Location	Departments of town halls	Labour office	City police	Other
Prague 3	3	1	0	0
Prague 8	2	0	0	0
Usti nad Labem	3	0	1	0
Most	2	1	1	0
Jirkov	1	1	1	1
Litoměřice	1	0	1	1
Semily	2	1	1	1
Ostrava	2	1	1	0
Orlová	0	0	1	0

As is evident from this table we encountered the greatest resistance to interviews on this topic in the Labour Offices.[17]

3.2. Absence of data

During the field research the chosen method of comparing interviews results from members of Romany communities to findings of the local administration proved to be very useful. Basic qualitative differences were found between the information acquired directly from the Romany environment and the picture, which state institutions have about Romany communities.

Regarding these circumstances we can talk about two relatively separated worlds – the Romany community on one side and local administration on the other. These public institutions' insight into a given Romany community is limited for the following reasons:

- 1) The absolute majority of interviewed officials apparently do not collect any data regarding specifically only the Romany population (regarding unemployment rates among Roma, the number of Roma living in a region) because in the execution of their duties they absolutely do not distinguish - as they say - between Roma and non-Roma.[18] All available data provided by interviewed officials regard only the overall population and it is impossible to deduce the specific situation of Roma and the Romany community from this data.

- 2) The explosive atmosphere surrounding the Romany minority and the fear of being accused of being a racist highly diminishes the willingness of officials to comment on this very sensitive subject at all.

Requests for information, interviews and comments about Roma issues were very often delegated to Romany advisors since they are the "responsible officials". [19]

- 3) Roma who are leaving to seek asylum abroad are, in most cases, attempting to conceal their emigration from Czech institutions so that their Czech social benefits would not be decreased and so that they would lose claim to them.[20]

In spite of the fact that communication between the Romany community and people from surrounding public institutions is not very intensive, the existing information deficit is not symmetrical. On one-side officials when approached apparently do not have practically any information about the Romany population at their disposal or they have fairly inaccurate information about the situation in the Romany community. On the other hand employees of social welfare departments and Labour Offices point out that the knowledge of Roma about office procedures and presenting claims for social welfare (and other) payments is exceptionally high and far exceeds that of the level of information possessed by the non-Romany clients of these offices. This asymmetry is one of the important accelerators of the dynamic of migration of Romany families abroad.

The absence of statistical data about the Romany population (with the exception some of the mentioned data of the Ministry of the Interior gathered from Romany advisors) as well as the unwillingness of officers of local government to formulate at least their own knowledge has made practically impossible the attainment of the originally thorough analytic and explicative method based on a combination of quantitative (hard) and qualitative (soft) data. The absence of hard statistical data about the number of Roma living in a given location, the number of unemployed, the housing situation of Romany families, etc... makes impossible the interrelation of subjective experiences of respondents to the solid framework of empirical data and opens considerable room for a-priori, speculative and ideological interpretations on both sides.

4. Main Findings

Considering the very different picture of the situation which is provided by the information gained with the help of public officials and as the result of findings from inside Romany communities we present both perspectives in the entirety of this findings section. First, we present information gathered directly from the Romany environment. We consider this information from the viewpoint of migration movement and intentions of the Romany population as more relevant. Information gathered from public officials provides the social context and factors that influence migration.

4.1. Migration situation in individual locations

4.1.1. Prague 3 and Prague 8

In the districts of Prague 3 and Prague 8 were conducted interviews with Romany advisors and eight Romany families. In the last two years nearly 60 families (approximately 420 people) have emigrated from these areas. Approximately 25 families have returned. Some of these families emigrated two or three times. All of those interviewed have a positive experience with emigration.[21] All of the questioned families have someone living abroad. The reason for their emigration according to their testimonies is the intractable economic situation in the family. All of the adults are long-term unemployed without prospects of finding work in the near future. They do not know how to solve the situation so they opt for emigration. The interviewed families emigrated with the purpose of remaining abroad permanently. Four families returned because they did not succeed to expedite their application for asylum (turned down).[22] Four families returned for family reasons (children wanted to return, a relative fell seriously ill in the Czech Republic, death in the family, etc...).

Estimates by public officials about the number of Roma migrating are markedly lower than the reality. According to one public official a total of approximately three families left from Prague 3 and two of them returned. Apparently they recognised that living abroad had nothing to offer them.

Apparently wealthier Roma emigrated but did not sell their apartments. Allegedly, there was not a large migration in Žižkov (Prague 3) because mainly long-time residents live there and they acclimated to their neighbourhoods. According to this official, it is more common that relatives from Slovakia of those living in Žižkov move into the area.

According to a worker at the housing authority, approximately 30 families have migrated temporarily. Other officials questioned were not able to estimate the number of Roma emigrating. All insist that the atmosphere in the Romany community is calm and that they do not expect any further emigration.

4.1.2. Ústí nad Labem

In Ústí nad Labem interviews were conducted with a Romany advisor, with one of the local Romany leaders and with four families. The approximate number of emigrants in the last two years is 20 families (approximately 120 people). About half of them returned. Half of those who returned did so because they had to (they did not receive asylum). Their reasons for emigration were the same as in Prague.

Apparently all of the Roma from Matiční Street[23] wanted to emigrate. Those who returned have positive experiences from emigration and want to emigrate again.

All officials that we engaged from the municipal authorities of Ústí nad Labem refused to make any kind of comment about the current situation of Roma in the city because of the international outrage caused by the construction of the wall on Matiční Street. Surprisingly a better situation exists directly in the boroughs of Ústí nad Labem (we visited the local town halls in the boroughs of Neštětice, Město and Střekov).

According to information provided by the local town hall, one Romany family immigrated from Neštětice to Great Britain and later returned. Furthermore, the lower strata of the Romany community has the tendencies to migrate. The officials questioned did not know the reasons for their emigration because the Roma did not tell them. They do not expect any further emigration.

In Střekov local authorities do not know of a single case of an individual or family that emigrated or wants to emigrate. Nevertheless, according to them, considering the impulsive decision making process of some Romany families[24], it is not possible to predict the situation.

According to officials of the borough of Město, approximately four families left and two returned. This applied to the lower strata of Roma who earned money for the trip by selling their council flats. According to a police officer with the city police, the greatest number of Roma left in 1995 and 1996 primarily to Canada. Allegedly the financially secure elite left and received political asylum in Canada.

4.1.3. Most

In Most one member of the local Romany leadership was questioned and interviews were conducted with four families. During the interviews with the families the interviewers were very warmly received and shown photographs and video recordings of the families experiences abroad. The local Romany advisor was not willing to provide any information. There is a relatively strong extremist skinhead movement in Most. According to information provided by local Roma the bad economic situation and racist attacks force them to emigrate. The majority of those who emigrated were allegedly targets of racist attacks. In the last two years nearly 20 families have emigrated from Most. Approximately half of them returned as unsuccessful asylum seekers. These families try again to emigrate and regret that they had to return.

According to information provided by an employee of the housing authority, emigration in Most did not begin until February of this year. Before that time no one had left. Therefore, according to this official, the office has practically no experience with this situation and is not able to give any information about the number of families that have left.

According to the social welfare department, approximate 10 families emigrated from the ethnically homogeneous Romany housing development of Chanov. According to the number of students missing from class, approximately 12 families have left from Chanov. Those who emigrated are primarily from the middle class. At the current time 1500 to 2000 Roma live in Chanov.

An employee of the Labour Office was not able to estimate the number of emigrants, however that same employee estimated the number of Roma living in the district of Most at about 10,000.

According to an officer of the City Police only the lowest strata of Roma emigrate. Business people and the self-employed remain in the Czech Republic. According to data of the City Police, only approximately five or six families (one family constitutes approximately six to seven people) emigrated from the housing development of Chanov. Two families returned.

According to the opinions of all questioned officials the Romany community in Most is calm and they do not expect and further emigration.[25]

4.1.4. Litoměřice

In Litoměřice an interview was conducted with a local Romany leader and with four families. The families returned from emigration as unsuccessful applicants for asylum. When they save enough money for airline tickets they will emigrate again because they have positive experiences from emigration. They want to emigrate permanently. For several years now they have no work and three generations live in one flat. In the last two years approximately 15 families (approximately 100 people) have emigrated and about half returned.

