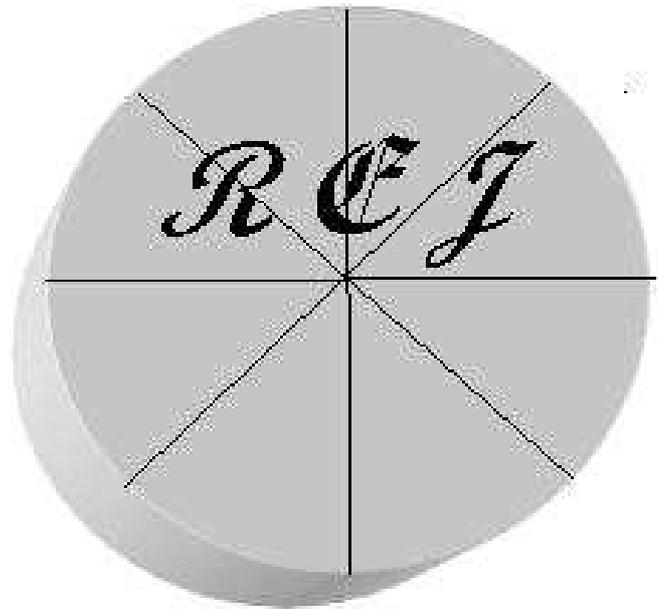


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The Name Game

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Editorial and Summary of Contributions

A name can express a lot of things and be used in many ways. A name can reveal the origin, identity, religion, occupation, family and rank of a person. When introducing oneself one tells the other what one's name is. Some reveal their full names, while others do not. Some change names in order to hide who they really are. Some make fun of the names of their neighbours. Through history names have been an arena of oppression as citizens in some states have had to change their family names when the borders of the country have been changed. A name can sometimes be a reason for respect and at other occasions a reason for contempt. Whatever name one has in mind and in whatever way one chooses to describe names, one must admit that names are important.

In this, the sixth, issue of *Romani E Journal* we explore a type of names called ethnonyms, that is names of peoples. The question of how to address various Roma, how various Roma prefer to be addressed and what words the Roma use when speaking about themselves is not always easy to answer. The Romani people is not a homogeneous one and not all prefer to be addressed in the same way, neither by Roma nor by non-Roma. Some, regardless of origin, may think that it is a question of little importance; why not make it simple and call everyone "Gypsies" as one has always done? However, just because an issue may be difficult it neither can nor should be ignored, especially not when many of the ones affected see the issue as important. Furthermore, the way one addresses one's neighbours reveal something about one's attitude towards them and if one addresses virtually all ethnic groups as they themselves prefer to be addressed, why then should one not treat Romanies in the same way?

Gregor Dufunia Kwiek relates in his article *What's in a Name* how Roma use words such as "Roma", "Gypsy" and "Cigani". Kwiek himself prefers to call himself "Rom" when speaking about Roma. However, not all Roma share his view and to find the answer to why there are Roma preferring to use "Gypsy" or "Cigani" instead of "Roma" when communicating with non-Roma, he has interviewed five Romani individuals who sometimes call themselves "Gypsies".

In *What is a "Gypsy"? On some differences between the legal prerequisite "Gypsy" and some Romani self-denominations* Robert Brisenstam examines how the Swedish words "zigenare" and "tattare", two words throughout history often used about Roma, were defined between 1914 and 1954. He does this by examining public documents, scientific works and works of literature. After that he makes a short comparison with the use of the Romanian

word "țigan". Brisenstam also examines words used by various Roma about themselves. One of his conclusions is that only Romani self-denominations ought to be used about Roma in legislation and other official contexts because the words "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan" cannot replace the self-denominations. The contribution of Brisenstam is the English version of his 15 ECTS Bachelor of Arts thesis in Romanian studies at the University of Lund.

What's in a Name

by

Gregor Dufunia Kwiek

Quite often I have been asked by people why the term Roma should be used as opposed to Gypsies or Cigani. Commonly I answer by explaining that the term Roma is a proper name while Gypsies or Cigani is a misnomer. I use my own name Gregor Dufunia Kwiek to demonstrate the point by stating that if I present myself as John or by any other name that then I am not truly interested in a proper relationship with those that makes this false presentation of me to. However this does not mean that all Roma prefer using the term Roma to Gypsy or Cigan in contact with non-Roma. And I specifically make it a point that the preference of using Cigan or Gypsy over Roma is something that is used only in contact with non-Roma since Romani speakers do not greet one another with the terms Cigan or Gypsy. But why then are there those that do prefer using Cigan or Gypsy to Roma in contact with non-Roma? To answer this question I have carried out interviews with five different people that do prefer Gypsy or Cigan to Roma in order to address this question.

During the summer of 2011, and at the Romani festival known as Romer i centrum (Roma in the center) in Göteborg, I as the presenter spoke about the differences between Roma and Cigan or Gypsy. After my presentation, I looked at the crowd and asked Roma and non-Roma to present themselves to one another with their proper name in order to make a point. Soon after this I had presented the next artists and this artist stated that "We are Cigani or Gypsies". I did not ask her while she was on stage how we ARE Cigani or Gypsies but decided to wait until later. As she performed I began thinking that as an ethnologist her "way of thinking" is far more important than what she thinks, but as an activist fighting for the empowerment of Roma I felt I needed to change her way of thinking. After all she as a performer could reach countless crowds and can easily bring forth our cause in ways most activists cannot.

As a result of her way of thinking I thought it would be best to interview her and others who share the same preference in order to reexamine my own preference.

Tina the performer is a thirty five year old woman that has been performing since she was a child. She has performed both nationally and internationally. When one looks at her posters, one can see how the term Gypsy is used, such as “Authentic Gypsy Music”. I had asked Tina if she prefers to be called Gypsy over Romani or Roma in circles outside the performance industry and Tina had answered yes. When Tina answered yes I asked her to provide me with an example of where and why.

Its like this, the gadzhe know us as Zigenare (Cigani) or Gypsies and so we are this. If our children go to school, and want to show that they are proud of what they are, they should use the name the gadzhe know us by, I do not think we should use Roma and do a lot of explaining.

Although Tina does use stereo typical images such as the mysterious Gypsy to sell out concerts where she performs, evidently Tina does not prefer the term Gypsy or Cigan to Romani or Roma for this reason. Tina’s argument is sound however it lacks strong enough reasoning. For example, my name is Dufunia as someone else’s maybe John or Joe. So the question is should my name be dependent on what others do not know or shall my name be my name regardless of what some might not know. Activists have fought for years to be known as Roma and they have made this known by confronting misconceptions some may have had of Roma with proper information. The argument Tina presents for her preference only strengthens the argument of Roma to be called Roma. When one considers that her preference is dependent on the knowledge that non-Roma have of Roma then one can grasp that Tina’s preference is not a preference but a dependency.

Thomas is a sixty five year old Romani man that has been an activist for over thirty years. Thomas prefers to be called a Gypsy by non Roma and Romani by other Roma. Thomas was asked for what reason he makes this distinction.

In Romani society everything is separated. Clean from unclean, Gadzho (non-Romani male) from Rom (Romani male). Romani occupations from non-Romani occupations. So why should there be a difference here?

Thomas’s point is valid only if the general Romani population would prefer to have such a distinction. And even if they did, would that be in their interest? Would that not be a form of segregation, having one name amongst Roma to be called by but another for non-Roma. The

truth of the matter I have two names for this very reason. I was given a Romani name at birth (Dufunia) and a non-Romani name (Gregor), but indeed, I do use both, which is why I selected Phillip as my next source who has no preference and sees no problem in people using both terms Gypsy and Roma.

Phillip is a twenty nine year old construction worker, and sees the terms Roma and Gypsies or Cigani as interchangeable, carrying the same meaning with little distinction between them except that they are different in utterance.

What's in a name? Whether gadzhe call me a Roma, Cigan or a Gypsy makes no difference to me. Of course I do not use Cigan or Gypsy as a self ascription in my own language, but neither do Germans call themselves Germans in their own native tongue.

Philip makes a strong and valid point with his comparison to how Germans do not call themselves Germans in their own native language. However, Phillip's argument promotes segregation. After all, my names Gregor and Dufunia are not interchangeable. All my friends call me by the name Dufunia, whether they are Romani or not, while in more official circles I am referred to as Gregor. But can the words Cigan or Gypsy be used in official circles while the word Roma is used for close social contact? The problem here would be that many Romani people prefer that Roma be the self ascription in official circles while the words Cigani and Gypsies can be used more freely in the company of friends. Bogdan, a forty two year old social worker, believes this should be the case.

As a social worker, I use the term Roma when writing official documents, but friends of mine, and those of my children can freely use the word Zigenare (Cigani) as long as they don't use it for negative purposes.

Bogdan's point of view can be compared to that of some African Americans that use the term Nigger but only when it is used by them alone. The opinion that Bogdan has of permitting people in close social circles to use the words Cigani or Gypsies is a preference that should not be challenged. Bogdan's preference is of a personal nature since he uses Roma in official circles and by doing that he accepts that term to be applied to him over Gypsy and Zigan by those that are not close to him.

Donna, a twenty three year old law student, believes that the words Cigani, Gypsies, and Roma all share the same meaning if they are loaded with negativity in the same way. And for this reason Donna believes that one should change what the words are loaded (negative stereotypes) with as opposed to changing the actual words.

In the Czech Republic Roma are referred to as Roma and not Cigani by many but still the word is used in a negative way. Words like Nigger are loaded with negativity while the word African American does not carry the same meaning. But imagine if you will that the word African American did. Imagine if a white person looked at a black person and said You dirty, smelly African American. Well this is how the word Roma is also used by some in the Czech Republic.

Indeed, Donna has a valid point, but the issue here does not rest on loaded words alone. The word Roma is used in other countries, and in Germany, Sweden and other countries words like Zigenare and Ziguener are associated to negative meaning, while the terms Sinti and Roma are used to refer to their Romani population. Because the Roma are an international people, living in various countries, one cannot take one country's example and apply it on an international level. As an example, in England the term Gypsy is used in an official capacity. As there are people that refer to themselves as Gypsies in England but are not Roma, the term is not specifically applied to Roma, but when it is, one can read in official documents the terms Roma Gypsies when Roma are discussed.

Returning to Donna's point, the situation she mentions need not be limited to the Czech Republic alone, similar things can be taking place elsewhere, so her argument does carry weight, and is not to be neglected. However, what I would suggest is that one distinguishes between changing negative perceptions some may have of Roma rather than trying to change self ascriptions. Self ascriptions have a different agenda, and that agenda is how people refer to themselves and how they prefer to be addressed by others. Self ascriptions can be loaded with negative meaning, but that should not give reason for people to change their self ascription.

In conclusion I would like to address the issue that may arise of my article lacking a scientific discussion because it is my opinion and viewpoint that is used to analyze the viewpoints and opinions of my sources. In my defense I provide two arguments to validate this article's scientific merits. The first being that I have applied Bourdieu's habitus to demonstrate how people may have difficulty accepting changes because they have grown accustomed to being

called Cigani or Gypsies by outsiders. Even Donna's crucial and valid argument does not state that the words Cigani or Gypsies do not carry negatively loaded meaning but on the contrary points out that the word Roma carries the same meaning in the Czech Republic. So why then choose one self ascription for another when the self ascription Roma is used by Romani speakers in general? The second argument to the interjection of my opinion and viewpoint in the article is that all scientific papers are based on the author's point of view, which is then balanced by the presentation of counter arguments which have been opportunity for presentation.

What is a "Gypsy"?

On some differences between the legal prerequisite "Gypsy" and some Romani self-denominations

Dedicated to the blessed Ceferino Jiménez Malla, the patron of the Romani people

Bachelor of Arts thesis in Romanian studies, 15 ECTS, Centre for Languages and Literature,
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Foreword

This is the English version of the bachelor thesis *”Ce este un ‘țigan’? Despre câteva diferențe dintre elementul juridic ”țigan” și niște autodenumiri române/What is a ‘Gypsy’? On some differences between the legal prerequisite ‘Gypsy/gypsy’ and some Romani self denominations”*. The thesis was originally written in Romanian during the spring of 2011 within the frames of the B. A. course in Romanian studies at the Centre for Languages and Literature at the University of Lund and it received the highest grade.

This revised version in English is both a translation, made by the author of the thesis, and an improvement of the Romanian version. The purpose of the improvements made has been to make the text more easily accessible for the reader by clarifying and further developing some aspects of its contents. As a result of these improvements, the text of the thesis has been extended and some footnotes and references have been added. Despite these changes the ideas expressed in the Romanian version of the thesis remain unchanged in this version.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to those who in any way have helped me in creating and improving this text. Some have helped me access material, others have given me useful comments on the text. Without their help this thesis would not have been what it is.

Robert Brisenstam
LL.M.

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You think I am not aware of what goes on around me,
that I don't have any idea of what a Gypsy woman looks like (...)

You think that I lack even that much of an imagination,
that I cannot even guess what a Gypsy woman looks like,
especially when she is young, beautiful and naked...

Gavrilescu¹

1. Introduction and presentation of the subject and scope of this thesis

A law is composed of certain parts – the prerequisites. The prerequisites are important in order to apply a law in a correct way. If one of the prerequisites of the law is not fulfilled, the law cannot be applied. For example, no one can be sentenced for murder if no one has died. No one must pay tax on income if he/she does not have a salary. There are different types of legal prerequisites. One is the objective prerequisite, an occurred event (Ms. Popescu has died), and another is the subjective one, an intention, a purpose (Radu, who has caused the death of Ms. Popescu, wanted to kill her). If both prerequisites are fulfilled in a certain case, the law regarding murder will be applied and Radu will be sentenced for this crime. There are also cumulative prerequisites (black and white) and alternative ones (black or white). If one studies the prerequisites of various laws further one will see that most prerequisites are but words. When the official, the police officer, the lawyer, the prosecutor or the judge applies the law on a concrete situation he/she has to know the meaning of the prerequisites, that is the words, of the law.

When one reads, interprets and applies a certain law in the Swedish legal system one has to understand also the intention of the legislator regarding the law in question and the legislator itself has to know the meaning of the words which it uses in legislation. If one does not understand a certain word or the intention of the legislator, neither the lawyers nor the officials will be able to apply the law in a correct way. If the legislator understands a certain word in one way and the lawyers and officials understand the word in another way, the intention of the legislator regarding the law in question cannot be realized through the application of the law by lawyers and officials. In any case, the prerequisites of a law always have to be defined.

This thesis mainly treats some words that have been used as prerequisites in Swedish legislation regarding the Roma of Sweden. There have been laws in which the words "zigenare" and "tattare", two words often used to denominate Roma, have been prerequisites.

¹ Eliade, Mircea, *La țigănci*, Editura Tana 2008 p. 24. I have made the translation from the Romanian text.

The old laws using the mentioned words are no longer in force or have been amended, but my question still remains – regarding the application of the laws, how was the legal prerequisite "zigenare" and the concept "tattare" defined and how does the legal definition of these words differ from the self-denominations of the Roma of Sweden and their definition of these self-denominations? If they differ from each other, how do they differ? Can one compare the Swedish setting with the Romanian and the concept "țigan"? Having in mind the legal proposal of the Romanian member of parliament Silviu Prigoană regarding the denomination of the Roma in Romania in official contexts, my intention is to try to prove my hypothesis that Romani self-denominations (Rom, Resande etc.) are not equivalents to the words "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan" and that for this reason only the self-denominations of the Roma can be used as denominations in official contexts concerning Roma. My hypothesis has come from deepening my knowledge in Romani related issues and from my participation in combating antiziganism. During the years I have understood that ignorance is in the same time both a cause and an instrument of antiziganism.² The Romani individual is a human being, a real person, but the "Gypsy" is more of a concept, an idea far from reality, especially the Romani reality.

2. Method, sources and terminology

In my analysis I will concentrate myself upon some specific Swedish laws in which the legislator has used the word "zigenare" as a prerequisite and I will try to define this prerequisite by analysing, according to traditional legal method, the text of the laws and the preparatory works of the laws. The concept "tattare" is most often mentioned together with "zigenare"; many Roma were called "tattare" during the studied period. For this reason I will try to find the definition of this concept as well. After studying the public documents I will analyse how the mentioned words have been defined in the scientific area and how people in general have defined them by analysing how the people defined as "zigenare" and "tattare" are described in various works with scientific aim. As yet another supplementary means of interpretation I will, in the search for a complete image of the definition of the words "zigenare" and "tattare" study how they are described in literature and media reports. I will make a short comparison between the Swedish setting and the Romanian setting in order to see if the definition of the words "zigenare" and "tattare" resembles with the definition of the word

² Compare to Brisenstam, Robert, *On Antiziganism and the Importance of Education*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009
http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SErA2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-04-13.

”țigan”. Concentrating on some relevant works, I will analyse how Roma from different groups define some of the Romani self-denominations that exist. Among the Roma there are several types of self-denominations. One type is what I would like to call primary self-denominations. This category contains words used to denominate all of the ethnic entity defined as the Romani people. The word Rom is the clearest and most known example of this type of self-denominations. Secondary self-denominations are those words used to name a certain part of the ethnic entity defined as the Romani people, i.e. the names of the various Romani groups such as Kelderash or Lovari. Words like Resande and Sinti could qualify into the first category as members of these Romani groups use these words to describe themselves as groups in relation to both non-Romani ethnic groups and other Roma; Resande and Sinti generally do not use the words Rom and Roma as ethnonym. However, depending on how one chooses to speak about Romanies, both the word Resande and the word Sinti could qualify into the secondary category of self-denominations, as both are groups within the frames of the wider Romani collectivity.³ The analysis of Romani self-denominations will be made in relation to the words “zigenare”, “tattare” and “țigan” and the information about the usage of these words found in chapters 4-5. It will cover also the usage of these three words among Roma. The analysis will be made by looking into who various Roma call what and why. The Romani self-denominations being most relevant to this thesis are Rom and Resande, as these were the primary self-denominations of the Roma in Sweden between 1914 and 1954 and as

³ There are several categorizations of the various Romani groups that exist and more or less all try to reflect the cultural and/or linguistic heterogeneity and various forms of self identifications found among these groups. One of the categorizations has three levels and exists in several versions. It starts at the general level, to some extent seeing all of the Romani groups as one collectivity. On the next level one can see a division of this collectivity into what one could call main groups. It is at this level one can see differences between various versions of the three level model; depending on how this division is made the number of main groups varies, as does also which groups are mentioned – Rom and Sinti; Rom, Sinti and Calo; Rom, Sinti, Calo and (“Gypsy-”) Travellers; Rom, Sinti, Calo, Ashkali and Egyptians. The third level consists of yet another division into what one could call sub groups to the main groups on the second level. On this, the third, level one finds what is in this thesis, and in many Romani contexts in general, referred to as the Romani groups. These groups are the Resande, the Kelderash, the Lovari, the Romanichal, the Sinti, the Ursari, the Arli, the Manush, the Kale, the Calo, the Bergitka, the Yeli etc. Categorizations like this three level model can help the reader to understand the heterogeneity of the Romani people and which group is which. However, categorizations of this kind may also create new questions and confusion. For example, depending on which version of the three level model one chooses (i.e. how many main groups one chooses to mention on the second level) several sub groups on the third level could fit into more than one of the main groups on the second level. The Resande and the Kale in northern Europe are two examples of this, as many families from both groups share the same ancestors. How shall they then be fitted into the second level of the three level model – are they to be seen as Sinti, as Sinti and Calo, as Calo and (“Gypsy-”) Travellers or according to some other combination? Regardless of how one chooses to view the structure of the Romani people and its groups, it is indeed needless to say that this fragmented cultural reality is sometimes confusing and hard to grasp and understand even for Romani activists. Still it remains the ethno-cultural reality of the Romani groups and individuals and it has effects on self identification, on how the Roma are perceived by their non-Romani neighbours, on how Romani activists conduct their lobby work and, last but certainly not least, on how states and their authorities relate to the Romani groups within their jurisdiction. Finally I ought to mention that I myself do not use the three level model of categorizing Romani groups. I use instead a two level model consisting of a first level seeing the Romani groups as one collectivity which I, depending on context, call Roma, Romanies, Romani groups or (the) Romani people (regardless of which group I am having in mind) and a second level consisting of what in the three level model would be called sub groups of main groups.

Rom seems to be the most common self-denomination of Romanian Roma. Furthermore the Resande Roma were between 1914 and 1954 pointed out as a certain group and the ones most often called "tattare". In the sources they are most often mentioned together with the other Roma, who were called "zigenare". Therefore, and because Resande is one of the Romani groups generally using a another word than Rom as primary self-denomination, it is relevant to mention the word Resande alongside the word Rom. However, other self-denominations are also mentioned here and there in the footnotes. Furthermore, it is not my intention to cover all sides, dimensions and details that may be connected to any Romani self-denomination. This thesis is far too small for such a study.

For this study I have used written materials that are relevant for the Swedish setting during the period between 1914 and 1954 when Roma, according to law, were not allowed to enter Sweden and when the Roma in Sweden were studied and monitored by Swedish authorities.⁴ Because of the above mentioned legislative proposal, I also want to know how people in Romania today think about the word "țigan". Therefore the relevant period of time for the Romanian setting is contemporary with historical glimpses. I have chosen materials according to quality and quantity due to my perspective being holistic, trying to see the complete image. Lawyers and officials are human and their ideas and concepts about certain things, such as Roma, can come from other sources than public documents. Furthermore I want to know how people in general in Sweden in those days thought about the words "zigenare" and "tattare" and then it is necessary to extend the study to include non-legal sources. When it is necessary for the Swedish setting I will compare also with the period after 1954 in order to see if and how the mentioned words have evolved. To see the mentioned words in a more nuanced way I will compare the Swedish and Romanian settings with an account about some Romani self-denominations.

Although the researcher perhaps may be bound by his/her cultural context when conducting a study, he/she must with the help of his/her empirical data, critical thinking, previous knowledge, experience and social network try to see things from different points of view and not only from the point of view he/she may have due to his/her own ethno-cultural background, political or religious views or of life experience. Studying the view of my sources on what they call "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan", the information found in the sources is very interesting, but many of them have clearly failed to see things from more than one point of view and their critical thinking is often limited to just criticizing the Roma, defined as "zigenare" and "tattare". According to my opinion this lack of perspectives is one reason why

⁴ Among other things the state tried to count how many Roma there were, from where they had their income, where and how they lived. They were also studied for the purposes of racial biology and eugenics.

many of the sources are disproportionately critical in their attitude towards the Roma. Racism, antiziganism and ignorance are other reasons for this critical attitude, which is beyond the boundaries of what could be seen as cultural misunderstandings. It is as if several of the Swedish sources actually try to demonize the Roma in order to confirm their view on their own ethnic group and their own culture as being superior. Conducting this study, my previous knowledge of Romani related matters, my experience of studies, work and social activism in this field, my educational merits and professional experience, my social network consisting of people of various ethnicities in and from several countries, my general life experience and my own ethno-cultural background are all factors that have proven to be valuable in searching for and accessing information, understanding it and drawing conclusions from it. Belonging to the Romani community in Sweden gives me a certain knowledge that a non-Romani individual does not possess without some form of previous studies or experience, as well as I possess a knowledge about my own group within the Romani people (Resande) which Roma from other groups perhaps lack without some form of previous studies or experience.⁵ Due to my knowledge about the Romani people, a knowledge about both my own group and about other groups that I have achieved through life experience, social relations and various types of studies and information gathering, I can analyse Romani perspectives in ways which may be more difficult for both non-Roma and Roma who have not achieved this knowledge. Who is for example Romani according to the Resande Roma of Scandinavia?⁶ How are various Romani self-denominations used? How do people from different Romani groups identify? What does a certain person say and what does his/her words mean; if a Romani individual today says “I am Romani/I am a Rom” and tomorrow “I am not a ‘Gypsy’”, does this mean that he/she has denied his/her identity by the second statement? In a study on the history and cultural heritage of the Kelderash Roma in Sweden, *Kelderashgruppens historia och kulturarv*

⁵ Not to mention the oral tradition of many Roma, which is a very important source of Romani history and genealogy, especially as it in many cases has proven to be very accurate. One can also mention the extent to which many Roma know what families and which individuals belong to their own group and who is who within the same entity. Compare with Brisenstam, Robert, *An Exoticized Question Mark – Reflections Over the Romani Woman and the Lack of Knowledge About Her Everyday Life*, Romani Gender Balance, Romani E Journal Spring/Vår No 2. 2010

<http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=OGI3y9ZASeI%3d&tabid=81&mid=475> 2011-04-13 pp. 16-18.