Not long ago employees of the Town Hall in Litoměřice tried to get information about the number of Roma living in Litoměřice. According to officials, this attempt failed, besides other reasons, because Roma are constantly in motion and migrate around the entire Czech Republic (they stay for varying periods of time with relative in various parts of the Czech Republic). It is estimated that the number of Roma living in Litoměřice is between 300 – 400 persons.

In the last two years approximately 35 people emigrated from Litoměřice and approximately 10 people (e.g. two families) returned according to public administration. While defining the profile of emigrants it is apparently necessary to differentiate between educated Roma and the economic elite. Mainly wealthy Roma emigrated and some these Roma got rich through illegal means and through emigration attempted to avoid criminal prosecution. An educated elite in Litoměřice apparently does not exist. The change in the asylum situation in the target countries was the motivation to return from abroad.

A City police officer stated that approximately five years it was decided to discontinue the distinguishing of nationalities of the perpetrators of misdemeanours and felonies and that now, he had nothing more to say on the matter.

4.1.5. Jirkov[26]

In Jirkov interviews took place with three families as well as with a local Romany leader. The families were very open and willing to answer questions. One family returned as unsuccessful applicants for asylum and two returned because of family reasons. In the last two years approximately 15 families (approximately 80 people) emigrated from Jirkov. About half of them returned. All of them have positive experiences from emigration and want to attempt to emigrate again.

In 1992 approximate 1400 Roma were registered as permanent residents of Jirkov. In anticipation of the division of the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia approximately between 1500 – 1700 Roma from Slovakia arrived in Jirkov. Today nationality is no longer recorded in residency records.

Nevertheless, the City Town Hall in Jirkov estimates the number of Roma living in Jirkov to be between 1500 –1600 persons with permanent residence and another 400 – 500 people as long-term visitors and migrating families (the total population of Jirkov is approximately 20,000).

As far as emigration is concerned the first reported case was that of one family in 1999. It concerned a family which did not pay rent for a long period of time and was moved to housing for those who do not pay rent. This family returned to Jirkov not long ago. At this time employees of the local Town Hall have no indications about any desire of Roma to emigrate.

The City Police can only estimate the number of emigrants from the number of people on the suggestion of the District Court or Financial Office that they can not locate. In 1999 it was not possible to locate 20 people. According to the opinion of an employee of the police the lower class of Roma emigrated and at the current time there is no inclination in the Romany community towards emigration.

4.1.6. Semily

In Semily were visited three families and a local Romany leader. In the last two years approximately 10 families (approximately 150 people) have emigrated. About half returned. The majority returned as unsuccessful applicants for asylum. The families wanted to share their experiences from abroad. All had positive experiences with emigration and wanted to attempt to emigrate again.

According to the estimate of employees of the social welfare department and one of the leading representatives of the town the Romany population in Semily is estimated at several hundred. The majority of these Roma are long-term residence of Semily and these sources do not know of anyone who would want to leave. They do not expect any further emigration in the future.

A City Police officer has similar experiences to which he added that after 1993 approximately three to four families arrived in Semily from Slovakia.

4.1.7. Ostrava

In Ostrava interviews were conducted with a local Romany leader and with four families. In the last two years approximately 20 families emigrated from Ostrava. About half returned. Those questioned, however, have positive experiences and recommend emigration. They themselves will attempt to emigrate again. The reason for their returns was that they were not successful to gain asylum.

An employee of the social welfare department of the town district Moravská Ostrava – Přivoz, even though from the title of her function has a greater overview of people collecting social welfare payments, assesses that the lower class of Roma and long-term residents are emigrating. In 1999 about 10 families emigrated. From the beginning of 2000 until the end of April about 15 families have already emigrated. Emigration is not discovered until someone gets angry with someone else and informs employees of the social welfare department. The majority of emigrants (with the exception of two families) returned to Ostrava even though emigration is still an attractive alternative to Roma.

4.1.8. Orlová

There is a similar situation in Orlová as is in Most. According to testimonies of local Roma, attacks by skinheads and unemployment force them to emigrate. In the last two years about 15 families have emigrated and half have returned. In Orlová four families were visited as well as one local Romany leader. Two families returned because they did not receive asylum. One family returned because of their children and the last because of the funeral of a close relative.

An atmosphere of apprehension among public officials, manifests in refusals to do interviews, was the strongest in Orlová of all the researched locations. Only one member of the City Police was willing

to speak about the situation. He stated that he knew about one family that emigrated and prepared for their emigration long before hand. According to this officer of the police, the atmosphere in the town is tense. There are clashes not only between Roma and non-Roma but also among Roma themselves and, furthermore, it is likely that emigration will continue.

5. Identification of determining motives and instigating mechanisms of emigration behaviour

According to Romany respondents in this project, their motives for emigration are as follows (in decreasing order of importance – of course the pattern of causes has strong individual variations especially if considering sequences and accents on individual reasons):

1. There is no work and high unemployment among Roma
2. Lack of housing
3. Roma do not feel safe in the Czech Republic (racially motivated attacks)
4. Everything is expensive (rising cost of living in the Czech Republic)

According to Roma, during the decision process of whether or not to emigrate the following two motivating factors play a decisive role:

- a) The need to financially secure and protect the family (pro-migration factor);
- b) The family should live together – cohesion of the family, extended family, mainly in cases of death, misfortune, etc... (the main reason for voluntary return to the Czech Republic even when relatives follow the family abroad).

The motivation of Roma towards emigration abroad is an area in which the view point of Roma and public officials deviate the most markedly:

From the perspective of non-Romany officials the main stimuli for emigration are unequivocally economic motives. Even some Romany officials espouse this explanation. All officials questioned perceive migratory behaviour as not only economically motivated but also as economically rational. Officials point out the economic advantages of this type of behaviour – if emigrating Roma are successful to conceal their emigration and stay abroad from local offices, emigrants continue to accrue domestic social welfare payments (comprising mainly unemployment payments, child welfare payments and housing payments totalling approximately 15 – 20 thousand CZK (approximately 400 - 500 Euro) net per month per family with four children).[27] Furthermore, they receive financial payments and support in the target country of migration.

Their decision to leave the Czech Republic according to the opinions of officials, however, is not purely a rational calculation. According to them, Roma are very impulsive and traditionally tend towards migration. Instigating impulses towards migration can often be at first glance negligible motives (e.g. news about inter-ethnic conflict in other parts of the Czech Republic). Migratory behaviour is, therefore, influenced not only by conditions in a given local community, but also by the over-all situation in the Czech Republic and ad hoc events. The paradox of this entire development is, of course, that migratory behaviour has the tendency to increase exactly in the time when the ethnic climate in the Czech Republic, minimally on the level of central politics, markedly changed for the better and when even the Romany elite have begun to actively take part in the effort to formulate and raise the problem of integration and the standing of their own minority to the state and the Czech public.

5.1. Unemployment

According to officials, Roma are not motivated to secure permanent legal employment. The number of jobs available is apparently also sufficient for Roma.[28] They add that considering the high minimum financial requirements of their families and consequently high social welfare payments, it is not worthwhile to take unqualified and low paying jobs when the wages do not exceed the high welfare payments. As the case may be, it is not worthwhile to work officially with a cancellation of unemployment benefits.[29] One of the social workers questioned quantified the point from which it is worthwhile

for Roma to work as when minimally their wages exceed two-times the minimum wage. There is, however, an insufficiency of work that pays on this level and what is more in a situation where the

majority of Roma have a very low level of qualifications. Romany applicants can not, for reasons of qualification, “do” this type of work.[30]

This, however, does not mean that Roma do not work at all. According to officials, the majority of Roma – if they work at all – work illegally so that their social welfare payments would not be reduced. Allegedly, officials encounter Roma registered as unemployed doing manual labour.

Furthermore, in some Romany communities there is a significant increase in people making a living from entirely illegal activities (prostitution, drugs, etc...).[31]

If officials offer Roma work, the majority allegedly look for reasons to turn it down.[32]

According to one employee of the Labour Office Roma can be employed where there is no required precision, punctuality, etc.... In several researched locations there were efforts to employ Roma, for example in public services (street sweeping, landscaping etc ...) or the City Police. A bad experience of employers with the working moral of Romany employees, however, has caused a situation where the majority of employers today refuse to hire Roma.