⁶ Resande is a Swedish word (in English usually translated into Traveller) which has during the centuries has become the name of these Roma. I do not translate the word because Romani group denominations are usually never translated unless to explain their meaning. For more information about the Resande Roma see Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002, Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 and Brisenstam, Robert, *On Antiziganism and the Importance of Education*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009

http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SErA2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-04-13 and *An Exoticized Question Mark – Reflections Over the Romani Woman and the Lack of Knowledge About Her Everyday Life*, Romani Gender Balance, Romani E Journal Spring/Vår No 2. 2010
<http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=OGI3y9ZASeI%3d&tabid=81&mid=475> 2011-04-13.

i Sverige – en intervjustudie för Delegationen för romska frågor by Mikael Demetri, Angelina Dimiter-Taikon and Christina Rodell-Olgac, it was shown that belonging to the Romani community can have importance in the context of Romani studies. Their study was easier to conduct because two of the researchers are Kelderash Roma.⁷ Another example comes from my experience: many interesting and important things in this field are to be seen and heard in everyday life and through normal and relaxed conversations, although this also means that not all relevant information can be documented in a proper way and that not all individuals revealing information this way can be asked if they allow the information to be used in a study or not. On the other hand ethnicity is in no way a guarantee of knowledge nor of correct conclusions and I have to be humble and objective and study both my own Romani group and other groups of Roma in order to fully know who we are, who they are and to understand this knowledge. To know the Romanian setting relevant for this thesis, and to deepen this knowledge, I have to study important and relevant facts. Objective and correct conclusions are always possible, but the conclusions demand knowledge of the treated subject and knowledge can most certainly not come exclusively from sources such as oral traditions, genealogy, life experience or social relations. One has to study, one has to question and analyse information gathered regardless of its source and above all one has to examine ones own motives and relationship to the information gathered. Have I understood what I have read/heard/seen/perceived? Am I objective or am I biased? Are my expectations on the empirical data blurring my critical thinking? The ethno-cultural background of the researcher can be valuable in a study. Roma may be able to access certain information in another way than non-Roma because not all relevant information about Roma is written down, nor is it always easily accessible to non-Romani researchers. However, if the ethno-cultural background of the researcher turns out to be valuable, it is only complementary to other factors important to the study, such as for instance other types of information gathering, critical thinking and literary studies. In the same way literary studies can be a welcome complement to, for example, oral tradition and knowledge of a language. Gregor Dufunia Kwiek is right when he, in the article *Unintentional Exclusion*, writes that it is the empiricism – *the knowledge and information* (my addition) – at the disposal of the researcher that makes the researcher an authority in a certain area, not his/her ethno-cultural background.⁸ Another

⁷ Demetri, Mikael, Dimiter-Taikon, Angelina, & Rodell-Olgac, Christina, *Kelderashgruppens historia och kulturarv i Sverige – en intervjustudie för Delegationen för romska frågor*, 2010-03-31 p. 8.

⁸ Kwiek, Gregor Dufunia, *Unintentional Exclusion*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009

http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SErA2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-08-25 pp. 7-9. See further Kwieks master thesis in ethnology, *Learning Habits through Romani apparel – A study on how shared learning gives social meaning to the traditional apparel of Romani women belonging to the Kelderash, Lovari and Finnish Kalo groups in Sweden*, Uppsats för magisterexamen, Institutionen för

question is if a human being can discover the truth or if all attempts of man to be objective and truthful will remain mere attempts. My starting point is that there are things that are right and wrong. Truth is not relative. Knowledge and education help us come closer to the truth.

Concerning terminology, I will use the words Rom, Resande, “zigenare”, “tattare”, ”țigan” and “Gypsy” according to their context and the words “zigenare”, “tattare”, “țigan” and “Gypsy” are always written within quotation marks because many Roma see them as pejorative. The word Rom/Roma (adjective Romani; sometimes Romani is also used as a noun and Roma is sometimes used as both singular and plural) I will use about Roma in general despite many Roma using other primary self-denominations,⁹ because it will be easier for the reader. When I write about certain Romani groups I will use only the name of the group or the name of the whole people together with the name of the group (Kelderash/Kelderash Roma, Resande/Resande Roma etc.). It does not really matter if the reader has heard about any of the Romani self-denominations before or not. The self-denominations of the Romani people are what they are and the name of the people is not “zigenare”, “tattare” or ”țigan”. I am aware that there is in some parts of the world a custom to write the word Rom with two r:s but I will write with only one r because there is no reason to write it with two r:s.

“Tattare” is a concept which is often used about people fulfilling certain social and economic criteria without necessarily being connected to Roma, but in the context of this thesis ”tattare” can be approximately translated, just as the word “zigenare”, into the English word “Gypsy”. Probably many people today would protest against this translation, because the word “tattare” for a large part of the Swedish population is not connected to Roma or to the word “zigenare” at all. Many things indicate that the words “tattare” and “zigenare” are not synonyms, but because most of those who have been called “tattare” by society and by their neighbours are Resande Roma and have been called “tattare” because they are what they are, I consider my translation to be correct. I will not translate the names of the Romani groups if it is not relevant to the context because usually they are never translated. I will call people who are not Roma by their ethnonyms if it is necessary. Otherwise I will use the word non-Roma, this being the predominant denomination in various Romani related contexts.

etnologi, religionshistoria och genusstudier, Stockholms universitet 2009, pp. 17-21 where he discusses in detail the issue of the researcher being a part of the studied field and what the advantages and disadvantages of this may be.

⁹ See footnote 3 above.

3. Romani self-denominations

The official name of the Romani people is “Rom/Roma”. This was decided by the first World Romani Congress in 1971, as was also the present day flag and the international Romani anthem Gelem gelem.¹⁰ It seems that this is the official denomination regardless of the self-denominations of the various Romani groups. For this reason also the Romani groups who prefer other official self-denominations are included in this denomination. Beside “Rom/Roma” there are also other self-denominations, but these are often the self-denominations of certain groups and not of the whole people.¹¹ The word Rom (the feminine form of the Romani word Rom is Romni) has Indo-Aryan roots. The linguistic meanings of the word are “man (male)”, “husband”, “human being” and “man of Romani ethnicity”. The word also has cultural dimensions. The linguistic and cultural meanings vary among Roma.¹² Similarly the usage of the word Rom as an ethnonym varies. Thomas Acton and David Gallant have for example yet another translation of the word Rom from the Romanichal Roma – “foreign Gypsy” or “Gypsy from Eastern Europe”. Many Resande Roma use the word “Rom” to denominate Roma who are not Resande.

The words “zigenare”, “tattare” and ”țigan” are sometimes used by Roma who are called so by their neighbours. The reason for this may sometimes be that the Roma do not expect their neighbours to understand what they are saying when they call themselves something else, such as Rom or Resande. Another reason may be that they do not want to enter into discussions related to their ethno-cultural background with people, especially not with non-Roma. However, various Roma define and consider the words “zigenare”, “tattare” and ”țigan” in different ways. For example Gheorghe Sarău and Delia Grigore write that the Roma

¹⁰ SOU 2010:55 pp. 113 and 133-134 and Archive Peace Human Rights, 8 April 2011, *Celebration of the International Roma Day - 40th Anniversary of the First World Romani Congress* <http://unipd-centrodirittiumani.it/en/news/8-April-2011-Celebrationof-the-International-Roma-Day-40th-Anniversary-of-the-First-World-Romani-Congress/1995> 2011-05-02.

¹¹ See footnote 3 above. Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 51-52 and Acton, Thomas & Gallant, David, *Romanichal Gypsies*, Wayland Publishers Limited 1997 p. 13.

¹² Sarău, Gheorghe & Grigore, Delia, *Stimate domnule rector*, [spre Domnului prof. univ. dr. Ioan Pânzaru, Rectorul Universității din București], 12 decembrie 2010 p. 1; Hancock, Ian, *II. Out of India*, The Pariah Syndrome <http://www.reocities.com/Paris/5121/pariah-ch1.htm> 2011-05-02; Lindell, Lenny, Thorbjörnsson-Djerf, Kenth, & Carling, Gerd, *Ordbok över svensk romani: resandefolkets språk och sånger*, Podium 2008 pp. 114 and 163; Johansson, Roger, *Svensk rommani*, Kungliga Gustaf Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur 1977 p. 72; Acton, Thomas & Gallant, David, *Romanichal Gypsies*, Wayland Publishers Limited 1997 p. 46; Resande Folkets Riksorganisation, *Ordlista: resandespråket romani*, Föreningen resande folkets riksorganisation 2005 p. 76; Rosengren, Jasmine, *Miro rakkrar romani – Jag talar romani. Lärobok i modersmål för resande i Sverige*, Myndigheten för skolutveckling 2007 pp. 16-17, 20 and 30-31; Sarău, Gheorghe, & Stănescu, Camelia, *Manual de alfabetizare în limba rromani pentru copii, tineri și adulți*, Editura Vanemonde 2002 p. 62; Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 394-395; Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 p. 152; Taikon, Katarina, *Zigenare är vi*, Tidens förlag 1967 p. 81 and Etzler, Allan *Zigenarna och deras avkomlingar i Sverige*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag 1944 p. 288.

in Romania use the word "țigan" but that the word lacks equivalent in the Romani language. Grigore writes that "țigan" among the Romanian Roma has a clearly negative dimension and that "țigan" is often used among Roma to indicate that something is bad. As an example a Romani girl is considered being more beautiful if she is white and does not look like a "țigancă" (in English "Gypsy" girl/woman). According to Grigore the reason for this usage of the word "țigan" is the stigma brought about by slavery and other expressions of antiziganism.¹³ The Roma in Romania that I have met generally consider that the word "țigan" is a pejorative word, especially when the non-Roma use it to indicate that someone has erred. In Sweden the words "zigenare" and "tattare" are used among Roma both as synonyms and about two distinct groups. The word "tattare" is used virtually exclusively in connection to Resande Roma, while "zigenare" is generally used in connection to other groups of Roma than the Resande. In these cases the Resande, generally speaking, call only Roma belonging to other groups "zigenare" while the Roma belonging to the other groups call the Resande "tattare". However, one has to keep in mind the fact that these words are used by Roma when they denominate other groups of Roma and not when speaking about their own group. This can be the result of the heterogeneity of the Romani people and of the self identification of various Roma.¹⁴ In this context it is interesting to observe that "zigenare" for many Roma (Resande) in Sweden is not in any way a self-denomination. Despite the fact that many Resande Roma similarly refuse to use "Rom" as self-denomination they still describe themselves as "(horta) romano", "romanifolk", "romano/romani manusch" and inheritors of the Romani language. "Tattare" is from the point of view of the Resande Roma seen as an extremely pejorative word, a pure insult,¹⁵ while the word "zigenare" is mostly considered pejorative. In the same time it may be easier for many Resande to identify with the word "tattare" than with the word "zigenare" when being confronted with it. This may be because Resande during the last

¹³ Grigore, Delia, *Consecințele istoriei asupra imaginii de sine și structurării identității rromilor. Heteroidentificarea stereotip negativă și autoidentificare stigmatizată în mentalul colectiv rrom*, Romii...în căutarea stimei de sine. Studiu introductiv, Editura Vanemonde 2007 <http://www.unicef.ro/&files/raport-amare.pdf> 2011-05-01 pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ Brisestam, Robert, *An Exoticized Question Mark – Reflections Over the Romani Woman and the Lack of Knowledge About Her Everyday Life*, Romani Gender Balance, Romani E Journal Spring/Vår No 2. 2010 <http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=OGI3y9ZASeI%3d&tabid=81&mid=475> 2011-04-13 pp. 17-19. See also Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 151-154.

¹⁵ Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 p. 151 and Heymowski, Adam, *Om "tattare" och "resande"*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955, appendix 9 p. 2, 8-9 and 18. Heymowski mentions a Resande Romani man claiming that good and law abiding people are not "tattare" even if they belong to a Resande Romani family. This man, writes Heymowski, thus considers himself being a good Resande and not a "tattare". However, there are also exceptions to the rule. Bo Hazell encountered Resande Roma calling themselves "tattare" because they claimed to be descendants of Tartars. Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 57-60. Heymowski also encountered Resande claiming this ancestry, but they seem to have seen it more as an explanation to the origin of the word "tattare" than that of the people and they still called themselves Resande instead of "tattare". See also footnote 72 below.

century has more often been referred to as “tattare” than as “zigenare” by the non-Roma. Furthermore, rejecting both “Rom/Roma” and “zigenare” as self-denominations combined with claims of being different from other Romani groups ought, according to my firm opinion, not to be seen as a sign that the Resande claim to be an ethnic group of non-Romani origin. Instead it should be seen as an expression of self identification as a unique group within the Romani collectivity. The self-denominations of the Resande Roma, and those of other Romani groups not using the word “Rom” as primary self-denomination, should be seen as expressions of this self identification in relation to for example the Vlax Roma who use “Rom” as a primary self-denomination. One ought to look upon the claims of possible non-Romani origin of some Resande in the same light and have in mind that Resande Romani individuals claiming non-Romani ancestry may be family members of individuals defining themselves as Romani. The fact that many studies conducted on the Resande during the twentieth century discussed their origin and centuries of persecution have certainly contributed to the fact that some Resande claim that they are of non-Romani origin. These claims can be either signs of a true belief in a non-Romani ancestry, or an expression of a knowledge of individual non-Romani ancestors who married Romani ancestors combined with a very conservative and DNA-based view on Romani identity, or a way of defending oneself against the social stigma of being associated with “Gypsies”. Some Resande Roma sometimes may use the word “tattare” to respond to perceived injustices. A Resande Romani individual feeling discriminated can for instance say “it is only because I am a ‘tattare’ that you treat me like this!” The word “tattare” in this context is thus used by the Resande Romani individual in a confrontational way to fight back against a perceived injustice, despite the individual in question not using this word as a self-denomination. According to my experience the word “zigenare” is used among the Roma in Sweden in the same way as it is used among the Roma in Romania. It is a non-Romani word sometimes used in conversations in Swedish, without equivalent in the Romani language.

The Romani identity (or the Romani identities) is not based on a nomadic lifestyle. There is both a knowledge about the own history and the life of the ancestors as well as a collective idea that the Romani culture was more authentic when many Roma led a nomadic or semi-nomadic life, having some specific sources of income. There is an idea that being of biologically unmixed origin is important in order to be a “true Roma”, or that all Roma know the Romani language. There is also an idea about some occupations being more Romani than others. However, if one analyses what a Roma is, i.e. who belongs to the Romani people regardless of which group he/she belongs to, one can see that the definition of Romani identity and of who belongs to the Romani collectivity differs between groups and individuals. Belonging to a Romani family is, according to my experience, much more important than the

issue of whether all ancestors, or even both parents, were Roma in a biological sense or not. Therefore, regarding the biological aspect, blood is important in the meaning of belonging to a Romani family, but in a racial sense or regarding physical features the blood is seldom important.¹⁶ In some groups a non-Romani individual can be seen as a Romani after marrying a Roma or after cultural and linguistic adaptation to the Roma,¹⁷ while other Roma do not share this view. Concerning the origins of the racial concepts and the ideas about the nomadic Roma, I have to conduct a deeper study in order to be able to draw a more certain conclusion, but it seems to me that these ideas may have, at least partly, come from outside the Romani community. Apart from this, both knowledge in the Romani language and observation of the traditions of the family and/or of the group are important criteria for Roma in general when it comes to defining Romani identity and a person as being Romani, also for Roma who do not speak the Romani language. The level of knowledge in the Romani language varies among Roma and the importance of the language as an identity marker seems to be smaller among Romani groups with few speakers of the language, than among groups with many speakers. On the other hand, many Roma not speaking the language still consider and use it as a Romani identity marker, even for themselves. They often have a relationship to the language, may have a vocabulary consisting of a number of words and many consider Romani being their language. However, in the same time other identity markers, such as family ties and observation of what is seen as Romani traditions, often become more important for these Roma than knowing the language in the definition of who is a part of the collectivity called “we”. Furthermore, what is and what is not Romani culture and tradition is generally among Roma an object of many firm opinions, but in the same time a topic of constant discussions. The borders of Romani definitions of what Romani culture is does not only vary among individuals and groups, but does also change with time. Another question is then if the nomadic lifestyle was a part of the Romani culture. As I will mention below it seems that the nomadic lifestyle was necessary because of causes due to antiziganism and due to economic reasons. The nomadic

¹⁶ Compare with Hancock, Ian, *The Struggle for the Control of Identity*, The Romani Archives and Documentations Center http://radoc.net/radoc.php?doc=art_d_identity&lang=en&articles=true 2011-05-02, Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 151-173 and The Romany & Traveller Family History Society in Britain, *Who is a Gypsy?* Articles listed by Country, The Patrín Web Journal <http://www.reocities.com/Paris/5121/whois.htm> 2011-05-02. Regarding the physical features it may be interesting to observe that I have never heard a Resande Roma saying that dark hair or skin is something negative. On the contrary impression is that dark (often people say black) hair or skin is considered more beautiful than light colored hair and skin. Compare with Grigore, Delia, *Consecințele istoriei asupra imaginii de sine și structurării identității rromilor. Heteroidentificarea stereotip negativă și autoidentificare stigmatizată în mentalul colectiv rrom, Romii...în căutarea stimei de sine. Studiu introductiv*, Editura Vanemonde 2007 <http://www.unicef.ro/&files/raport-amare.pdf> 2011-05-01 pp. 21-22. She indicates, as mentioned above, that dark hair and skin is not always considered beautiful among Romanian Roma.

¹⁷ Compare with Caldaras, Hans, *I betraktarens ögon*, Bokförlaget Prisma 2002 p. 52. Caldaras is a Kelderash Roma, but the mentioned fact I have also heard from Lovari Roma in Stockholm. Compare however with The

life was hard and a source of much suffering and so was the semi-nomadic life, living in one place but having an occupation demanding mobility.¹⁸ In any case no Romani individual has ever become less Romani or non-Romani because he/she moved into an apartment or because he/she started to work at the factory. However, there may of course be people who view things in another way. When it comes to defining Romani identity it is not at all impossible that the Roma have been affected by the ideas of the non-Roma expressed in academic works or in mass media. Concerning Roma in Sweden it is a known fact that many have.¹⁹ Concerning Roma who are considered by themselves or by others to have assimilated to their non-Romani neighbours they may still strongly identify themselves as Roma, and although some Roma may consider them as non-Roma others will consider them just as Romani as themselves. Furthermore, even when an individual becomes assimilated, he/she may still think in terms of “we and them”, thus still claiming to be Romani. One must however remember that the meaning of the words “integration” and “assimilation” can vary, just as the meaning of the words “culture, identity” and “tradition”, depending on who uses them. Romani culture is neither homogeneous nor static and unchangeable. On the contrary the culture and its expressions vary. The culture and its expressions change and the boundaries of the definition of various Roma of what Romani culture and identity is change as well. One could make a comparison with Swedish culture. How do Swedes define Swedish identity and culture and why? Did the ethnic Swedes and their culture become less Swedish, or even non-Swedish, when rural society changed into industrial society and the peasants left agricultural work for factories and offices? Are contemporary ethnic Swedes less Swedish than their ancestors because of not sharing the same values or expressing traditions in the same way as their ancestors? Is non-Romani culture static and unchangeable? Furthermore, the result of tackling a problem may vary depending on how one chooses to tackle it. For example, asking a Romani individual to describe what is typical for Romani culture by describing the differences between it and a certain non-Romani culture may result in a different answer than it would if the same individual was asked to describe what is typical for Romani culture without focusing on differences from other cultures.

Regarding the contributions of the Roma to the development of the Swedish and Romanian societies one has to emphasize certain things. If one speaks about contributions

Romany & Traveller Family History Society in Britain, *Who is a Gypsy?* Articles listed by Country, The PatrIn Web Journal <http://www.reocities.com/Paris/5121/whois.htm> 2011-05-02.

¹⁸ Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 p. 239, Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 100-101, Taikon, Katarina, *Zigenare är vi*, Tidens förlag 1967 pp. 34-36 and SOU 2010:55. *Romers rätt* p. 152. I have heard several elderly Roma both within and outside my family witnessing about this.

¹⁹ See for example Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 p. 154.

important to the country, the state and the population, one can mention that the Roma in Romania through slavery have played a significant role for the economy of Moldova and Wallachia. During the period between the two world wars the contributions of the Roma to society were very significant as well.²⁰ Likewise the Roma of Sweden have by their efforts in the civil and military areas worked and contributed to the development of society; in the civil area especially the economy of rural society. It is hard to understand why these people were, as will be seen below, despised and considered to be lazy, dishonest and beggars, especially as the Roma most often earned their own living by handicraft, trade, providing services and entertainment and, mainly in earlier times, as various types of soldiers. The occupations of the Roma back then were hard and demanding, particularly in combination with the poverty and the need for mobility. The fact that the peasants demanded the services of the Roma year after year shows that they were honest and hard working enough to be welcome back to them.²¹ And this way one can continue from area to area; today the Roma in both countries continue to contribute to the development of the societies despite of antiziganism making their lives difficult.

However, the most important thing to mention within the frames of this thesis concerning Romani self-denominations in general, especially the self-denominations Rom and Resande, and their relationship to “zigenare”, “tattare” and “țigan” is perhaps the fact that the self-denominations have virtually only an ethno-cultural dimension; some Roma may use the self-denominations in a socio-economic way, but still the self-denominations lack the strong socio-economic dimension which, as will be seen below, can be found in the definition of the words “zigenare”, “tattare” and “țigan”, and which is virtually as important as the ethno-cultural dimension of the definition of these three words. Briefly and generally speaking, identity and culture define the Roma while behaviour in a non-cultural sense, lifestyle and occupation do not.

²⁰ Crowe, David M., *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd 1995 pp. 111-112 and 129-131.

²¹ See Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 35-44, 58-62, 128-137 and 207-221; Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 82-110; Schlüter, Ragnhild, *De reisende: en norsk minoritets historie og kultur*, Ad Notam Gyldenhal AS 1993 pp. 31-45 and 59-69; Demetri, Mikael, Dimiter-Taikon, Angelina, & Rodell-Olgac, Christina, *Kelderashgruppens historia och kulturarv i Sverige – en intervjustudie för Delegationen för romska frågor*, 2010-03-31 pp. 3 and 60-62; Etzler, Allan, *Zigenarna och deras avkomlingar i Sverige*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag 1944 pp. 130-154; Ericson, Lars, *Svenska knektar. Indelta soldater, ryttare och båtsmän i krig och fred*, Historiska media 1997 pp. 193 and 261; Brisenstam, Robert, *An Exoticized Question Mark – Reflections Over the Romani Woman and the Lack of Knowledge About Her Everyday Life*, Romani Gender Balance, Romani E Journal Spring/Vår No 2. 2010
<http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=OGI3y9ZASeI%3d&tabid=81&mid=475>
2011-04-13; Brisenstam, Robert, *Romerna i Rumänien och Republiken Moldova – inblick i några människors vardag*, Promemoria 22 december 2009, Sveriges ambassad, Bukarest. Schlüter does not treat the Resande in Sweden but her work is relevant in this context because the Resande in Sweden have had mostly the same sources of income as the Resande in Norway.

4. "Zigenare" and "tattare" from the point of view of the non-Roma – the Swedish setting

4.1. The state, the authorities and the legislation

According to the Swedish law SFS 1914:196, and similar laws following it until 1954, certain foreigners were forbidden to enter Sweden.²² Among these foreigners were "zigenare" and foreigners (in general) who had apparent intentions of earning their living by begging or itinerating between various localities playing music or showing animals, or by activities similar to these just mentioned.²³ If a foreigner is a "zigenare" or if he/she is guilty of vagrancy or begging, wandering between various localities and trying to earn his/her living by playing music, showing animals or by other activities similar to those just mentioned, the county administrative board has the right to expel him/her from the country.²⁴ In the text of the law in question there is no definition of what the legislator means with the prerequisite "zigenare", but it is clear that a foreign "zigenare" may be stopped at the border or expelled from the country without earning their living in a certain way and without being guilty of anything. This is a significant difference compared to other foreigners who have to have an apparent intention or have to be guilty of vagrancy in order to be stopped at the border or expelled from the country. Thus "zigenare" is a group of people who, by simply being what they are (or what they are thought to be), are not wanted in the country by the legislator. To better understand what the legislator means with "zigenare" one has to see what is written in the preparatory works. One can furthermore achieve a more complete image of the intention of the legislator regarding this word by studying both the preparatory works of other laws during the period under which foreign "zigenare" were not allowed to enter Sweden.

The preparatory works of the law SFS 1914:196 and the similar laws following it until 1954 quite often mention "zigenare", but without exactly defining the word. Anyway "zigenare" are mentioned in the context of the necessity of protecting Sweden from harmful immigration, which according to the sources is immigration of people who are a threat against the purity of the Swedish race, against society or against the labour market and for this reason are not welcome to the country.²⁵ In the studied public documents "tattare" are also mentioned

²² The law entered into force on the 16th September 1914. SFS 1918:197 18 §.

²³ SFS 1914:196 1 kap. 1 § 1 st., SFS 1927:333 4 kap. 19 § p. 1, SFS 1937:344 4 kap. 19 § p. 1 and SFS 1945:315 4 kap. 19 § p. 1. Compare with SFS 1954:193 after the prohibition against Romani immigration was abolished.

²⁴ SFS 1914:196 2 kap. 6 § 1 st., SFS 1927:333 6 kap. 31 § 1 st. p. 1, SFS 1937:344 6 kap. 31 § 1 st. p. 1 and SFS 1945:315 6 kap. 31 § 1 st. p. 1.