“Also the argument of those who would point out the disinterest of Roma about work as the main cause for high unemployment among Roma has its opposite pole.

Concerning the attitudes of the majority population: some spokesmen of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, just like employees of the Labour Offices, verbally confirm information of individual Roma that discrimination in the area of employment is a frequent phenomenon (for example the official list of job vacancies frequently has anti-Romany remarks, i.e. noted that a certain employers does not want Roma.” (Report about the Situation of the Romany Minority in the Czech Republic 1997: 7.4.) From the experiences of towns like Český Krumlov and others, however, it is possible to assume that a successful solution to this problem is possible, but requires quite a qualified, strong willed and most of all, long-term approach which far from every local administration or other public institutions are capable.

Romany employers certainly exist. The Labour Office, however, has no information about their numbers because they do not differentiate according to nationality.[33] They speculate, however, that in these tough economic times that in the majority of the researched locations that, if there are any Romany employers, they are having problems with sales of their products and services.

In the discussion about motives of Roma toward emigration, it is necessary to take into consideration the reality that even though the researched locations belong to regions with the highest levels of unemployment in the Czech Republic, we did not find any significant differences in the disposition of Roma towards emigration between locations with the highest unemployment rates (Ostrava, Orlová, Most, Jirkov) and the lowest unemployment rates (Prague).

5.2. Living and Housing Condition

It is an indisputable reality that there is an on-going general insufficiency of flats and specifically inexpensive flats or, as the case may be, socially oriented flat construction in the Czech Republic. It is equally apparent that Romany families usually live in very cramped conditions and in markedly run-down flats. According to information provided by questioned officials in the researched towns about the housing situation of Roma, all of them, however, have a place to live. Problems occur particular at the moment when several relatives, for example from Slovakia or a different part of the Czech Republic, move in with the existing family and the flat quickly becomes run-down and damaged.[34]

The packing of communal flats is very widespread and, according to respondents, improper.

According to experiences of employees of the housing authority in districts of Prague, nearly 2/3 of Romany families that received municipal housing in a short time sold them and applied for new apartments. Very often – according to questioned officials – they illegally rent municipal flats to other individuals as a source of income.

5.3. Safety Conditions, Violent forms of racism and Racial Discrimination

From 1993 there was a rapid and evident deterioration in the safety situation of Roma in the Czech Republic particularly in consequence of violent racially motivated attacks of extremist groups of skinheads. The results of these attacks was not only a whole myriad of interethnic conflicts, but also serious injury, recorded organised attacks with deadly consequences, arson attacks and assaults on school children. The increase in violent forms of racism manifested itself even in attacks on foreigners. An accompanying phenomenon was a rise in discriminatory and segregationist practices in restaurants, stores and public places. Despite evidence of this dangerous trend which was pointed out by not only local and international non-governmental organisations but also international organisations and several states,[35] the Czech government, legislature and judiciary did not react with adequate means of repression and elevated security protection of the afflicted and those at risk. Thanks to the lax and sometimes obstructive approach of the police and judiciary toward violent as well as non-violent forms of racism, not only did racism expand in extremist movements but also in isolated Romany communities a climate of non-punishment prevailed regarding what may have been the difficult or impossible attainment of rights and guarantees of equal protection of citizens without regard for the colour of their skin.

A sharp contrast between deteriorating security of Roma and the exalted rhetoric of the government and leading politicians of the country substantially contributed to the atmosphere of hypocrisy and indifference towards violations of basic human rights of minorities in violent and non-violent manifestations. This climate unfavourably influenced not only the actions of the police and government offices but deepened ethnic tensions in Czech society and the alienation of individual Roma. The long-term passivity of the Czech government and local government offices, the laxity and procrastination of judicial organs, greatly contributed to feelings of iniquity, threat and leniency of the state towards extremism among the Romany minority. All of this enabled the presence of an extreme right party in parliament that, until the elections in 1998 when it did not receive the required parliamentary representation, defined itself with anti-Romany and racist public rhetoric. In the end of the 1990s the security situation of Roma began to improve particularly as a result of a more vigorous approach of police and the judiciary towards skinheads. It is, however, indisputable that the accumulation of the preceding unfavourable developments induced the justifiable feeling of insufficient security and violent endangerment precisely and primarily to Roma. This was true in practically all areas of the Czech Republic.

Even though racist extremists and their sympathisers are a minority in Czech society (estimated at about 13 – 15% of the population) the over all distrust of Czech society in the ability of the Romany minority to overcome the historic educational and society handicaps, to respect and apply accepted norms neighbourly coexistence and rights is an important accompanying phenomenon in the status of Roma. The majority of Czech society condemn racial and ethnic violence in any way and is not satisfied with the position and social degradation of Roma, it prefers the elimination of mutual contact and mutual ethnic segregation, or do not believe in the possibility of the meaningful civil integration of Roma who they fell to be a threat to the stability and security of their own neighbourhoods, regions and even Czech society. As a result of evident over-representation of Roma among perpetrators of minor and major criminal acts the feeling mutual threat for personal safety exists on both sides. The foundation of ethnic relations between Roma and the majority population in the otherwise dominantly ethnically homogeneous Czech society is fear, suspicion and distrust.[36] An important driving motive for emigration therefore is not only better security, more open and indifference to the uncontaminated access to officials in the target countries, but in particular the greater ethnic diversity and openness of Western societies, the lower level of xenophobia and positive ethnic climate where the level of a-priori prejudice towards people with different colour skin is basically lower. The above average xenophobic, ethnically and culturally homogeneous Czech society of today decidedly does not have these qualities.[37]

This feeling of mutual threat on both sides reproduces the stagnated situation of education of Romany children. The majority of Romany children (according to estimates as many as 80%) do not complete elementary level education and do not receive any specialised qualifications. Furthermore, no small percentage of them is transferred to special remedial schools for children with learning

disabilities.[38] Programs designed overcome the difficulties of Romany children through the presence of so called Romany assistants in the classroom were successfully applied and financed in a few elementary school with the help of non-governmental organisations in the Czech Republic and other countries from the first half of the 1990s.[39] The Czech government did not begin to push this practice into the main stream of Czech elementary education until relatively recently. The justifiable feeling of low chances of their children receiving an education increases the attractiveness for Romany parents of countries where this type of discrimination does not exist. Similarly the high number of young Romany boys and girls who do not have qualifications and can not find opportunities in the job market increases the likelihood of their falling into illegal and criminal activities.[40] The difference in education opportunities and chances for Romany children is a perceptibly significant motor that on one hand weakens ties to Czech society and on the other increases interest in permanent settlement in some countries.

From the point of view of our direct knowledge of the situation in chosen locations it is possible to state the following about the current situation: officials perceive the safety situation of Roma as worse in Most and Orlová where they identify greater activity of skinheads and a higher occurrences of interethnic conflicts. According to the majority of interviewed officials, however, Roma began to widely cite racism even outside the context of ethnic conflicts and racist or discriminatory expressions.[41] Officials generally believe statements of Roma about racist attacks to be exaggerated.

Due to the fact that in police records they no longer differentiate between nationalities of perpetrators of misdemeanours and felonies in the majority of the locations, it is difficult to get at a more exact and especially a realistic picture of the situation regarding inter-ethnic clashes. Only the City Police in Ústí nad Labem and Semily were able and willing to provide more precise data. In 1999, 12 racially motivated crimes (concretely assaults, fights and raucous arguments) took place in the town of Ústí nad Labem. In these 12 cases six times Roma were assaulted and six time Roma assaulted non-Roma.

According to records of the City Police organised groups of skinheads do not exist in Ústí nad Labem.

The City Police in Semily reported one incident (a fight in a pub between Roman and non-Roma) in 1999. The incident was resolved without criminal proceedings.

In Most the City Police began to co-operate with the Romany Self-governing Initiative Dživas that monitors the safety situation in the housing development of Chanov and potentially in all of Most. The safety situation in Orlová is reportedly tense. Roma request that the City Police would protect them but even after strengthening of the force, however it does not have the capacity.

In spite of the fact that statistics about the nationality of perpetrators of misdemeanours and felonies are no longer recorded, crime committed by Roma is perceived as a serious problem in all of the researched locations.[42] Furthermore, very often allegedly there are conflicts among Roma themselves.

From this over all perspective, as far as motives of security are concerned, it is necessary to take into consideration not only occurrences or the number of reported physical racial attacks, but also the over all ethnic climate in Czech society. This climate is demonstrably tense and full of tensions and feelings of mutually threatened security. The representation of extremist groups and violent forms of racism is – in number of actors – marginal. Militantism and violence and the often tragic results of their manifestation has marked significance just like the scandal surrounding the construction of the wall on Matiční Street in Ústí nad Labem, discriminatory bans on entrance to restaurants, local and neighbouring conditions, unsatisfactory conditions in schools and education opportunities for children. The existing deep alienation of both communities, the existence of a-priori xenophobia, insufficiency of mutual information about the actual condition of things all are real manifestations of tense and alienating ethnic conditions in which a minority justifiably can feel threatened and discriminated against.

6. Character of Anticipated Migration - Types of Emigration

The process of increasing Romany migration to countries of Western and Northern Europe was roughly in its third year when our field research took place. In the course of these years, however, this migration, according to our knowledge, went through certain changes in form. Emigrating families now do not sell their flats and possessions and do not close off avenues for return. To the contrary, they leave in the most discrete way possible and leave the base of the economic and social lives intact in the Czech Republic in the event of a planned or unplanned return. The discretion of their departure enables them to continue to receive social welfare payments in the Czech Republic. Due to the high level of information available about conditions in individual target countries, emigrants not only have a clear idea of where they want to go but also what to expect, do what kind of social conditions they are going into and what kind of chances they have. Some already have relatives in some of the target countries which is very important precondition for migration and positive motivation.

This perceptible shift in migratory behaviour leads to several conclusions:

- (i) As a result of changes in asylum proceedings in Western European countries considerably sobered the views and attitudes of emigrating Roma not only with regard to maintaining a social welfare base in the Czech Republic but also in regard to what they expect their chances are as far as target countries are concerned. It does not matter that in the target countries they will not receive money (just checks or in-kind support). They say that it is always possible to find work there.
- (ii) In cases of strong and lasting interest in emigration the phenomenon of repeated emigration occurs in which, as the case may be, attempts are made every year to receive asylum or permanent residence in several Western European countries. Through this process emigrants perfect their ability and knowledge of not only how to pass through relevant administrative procedures (especially argumentation for asylum) but also how to receive social benefits provided by the host country and lastly, language and cultural preparations within the family.[43]
- (iii) According to available information, for some groups of Roma the tourist aspect of travelling and seeing other countries is becoming more important. In this way they brighten their usually complicated social situation.[44]
- (iv) The increase in migratory behaviour and a pro-migration climate is associated with effective sharing of all relevant information and accumulated experiences within Romany communities.

Over all it is perceptible that at the current time migratory behaviour gives rise to not easily overlooked traits of active, determined social-market behaviour with a growing rationale with which Romany families react to their social and ethnic marginalisation in the Czech Republic and concrete living conditions particularly in industrialised regions of the Czech Republic. Rejection of requests for asylum or return for subjective reasons are not openly perceived as failures but as positive experiences and impetus for further attempts.

In accordance with how the character of migration is changing, the structure of the most prospective target countries is also undergoing change. This is partly in relation to changes in asylum procedures in hither to what were target countries and has partly to do with new experiences and information about other target countries.

The previously most perceptibly prospective target countries (Canada, Great Britain) have become less attractive as a result of an increase in the strictness of asylum regulations. According to information from the Romany community the most prospective target countries during the course of the field research were roughly the following:

1. Belgium
2. Great Britain
3. Holland
4. Canada
5. France
6. New Zealand

Many Roma at the current time are considering immigrating to New Zealand. However, the distance and cost of airline tickets is a disadvantage for them.

According to officials the information about asylum procedures in target countries play the main role in the decision making process regarding target countries. According to information from Ostrava exist organisations to assist in emigration abroad. These organisations provide loans for the trip and last but not least they provide the most up-to-date information about procedures in the target countries.

Roma allegedly knew about future changes in asylum procedures in Great Britain with advanced notice. Among Ostrava Roma the most prospective target countries were Great Britain and Finland.

7. Possibility of Information Intervention

7.1. Identification of Areas for Appropriate Information Intervention

From collected data we were able to confirm that there are no significant differences between individual researched regions in the Czech Republic. It is, first of all, apparently given that there is intensive migration of Roma even within the Czech Republic as well as the wide flourishing of Romany families across the entire Republic. At the same time it is possible to voice a hypothesis about the origin of the proportionately uniform pro-migration climate whose manifestation into concrete steps can be initiated by a variety of personal and more general motives. It is also possible to assume that shared positive and negative motives act on migration tendencies. These motives do not originate in only local, regional or communal conditions in the areas of employment or safety. According to the opinions of experts interviewed in the initial stages of this research, Roma are apparently least inclined to emigrate from Southern and Eastern Bohemia (these regions were not researched in this report). This is evidently the case of regions with long standing and stable (if smaller) Romany communities.

If we consider possible areas, goals and purposes of information intervention it is possible to define the following:

1. A group of Romany advisors who operate within the Romany communities and in institutions of public administration and are to a certain extent exposed to isolation "between" both partners in communication and co-operation and including intentional taking the entire problem of Roma and their coexistence with surrounding communities on their own shoulders. Argumentation information and persuasion "tools" of Romany advisors in today's situation cannot hurt developments but rather help them.
2. It is possible to describe as alarming the discrepancies between information "from inside" Romany communities and information of officials of public administration. This is analogous to their overwhelming unwillingness to engage the problems, to learn about concrete conditions within the Romany community in areas of their jurisdiction and succeed to determinedly uphold established norms concerning warranted social support for Romany families, school attendance of children, the systematic creation of conditions for employment, etc.... In the current situation it is not possible to discount the fact that the extent of "ignorance" and insufficient information on the part of officials of public administration is an expression of scepticism and mistrust regarding the resolvability of the cumulative problem.
3. It is possible to observe an insufficiency of expert information about the actual state of affairs at the level of the central government where the main source of information about the extent of emigration of Roma comes from immigration offices in the target countries rather than their own knowledge about the actual state of affairs. Anxiety and concerns about imposed visa requirements and the subsequent reaction of the media and public is evident from the actions of the Central Office of Government of the Czech Republic rather than a determined attempt to learn about and solve problems and widen the discussion about their extent and causes.

4. A specific area is an information deficit about possibilities to acquire and process information about the situation of the Romany minority, its employment, problems in education, right to social support, etc.... If it will not be possible to solve this delicate problem in the Czech Republic and employ a method through which it will be possible to create a reliable information base about the situation of Roma in individual regions and districts the Czech executive branch will make decisions only on the basis of conjecture and speculation and in the high risk of making mistakes will opt for inaction, passivity and "blindness".

5. Concerning the Roma's own information strategy within Romany communities, it is not possible to discount the fact that available up-to-date information about asylum conditions in individual countries acts to increase migration rather than lessen its likelihood.

7.2. Identification of Possible Avenues of Communication

According to information gathered directly from Romany communities positive experiences with emigration are widely spread across the Romany community. Practically every member of these communities has some relative who has attempted to emigrate or received political asylum abroad. The Czech Republic compared to the target countries simply does not have so much to offer, especially in terms of generally increasing unemployment, non-punishment of racially motivated attacks and lower economic output. After positive experiences abroad it is very difficult to convince Roma not to leave. Of course, they will continue to return as unsuccessful applicants for asylum and for family reasons (i.e. the funeral of a close relative or serious illness).

Romany advisors are powerless in this situation. They themselves would welcome information about what the situation is like in the target countries. Some would like to discourage emigration but they do not have arguments against it. What is more, they do not understand terms like asylum, emigrant, migrate, emigrate, status, etc.... One of the interviewed advisors would like to emigrate. It is apparent that Roma don't need the customary official media because they have their own channels of communication that function differently (and inordinately faster and better) than the official media.