²⁵ Prop. 1913:42 pp. 16-18, Lagutskottets utlåtande, 1913 saml. 9 nr. 38 pp. 21-22, prop. 1914B:55 p. 11, Lagutskottets utlåtande, 1914 B 9 saml. 9 avd. 1 nr 17 p. 2, Första kammarens protokoll 1914 band 2 nr. 48:2d p. 4, Andra kammarens protokoll 1914 band 4 nr. 54:2d pp. 9 and 39-40, prop. 1927:198 p. 32, Lagutskottets

frequently, making this concept relevant in the interpretation of the prerequisite "zigenare". According to the public documents "zigenare" and "tattare" are individuals who always travel between localities, live like pagans, earn their living by professional begging, theft and violence and threats.²⁶ The women, who usually tell people their fortune, are seen as incapable of taking care of both their homes and of their children, who in turn are wild and disturb public order.²⁷ In the context of immigration, "zigenare" are mentioned more often than "tattare" but the legislator mentions that what is said about "zigenare" is relevant also about "tattare".²⁸ In the public documents regarding other legal contexts "zigenare" and "tattare" are mentioned together and both groups are, generally speaking, described in the same, negative, way.²⁹ However, according to the public documents there are also important differences between the two groups. "Zigenare" are defined as nomads, of "pure ("Gypsy") race", professional beggars and swindlers. "Tattare" are defined as not being of "pure ("Gypsy") race", but either a "racial mix" of "zigenare" and Swedes or even ethnic non-Romani Swedes, and they are seen as more suited than "zigenare" to adapt to civilized society. "Zigenare" are considered foreigners and if they are Swedish citizens they are anyway more foreign compared to ethnic Swedes than are "tattare",³⁰ who are considered more assimilated because of the alleged mixed blood. Although the studied public documents claim that "zigenare" and "tattare" have money, that they work and that the law regarding vagrancy for these reasons cannot be applied in their case, they are anyway considered by the same sources as being typical and incorrigible vagrants, travelling and earning their living from begging and their possessions from crime.³¹ Effectively, the differences that according to the studied public documents exist between the two groups mean that, even if they have many things in common, the words "zigenare" and "tattare" are not synonyms for the legislator, but nor are they possible to separate from each other.³² They are

utlåtande 1927 saml. 9 Avd. 2 nr. 32 pp. 2-3, prop. 1937:269 pp. 16-17 and 21, Andra kammarens protokoll 1937 nr. 34:80 p. 81 and prop. 1954:41 p. 21.

²⁶ Prop. 1913:42 pp. 16-18, Riksdagens skrivelse nr. 33 1907, Andra kammarens motioner 1921:234 pp. 1-2.

²⁷ SOU 1923:2 pp. 83-84, 87-88 and 90-91.

²⁸ Prop. 1913:42 pp. 16-18.

²⁹ SOU 1923:2 pp. 17, 40 and 80-81 and Andra kammarens motioner 1921:234 pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Montesino, Norma, *Romer i svensk myndighetspolitik – ett historiskt perspektiv*, Meddelanden från Socialhögskolan 2010:2, Lunds universitet 2010 http://www.lu.se/images/Socialhogskolan/MS2010_2.pdf 2011-04-28 p. 21.

³¹ Prop. 1913:42 pp. 16-18, SOU 1923:2 pp. 89, 143 and 326, Första kammarens protokoll 1913 nr. 38:23 p. 28, Andra kammarens 2 tillfälliga utskottsutlåtande 1921 saml. 12 nr. 2 p. 2 and Andra kammarens protokoll 1921 nr. 17:129d p.131. See also Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002 pp. 96-99. Observe that they are considered vagrants in a legal sense, a view probably coming from the general view of the legislator.

³² See SOU 1923:2 p. 321 where it is written that "zigenare" and "tattare" are two different groups despite the fact that "tattare" according to a widespread view during this time are, at least, descendants of "zigenare". To some scholars the "tattare" seem to be more a part of the Swedish population than of the Romani. See also Pira who in his article writes that this difference between the groups is the reason why legislation has mentioned both groups throughout history. One ought to keep in mind that racial biology was very popular during this period and that the reasons for various sources to see "tattare" as less Romani than "zigenare" are most often connected to biological factors. Pira, Sigurd, *Tattarna i Sverige*, Särtryck ur Tidskrift för Sveriges Landsfiskaler N:r 3, 1942.

similar in several respects and in a legal sense the people defined as "zigenare" and "tattare" could be treated in the same way if they immigrated to Sweden during the period in which the immigration prohibition was in force. If they were Swedish citizens they could be treated the same way according to the legislation on vagrancy. According to the description of "tattare" found in the studied public documents it does not matter that they are not explicitly mentioned regarding the prohibition against immigration; in any case they may be stopped at the border, because all foreigners who apparently have the intention of earning their living in some certain ways perceived to be typical for "tattare" are forbidden to immigrate.³³ However, regarding the definition of the word "tattare", the most important thing for this thesis is to know how the authorities defined "tattare", if they would expel them and if they would stop them at the border. Were they "zigenare" or were they other foreigners with certain intentions? The studied documents do not answer this question in a satisfactory way. It is not impossible that it was hard for those people who had to apply the law to distinguish the "zigenare" from the "tattare", especially since SFS 1914:196 was the first Swedish law concerning Roma that mentioned "zigenare" without mentioning "tattare" standing for itself or together with the word "zigenare". Distinguishing the groups from each other becomes even more complicated when one studies who is "zigenare" and who is "tattare" according to other sources, because often those defined as "tattare" are Resande, i.e. ethnic Roma. The studied documents do not explicitly reveal this fact but I know it both because I happen to be related to some of the people mentioned in the investigation of SOU 1923:2. Concerning other individuals mentioned in the same document, to whom I am not related, I know via the Romani community that they also are Resande Roma.³⁴ This fact, that the people defined as "tattare" in reality often were ethnic Romani, surely made it difficult for the Swedish state and its authorities to make a difference between Roma and non-Roma. If a "zigenare" is foreign and culturally and biologically different from the Swedes and if a "tattare" is asocial, the logical conclusion is that the domestic Roma with fair skin and light hair who are neither asocial nor considered being culturally, linguistically and biologically different from the non-Roma, will be seen as non-Roma(!). It is interesting to observe that, according to the public documents, a true "Gypsy" is an asocial person of pure "Gypsy race", feeling a strong desire to itinerate and having a culture and traditions that are different from the culture and traditions of the ethnic Swedes. It seems that these factors in reality refer to physical characteristics and visible

For a more detailed account on the usage of the word "tattare" in official contexts, see Heymowski, Adam, *Om "tattare" och "resande"*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955 pp. 76-93 and Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002.

³³ SFS 1914:196 1 kap. § 1 st., SFS 1927:333 4 kap. 19 § p. 1 and SFS 1937:344 4 kap. 19 § p. 1.

³⁴ See for example SOU 1923:2 pp. 356-361.

cultural differences. Furthermore, if "racially mixed" people who, according to the opinions of the non-Roma, look like Swedes are "Gypsies" or not is a question left without any clear answer. Possibly the idea of the non-Roma that "tattare" are less Romani than "zigenare" was fueled by the fact that some Roma ("zigenare") recently arrived in the country were considered being different from the Swedes, while other Roma ("tattare") who had been present in Sweden for hundreds of years were not considered being different, contributed to the idea of the non-Roma that "tattare" are less Romani than "zigenare". It is clear from the sources that there was an interest to get rid off both groups, an interest of which the consequences can also have been that "zigenare" and "tattare" with Swedish citizenship could not return to Sweden if they went abroad.³⁵

Regarding the application of the legal prohibition against immigration of "zigenare" and others it seems to me that one only can guess if "tattare" were allowed to immigrate or not.³⁶ Perhaps it was a question that in reality depended on the officials on the local level. If this was the case, this means that the application of the law became uncertain in relation to its motives, because the application of the law could vary depending on who applied it. During the final years of the prohibition against immigration the categorization of the Roma in the groups "zigenare" and "tattare" had the consequences that "zigenare" were seen as Swedish "Gypsies" while "tattare" were no longer mentioned.³⁷ As regards the itinerant lifestyle and the desire to wander, the legal sources concerning the prohibition against immigration do not mention the fact that it was virtually forbidden for "zigenare" to settle down and that they were not even allowed to enter the territory of some municipalities.³⁸ Similar regulations existed also against people considered as "tattare". The consequence of the prohibition against settlement was that the "zigenare" were obliged to be nomadic. The situation of the "tattare" was slightly different, in the sense that they often had homes, but they were sometimes chased away from their homes by their non-Romani neighbours. Therefore, due to the fact that many had occupations demanding a degree of mobility and because they

³⁵ Ericsson, Maria, *Rapport angående en eventuell sanningskommission för romer och resande/resanderomer i Sverige*
http://arkiv.minoritet.se/romadelegationen/www.romadelegationen.se/dynamaster/file_archive/100420/e306c8dec41ad6d1affa593e68016249/sanningskommission.pdf 2011-05-01 p. 2.

³⁶ Brisenstam, Robert, *On Antiziganism and the Importance of Education*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009
http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SERa2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-04-13 p. 19.

³⁷ Andra kammarens protokoll 1953 saml. 4 band 1 motion nr. 82 pp.13-14 and Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002 pp.119-120.

³⁸ The prohibition against entering certain municipalities was in force until the 1960's and the 1970's. Observe that the prohibition against entering certain municipalities concerned all of the territory of the municipality (in Swedish "kommun") and not only inhabited areas. SOU 2010:55 pp. 142 and 176. Compare with Taikon, Katarina, *Zigenare är vi*, Tidens förlag 1967 pp. 34-36 and with Caldaras, Hans, *I betraktarens ögon*, Bokförlaget Prisma 2002 pp. 94-95.

could not be sure that their neighbours would let them live in peace, few "tattare" had other possibilities than to lead a life implying mobility and movement.³⁹ One could say that the itinerant lifestyle of the Roma of Sweden often was a flight caused by factors of social and economic nature.⁴⁰ Finally, it is interesting to observe that the Swedish state knew that neither "zigenare" nor "tattare" were the self-denominations of the Roma.⁴¹

Of course there are other public documents which mention "zigenare" and "tattare" but the studied ones in combination with other studied documents (see chapters 4.2 and 4.3) are sufficient for the analysis in this thesis. On the other hand, in the studied documents, the groups in question are mentioned more often in the older documents than in the newer ones.

4.2. The academic perspective

According to Norma Montesino-Parra there was a connection between Swedish authorities and the Swedish universities regarding the research on Roma during the period 1914-1954.⁴² This is one of the reasons why it is interesting to see what the scholars have written about "zigenare" and "tattare", the other reason being the search for a definition of the legal prerequisite "zigenare" and the "tattare" concept. Lawyers are human beings who apply the laws of the country according to their knowledge. When the lawyer is uncertain of something, he/she searches for information and may use supplementary means of interpretation.

For this chapter I have studied not only academic theses but I have also studied other works of some authors who were significant for Swedish readers in this field during the first half of the twentieth century and who are mentioned in some of the academic works

³⁹ Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 78-79 and 176-206. Similar things, i.e. Roma being driven from their homes by non-Romani neighbours, have occurred more recently in for instance Romania. Centrul Romilor pentru Intervenție Socială și Studii (Romani CRISS), *Presentation of Cases of Human Rights Violations in Romania – Romani CRISS Report 2009*

<http://d.yimg.com/kq/groups/6118059/345025053/name/Presentation-CRISS-Cases-2009.doc> 2011-05-02 pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ Social factors such as antiziganism and economic factors such as the poverty and the pursuit for earning a livelihood. Compare with Andra kammarens protokoll 1953 saml. 4 Band 1 motion nr. 82 pp. 13-14 and Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 99-110.

⁴¹ The Swedish word "vandringsfolket" (in English "the wandering people") was recorded by a county official in the province of Halland in southwest Sweden in the 1890's. As will be seen below many sources mention Romani self-denominations, a fact showing that also the state must have had knowledge about these. Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002 p. 96.

⁴² Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002 p. 16. In the Romanian version of this thesis I had mistakenly written that Montesino-Parra stated that the mentioned connection existed between the Swedish parliament and the Swedish universities. However, I ought to have written as I write in this text above, due to the fact that Montesino-Parra on page 16 in her thesis writes that the research conducted on Roma during the period 1880-1970 often came into being as assignments from Swedish authorities. Although this could be a significant difference in some contexts, it makes no real difference for the meaning of my thesis as the authorities on all levels are subordinate to decisions from the parliament as legislator. Furthermore, the statement of Montesino-Parra is of general nature; she does not point out a specific authority,

and/or in public documents. The period during which the studied works are written is longer than the period in which the prohibition against immigration was applied, because otherwise it is difficult to see these works in a correct context; the definition of the concepts of “zigenare” and “tattare” found in the “works” are not dependent on contemporary legislation.