There is, however, a rare area of agreement between the opinions of Roma and officials regarding the question about the most advantageous communication channels for a relevant information campaign directed at the Romany community. The most meaningful connection between the Romany world and surrounding communities are still the Romany advisors at the District Offices. It is exactly Romany advisors who are regarded as the best starting point for any relevant information campaign.

Engaged Romany advisors know "their" Roma very well and their local leaders. It has already been indicated that the Romany community is not at all unified and homogeneous in any of the locations visited. It is logical here that to find one universal authority or leader for the entire local community is very difficult if not impossible and that it is of the up-most importance to approach leaders in every location from each individual group (clan, family, etc...).

For the rest of the groups is important to look for specific formats according to their position in the entire process (schooling, analysis, training in social work within Romany communities, etc...). In general it is possible to say that the goal of the communication process should be to educate and inform about the actual state and possibilities for a solution. In any case it is, however, necessary to look for a way to overcome the current state of "close-mindedness" of the problem on competent desks of central officials.

8. Conclusions

1. A pro-migration climate exists in Romany communities surveyed in this study and it is possible to assume that a considerable number of Romany families will attempt to emigrate this year. At the time when this research was conducted this wave of emigration had already started. According to data from the Romany community, it is very likely that there will be an increase in the number of applicants for asylum, mainly from the areas of Ostrava, Kladno and Prague.
2. The majority of Public Administration Offices do not have a realistic conception about this problem and this is primarily the result of a general insufficiency of information about the situation and internal circumstances and living conditions of Roma.
3. Roma are concealing their stays abroad from the local administrations very successfully. Meanwhile officials consider the situation to be stabilised and do not expect further migration. On the other side Roma are in very pro-migration mood in all of the researched locations.
4. The profile and behaviour of migrating Romany families is pronouncedly changing. A high proportion of the profile apparently has repeated migration, but now, however, the migrating families keep their social security (social welfare payments) and housing in the Czech Republic. No matter how much the migrating families try to leave the country permanently, in reality they count on the possibility of voluntary or forced return that they do not consider to be failure. The deciding factor seems to be the positive experience from their stay abroad, in ethnically diverse and more open societies and contact with institutions with decent behaviour. With the increasing number of attempts the experience with migration is also perceptively increasing and migration has the character of socially rational behaviour, in the given circumstances it is not possible to expect a significant slowing as a result of transition from financial to in-kind support for asylum seekers.
5. From available information it is not possible to simply state that only Roma elite or only Roma lower class would emigrate. Rather the more active, the more informed and more experienced Roma are emigrating and also those who have relative in a given country or abroad. Migration is viewed as perceptibly increasing social mobility and the right decision in view of the difficult conditions in the Czech Republic and stricter conditions in the target countries.
6. Experiences gained and knowledge about conditions and circumstances in individual countries are quickly communicated and shared in Romany communities. Therefore, it is not possible to expect much of an effect from directed information activities.
7. Emigration, its difficulties and accompanying social and cultural demands apparently do not represent such a traumatic burden for Romany families as for others. Roma are apparently predisposed by historical traditions of migration and adapt to the place where they live.
8. The inclination to migration is apparently lower in those families and communities which are in their district or region more deeply settled economically and socially and are doing better, for example Vlach Roma who are among the richest group of Roma and have strong regional and local ties.

9. Enclosures

9.1. Personal experience with emigration (according to the testimony of Mr. B. from Ústí nad Labem)

Mr. B. departed to London in May 1999 with his wife, three children and six grandchildren. Mr. B.'s brother already lives in London. He is doing very well. The reason why Mr. B. left was apparently a conflict with his Czech neighbour. Her son is member of a skinhead movement and was constantly harassing them. Apparently he once assaulted the daughter of Mr. B. directly in the flat of Mr. B. A week afterwards the family left. Mr. B.'s brother from Plzeň joined them. Altogether 30 people emigrated with them. The trip abroad went without problems. Everywhere they were very kind to them. "Officials in England are worth a million. You can't even compare them with here. Here they scream at us if they just see us. There they are all very nice." They have a very good experience with the population there. They lived in a black neighbourhood. "Blacks are our brothers. We really miss them. We have very good friends there." "If you don't have a place to go there and you don't speak the language it is bad. But if you have someone there it is fabulous." Their neighbour helped them settle in and gave them a bed and cabinet. Later they bought their own. They were very well off financially. Everyone worked as it were "on the black". The officials knew about it but it did not bother them. They were doing quite well there. The young ones went to school and learned English. They had a residency permit until March 2001. They went to court where they decided their status. The first to return to the Czech Republic was Mr. B.'s daughter in March of this year with her children. The children cried constantly and wanted to return home to the Czech Republic. The next day more of Mr. B.'s children returned to the Czech Republic and eventually Mr. B. returned as well with his wife. They all regret returning and other Roma think it odd. They left all of the furnishings that they bought in Great Britain during their stay to some Roma from Chanov that just arrived. "Everyone helps out there."

When they returned to the Czech Republic at first they didn't have a place to live. The town apparently took their flat away. They live with various relatives. They saved some money and now they are gradually building a new home. "We saw something, we tried something." Mrs. B. is over 50 years old and she saw the sea for the first time during this stay in Great Britain. "I would like to see it one more time before I die." They are considering a vacation at his brother's place. It is pulling them back. Mrs. B. says, "An idiom says, 'everywhere good, at home the best,' In the Czech Republic that is no longer true."

9.2. Researched Data (Framework of semi-standardised interviews)

- 1) Unemployment rate in a given location
- 2) Allocation of flats and housing conditions in given location
- 3) Existence of Romany employers
- 4) Size of Romany population in given area
- 5) Crime and inter-ethnic tension
- 6) Which areas in the Czech Republic are the most likely sources of further potential waves of migration? Do migrating Roma in the target country want to state indefinitely or temporarily? Are there cases where Roma chose transitory stays abroad repeatedly? If so, how often?
- 7) Approximately how many Roma emigrated from a given location and how many of them returned?
- 8) What is interaction like between returnees and the rest of the Romany community? What kinds of experiences do returnees bring with them – positive or negative?
- 9) To what extent do Roma in a given location listen to their (Romany) leaders and respect their authority? Who would be the best medium for communication with Roma in the event of information intervention?
- 10) Do educated and better off Roma opt for migration (e.g. because of limited avenues of mobility in the Czech Republic) or is migration increasing because of Roma in a worse position?
- 11) What do Roma expect from their emigration? What conception do they have about conditions in the target country? What is the extent of their knowledge of immigration procedures?

- 12) How often are there conflicts in a given area between the Romany and non-Romany populations and what is the nature of these conflicts? What is the cause of these conflicts between the Romany and non-Romany populations?
- 13) To what extent do Roma in given areas feel threatened by the majority population?
- 14) What is communication like between a Romany community and a relevant municipality? What are specific policies of individual municipalities towards the Romany population?

9.3. Sources

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Zpráva o stavu lidských práv v ČR za rok 1998. Český helsinský výbor, Praha 1998.

9.4. Institutions

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

Na Poříčím právu 1, 128 01 Prague 2

Telephone: 21 92 11 11

Fax: 21 92 26 64

<http://www.mpsv.cz>

Ministry of the Interior

Nad Štolou 3, 170 00, Prague 7

Telephone: 61 42 11 15

Fax: 37 82 16

<http://www.mvcr.cz>

Inter-governmental Commission for Affairs of the Romany Community

Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, Nábřeží Edvarda Beneše 4

118 01, Prague 1 – Malá Strana

Telephone: (4202) 24 002 462

Fax: (4202) 24 002 650

Council for Nationalities of the Government of the Czech Republic

Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, Vladislavova 4

110 00, Prague 1

Telephone: (4202) 96 153 355

Fax: (4202) 96 153 358

Nová škola o.p.s

Veletržní 24, 170 00 Prague 7

Telephone: (4202) 2039 7209

Fax: (4202) 2039 7281

nova.skola@ecn.cz

Committee of Regional Romany Representatives
K řece 1002 – II
337 01 Rokycany

Jirkov Town Hall
Náměstí Dr. E. Beneše 1
431 11 JIRKOV

Litoměřice Town Hall
Mírové náměstí 15/7
412 01 LITOMĚŘICE

Most Town Hall
Tř. Budovatelů 1
434 69 MOST

Town of Orlová
Osvobození 796
735 14 Orlová-Lutyně

Municipal Office of Ostrava
Prokešovo náměstí no. 8
729 30 Ostrava

Town Hall Prague 3
130 00 Prague 3, Havlíčkovo nám. 9

Town Hall Prague 8
180 48 Prague 8, Zenklova 1/35

Town Hall Semily
513 13 Semily

Municipal Office Ústí nad Labem
Velká hradební 2336/8
401 23 Ústí nad Labem

Labour Offices:

Jirkov
Studentská 1242
Jirkov 431 11

Litoměřice
Michalská 12
Litoměřice 412 01

Most
Budovatelů 1995-A
Most 434 01

Orlová
Osvobození 829

Orlová-Lutyně 753 11

Ostrava
Sokolovská 28
Ostrava 701 60

Prague 3
Roháčova 13
Prague 3 130 00

Prague 8
Stejskalova 7
Prague 8 180 00

Semily
Bořovská 572
Semily 513 01

Ústí nad Labem
Dvořákova 18
Ústí nad Labem 400 21

9.5. Extent of Unemployment in Regions[45] Incorporating Researched Locations

(Situation to 30.4.2000)

(Source: Kompletní statistické informace ze Správy služeb zaměstnanosti).

Researched location	Region of researched location	Unemployment rate in given region in % of work-able population	Position of region according to the unemployment rate in terms of the entire Czech Republic
Most	Most	20,7	1
Orlová	Karviná	18,4	2
Jirkov	Chomutov	16,9	3
Ostrava-město	Ostrava-město	16,4	5
Ústí nad Labem	Ústí nad Labem	14,3	6
Litoměřice	Litoměřice	13,7	8
Semily	Semily	6,5	56
Prague	Prague	3,6	71
	Entire Czech Republic	9,0	

9.6 Regional Unemployment

(Source MPSV CR 2000)

Regions with the highest unemployment rates up to 31.12.1999

No. District	Number of job seekers			Unemployment rate (in %)		
	31.12.1997	31.12.1998	31.12.1999	31.12.1997	31.12.1998	31.12.1999
1 Most	7 004	8 942	11 499	12,4	15,6	20,0
2 Karviná	13 724	18 656	24 102	10,4	13,8	18,2
3 Chomutov	6 928	9 425	11 050	12,1	14,8	17,9
5 Ostrava	12 094	18 909	25 523	7,5	12,0	15,9

The main factors influencing unemployment are the continuing attenuation of the main sectors, marketing and sales problems, increasing competitiveness and from this higher productivity in work with smaller workforces, disadvantageous transportation services from several regions and disadvantageous qualification structure of candidates for employment.

The Basis Characteristics of the Labour Market in Regions with the Highest Unemployment Rates (Note: unemployment rates of micro-regions are recorded up until 31.12.1999)

Most

Unemployment rates in the district of Most are the highest in the Czech Republic since October 1995 and from that time have been continually rising.

The most important sector from the point of view of unemployment is the coal industry which is represented by Mostecká uhelná společnost, a.s. (approximately 7,750 employees) and the chemical industry which is represented by the second largest employer in the district a.s. Chemopetrol (approximately 3,500 employees). The above mentioned corporations reduced the number of employees in 1999 by several hundred and more redundancies are expected this year. These companies will have a deciding influence on the development of unemployment in the district in the future.

The condition for economic development in the region is the necessity to maximally provide support

for the development of small and mid-sized businesses and to ensure industrial diversity which would not allow for a repeat of the current condition caused primarily by a one-sided orientation on coal and chemical industries.

In the micro-region of city Most (18.9%) the majority of the most significant employers in the district is concentrated including the largest employer Mostecká uhelná společnost, a.s.. All of the employers in the micro-region are well connected to the cities public transportation. Romany citizens are a problematic group, primarily the residents of Chanov who are practically all unemployed and collect social welfare payments.

In the first half of the year 2000 a further rise in unemployment is expected caused by arrival on newly graduated students on the labour market and lay offs from the corporations MUS and Chemapetrol. Unemployment is expected to rise to 20.5% to 21.5%.

Karviná

The leading employer in the district is heavy energetic industry.

A high number employees released from this sector in 1999 was influenced by a change in the majority owner of a.s. OKD and provisions that were accepted in connection with internal reorganisation and a reduction in mining activities. The reduction in employees happened mainly at opencast miners. These changes also had an influence on reduction in employment at other employing companies which co-operated the mines in import-export relations.

In the course of 1999 the largest number of employees were released from the sector of fuel and energy (approximately 4,500 people) and in metallurgy and heavy machinery (approximately 900 people) where they expect the biggest changes to take place in 2000. Employees made redundant without adequate replacement jobs during the entire year of 1999 was reflected in the growth of unemployment. With the total of 24,102 recorded job seekers up until 31.12.1999 the district of Karviná ranked second in highest unemployment rate in the Czech Republic. With a total of 9 771 long-term unemployed over 12 months Karviná moved into first place. In comparison with the same season in 1998 there were about 3,634 more long-term unemployed job seekers. With regard to on-going changes in the structure of industry in the region there were also changes in the structure of job seekers. In 1999 the increase in job seekers trained in various fields continued (51,2%) and conversely unemployment dropped among job seekers without qualifications (33,7%).

The district of Karviná is comprised of five micro-regions. The highest unemployment is, for a long time, in the micro-district of Orlová (20,6%) which is oriented towards heavy industry, particularly the extraction of black coal. Of course a decline in the demand for coal was reflected in decreasing employment in local mines (Doubrava, Lazy, and Fučik) In this micro-region there has always been a low number of employment opportunities and so often residents had to commute to Karvina or Ostrava for work. At the current time this micro-region numbers among the micro-regions with the highest level of unemployment.

Chomutov

In the district of Chomutov heavy industry holds a dominant position. Unemployment in 1999 was influenced particularly by the continuing restructuring in the metallurgy sector (a decrease of 715 jobs). A reduction in the work force also occurred in other sectors as well, but decreases were smaller.

The district of Chomutov comprises five micro-regions. The micro-region of Jirkov (20,6%) is in the industrial part of the district of Chomutov the most debilitated area with high structural unemployment bordering the district of Most. 78,2 job seekers applied for one job opening up until 31.12.99. The main reasons for the rise in unemployment in this micro-region were decreases in job opportunities at Mostecká uhelná společnost, a.s.. and Preciosa where, until 1997, approximately 875 people were employed and up until 31.12.1999 that number has almost halved.

Ostrava

The leading Ostrava employers a.s. Vítkovice and Hová huť during 1999 continued restructural changes and the modernisation of production. Modern technology in casting and rolling steel should secure for them the ability to compete in the future on the international market. In 1999 Vitkovice went through very complicated process. Besides a fall in the demand for metallurgy products insufficient financial sources caused by a nearly three month stoppage in the production of thick sheet metal due to modernisation of the roll stand, caused the lose of nearly 2,250 jobs.

In 1999 there was a similar situation in a.s. Nová huť when nearly 1,300 people were made redundant. Lowering of employment was caused by a stoppage in production of rolling capacity in connection with the on-going opening of the modern "mini iron-works".

In 1998 company OKD went through major ownership and personnel changes. Its majority owner a.s. Karbon Invest, in 1999 undertook a number of restructuring steps with the goal of stabilising the corporation and ensuring its prosperity. In 1999 personnel decreased in all work places (districts of Karviná, Frýdek-Místek and Ostrava) by about 4,800 employees, about 800 of them in Ostrava.

Decreasing demand for the transportation of the goods caused by a decrease in the mining activities of OKD and a decrease in metallurgy production, as well as by the continually decreasing volume of production of smaller companies resulted in a decrease in the number of employees in transportation by about 1,100 people. This decrease was concentrated especially in the area of large-scale transport.

The crisis in construction continued even in 1999 and so the number of employees in large construction organisations decreased by about 800.

It is possible, however, to positively assess the growth of about 1,000 jobs in business organisations thanks to an increase in the amount of sales branches of foreign companies.