First of all, it is not clear from the academic literature and other works treating the groups “zigenare” and “tattare” if the words are synonyms, if the relevant groups are two groups of the same people, if “zigenare” are of “pure (‘Gypsy’) race” and “tattare” are a “racial mix” between “zigenare” and ethnic Swedes or if “tattare” is a purely socio-economic group while “zigenare” is an ethno-cultural group. In any case both groups are studied, often mentioned together and described as having virtually the same negative characteristics – theft, begging, fraud, desire to itinerate, cowardice, lack of morals, lack of religion and interest of religion, lack of tradition, lack of knowledge of their own history, quackery, sorcery, telling fortunes etc. They are neither rational nor civilized or suited for society. They are enemies of society. “Zigenare” and “tattare” are according to the studied works also lazy and incapable of hard and honest work. Regarding physical characteristics, “zigenare” are described as having dark coloured skin and hair (often the authors write that “zigenare” are black) and fiery eyes, while “tattare” are described as being either black or white (i.e. having either dark skin and hair or fair skin and hair), sometimes having the same physical features as foreigners or “zigenare”, and at other occasions as ethnic Swedes.⁴³ Adam Heymowski and Birgitta Svensson write that “tattare” were called “tattare” primarily due to social and economic reasons, for example because of their occupations indicating a low social status. With time, especially after the era of the prohibition against “zigenare” immigration, this definition of the word “tattare” became more accepted among the general public, affecting the view on the Resande until Ragnhild Schlüter, Gunborg A Lindholm and Bo Hazell published their works, describing the Resande Roma as an ethnic group of their own.⁴⁴ It is interesting to see that the

nor even a certain type of authorities, which means that the statement can include also the Swedish government, as this is an authority.

⁴³ See for instance Bergman, Gösta, *Rotvälska: rommani, månsing, förbrytarspråk och slang*, Wahlström & Widstrand 1931 p. 6; Björck, J., *Tattare*, Särtryck ur “Från adalar och fjäll”, Härnösands stifts julbok 1915 pp. 3-19; Etzler, Allan, *Zigenarna och deras avkomlingar i Sverige*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag 1944 pp. 35-43, 130 and 155-158; Heymowski, Adam *Om “tattare” och “resande”*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955 pp. 4-17; Johansson, Oskar, *Zigenarne. Historisk-etnografisk skildring*, Zigenarmissionens förlag 1912 pp. 24-25; Lo-Johansson, Ivar, *Zigenare. En sommar på det hemlösa folkets vandringsstigar med ett tillägg: Tjugofem år efteråt*, Folket i bilds förlag 1955 pp. 39-42; Thesleff, Arthur, *Report on the Gypsy Problem 1*, Reprinted from the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society Vol. V. Part 2, 1911 pp.4-5; Thesleff, Arthur, *Report on the Gypsy Problem 2*, Reprinted from the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society Vol. V. Part 3, 1912 p. 2; Thesleff, Arthur, *Report on the Gypsy Problem 3*, Reprinted from the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society Vol. V. Part 4, 1912 pp. 5-8, 11-12 and 14; Thesleff, Arthur, *Zigenare. En inledande översikt till det af författaren vid Skansens vårfest 1904 anordnade zigenarläget*, Nordiska museets förlag 1904 pp. 3-16.

⁴⁴ Heymowski, Adam, *Swedish Travellers and Their Ancestry: A Social Isolate or an Ethnic Minority?*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1969 pp. 15-16 and Svensson, Birgitta, *Tattarplågan och folkhemmet: tattariseringen i Sverige under 1930-talet*, uppsats för ET 003, vårterminen 1985 pp. 39-41. See also Tillhagen, Carl-Herman,

descriptions of the groups “zigenare” and “tattare” are almost always negative and that these people, in the view of the authors, almost always appear to be less civilized than people who are not “zigenare” or “tattare”. It is also interesting to observe that many scientific works and public documents agree with each other regarding the importance of racial purity in order to be a “zigenare” and that “tattare” are not of “pure (‘Gypsy’) race”, i.e. they are not true Roma but more or less an integral part of the ethnic Swedish population. Even more interesting is the fact that the contributions of the Roma to the European societies (for instance by their work and occupations) and other good deeds are mentioned but seldom taken into consideration by the scholars. On the contrary, when these good deeds and contributions are mentioned, the scholars belittle them. The most clear example of this is perhaps Allan Etzler who, referring to one of his sources, writes about a Romani man who together with his sons served the Swedish army during the first half of the nineteenth century. The father also served in the war of 1808. He was a very good soldier, esteemed and well known among the officers and fellow soldiers, and rewarded with a medal for valour in combat. Etzler writes that his source views the issue in a positive way because the source is deceived by his own memory. Etzler is of the view that an author less benevolent than his source would probably have emphasized more the negative characteristics of what Etzler himself calls an “un-Swedish” kind of people, i.e. “Gypsies”. It is interesting that sometimes social factors, such as a nomadic lifestyle, the alleged desire to itinerate or the way in which money is earned, are the ones showing whether someone is “zigenare” or “tattare” or whether he/she is not.⁴⁵

Comparisons made by the sources between Roma in Sweden and Roma in other countries are few and quite general. There are comments referring to the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of the Romani people, especially concerning the Roma in Finland and the dialects of the Romani language. In several cases the scholars have divided the Roma according to the countries in which they live.⁴⁶ The views of the objects of the studies are seldom to be seen in the academic works. It would be interesting to see if the categorization of “zigenare” and “tattare” would have been different if the knowledge of the scholars about the heterogeneity of the Romani groups would have been larger. It seems to me that the conclusion

Zigenarna i Sverige, Natur och kultur 1965 pp. 15-20. Compare with Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002, Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 and Schlüter, Ragnhild, *De reisende: en norsk minoritets historie og kultur*, Ad Notam Gyldenhal AS 1993.

⁴⁵ Etzler, Allan, *Zigenarna i svensk krigstjänst*, Särtryck ur Historiska studier tillägnade Sven Tunberg 1942 pp. 328 and 333.

⁴⁶ See for instance SOU 1923:2 pp. 321-327 and Etzler, Allan *Zigenarna och deras avkomlingar i Sverige*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag 1944 pp. 33-34. Oskar Johansson makes a difference between tent “Gypsies”, being the “Gypsies” from abroad, and peasantry “Gypsies”, being the “Gypsies” from Finland.

that “tattare” (Resande)⁴⁷ are not Roma, not “true Roma” anyway, comes partly from the comparison with “zigenare”, a group whose members were Vlax Roma (especially Kelderash) and who thereby may have become the non-Romani norm with which to measure how Romani a person is.⁴⁸ It would be interesting to see how the scholars would define the word “tattare” if comparisons would have been made between the Resande Roma and other Romani groups to which they are more similar, than with the Swedish Kelderash. The scholars omit, just as the Swedish state, to reflect upon the possibility that the Kelderash Roma are culturally and linguistically different from the Resande Roma partly due to historical and geographical reasons. It seems that the scholars just like the Swedish state took for granted that “tattare” were less Romani or non-Roma, because the Resande were not like the Kelderash. If this is the case, the difference from non-Roma in itself is a factor that, according to the scholars, is characteristic for Roma; if the Romani individual does not seem to be different from a Swedish non-Roma, perhaps he/she is not a Roma.⁴⁹ It is interesting to observe that the Roma were called “zigenare” or “tattare” in the academic world in spite the fact that it was known that the Roma had other self-denominations.⁵⁰ Finally, one can see that many things written by the authors of this period had already been written by others.⁵¹

4.3. The perspective of the general public

To obtain a more exact definition of the words “zigenare” and “tattare” one can study the way in which they were used by the general public. For this part of the thesis I have read both

⁴⁷ Etzler, Allan, & Pfannenstill, Bertil, *Tattare*, Svensk uppslagsbok, 2 omarb. uppl., band 28, Förlagshuset Norden AB 1934 p. 1073. See also both Heymowski, Adam, *Om “tattare” och “resande”*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955 and *Swedish Travellers and Their Ancestry: A Social Isolate or an Ethnic Minority?*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1969.

⁴⁸ “Zigenare” in Sweden during the first half of the twentieth century being Kelderash can be seen by comparisons between SOU 1923:2 pp. 368-375, SOU 2010:55 p. 114 Demetri, Mikael, Dimiter-Taikon, Angelina, & Rodell-Olgac, Christina, *Kelderashgruppens historia och kulturarv i Sverige – en intervjustudie för Delegationen för romska frågor*, 2010-03-31 p. 3, Taikon, Katarina, *Zigenare är vi*, Tidens förlag 1967 pp. 86-89 and Caldaras, Hans, *I betraktarens ögon*, Bokförlaget Prisma 2002 pp. 16-22.

⁴⁹ Compare with Brisenstam, Robert, *On Antiziganism and the Importance of Education*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009

http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SErA2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-04-13 p. 22.

⁵⁰ Etzler, Allan, & Pfannenstill, Bertil, *Tattare*, Svensk uppslagsbok, 2 omarb. uppl., band 28, Förlagshuset Norden AB 1934 p. 1073, Etzler, Allan, in *Zigenare*, Nordisk familjebok: Encyklopedi och konversationslexikon, 3 väsentligt omarbetade och koncentrerade uppl., band 21, 3 uppl., Aktiebolaget Familjebokens förlag 1934 p. 1171 and in *Zigenare*, Nordisk familjebok: encyklopedi och konversationslexikon, band 22, 4 väsentligt omarbetade och koncentrerade uppl., Förlagshuset Norden AB 1955 p. 772. In *Zigenare*, Svensk uppslagsbok, Svensk uppslagsbok, band 32, 2 omarbetade och utvecklade uppl., Förlagshuset Norden AB 1955 p. 274 Etzler writes that “zigenare” all over the world call themselves Roma but that they on the languages of the various countries call themselves Resande, Travellers, Rejsende etc.

⁵¹ For example Samuel Björckman and Laurentius Rabenius. See Strand, Elin, *”Dessa synnerligen otacksamma främlingar” – Vetenskaplig antiziganism i ljuset av två svenska 1700-talsavhandlingar*, Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter No1. 2009

http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SErA2k0PU%3d&tabid=81&mid=475 2011-04-30 pp. 41-56.

works that, by being mentioned or written by known authors, have seemed to be significant and less known works. These are works of literature and articles from some encyclopaedias. I have read “Tattarplågan” written by Carl-Martin Bergstrand, because it contains much information obtained from the peasants in western Sweden. To complete the image offered by these works with the perspective of the media in a way relevant to this thesis, I have primarily looked to the book *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller* by Bo Hazell. Hazell, a former journalist, mentions in several contexts of his work the view of the Swedish press upon the Resande Roma and the role that the press had in events affecting this group of people. Just as with the material used for chapter 4.2 several of the sources used for this chapter are written before the prohibition against Romani immigration entered into force. Just as with the scientific works, the definition of “zigenare” and “tattare” found in works of literature are not dependent of the definitions of the contemporary legislation.

The articles of the encyclopaedias are written by Allan Etzler and Bertil Pfannenstill and the information about the Romani people does not differ from the information provided by scholars in general (see chapter 4.2 above).⁵² Concerning the literary works one can say that “tattare” and “zigenare” generally are described in a negative way. The differences between “zigenare” and “tattare” are not clear. People from both groups are described as black, nomadic or semi-nomadic, thieves, immoral, evil, negatively different from (non-Romani) people in general and asocial. The “Gypsy” is the opposite of the hero or the protagonist, who almost always is a non-Roma.⁵³ Some exceptions to this general rule are perhaps Andrea Butenschön, who describes a “tattare” with blue eyes, and E. Marlitt, who in the Swedish translation of the book *Tattarungen* calls the protagonist “tattarunge” (“Gypsy” child)⁵⁴ because she is an Italian girl with black hair. Many of the characteristics described this far are to be found also in *Tschandala* by August Strindberg, a story in which the words “zigenare” and “tattare” are used as synonyms.⁵⁵ However, in the book Strindberg also mentions that the

⁵² The studied encyclopedias are *Nordisk familjebok* 3 ed., *Supplement till Nordisk familjebok* 3 ed., *Nordisk familjebok* 4 ed. and *Svensk uppslagsbok* 2 ed.