From October 1998 the district of Ostrava holds first place in the Czech Republic in the absolute number of registered job seekers. In December 1999 the unemployment rate exceeded the 25,000 mark (25,523). For those seeking employment there were only 312 available position registered in the database of the labour office. 81,8 employment seekers applied for one position offered by Ostrava employer VMP.

The growth of unemployment during the first half of the year 2000 most likely as in the last years will be influenced the most by metallurgy where another decrease in working places can be expected. It is assumed that the unemployment rate in the first half of 2000 will fluctuate between 16.5% and 17.5%.

[1] The Communist regime required by law not only that all citizens must work (permanent employment marked and controlled in personal identity cards), but also a permanent residence registered with the police which all citizens had

registered in identity cards. Existence without permanent employment was punished in extreme cases as a misdemeanour and potentially prosecuted as a felony.

[2] Forced assimilation was characteristic of suppression of ethnic identity particularly in school, public life (the use of language), the absence of any form of organisations etc....

[3] Gabal and co., 1999

[4] Romany leaders like to point out that the much discussed Romany crime is meaningless compared to the billions of CZK embezzled from banks and businesses.

[5] „At this time the unemployment rate for the entire Czech Republic is approximately 5%. Romany unemployment is estimated at roughly 70% and in some locations is as high as 90%.” (Report on the Situation of the Romany community in

CR 1997: 7.2.) We will add only that the cited data is from 1997. From that time, overall unemployment in the Czech Republic has practically doubled (see enclosures). In some locations the rate has more than tripled (with some places recording 20%). To expect that from the published Report cited above that unemployment among Roma decreased is not very realistic.

[6] It is, of course, a question whether the current minority government will succeed to push this concept and its legislation through against its silent coalition partner which is largely responsible for the accumulation of current problems.

Currently, it is possible that it will be very difficult to find political consensus on this delicate question.

[7] The town hall mistakenly placed a growing concentration of people who did not pay rent in a few houses which contributed to the creation of a form of ethno-socio ghetto and focus of clashes between neighbours.

[8] The Government of the Czech Republic provided the local government with financial compensation with which they will buy out the neighbouring non-Romany houses whose owners will be able to move out.

[9] A seminar in December 1999 of the Czech Helsinki Committee on the given topic clearly illustrated that the situation in a number of other towns is equally explosive and developments depend on the experiences of the local politicians, particularly the mayors.

[10] Later the town hall replaced the wall.

[11] The most influential program was „Na vlastní oči“ broadcast by TV Nova 5 August 1997 affecting the carefree, idyllic life of Czech Roma in Canada and provoking more Roma to immigrate to Canada.

[12] This refers to the first case of ethnic populism which emerged in Czech politics for the first time in the 1990s, a relatively strong civic emphasis which democratic development ushered in particularly in the Czech lands and Moravia was

substantially strengthened by bad experiences with Slovak nationalism. That is why Czech politics avoided any type of exploitation of ethnic or populist argumentation. An attempt of one town hall publicly insight Roma to emigrate also

evoked a rather stormy reaction, including, of course, positive reactions to which the populist appeal was directed. A portion of the public saw in the possibility of Romany emigration a potential method to mutually solve the problem.

[13] Approximately at this time divisive arguments began to be used in the Czech administration primarily about the European origin and extent of Romany emigration of which the Czech Republic is only a part if not a victim and about the need for a European solution.

[14] The districts of Most, Chomutov (incorporating Jirkov), Ostrava and Karviná (incorporating Orlová) belong to the districts with the highest unemployment rates in the Czech republic.

Conversely, Prague and Semily belong to districts with the lowest unemployment rates.

[15] The institution of so called Romany advisors exists through district offices in Czech republic and is part of district local governments. Not in all cases is the position filled by a Rom. The task of a Romany advisor is to facilitate communication between the Romany community and the non-Romany surrounding institutions. Probably as a result of the atmosphere surrounding the Romany situation attempts emerge to put the explosive Romany agenda onto the shoulders of these advisors.

The main responsibility of the Romany advisor is co-operation with employees of local government and self-government whose actions effect life in Romany communities. The Romany advisor in Český Krumlov for example co-operates with schools attended by Romany children, negotiates with the Labour Office about employment and re-qualification possibilities, offers eligible candidates work with the Police of the Czech republic, etc.... A Romany advisor provides the public with information, advice, assists in negotiations and in communication with offices and institutions. Romany advisors also help local Romany organisations to run programs that improve the situation of the Romany community.

(http://www.ckrumlov.cz/cz1250/město/soucas/i_soakro.htm)

[16] This refers to a report created on the basis of a request of an official of MV CR directly from individual Romany advisors. This report contains data about the number of emigrants in given locations and reasons for emigration.

[17] Increased wariness of employees of the Labour Office can be the result of scandals related to the Romany situation created by the LO in Olomouc where they had the applications of Romany applicants for employment marked according to their ethnic identification in their records. The office was charged with racism and discriminatory practices. The scandal was widely covered in the media. The office discontinued the practice. According to unofficial sources many offices mark out Roma by secret means. In no case, however, do they want to give out data or their own empirical experiences when it comes to estimating the unemployment rate among Roma.

[18] The most common response to our request for information was, "We in no way differentiate between Roma and non-Roma and I have nothing more to say to you about it."

"Roma participate in a crucial way in all of the suitable social policies of the state in as much as the area of social care in relation to the Romany population is not an organ of social care from the point of view of nationality or ethnic origin of its clients. The reason is the reality that after November 1989 it is a principle of civic equality that in no legal norms regarding social policies the concept "Rom" or "Romani" is not to be used and any form of selective social analysis would be against the law. Besides this recording of Romany citizens was cancelled which before November 1989 was conducted by the National Council. We can only be contiguous on demographic data from the census of 1991 (the Romany nationality was declared by not even 33,000 people) and unofficial qualified

estimates speak about approximately 200,000 Roma." Report on the Situation of Roma in CR 1997: 6.1.)

[19] It is of course a reality – as is indicated from the word advisor that their role is to assist officials of public administration to perform their duties, facilitate communication with Roma, etc... far from it responsibility for all questions regarding the Romany community.

[20] „A family told us only that they were going for some time to visit relatives in Moravia. During their stay in Moravia they had a baby girl who has that she was born in Belgium written on her birth certificate. That is about the only way that

we found out they had been abroad.“ (Director of the Department of Social Affairs of City Hall).

„Roma themselves don't tell us that they are going abroad. Rather they come to accuse each other that that one and that one are probably somewhere in England.“ (Director of the Department of

Social Affairs of City Hall).

[21] The positive experiences of Romany respondents about their time in emigration means that those interviewed, according to their own words, were better off in emigration than in the Czech Republic (i.e. they had quality housing, sufficient financial support, the possibility to get a loan to furnish apartments, the possibility to enter the job market, an absolute feeling of security. If we speak about positive experiences in emigration in other locations it most likely is according to this model. Considering the experience of refusal of applications for asylum and unsuccessful attempts at permanent emigration manifests as less significant if not as motivation for further attempts.

[22] All families interviewed returned voluntarily after the time allowed for granting of political asylum expired. In doing so they try to avoid any kind of conflict with official authorities because they want to try to return to the target country in the future.

[23] The street in which the local government attempted to resolve problems of coexistence and relations in the neighbourhood with the well-known wall.

[24] The migration procedure of these families is apparently characteristic of a hasty decision and emigration of the whole family in a relatively short time. In the predominantly pro-migration climate of the CR and in the difficult social conditions in which families live, a single impulse related to local conditions or information from abroad is sufficient to make the decision to leave.

[25] According to further information, however, the Romany community in Most was affected by a large wave of emigration this year.

[26] In the middle of the 1990s Jirkov was the object of raised attention because of the so called Jirkov Directives (the district office cancelled them before they came into effect). Their most controversial point was the requirement of all renters of flats to request the owner's agreement of the arrival of any guest who would stay for more than seven days three days in advance of their arrival. These directives were an attempt to resolve the problems caused by the increase in the number of Roma arriving from Slovakia.

[27] "And because today's indicator of minimum living standard was conceived as a minimum for social upper classes, it provides parts of the Romany citizenry a financially guaranteed minimum living standard relatively higher than the law makers had intended." (Report on the Situation of the Romany Community in CR 1997: 6.2.)