⁵³ Björkman, Anna, *Vägarnas folk: en historia från östra Skåne*, Albert Bonniers förlag 1921 pp. 9, 14-21, 116, 128-145, 152-156, 162, 195, 217 and 223; Butenschön, Andrea, *Tattaren och hon*, Det norske aktieförlag och Nordin & Josephson 1898 pp. 8-16, 31, 38, 42, 64-68 and 75; Hugo, Victor, *Ringaren i Notre Dame*, Bokförlaget Bra böcker 1979 pp. 138-146; Marlitt, E., *Tattarungen*, B. Wahlströms förlag 1920 pp. 18-22, 29, 56 and 113; Runeberg, Johan Ludvig, *Zigenaren*, Dikter, Atlantis 1998 <http://www.svenskaakademien.se/web/616eeb6d-fc91-4de6-94b2-d154c0d0cc37.aspx> 2011-05-01 pp. 148-157 and *Zigenarne i Granada*, Svenska Familj-Journalen, band VII 1868 <http://runeberg#g.org/famijour/1868/0056.html> 2011-05-01 p. 52 and Rydberg, Viktor, *Singoalla*, Albert Bonniers förlag 1964 pp. 31-32 and 36-43. For more information see Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 138-143.

⁵⁴ In the Romanian original I translated “tattarungen” into “țiganușca”, meaning “Gypsy” girl, because the protagonist of E. Marlitts story is a girl.

⁵⁵ Strindberg, August, *Tschandala* http://runeberg.org/afventyr/11_1.html and http://runeberg.org/afventyr/11_2.html 2011-04-30.

Roma use the word “Romani” as self-denomination. In literature the female “zigenare” and “tattare” are more sexualized than in the other studied works and documents.⁵⁶

Regarding the description of the “zigenare” and “tattare” in the media and the film industry I have unfortunately not had the possibility to conduct research on the way in which the media and the film industry describe these two groups. However, it seems to me that these are two important sources of information because I think that they can contribute to the ideas of the general public concerning certain issues. Especially the media has had and still has a large power in forming public opinion. Because I am not certain of the effect that these two sources of information, the media and the film industry, have had concerning the formation of the ideas of the officials, the lawyers etc. about “zigenare” and “tattare”, I have anyway felt obliged to read what can be read to make an account as objective and complete as possible. During the period of 1914-1954 films with clear antiziganist themes were made, describing the Roma in the same negative way as all the contemporary public, academic and literary sources that I have already mentioned. Due to the fact that the films mentioned by Bo Hazell offers the viewers virtually the same ideas about “zigenare” and “tattare” that are offered by literature, it does not seem necessary to write much more about them.⁵⁷ On the other hand it is important to mention the fact that the media seem to have had a large role in forming the ideas of the general public, including the people whose obligation it was to apply the law of the prohibition against Romani immigration.

During the period of this prohibition “zigenare” and “tattare”, but especially “tattare”,⁵⁸ are often described as a very asocial group whose members are criminals. There are articles in which “tattare” are mentioned as a grave threat to the country, and other articles treating cases of grave abuses committed against the Roma. However, these crimes committed by non-Roma against Roma are not taken seriously. All articles mentioning “tattare” are however not negative, but the general view of the media is that “tattare” are a problem from which civilized society has to be liberated.⁵⁹ It is interesting to observe that “tattare” virtually never have the possibility to address the public through the newspapers, a possibility that even non-Romani aggressors in interethnic conflicts have, a fact that may indicate that the view of the Roma is not considered relevant to relate to the public. On the contrary, the press argued

⁵⁶ For example Rydberg, Viktor, *Singoalla*, Albert Bonniers förlag 1964, especially in the illustrations of Carl Larsson that exist in some editions (for instance the ones of 1894, 1919 and 1994).

⁵⁷ See Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 144-156. Hazell writes a long list of films made on this theme from the mid 1920's to the late 1960's.

⁵⁸ The studied works treat Resande Roma to a larger extent than other Roma.

⁵⁹ Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 123-127 and 186-206, Lindholm, Gunborg A, *Vägarnas folk: de resande och deras livsvärld*, Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige 1995 pp. 67-72 and Svensson, Birgitta, *Bortom all ära och redlighet: tattarnas spel med rättvisan*, Nordiska museet 1993 pp. 171-175.

against the Roma in cases of grave antiziganist abuses, for instance when the Roma were attacked in the antiziganist riots in Jönköping in the summer of 1948.⁶⁰

Carl-Martin Bergstrand relates that “zigenare” and “tattare” in principle are different as groups, but still connected by blood. According to Bergstrand “tattare” is a synonym to the word “finne” (Finn) and thus he succeeds in including the stories of the west Swedish peasants about the Finns in the region in a work about “tattare”, despite one of his sources contradicting him explicitly saying that the two words (“tattare” and “finne”) never have been synonyms to each other. It is not clear why Bergstrand believes “tattare” and “finne” to be synonyms, and I have not seen this connection between the mentioned words in any other source.⁶¹ On the other hand, people interviewed by Bergstrand say virtually the same things about both groups (“tattare” and “finne”). This fact can perhaps partly explain why Bergstrand puts them into the same context. However, the consequence of his hypothesis is regarding the relationship between the words is that the “tattare” of the book are made guilty of the alleged faults of the Finns. Generally, Bergstrand does not have many positive things to say about the “tattare”. He has gathered and published almost only accounts of crimes, quackery, begging etc. However, these accounts are interesting to read. For example the peasants looked upon the “tattare” as being worse people and people of less value and they say that they feared the “tattare” in the same time as they needed them.⁶² It is however impossible to see in the book itself if the sources of the author also had good thing to say about “tattare”. Bergstrand concentrates on the negative, which can also be seen by the title of the work (in English “the ‘Tattare’ Nuisance”).⁶³ He mentions, just as Allan Etzler and the public documents, that the “tattare” worked and he mentions their occupations, but in the same time he minimizes these facts by accusing them of begging. Bergstrand on the other hand shows the reader the interesting fact that the peasants knew that the “tattare” had another self-denomination – the word “Resande”.⁶⁴ The fact that Roma have other self-denominations than “zigenare” and

⁶⁰ Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 195-206.

⁶¹ Many Resande Romani families came from Finland during the centuries when Finland was an integral part of the Swedish kingdom. If this fact was known to Bergstrand it may to some extent explain his view on the connection between the words “tattare” and “finne”. However, there is no clear and certain answer to why he sees “tattare” and “finne” as synonyms.

⁶² Compare with Demetri, Mikael, Dimiter-Taikon, Angelina, & Rodell-Olgac, Christina, *Kelderashgruppens historia och kulturarv i Sverige – en intervjustudie för Delegationen för romska frågor*, 2010-03-31 pp. 66 and 69. They write that concerning the Kelderash Roma, people in northern Sweden were more friendly and showed them a bigger hospitality and appreciation than people in the southern parts of the country.

⁶³ I wrote in chapter 2 above that “tattare” could be approximately translated into “Gypsy”. However, in this context, concerning an book making a distinction between “tattare” and other Roma and also including ethnic Finns in the “tattare” concept, I find it to be better not to translate it. A translation into “Gypsy” in this particular case might confuse the reader regarding the message of Bergstrand.

⁶⁴ Bergstrand, Carl-Martin, *Tattarplågan: tattarna i svenskt folkliv*, N. J. Gumperts förlag 1942 pp. 7, 27, 53, 59, 68, 73, 91, 94-97, 114, 119 and 126-128. Compare with Heymowski, Adam, *Om “tattare” och “resande”*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955 p. 93, with Almqvist, Carl Jonas Love, *Tre fruar i Småland*, Albert Bonniers förlag 1904 pp. 479-499 or with Wigforss, John, *Tattare: några historier från Halland*, 1899.

“tattare” was known also to the author Oskar Johansson, who mentions the words “Romani”, “Romaniseel“ and “Kaalo” as Romani self-denominations.⁶⁵

4.4. Conclusion of the Swedish setting

Ultimately I can draw the conclusion that the academic perspective and the perspective of the general public do not offer a clearer definition of the legal prerequisite “zigenare” nor of the “tattare” concept. Nor does it aid in understanding if the law regarding the prohibition of people being “zigenare” was to be applied also on “tattare”. In any case it seems to me that, if “tattare” were not to be treated as the “zigenare” in this context, they should have been stopped at the border as foreigners having the intention of being vagrants or of other similar activities. According to the sources it seems that the intention of the legislator with the law regarding prohibition against immigration is that people who, according to the sources, belong to the two groups must not be permitted to enter the country. However, it is clear that both words are concepts with several dimensions. Both words have racial dimensions, concerning biological factors such as physical features, and ethno-cultural dimensions, concerning issues connected to identity and culture. However, they also have socio-economic dimensions, concerning non-cultural behaviour, occupations and other sources of income. The most problematic issue is, however, that both words represent negative and unchangeable things – “tattare” are considered being a “miscegenation”, a group of people of bad quality compared to the ethnic Swedes, and “zigenare” are considered being a group of foreigners of bad quality. If a “tattare” is not what the sources consider being a “miscegenation”, if he/she is not bad but becomes a good and honest person, he/she is no longer a “tattare”. In the same way a “zigenare” is no longer a “zigenare” according to the sources (at least not a true “zigenare”) if he/she is not different from the Swedes either in a biological sense or in a socio-economic or a visible cultural sense. If the cultural difference is a difference between the Swedish and Romani cultures or between the Swedish culture and any other non-Romani culture (for example the Russian, the Hungarian or the Spanish) is of less importance. The most important thing is the difference itself. According to the sources “tattare” are not different enough from the Swedes in the mentioned sense and for this reason they are not seen as “zigenare”. If the Roma were no longer considered “zigenare”, “tattare” or asocial, the legislation did no longer stop them at the borders of the country. But how would they change? Becoming Swedes in a biological sense was not possible because “zigenare” and “tattare” were seen as a threat to the Swedish race.

Compare also with Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*, Ordfront förlag 2002 especially pp. 35-44.

⁶⁵ Johansson, Oskar, *Zigenarne. Historisk-etnografisk skildring*, Zigenarmissionens förlag 1912 pp. 3-4. Johansson seems to have a certain emphasis on the Roma in Finland.

Nor was it possible to become Swedes through assimilation because these two groups due to their blood and culture were seen as incorrigible and of bad quality. One can clearly see that the words “zigenare” and “tattare” are not suited as synonyms to each other, nor as synonyms to the Romani self-denominations Rom/Roma or Resande. One can also see that they are not accurate translations of Romani self-denominations in the Romani language. Romani individuals not fitting into the definitions of the words “zigenare” and “tattare” are just as Romani as those Roma who do fit within the frames of these concepts.

Although not everyone views or viewed the “zigenare” and “tattare” as they are described in the sources and although the general view on Roma to some extent has changed since 1954, I have not found anything indicating that the definition of the words “zigenare” and “tattare” would have changed to such an extent that they would be able to qualify as synonyms to each other, synonyms to Romani self-denominations in non-Romani languages or as accurate translations of Romani self-denominations in Romani.

5. The Romanian setting – the word “țigan”

As a comparison I will take the Romanian setting. This seems to me to be necessary because Silviu Prigoană (PD-L), a deputy of the Romanian parliament, recently gave a legislative proposal according to which the word “țigan” would be used as denomination on Roma in official Romanian contexts instead of the word Rom. According to Prigoană there is a confusion on the international level in the sense that people in western Europe think that the Roma and the Romanians are the same people. According to Prigoană it is not logic to use the Romani word “rom” as the Romanian denomination for the Roma because he considers it not being a Romanian word and because it may lead people into thinking that Roma originate from Romania.⁶⁶ A study as deep and extensive as the one concerning the Swedish setting has not been possible within the frames of this thesis, but I will anyway try to analyse briefly, according to my knowledge and according to the sources that I have succeeded in obtaining, what the word “țigan” means by looking at how it has been used and how it is used today.

⁶⁶ Prigoană, Silviu, *Propunere legislativă, Lege privind terminologia oficială utilizată pentru etnia țiganilor* <http://www.prigoana.ro/doc/proiect-de-lege-rom/proiect-de-lege.pdf> 2011-04-30, *Expunere de motive* <http://www.prigoana.ro/doc/proiect-de-lege-rom/expunere-de-motive.pdf> 2011-04-30, *În atenția domnilor/doamnelor deputați* <http://www.prigoana.ro/doc/proiect-de-lege-rom/1%20Scrisoare%20catre%20deputati.pdf> 2011-04-30 and *Ghidul Luminiței Cioabă* <http://www.prigoana.ro/doc/proiect-de-lege-rom/ghidul-luminitei-cioaba.pdf> 2011-04-30. See also Haiduc, Ionel, *Punctul de vedere al Secției de Filologie și Literatură a Academiei Române asupra propunerii legislative privind terminologia oficială utilizată pentru etnia țiganilor (Bp.515/2010)*, Academia română, Secția de filologie și literatură 26 octombrie 2010 <http://www.prigoana.ro/doc/proiect-de-lege-rom/pdv-academia-romana.pdf> 2011-04-30 and Pruteanu, George, *Despre țigani și despre religie în școală* <http://www.pruteanu.ro/6atitudini/2008.02.28->

Because the legislative proposal of Silviu Prigoană was given this winter the relevant period for this type of study is more abstract than that relevant to the Swedish setting. At the same time it is both historic and contemporary. Thus, what is the meaning of the word "țigan" according to Romanians today and yesterday? A study of this type is easier to conduct than the study of the Swedish setting in the sense that there are already materials treating the various perspectives. However, in the same time this study is more difficult to conduct because I am not from Romania, meaning that I may lack knowledge of the aspects of certain concepts typical for the Romanian language and culture. My knowledge about the view of the Romanians regarding the word "țigan" is limited and the distance between Romania and Sweden has been a reason for my difficulties in obtaining relevant material for this thesis.

First of all one has to keep in mind the fact that there is a big difference between Sweden and Romania regarding the history of the Roma – the slavery. During the period that the Roma were slaves in the Romanian principalities the word "țigan" partly was a synonym of the word slave. It is interesting to observe that "țigan" can mean pagan or heretic.⁶⁷ I am not certain that this is the case today, but in any case it seems that slavery, i.e. the socio-economic situation of the Roma in Romania during five centuries, has had importance for the formation of a non-Romani definition of the word "țigan", as well as the formation of a definition of the same word for the Romanian Roma. Regarding the denominations of the Romani groups (căldărari/kelderash, ursari, argintari etc.) the slavery probably is a cause, if not the cause, of these denominations.⁶⁸ During the Second World War the "țigan" were described as criminals, dangerous and undesirable. The Romanian state saw them as mainly two groups – nomads, and sedentary "țigan" who had committed crimes of varying degrees. According to the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania there was no "Gypsy" problem in Romania until the time of Ion Antonescu when the "țigan" became a racial issue instead of being a social one. The Roma who lead a "Gypsy life" are also mentioned, however without defining what this expression means.⁶⁹ At this point I ask myself if the non-Roma considered

[țigani-religie.htm](#) 2011-04-30 (who are the references of Prigoană). I assume that the documents without author are written by Silviu Prigoană.

⁶⁷ Petcut, Petre, *Țigan/Rom/Gavaon* p. 2, Sarău, Gheorghe & Grigore, Delia, *Stimate domnule rector*, [spre Domnului prof. univ. dr. Ioan Pânzaru, Rectorul Universității din București], 12 decembrie 2010 p. 5 and Fonseca, Isabel, *Begrav mig stående: zigenarna och deras resa*, Ordfront förlag 2003 p. 241.

⁶⁸ Sarău, Gheorghe, *Rromi, India și limba rromani*, 1997 <http://www.scribd.com/doc/47343849/Sarau-RRomii-India-si-limba-rromani> 2011-05-01 pp. 107-109 and 115, Grigore, Delia, *Consecințele istoriei asupra imaginii de sine și structurării identității rromilor. Heteroidentificarea stereotip negativă și autoidentificare stigmatizată în mentalul colectiv rrom*, Romii...în căutarea stimei de sine. Studiu introductiv, Editura Vanemonde 2007 <http://www.unicef.ro/files/raport-amare.pdf> 2011-05-01 pp. 18-30. See also Hancock, Ian, III. *Conditions Under Slavery*, The Pariah Syndrome <http://www.reocities.com/Paris/5121/pariah-ch3.htm> 2011-05-02.

⁶⁹ International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Chapter 8: The deportation of the Roma and their Treatment in Transnistria*, The report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, submitted to President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest on November 11 2004 <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/2004/romania.asp> and

the "țigan" as a social and economic group and if they consider the "țigan" being it today as well.⁷⁰ Reasonably, the non-Roma must have noticed, during the long time of Romani presence in the area, the linguistic, cultural and sometimes biological differences between the "țigan" and themselves. It is anyway clear that the definition of the word "țigan", according to the sources and according to my experience, is not and never has been a purely ethno-cultural concept.⁷¹ Viorel Achim, for instance, argues that the term "Gypsy" (read "țigan") always had a social meaning in the language of the medieval Romanian chancelleries, indicating that the one who went under this designation was a slave. Achim also mentions that in Moldova the word "tatar" was used as a synonym to "țigan" under the same circumstances.⁷² This is furthermore shown in studies that have been conducted on the etymology of the word "țigan" through the fact that the relation between the word "țigan" and the Greek words from which it is to be derived (for example "athinganoi") is unclear. Nor is it clear who were called by these

http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_yad/what_new/data_whats_new/pdf/english/1.8_The_Deportation_of%20the_Roma.pdf 2011-05-01 (the report also exists in Romanian at http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_yad/what_new/data_whats_new/pdf/Romanian/1.8_Deportation_of_the_Roma_revazut_gina.pdf).

⁷⁰ Compare with Achim, Viorel, *The Roma in Romanian History*, Central European University Press 2004 pp. 5-6.

⁷¹ Grigore, Delia, *Consecințele istoriei asupra imaginii de sine și structurării identității rromilor*.

Heteroidentificarea stereotip negativă și autoidentificare stigmatizată în mentalul colectiv rrom, Romii...în

căutarea stimei de sine. Studiu introductiv, Editura Vanemonde 2007 <http://www.unicef.ro/&files/raport-amare.pdf> 2011-05-01 pp. 18-19, Elmgren, Tinet, *Zigenare som slavar*, Romanska institutionen, Lunds universitet http://papers.kommiekomiks.com/zigenare_som_slavar.htm 2011-05-01 and Brisenstam, Robert, *En kortfattad redogörelse för slaveriet i Rumänien*, IT-RUM, Lunds universitet 2006 p. 7.

⁷² Achim, Viorel, *The Roma in Romanian History*, Central European University Press 2004 p. 35. This usage of the word "tatar" as synonym to the word "țigan" is interesting from a Swedish point of view, as the Swedish versions of these words were used as synonyms in Swedish official contexts from the beginning of the sixteenth century up until the end of the nineteenth century. Montesino-Parra, Norma, *Zigenarfrågan: intervention och romantik*, Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet 2002 p. 33-56. Compare however with the article of Sigurd Pira, who claims that the fact that "tattare" and "zigenare" were mentioned together in older legislation indicates that the legislator saw them as two distinct groups of people. See Pira, Sigurd, *Tattarna i Sverige*, Särtryck ur Tidskrift för Sveriges Landsfiskaler N:r 3, 1942. As a matter of curiosity one can mention that some Resande Roma are said to claim to be descendants of Tartars and that this would be the reason why they both are called, and in some cases actually call themselves, "tattare". While conducting their studies, both Bo Hazell and Adam Heymowski came into contact with Resande Romani families who claimed this ancestry. Reading what Viorel Achim writes about the usage of "tatar" as synonym to "țigan" in Moldova, I came to think of the oral tradition of the Resande; many families claim to have been brought to Sweden from Russia and Germany and in these stories Charles XII (reigning from 1697-1718) is often mentioned as the king bringing them into the country as his mercenaries. Genealogical studies have proven this oral tradition to be quite accurate; many families came to Sweden during the reign of the Carolean kings (1654-1718), their ancestors being mercenaries. After having lost the battle at Poltava in late June 1709, Charles XII and some of his soldiers managed to escape the Russians and fled to Bender seeking refuge with the Ottomans. Bender was located where the villages of Tighina and Varnița are situated today in the Republic of Moldova. After having spent five years there he returned to Sweden. After him followed the troops that were left from the disaster at Poltava five years earlier together with troops believed to have been recruited from, among other places, the Romanian principalities. Although Roma are not explicitly mentioned, contemporary sources observed that the men of this Swedish force were of very mixed origins. It is not impossible that there were Romani soldiers, perhaps referred to as Tartars, among these men and that they are among the ancestors of some Resande Romani families. However, the claims of Tartar ancestry may be a way of defending oneself against the stigma of being targeted as a "tattare", as the word "tattare" is originally a denomination for Tartars. It may also be connected to one of the theories brought forth in Sweden during the nineteenth century, concerning the origins of the "tattare" as an ethnic group, claiming them to have come to Sweden from Tartary in Russia following the Swedish army. Hazell, Bo, *Resandefolket: från tattare till traveller*,

denominations from the beginning.⁷³ I have not studied how the “țigan” are described in the media and the literature in Romania because such a study would be too big for this thesis, keeping the fact that I am concentrating more on the Swedish setting in mind. An analysis of the media concerning how the word “țigan” is used in articles etc. would be too complicated because the word Rom today is used as a synonym to the word “țigan” in the media.⁷⁴ I draw the conclusion that the word “țigan”, according to the sources, has two dimensions – one being ethno-cultural and the other being a negative socio-economic dimension. It seems that the word has evolved in the same way as the Swedish word “tattare”, and just as this word it has evolved in a socio-economic direction. Despite the word Rom being used as a synonym of the word “țigan”, the socio-economic dimension of the word “țigan” still remains in some contexts. Therefore, because the Roma are a heterogeneous people “țigan” is not a denomination by which the Roma can be described in a correct way and for this reason the word “țigan” is not suited to be used to denominate Roma in official contexts. In fact, regarding the two dimensions of the word “țigan” it seems quite clear that because it has a socio-economic dimension it is neither a correct translation of the Romani word “rom”, as the correct translation of the Romani word “rom” is the Romanian word “rom”. Romani individuals not fitting into the definition of the “țigan” concept are just as Romani as those Roma who do fit within the frames of this concept. For this reason “țigan” is not a word suited to be used in legislation, nor in other official contexts concerning Roma.

Ordfront förlag 2002 pp. 57-60 and Heymowski, Adam, *Om “tattare” och “resande”*, Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet 1955 appendix 9 pp. 2, 8-9 and 18. See also footnote 15 above.

⁷³ See for instance Sarău, Gheorghe, *Rromi, India și limba rromani*, 1997

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/47343849/Sarau-RRomii-India-si-limba-rroman#i> 2011-05-01 pp. 26-33, Amza, Tudor, *Țiganii: necunoscuții de lângă noi*, Editura Atlas-lex 1996 pp. 10-12 and Cherata, Lucian, *Etimologia cuvintelor „țigan” și „(r)rom”*, *Analele Universității din Craiova, Seria Științe Filologice, Literatura română și comparată* nr. 1-2/2005 pp. 21 – 33 pp. 21-33.

⁷⁴ However, my impression is that the media in Romania usually relate negative things concerning the Roma. Compare with Brisenstam, Robert, *Romerna i Rumänien och Republiken Moldova – inblick i några människors vardag*, Promemoria 22 december 2009, Sveriges ambassad, Bukarest p. 3 and *On Antiziganism and the Importance of Education*, *Experiencing Exclusion, Romani E Journal Winter/Vinter* No1. 2009 http://romaniejournal.com.donatello.binero.se/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=M_SERA2k0PU%3d&tabid=84&mid=475 2011-04-13. One example of negative reporting is Catalin, Bogdan, *Realities behind tolerance*, *Nine O’Clock* 2nd September 2009 <http://www.nineoclock.ro/realities-behind-tolerance> 2011-08-21, following the concert of the singer Madonna in the Romanian capital of Bucharest 26th August 2009. From stage she urged the audience to show tolerance towards Roma and homosexuals. The audience booed and in *Nine O’Clock*, which is an English-language newspaper targeting non-Romanian speaking foreigners, the article of Bogdan Catalin was published some days later.

6. Concluding remarks

Through this study I have found that there are essential differences between Romani self-denominations and the words "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan", three words often used to denominate Roma. It has been shown that the mentioned words, by their definitions and usage, as a matter of fact differs significantly from Romani self-denominations. The words "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan" are neither translations of Romani self-denominations in the Romani language, nor synonyms to Romani self-denominations in non-Romani languages. They are non-Romani concepts lacking equivalents in the Romani language. Because of this the three words are not suited to be used in official contexts. To use them to denominate Roma in legislation or in other official contexts is first of all incorrect as the meanings of the mentioned words do not correspond to the meanings of the Romani self-denominations, but my analysis of the words shows that also non-Romani individual can be "Gypsies", i.e. "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan", if they fulfil certain criteria. These criteria are especially biological (physical features) and socio-economic ones decided by non-Roma, for instance certain occupations or a certain, non-cultural, behaviour. The words Rom and Resande lack the socio-economic dimensions of the words "zigenare", "tattare" and "țigan". Because of this, one can see that these words are concepts partly without connection to reality while Rom, Resande and other Romani self-denominations, both in the Romani and in non-Romani languages, are the ethnonyms of the Romani people and its various groups. Therefore only Romani self-denominations can be used to denominate Roma in legislation and in other official contexts concerning Roma.

7. Bibliography

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