[28] In the majority of the researched municipalities the most common efforts in co-operation with the Labour Offices are special offers of employment for Roma (e.g. Most – a program to return Roma to their traditional crafts, Semily – the town hall provides Roma support to repair their homes with their own hands, Jirkov City Police attempted (unsuccessfully) to employ two Roma as police officers). These offers, however, apparently fail because of a lack of interest on the part of Roma.

"The government, particularly the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs can present a number of activities directed at increasing employment among Roma. Their enumeration, originating from the groundwork of the ministry, is stated in paragraph 9.6. It is, however, necessary to state that the overall situation in this area has not improved. This reality is, to a considerable extent, because of the unwillingness of Roma to use these opportunities and their tendency to rely on the welfare system which is partially strengthened by the construction of the social welfare system – for large Romany families it is financially more advantageous than unqualified labour for low wages." Report on the Situation of the Romany Community in CR 1997: 7.3.)

[29] „The reality that the state with the provision of social welfare payments guarantees the minimum living standard for citizens has had for a number of members of the Romany population fundamen-

tal

consequences. Collecting welfare for which there is a legitimate claim is actually one of the possible legitimate ways to make a living. Motivation to earn a living by way of welfare payments is fundamentally and completely understandable. If, for example, the minimum living standard for a family with three children is, as of July (i.e. 1997 – author's note) about 11,600 CZK and the average wage

fluctuates around 10,000 CZK for Roma on the labour market – normal, unqualified work force – the preference to receive welfare payments is understandable. The social welfare system of the state is, in

this case, de-motivating and is understood to be so, not only by state officials, but also by representatives of Roma communities. (Part II Report, chapter 2.2.) That is why one of the proposed arrangements of the state is the necessity to amend the existing system of providing social welfare payments directed at greater motivation towards participation in the labour market." Report about the

Situation of the Romany Community in CR 1997: 6.3.)

[30] „Of employed Roma, according to data compiled by Nadace Dženo, 90% of men work in manual labour mainly on construction sites. Often it involves seasonal and temporary work. Women are most

often cleaning women. Research conducted in the spring found similar results. (chapter 3.7. part II). From these findings it is evident that men earn about 6 000 CZK net per month, women 2 500 CZK.”

Report on the situation of the Romany community in CR 1997: 7.2.)

[31] „According to estimates provided by the Ministry for Regional Development, 20 – 30% of economic activity of the Romany population in several locations earns money from illegal activities – prostitution,

trafficking and other criminal acts. They then give their earning to the whole family.“ Report on the Situation of the Romany Community in CR 1997: 7.2.)

[32] “The government, particularly the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, can present a number of activities directed at increasing employment among Roma. Their enumeration, originating from the groundwork of the ministry is stated in paragraph 9.6. It is, however, necessary to state that the overall situation in this area has not improved. This reality is to a considerable extent because of the unwillingness of Roma to use these opportunities and their tendency to rely on the welfare system which is partially strengthened by the construction of the social welfare system – for large Romany families it is financially more advantageous than unqualified labour for low wages.” Report on the Situation of the Romany Community in CR 1997: 7.3.)

[32] „The reality that the state supplied social welfare payments to guarantee the minimum living standard for citizens, for a number of members of the Romany population has fundamental consequences.

Collecting welfare for which there is a legitimate claim is actually one of the possible legitimate ways to make a living. Motivation to earn a living by way of welfare payments is fundamentally and completely understandable. If, for example, the minimum living standard for a family with three children is, as of July (i.e. 1997 – author's note) about 11,600 CZK and the average wage fluctuates around

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state is the necessity to amend the existing system of providing social welfare payments directed at greater motivation towards participation in the labour market.” Report About the Situation of the Romany

Community 1997: 6.3.)

[33] „According to a rough estimate of the Labour Office, there should be over 9,000 persons of Romany nationality in the Czech Republic with business licenses. The basic traits of Romany businessmen are minimal requirements for education and qualified labour force. The request ditch diggers and other manual labour and furthermore construction workers and helpers in construction and agriculture. (Report About the Situation of the Romany Minority in CR 1997:

7.2.)

[34] The cohesion of families and their support of migrating relatives are more important in Romany families and has a much greater meaning than individual comfort and living conditions.

[35] The annual report of the Czech Helsinki Committee reports on the occurrence and growing number of violent racial attacks against Roma in the Czech Republic (see reports from 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998). The government of the Czech

Republic has been regularly criticised in Reports by the Department of State USA, from the side of the OSCE, Council of Europe and other organisations.

[36] „According to the way that they document experiences and results in opinion poles, a considerable part of the Czech public view the Romany community sweepingly as a group of people with a greater

inclination towards criminal activity, no interest in legal work and no ability for normal living and co-existence. It is not possible to overlook that a considerable percentage of the Romany minority are unemployed, their families are dependent on social welfare payments, they are play a disproportionately large role in committing criminal acts, they don't pay rent, etc.... (Report on the situation of the Romany

minority in CR 1997: 1.1.)

[37] „From a September pole (September 1997 – author's note) the Institute for Research of Public Opinion (IVVM) it was found that (...) the greatest source of dissatisfaction among citizens comes from

ignorance and violation of the law on the side of Roma, their unwillingness to work and parasitism. Only 15% of those polled judge coexistence to be good where as 81% of citizens feel it is bad.

(<http://www.romove.cz/romove/1997.html>)

[38] It is possible to justifiably assume that many children are not able to succeed in the curriculum in elementary school as a result of worse educational and cultural foundations in the family, language barriers as a result of not using the

Czech language, the strongly quantitative and memory intensive orientation of Czech schools, but also as a result of an unwillingness of teachers to engage problematic pupils. A lawsuit filed by several Romany parents for the unjustifiable

transfer of their children to remedial schools, which the court rejected in Ostrava last year, will be decided by the European Court in Strasbourg.

[39] See programs for training and financing Romany assistants in the Ostrava school Přemysl Pitr and in others, which are run by Nová škola o.p.s since the middle of the 1990s. Ultimately, Nová škola successfully opened their program up

to other countries in the region with the help of a grant by Phare.

[40] It is possible to state that the extent and dynamics to which Romany communities are burdened with prostitution and drugs is one of the most dynamic problems of the second half of the 1990s.

[41] Because a large part of the Romany community does not pay and owes rent for their own rented flats, the town hall in Most apparently decided to raise social welfare housing payments and directly pay rent for Roma. Roma considered

the fact that they didn't receive housing payments directly to their own hands as racism. A clear sign of increasing ethnic tensions in several locations is that – according to statements of officials – employees of social welfare departments

are becoming the target of physical attacks from the side of Roma. The worst attack (resulting in a fracture and concussion of the skull) happened in Ostrava and Ústí nad Labem. Reaction is the placement of emergency call boxes at the

City Police and if need be, police presence at the Social Welfare Department at town hall.

[42] „The Ministry for Regional Development presents as background for this report the district of Teplice as an example of the weightiness of Romany crime. The Romany community there comprises about

7% of the total population. They are responsible, however, according to the Teplice criminal service, for roughly 60% of all criminal acts and 80% of all apprehended offenders. In relation to this it is necessary to state that it is not possible to apply the above mentioned data and estimates to the entire Romany minority. According to police statistics that a high number of recidivists contribute to the

overall rate of Romany criminal behaviour. Most often it is theft, trafficking, prostitution. A dangerous factor in this is the connection of school aged children to criminal acts.” Report on the Situation of the

Romany Minority in CR 1997:10.2.)

[43] An increase in the motivation, especially towards knowledge of English, seems to be stronger in the given families than motivation to get an education in the Czech language.

[44] „Bear in mind that the majority of our Roma is unemployed since 1990, that means 10 years without work. And it is not enjoyable to sit at home all the time. I think that in such a situation a three month stay abroad is a very pleasant

change with a certain financial effect to boot.“ Employees of the Labour Office.

[45] Data and unemployment rates directly in the individually researched towns are not available. The unemployment rate is usually determined at the level of the individual districts of the Czech Republic. The Czech Republic is currently comprised of 77 districts.